

Global Journalism Research

Theories, Methods, Findings, Future

*Edited by Martin Löffelholz and David Weaver
with the assistance of Andreas Schwarz*



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Contents

Notes on Contributors	ix
PART I: INTRODUCTION TO JOURNALISM RESEARCH	1
1 Questioning National, Cultural and Disciplinary Boundaries: A Call for Global Journalism Research <i>David Weaver and Martin Löffelholz</i>	3
PART II: THEORIES OF JOURNALISM RESEARCH	13
2 Heterogeneous – Multidimensional – Competing: Theoretical Approaches to Journalism – an Overview <i>Martin Löffelholz</i>	15
3 Journalism in a Globalizing World Society: A Societal Approach to Journalism Research <i>Manfred Rühl</i>	28
4 Journalism as a Human Right: The Cultural Approach to Journalism <i>John Hartley</i>	39
5 The Structure of News Production: The Organizational Approach to Journalism Research <i>Klaus-Dieter Altmeyden</i>	52
6 Factors Behind Journalists' Professional Behavior: A Psychological Approach to Journalism Research <i>Wolfgang Donsbach</i>	65
7 Journalism as a Symbolic Practice: The Gender Approach in Journalism Research <i>Gertrude J. Robinson</i>	79

PART III: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF JOURNALISM RESEARCH	91
8 Comparing Journalism across Cultural Boundaries: State of the Art, Strategies, Problems, and Solutions <i>Thomas Hanitzsch</i>	93
9 Methods of Journalism Research – Survey <i>David Weaver</i>	106
10 Methods of Journalism Research – Content Analysis <i>Christian Kolmer</i>	117
11 Methods of Journalism Research – Observation <i>Thorsten Quandt</i>	000
PART IV: SELECTED PARADIGMS AND FINDINGS OF JOURNALISM RESEARCH	143
12 Journalism Research in the United States: Paradigm Shift in Times of Globalization <i>Jane B. Singer</i>	145
13 Journalism Research in Germany: Evolution and Central Research Interests <i>Siegfried Weischenberg and Maja Malik</i>	158
14 Journalism Research in the UK: From Isolated Efforts to an Established Discipline <i>Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Bob Franklin</i>	172
15 South African Journalism Research: Challenging Paradigmatic Schisms and Finding a Foothold in an Era of Globalization <i>Arnold S. de Beer</i>	185
16 Journalism Research in Greater China: Its Communities, Approaches, and Themes <i>Zhongdang Pan, Joseph Man Chan, and Ven-hwei Lo</i>	197
17 Journalism Research in Mexico: Historical Development and Research Interests in the Latin American Context <i>Maria Elena Hernández Ramírez and Andreas Schwarz</i>	211

PART V: THE FUTURE OF JOURNALISM RESEARCH	225
18 Reconsidering “Journalism” for Journalism Research <i>Ari Heinonen and Heikki Luostarinen</i>	227
19 Theorizing a Globalized Journalism <i>Stephen D. Reese</i>	240
20 Going Beyond Disciplinary Boundaries in the Future of Journalism Research <i>Barbie Zelizer</i>	253
21 Journalism Education in an Era of Globalization <i>Mark Deuze</i>	267
PART VI: CONCLUSIONS	283
22 Global Journalism Research: Summing Up and Looking Ahead <i>David Weaver and Martin Löffelholz</i>	285
Index	295

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Chapter 19

Theorizing a Globalized Journalism

Stephen D. Reese

Understanding journalism in an "era of globalization" means going beyond a general update of news systems and practices in various countries. As with other disciplines, journalism research must confront the phenomenon of globalization itself, and how it leads us to reconceptualize many of our measurements and questions. Until recently, the local, national, and international levels of analysis have been standard ways to organize our studies of journalists and journalism. But the "global" level is interpenetrating, spanning and connecting these other levels in important new ways. A deterritorialized journalism transcends national boundaries, and yet the "nation" has been a fundamental conceptual category in the social sciences, defining comparable units of analysis and fixing them as pre-defined containers for our phenomena of interest. As Wiley (2004) has suggested, it makes more sense to treat the nation not as a fixed taken-for-granted physical space but as a logic, one among many that help to organize social space and global flows (Sassen, 2003). Among the most important of these flows, of course, are media that provide new cultural spaces where national logics are articulated. Traditionally, journalism research has worked at the level of the nation-state or below. Much of the media sociology, for example, has been carried out in the United States or the UK, with the tendency to overgeneralize these findings within a specific national context to the rest of the world. Other countries may be included to round out the coverage of "world" journalism, or more ambitiously compared cross-nationally (e.g. Patterson, 1998; Weaver, 1998). These studies have been useful, but this national container still leaves crucial social space unaccounted for. Transnational ownership, non-national technological reach, extra-national diasporic communities, and supranational governmental forms have weakened the connection between journalism and its traditional nation-state base, leading to increasingly global logics within journalism. In this chapter, I consider how our theoretical work must change in accounting for such developments.

As a condition of modern life, globalization brings the growing apprehension by its residents of the world as a single place, a compression of social relationships, and acceleration of interaction within them. Two major views of cultural globalization capture a dark side of this process: a clash of civilizations view that pits the modern against the increasingly fragmented tribal (Barber, 1995) and a general homogenization, or McDonaldization, of world culture that erases

national and regional differences – usually seen giving way to Western, US, capitalist influence (e.g. Herman and McChesney, 1997). News channels from Islamic fundamentalist sources beaming anti-Semitic content into European countries are an example of the former, while the spread of more corporate-friendly global news organizations such as CNN represents the latter. Neither scenario completely captures the broader questions for journalism research. Indeed, the more transparent framework of globalization as it relates to government and information yields a hopeful outlook for the future of journalism as a professional practice. We should look for a universalized global aspect of such a practice, but also consider how it is particularized in specific local contexts. Globalization mixes things up; our subjects, whether media or the professionals within them or citizens who rely on them are connected in ways not fully captured by their specific local setting. When I refer to global journalism I do not mean to suggest that it has replaced the local and national. In a broad sense, no media practice has escaped the transformations of globalization. Even the smallest Third World news agency with access to the Internet has changed the way it works (e.g. Aginam, 2005). So, we can see aspects of the global embedded in many settings, which makes theorizing more challenging. But we can find the global more clearly exemplified in certain emerging zones and practices, which I try to identify. Within this new social geography, I would particularly suggest three related propositions.

- 1 The reach, interconnectedness, and virtually real-time properties of a globalized media contribute to our experiencing the world as a whole, shaping the intensity and nature of that experience. This evolving media system creates what I describe as the global news arena.
- 2 Journalism, as a practice and interpretive community, is adapting to this emerging global news arena and increasingly must navigate between its traditional “vertical” orientation within whatever nation-state it is carried out and a “horizontal” perspective that transcends national frameworks.
- 3 A cultural identification is emerging among those involved with this new global dimension. A professional identification, more specifically, is emerging within journalism, which I argue increasingly shares common norms and values adapted to the needs of a more globalized system.

The Global News Arena

Globally transmitted media images and alignment of news norms encourage a conception of the “world” acting in a single community held together in time and space by the news gathering and distribution framework – with a synchronized and instantaneous quality that mobilizes and enables world citizens to engage each other in an emerging global news arena. This arena has both a spatial and temporal quality – beyond a presumed globally big audience size. The spatial aspect is based on journalism’s connection with an audience that transcends national boundaries and geography; the temporal aspect refers to the simultaneity

of its use. This synchronization and spatial reach of world communication is what makes a practical discursive space possible, with people regardless of location, brought more or less simultaneously into contact with a global agenda, which even if differing across national cultures is reinforced and aligned with respect to time and focus. So, the global audience’s most crucial feature in this discussion is not its sheer “global” size – although it may often be large, but that it has been reconfigured in its denationalized spatial and synchronized temporal relationships.

By global journalism I mean a system of newsgathering, editing and distribution not based on national or regional boundaries – where it is not expected that shared national or community citizenship is the common reference uniting newsmakers, journalists, and audience. CNN International, the BBC, EuroNews, and other 24-hour satellite news networks are perhaps the most visible face of this phenomenon for many, at least English-speaking, people. The relatively small and elite audience for these news products leads some to dismiss their global role (e.g. Schlesinger, 2000; Curran, 2002), although at this stage they may nevertheless illustrate the shifting relationships among news gatherers, producers, and audiences. To this development we may add all the other many news organizations that have been affected by “globalizing” influence. Even ostensibly “non-global” media can now track almost instantly newsworthy developments around the world and must react knowing that their audience has had access to them via other media – making it more difficult to suppress stories. Concerning new Arab news networks underway, for example, Middle East Broadcasting Center head Ibrahim Hedeithy said that no one can afford the secrecy of the past when, for example, Saudi media delayed news of Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990. “In this day and age, if you don’t cover the news, if you try to hide things, you shoot yourself in the foot” (Shadid, 2003, p. 25).

The entire world need not be tuned into the same news broadcast, or news products need not become completely homogenized, for us to say that the media system has become more in tune with itself – with an increasingly well defined agenda of news and issues circulating around the globe. Shifts in the attention of the world press now take place at a rapid pace, with various national, regional, and local media reacting to and expanding on each other. Multiple perspectives and interpretations are in circulation at any given time, but still with a heightened mutual awareness, reflexiveness, and timeliness in their reaction to each other. Internet weblogs, discussion forums, emailing, and cellphone technology also channel this global flow of news, expanding its reach and contributing to it in ways never before imagined within traditional community-based news media.

This global news arena means that demands for transparency made of the state will increasingly be made of journalistic practice, as well. Discourses of media critique will be strengthened that appeal to global publics horizontally. The left-liberal critique, with its concerns for public access and challenges to corporate control, becomes more cross-nationally portable than the rightist perspective, given its concerns for national values and how media help uphold patriotism. Old criticism of news “bias” will be superseded by new issues brought about by the growth of global news, where a distributed access to events from multiple cross-

referencing sources provides a new form of aggregate “objectivity.” In the pooled results of this system, slanted or false reports are now more rapidly challenged or augmented – not only by other news organizations but also by thousands of readers and viewers who circulate, compare, and challenge reports via newsgroups and other online communities.

Perhaps dramatic reports of military conflict, including the war in Iraq begun in 2003, highlight most vividly this new dynamic of global journalism. For the first time, the world has relatively free access to information from the perspective of both the invading power and from the target population of that invasion. During the so-called television war in Vietnam, the world was shown images of battle, but largely from the US point of view. Today, with Arab satellite news organizations, images of American troops in action and civilian Iraqi casualties share attention in the world media. Officials must take rapidly shifting world opinion into account as a crucial factor in the success of any policy. Of course, some governments joined the US-led coalition in Iraq despite public opinion, but in the case of Spain, for example, the government was turned out a year later. Strong anti-war world opinion was not enough to prevent the Bush administration from proceeding to that conflict, but as casualties grew in the aftermath that opinion, both domestic and global, continued to weigh on decision-makers. Concerns remain for the traditional shortcomings of international news – including lack of context, sensationalism, and under-representation of key regions and perspectives – but these faults must now be understood within the context of a larger, realigned professional environment.

Shifting Orientations

As a social process, journalism increasingly must navigate between its “vertical” orientation aligned with its host nation-state and a “horizontal” perspective – a global outlook characterized by more cosmopolitan, pluralistic, and universal values that transcend narrow national frameworks. This fault line in the US context may be seen in the pulls toward a post-9/11 tribal patriotism, reflected in a unilateral preemptive national policy – set against a globalizing, multilateral and decentered world. This is a journalism caught between the globalization from above of new coordinating economic structures and military-based hegemony on the one hand, and the globalization from below of activists and the new inter-relationships of world public opinion on the other hand (Falk, 2003, 2004). We have entered an age, then, where our expectations of journalism in supporting democratic processes must be mapped onto a global platform. Studies of “world” news, for example, typically have adopted a nation-state basis for comparison, considering how the media in one country differ from another (e.g. Sreberny-Mohammadi, Stevenson, and Nordenstreng, 1984; Wu, 2004). The “national” perspective underlies other conventional analyses of “international” news, defined as the movement of media content from one country to another, the residents of which then deem that news as “foreign.” Of course, news still is largely packaged and “domesticated” within national frameworks, but a journalism shaped by globalization, I would argue, has

changed its alignment to become more denationalized – with relations among news producers, societal institutions, and audiences increasingly deterritorialized, no longer integrated along lines of common geography and governmental terrain.

In referring to this realignment, it is not to say that the global has now replaced the local – just that the nation-state, or even the local community, organizing principle no longer dominates. Nor do I mean that a homogenizing global force floats free from any specific place. Robertson (1995a), for example, advances the concept of glocalization to refer to this complementary interplay between the global and local. As a popular corporate marketing term during the last 20 years, “glocal” refers to the strategic adaptation of global brands to local markets. As an academic concept, glocalization reminds us that the global consists of interconnected localities, which in turn are formed with respect to global processes. An example in point, of course, is CNN, which calls itself the global news leader but which tailors news products for major world regions. Even this localization, however, is produced within an overall context of global standardization. Indeed, the very value of the global news brand, other than deep economic pockets, is that there is a style of newsgathering worth replicating across many particularistic locations. In the case of CNN, and other such media organizations, this overall logic must present the possibility of conveying a picture of the world in familiar formats, sources, and settings that will be familiar to its transnational, generally upscale, audience. Rather than explicitly national or local, this logic must necessarily be “on behalf of” a world community. In a critical view of CNN logic, Friedman (2002) argues that it semantically equates issues of diversity, democracy and (neo-liberal) globalization.

Cultural and Professional Identification

The globalized news system emerges from a network of interlocking relationships, made possible by shared ideas of news codes among the people within it. This leads to an important distinction. The emergence of global systems – whether economic, military, political, or media in this case – do not, as Friedman (1995) argues, necessarily produce a *cultural* globalization process. That requires a global awareness, a process of *identification* to be kept distinct from the existence themselves of global institutions and networks. As he notes, operating globally does not make one automatically cosmopolitan; transnational elites stick together – they may cross national borders but stay well within others: “Living in a small world can occur over vast expanses of territory” (Friedman, 2002, p. 22). Impressionistically, however, one can observe references to “world opinion” and the “international community” all on the rise because the entire world has access to more transparent reports about relevant events. Global elites – even if many operate more narrowly than their border crossing would indicate – are prompted to take on this new identification and must take into account this less parochial and more multilateral world opinion, driven by a more globalized media. The extent of this identification and the shape it takes on are emerging empirical questions.

As with other cultural forms and social practices, I argue that the profession of

journalism is changing as it adapts reflexively to various forms around the world. These changes are not just transplanted from one country to another; they interact with local contexts, merge with other ideas, and reemerge to form new global hybrids. The United States is an important – some would say dominant – contributor to world culture in many areas, and it has been deeply involved in promoting American-style practices internationally, including journalism and an accompanying “free flow of information” ideology. Globalization, however, does not just mean Americanization. Thus, press practice cannot be understood solely as a product of missionary work – or even as an imposition of command and control by media owners. It emerges in an interactive process within a network of social relations and interests. Thus, this cultural shift in journalistic roles and norms is best understood within an evolving context of power relationships.

As journalists within these systems continue to engage the horizontal, denationalized dimension, it is important to ask the extent to which they (and their audiences) begin to take on any sense of a coherent “global” professional identification. Indeed, there is evidence of a stronger sense of identification with journalism than ever before as a global profession, which has enabled the spread of open reporting in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East, regions where it was not typical before (e.g. El-Nawawy and Iskandar, 2002). I offer as an example a recent *New York Times* review of a documentary about Al Jazeera (Control Room). The reviewer said the journalists there cling to a journalistic ethic of objectivity and fairness, trying to navigate between their political allegiances and the code of their craft. More than that, many of them, forthright in their contempt for the American government, are equally candid in their embrace of the values of free expression and open debate that are in notably short supply in their countries of origin (“How Al-Jazeera,” 2004, p. B19).

The participation in this arena of news organizations from diverse societies brings new importance to traditional journalism concepts such as objectivity. That is, given the mutual awareness of cultural and political difference brought about by a compressed global cultural arena, awareness of one’s own bias increases the need and ability to pursue an “impartial” basis for communication. In addition, a leveling of news practice occurs toward this impartiality with increasing engagement particularly by television journalists in simultaneous and immediate reporting. In these settings, operating with the same equipment, access, and need for instantaneous transmission, technology has unified news routines even across organizations operating out of widely different national contexts.

News Types and Definitions

The global news arena is constituted by a wide range of media and new forms of journalism that operate and orient themselves beyond the confines of the nation-state. It is in part simply the recombination of news for different global consumption, a process that has changed how many news organizations are linked together. Stories, for example, in the *New York Times* and other US newspapers

are reprinted in *Al Sharq Al Awsat*, edited in London and circulated in all Arab countries (Fakhreddine, 2003). France’s *Le Monde* runs regular supplements reproducing original pages from the *New York Times*, giving English-speaking French a direct view of US policy debates (Hunter, 2003). In addition, a wide range of print, broadcast, and Internet on-line journalism is created and disseminated expressly for a diffused international audience, no longer based on specific geographic communities, which I may more specifically call “global journalism.” Certainly, at the organizational level, global *media* may be the most easily defined and described, particularly in economic terms. Global media serve a global market, that is, transcending national boundaries. In this sense, global media are defined as such based on their control by transnational corporations (e.g. Herman and McChesney, 1997). These are real and tangible entities – firms that can be named and ranked by their financial assets. The resulting products of these media, such as films and entertainment television shows, fit easily into this global perspective, with Disney being a prime exemplar of a firm distributing culture in commodity form around the world. The news products of these firms, however, need some thinking through to determine how they best fit conceptually within a global system.

In general, then, I use “global journalism” to refer to that newsgathering practice that orients beyond national boundaries in a deterritorialized fashion. In this sense, it is a concept and not a category that embraces a variety of specific cases. With the term “globalizing journalism,” I refer to the extent to which it is a process underway and not a fixed label, clearly distinct from the “national” and “local.” For example, in his study of multinational corporations, Sklair (2001) determined them to be transnational, or “globalizing,” if they are found to be self-consciously denationalizing and adopting a consciously global strategic view, as opposed to being primarily national companies with units abroad. In this sense, we may think of globalizing journalism as posing an empirical question as to how far along the process has unfolded. It is difficult to clearly identify a category of “global journalists,” but clearly to the extent that they work for globally operating organizations they are subject to the same type of outlook, with many journalists explicitly said to need a “global” perspective (the philosophy, for example, of Newsworld, a trade association for international newsgathering professionals).

Hegemonic versus the Cultural

Understanding this global journalism means moving beyond the emphasis on the power of transnational corporate media. It is true that much of the news circulating globally is coordinated by a handful of large corporate organizations based in a few “global” cities, raising the logical concern that these firms operate with implicitly narrow and commercialized frames as to what constitutes appropriate news stories. But because global access to news means there are many “journalisms” available within any given country, originating both internally and externally, a focus only on giant global media firms fails to fully capture the evolving news process.

A “world culture” perspective on globalization suggests that change toward any uniform belief is not imposed but results from a more reflexive arena in which universal standards are taken into account (Robertson, 1995a, 1995b). While this approach might be criticized as overlooking real economic systemic influences, Jonathan Friedman (1995), for example, does not consider the two to be incompatible, arguing that cultural changes must be understood as a product of systemic change. What seems like a disorganized and disorderly postmodern pastiche of cultural forms and identities is the result of two processes: a fragmentation of the global system with its accompanying diversity of local projects and the “globalization of political institutions, class associations and common media of representation” (Friedman, 1995, p. 85). The seemingly disorderly cultural mix in the global arena is brought about by these conditions, which allow the easy generation and flow of ideas and practices, combined with the ability through new global social and institutional structures and media of communication to know about them the world over. A focus purely on corporate economic domination gives little attention to this interplay. Thus, it is simplistic to assume that globalization, on the other hand, only works to standardize and homogenize world culture or, however, that its main effect is to give local cultures and groups the power to contest perspectives imposed on them and proliferate their own. Rather, we need to understand the interplay between these forces.

While taking into account that much of journalism is produced by extensive and powerful global economic firms, other questions go beyond economic forces to ask what kind of cultural and social changes are taking place in the deterritorialized global news arena. Thus, we must consider the nature of people and social processes within these emerging global structures, decisions they make, and norms they develop.

Global Journalism

So, journalism occupies a crucial and shifting role in the changing institutions and citizenship alignments making up the emerging globalized public sphere. The global news arena has emerged from two major developments: globalization of media corporations in their transnational operation and the availability of technology that supports easy sharing of news and decision-making among news organizations. These developments yield two related research perspectives: political economic and organizational.

Global Ownership

From a political economic perspective the patterns of ownership connecting global media are crucial to their control, raising questions of the intrusion of commercial logic into the public sphere. Herman and McChesney (1997) define global media as a product of globally operating corporations, financing commercially oriented media content for the world’s globally integrated market – at the expense

of public-sector control, especially in broadcasting. Thus, in this view the globalization of news is defined in terms of the global reach of large media corporate organizations – the firms with the financial resources and internal coordination needed to function across great distance. Global coordination is achieved through centralized ownership by these enormous conglomerates. In addition to US-based companies such as AOL/Time-Warner (CNN owner), Disney (ABC News), and General Electric (NBC News), such dominant media corporations include Europe’s largest broadcaster, Germany-based Bertelsman and Japan’s Sony. The CNN brand and style of news, for example, becomes equivalent in that sense to the McDonald’s arch, a globally standardized and recognized export.

This ownership effect may mean marketing the identical product worldwide and adapting it to local and regional markets. As mentioned earlier, many major media firms have moved to leverage their brand globally. Publications such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *USA Today* exploit their newsgathering resources by providing international editions of their product. The *Wall Street Journal* is also global in this respect, with Asian and European editions, including original content with local journalists. The *International Herald Tribune*, now owned by the *New York Times*, may aptly be considered a “global newspaper” printed simultaneously with editions for Europe, Asia, and the United States. Although these products may be adapted to regional interests, the appeal of the publication derives in large part from the presumed prestige (and financial resources) of its parent company, and some expectation of a global and not merely parochial perspective. (The *Christian Science Monitor* has functioned like this for many years; although controlled by a US-based church, as a news organization it has a reputation for non-partisan and non-national independence.) Like the predictable reliability of well-known franchise restaurants, the audience of expatriated North Americans for papers such as the *International Herald Tribune* no doubt appreciates having an English-language paper, but also one that takes a familiar Western-style journalistic perspective on world news. And European readers value it as a gatekeeper for the American view on world events. Emerging technologies in multimedia Internet and satellite television have led to further advances in a globally distributed journalism controlled by a single firm. Traditional print and broadcast news organizations alike have gone online with their work, making it available around the world. Broadcasting organizations such as the BBC, CNN and ABC News have done the same.

Global Gatekeeping

Global inter-relationships are also forming among news organizations and the professionals working within them in ways not traced directly by ownership. The organizational level in particular draws attention to the practical needs of complex newsgathering and questions about relationships among journalists, editors, and owners – particularly concerning the extent to which emerging consensual norms allow journalistic organizations to function globally. The limited research

in this area has focused on television (e.g. Paterson and Sreberny, 2004), which functions easily on a global level because of the universal appeal and accessibility of visual images. Indeed, this universal aspect of worldwide brands, such as CNN, raises concern over standardization against the heterogeneity of national cultures. CNN International has been joined by operations such as the BBC World Service Television in creating a worldwide system of news distribution. Other less visible organizational relationships provide the infrastructure for a globalized television, with wholesale distributors and cooperative exchanges of stories. Within these structures, the global emerges in two key ways: in the top-down control from powerful owners or other elites and in the emergent consensual growth of distributed decision-making among professional news producers.

The top-down control perspective focuses on how a common view may be imposed by powerful primary definers of news. The cultural imperialism approach is certainly alive in many discussions about global journalism, with concern that it will be dominated by Anglo-Western news priorities. Decision-makers in core countries (i.e. Western) still have significant influence over news distributed to the periphery, and much of the world's television images pass through newsrooms in a handful of key world cities. The expense of television newsgathering leads "retail" broadcasters worldwide to rely on image "wholesalers" for video, sound, and information – the most important being two London-based commercial agencies: Reuters Television (formerly VisNews) and APTN (the combination of Worldwide Television News and Associated Press Television). In his research on these agencies, Patterson (2001) examined how World TV newswriters established an agenda and their own frames of reference through the supply of visual images in story form, which strongly influenced the way news was selected and shaped by end-user organizations. Supporting the global homogenization thesis, he found that international news agency workers and broadcast journalists worldwide hold "the perception of a single, valid, and globally appropriate view of news" (Patterson, 2001, p. 350), minimizing concern for unequal flows and cultural relevance. Although this may be a highly functional outlook for news professionals from an organizational efficiency perspective, it is still a source for concern when judgments from afar override local realities. Patterson argues that this structure works to standardize the news agenda, by coordinating world television news through the news judgments of the London gatekeepers who then distribute images that dictate meanings resistant to alterations by the end users. His comparison of agencies shows a standardization of news product due in part to "a universal focus on standard frames of news coverage deemed acceptable to clients" (Patterson, 2001, p. 341).

Globalized journalism takes on a less-centralized, "emergent" quality when examined as a web of mutually beneficial relationships among news producers. The "global newsroom" metaphor helps describe the coordination that now increasingly takes place across national boundaries among cooperating broadcast organizations. In the largest such exchange, Geneva-based Eurovision, decision-making is not concentrated by virtue of common ownership but rather shared among "distributed" gatekeepers in a way that leads to consensus over a commonly available pan-national agenda of television stories. Cohen et al. (1996)

examined this coordination of the supply and demand for news in the form of requests and offers from member news organizations. Story lineups, largely event-driven, were marked by consensus on top stories, and diversity among the others. The authors found this "newsroom" a dynamic culture showing attempts to achieve consensus on appropriate news, while calling into question the particularistic news judgments of individual national news services. National news professionals offered and requested stories that they were socialized into perceiving as having universal interest, because they had to be agreed to by a group judgment.

At the individual journalist level we may ask how a globalized journalism affects standards and professional values of journalists themselves. Historically, journalism is so heavily defined with reference to its host culture (mostly US and Western European) and political context that we have little basis to understand how these "global journalists" will adapt in their view of news within this new system. Research so far has examined the values of journalists in specific countries as they compare across national settings (e.g. Weaver, 1998). From this comparative perspective, researchers have asked – with mixed results – whether journalists around the world are becoming more similar in their professional values and outlook. But this question of global professionalism has been asked with respect to these nations' journalists as a whole, not the subset of more "globalizing" news professionals. Putting professional values within a global context does not mean just comparing one nation's journalists to another, but rather a certain transnational type of journalist to other types. Beyond asking how journalists in country A differ from those in country B, we must now identify emerging standards of global press performance that transcend specific national cultures.

More broadly, an emergent professional model comes about in the gravitation toward consensual values and norms in a globalized world, an adaptation to the changing needs of newsgathering and distinct from any specific nation-based news culture. The global standardization of news through widely recognized name brands and formats would on the surface suggest that news is an unproblematically defined commodity, but the definitions of news at the global level are just as problematic as at the national level. By interacting with their colleagues journalists develop consensual professional values and outlook as to what news should look like – we need not call it standardization, but shared outlook serves a practical need in allowing this system to function. The disseminator role, for example, has become increasingly important to journalists, compared to the "adversarial" and "interpretive," according to Weaver and Wilhoit (1991). Not surprisingly, this role is most consistent with political neutrality and global applicability. As a value, speed conforms to the technological capabilities of news media that increasingly cut across national boundaries in delivering their products (Reese, 2001). Emphasizing speed of dissemination, over other interpretive and watchdog roles, equips journalists to avoid the value implications of news they produce within transnational organizations and to maneuver easily among media. More attention to these news values is needed to see how global journalism adapts in the balance of universal and parochial values.

Conclusion

Globalization has brought exciting developments to the practice of journalism and its potential contribution to a healthy global civil society. These changes also make theorizing and research more challenging as we attempt to clearly identify the units of analysis for precise investigation. One aspect of these changes that many of us would recognize is an emerging global social class of business executives, artists, celebrities, civil society workers, and activists, joined by a related class of media professionals. In many ways such groups as globetrotting sports stars, opera singers, and foreign correspondents have always worked on a worldwide basis. But we need to ask what degree of enhanced identification has emerged among such groups, which relate to each other more easily than they do to their neighbors in whatever their countries of origin. We further might ask what cosmopolitan values or other logic organizes them, and with what implications for the mission of journalism which increasingly is called upon to serve these non-national and non-local communities? Well-traveled academics, such as this author, intuitively sense the importance of these worldwide connections because we participate in them. But, of course, knowing these groups exist and systematically locating, defining, and measuring them is another matter – by definition they are often dispersed. This is just one example of the challenges we face in moving beyond the traditional levels of analysis. In any case, important dimensions of journalism are emerging that demand our attention. We need to be creative in identifying new case study sites, concepts, empirical strategies, and relationships that are appropriate to the global era.

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