Global Journalism Studies 2.0: Beyond panoramas

Herman Wasserman

University of Sheffield

Department of Journalism Studies, University of Sheffield, 18-22 Regent Street, Sheffield, S1 3NJ, United Kingdom. Tel. +44 (0) 114 222 2506.

Email: h.j.wasserman@sheffield.ac.uk; hwasserman@imasa.org

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1. Introduction

Why is global journalism an important, if not crucial, element of journalism education? Is journalism studies a genuinely global scholarly field? How could the teaching of and research in journalism studies respond in a meaningful way to the challenges of media globalization?

The question why global journalism is an important element for journalism educators and scholars to consider, can best be answered by an example: A volcano erupts in Iceland, spreading its ash over European skies and forcing all air travel over the area to grind to a halt. The disruption is not limited to Western Europe: hundreds of thousands of passengers are stranded worldwide, as the knock-on effect of flight disruptions wreak havoc with travel schedules globally. News reports about the chaos abound, most of them focusing on the implications of the volcanic eruption for air travel, the economic impact on the airline industry and human interest stories of travellers scattered around the world, waiting to get home. Mentioned briefly amidst the woes and homesickness of global jetsetters, the fate of farmers in Kenya forced to dump tonnes of vegetables and flowers destined for markets in Europe. Thousands of Kenyan workers are laid off (Wadhams, 2010).

This news event was simultaneously an 'international' and 'local' story – highlighting the mobility many around the world take for granted, the global ramifications when that mobility is curtailed, and the often hidden accounts of how distant events affect the lives of people in localities. Yet sending a 'foreign reporter' to Iceland will tell you nothing about the plight of Kenyan families now without an income, or of the anxiety of the parents of a toddler awaiting bone marrow cells prevented from being transported from Canada to the UK (Hough, 2010). Globalization is blurring the clear distinctions between 'local' and 'international' news. Unless we think of news as 'global', the causes of events become

disembedded from their consequences. Events like the failure of banks in the USA that eventually led to the meltdown of markets around the world; the outbreak of swine flu in Mexico that resulted in global panic, climate change that marches on inexorably across the planet as a whole; and the most iconic of all, the attacks on Manhattan on 9/11 which continue to signify the global threat of terrorism; (cf. Berglez, 2008), have underscored the difficulty of conceiving of news in terms of old categories of national, international, foreign or domestic. At the same time as these events compel us to devise new conceptualisations of journalism, there seems to be no limit to the conglomeration of global media companies and their relentless search for profits, which includes the cutting of foreign bureaux (Berger, 2009:360).

Much of this experience of interconnectedness in global journalism can be attributed to the profound changes that the news industry worldwide has been undergoing as a result of the ongoing development of new media technologies. The rise of blogging, social media and mobile media have impacted on news production, traditional business models and the very definition of what counts as 'journalism' and 'journalists'. Online media have forged new relationships between local (or even the'hyperlocal') and global news, linking professional journalists,citizen journalists and audiences in new collaborative networks. Yet the global reach of these technologies does not automatically imply homogeneity in the way that professional journalists, citizen journalists/consumer-producers and audiences interact with them in different places around the world. The relationship between the internet and global news is also a contradictory and paradoxical one (Berger, 2009), simultaneously working to widen perspectives on news events and narrow them down. Optimistic observers have seen in the Internet the potential for the emergence of a global public sphere, because of the immediate availability of news to a global audience online. These optimistic views have been tempered by critics who point to huge disparities in internet access globally, the persisting

influence of national or local identities on news content (e.g. in the rising trend of 'hyperlocalism' in Northern media markets) and the global imbalances regarding online content production capabilities (Berger, 2009:361-363). These sobering factors suggest that older paradigms for thinking about mediated centres and peripheries might not be completely redundant, even if these inequalities are being articulated in a new global media landscape.

Nevertheless, the role of convergent new media technologies, with Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007) at its centre, are increasingly starting to surface in scholarly debates in journalism studies. The interactive nature of web 2.0, especially as evidenced in the rise of social media like Twitter, Facebook, MySpace and Bebo, combined in a convergent environment with other media such as mobile phones, have been linked to theoretical debates about issues such as the professional identities of journalists (e.g. Singer, 2003), the changing nature of journalism ethics (e.g. Ess, 2009; Singer, 2006), the political economy of the new media news environment (Freedman, 2010) and the relationship between new media, journalism and democracy (Fenton, 2010). Yet much of this theorising is done within scholarly contexts informed by the media-saturated societies of the Global North. Much work still needs to be done to reorient scholarly production in the field of journalism studies towards a truly global outlook which will take the differentiated practices, institutions and structural conditions of the Global South seriously in its theorisation around journalism in the era of media globalization. Such a shift in outlook requires more than a case-study based approach to the use of new media technologies in contexts other than the developed world, but will require a rethinking of what exactly is meant by 'global journalism' itself in the context of journalism studies as a scholarly field. How can journalism studies be reoriented to the global in a way that does not conceive of 'other journalisms' as separate, nation-based sets of practices, institutions or ideologies but as globally interrelated? How could global journalism be researched and taught within a new global news environment, and how would such a study of

global journalism be related to a critical understanding of new media technologies in a more inclusive and differentiated fashion?

These are broad questions that one cannot hope to answer within the scope of a single paper. This paper can therefore only hope to outline some key points for further exploration, as it argues for the adoption of a critical perspective on global journalism studies in research and teaching, the integration of that perspective across journalism curricula and research agenda, and a reflexive and inclusive view of the relationship between global journalism and new media technologies.

2. The need for critical global journalism studies

In the light of the radical shifts in the institutions and practices of journalism, largely as a result of the impact of new media technologies and journalism's location within a larger 'convergence culture' (Jenkins, 2006), contemporary journalism studies cannot be satisfied with parochial or nation-based approaches. A study of global journalism has become imperative in an era where the challenges facing news reporting have become too complex to be met by a dichotomous conception of news as domestic or foreign (Berglez, 2008).

The challenge for journalism scholars is how to study and teach global journalism in a way that does not uncritically replicate outdated notions of 'local', 'foreign' and 'international' news in the way that it presents journalisms 'elsewhere' within the dominant Anglo-American scholarly discourse. Despite an increasing awareness that in a post-9/11 world, the 'rest of the world matter to us more than ever before' (Burman, 2009:127), global journalism is still often taught and studied either in terms of 'foreign reporting' (i.e. how journalists should be equipped for 'frontlines and deadlines' [Owen & Purdey, 2009]) or in terms of how journalism is practiced around the world in its various regions and differing media systems (De Beer, 2009). Despite the noble intentions of such scholarship as attempts

to provide perspectives from outside the Anglo-American context, there is a growing realisation that such nation-based approaches are fast becoming too static to deal with a dynamic global news environment. Even the notion of 'transnational' news becomes problematic because it uses the nation-state as a basis for comparison, in the face of arguments that supranational organisations or regional regimes have eroded the significance of nation-states (cf. De Beer, 2010), or that nations are not homogenous internally (Reese, 2001:178). Counterarguments (e.g. Roosvall & Salovaara-Moring, 2010) that the death of the nation-state has been much exaggerated, are also important to consider, especially in the light of the persisting inequalities in global communication flows with respect to developing and developed nations and regions. Precisely for this reason this paper advocates a *critical* global journalism which would be wary of utopian visions of the global.

The challenge is to align global journalism studies (research and curricula) with the approach to global news advocated by Berglez (2008), i.e. based on the assumption of news events around the world as being interrelated, albeit in different degrees. Yet a further challenge, and this is the one which will be explored in this paper, is to avoid succumbing to simplistic views of the world as simply having shrunk or of media globalization as having created a level playing field for journalists and audiences around the world. This utopian notion is especially seductive in the study of new media technologies and their supposed 'revolutionising' impact on journalism. For a genuinely global journalism studies to be developed and become established, teaching and research in this field have to escape the 'epistemological essentialism' (Thussu, 2009:16) that still continues to mark a field which, despite some laudable efforts to include global perspectives in the field of 'international journalism', remains embedded in the Anglo-American theoretical and methodological traditions.

There have been some laudable and important efforts to include global perspectives (Weaver, 1998; De Beer, 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). The limitations of these contributions have often been that they collect case studies from outside the Global North without necessarily using the input emerging from these case studies to challenge the dominant theoretical assumptions of journalism studies, such as the relationship between journalism and democracy, the normative foundations for media ethics or the relationship between technology and society. Even when global perspectives on theoretical debates are acknowledged as necessary, the 'global context' is often added as an afterthought (e.g. in Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009) or inadvertently/inevitably award a marginal position to the developing world (cf. the one sub-Saharan country vs seven European countries in the 'Worlds of Journalism' project, www.worldsofjournalism.org, or the one [North] African country included in Weaver, 1998) Of course the problem is compounded by political economic reasons, i.e. the lack of access by academics in the developing world to international conferences, or shortage of funding to conduct extensive surveys. The political economy of the global scholarly journal industry, also skewed towards the North (Nyamnjoh, 2004), is another factor. Whatever the reason for good intentions not to come to full fruition, the danger remains that the North will continue to provide the theoretical narrative for the field of journalism studies, while examples from elsewhere are used to provide local colour, as it were; to serve as evidence for the theoretical argument made by the North. This is tantamount to what Shiva (1989: 118) referred to as 'the West as theory, the East as evidence'.

The result is that dominant debates in journalism studies still largely centre around challenges and dilemmas faced in the Global North (for instance the widely heralded death of newspapers while print continues to grow or at least sustain itself well in developing markets in Asia and Latin America [Timmons, 2008], and South Africa has seen a tabloid newspaper

explosion in recent years [Wasserman, 2010]) which are extrapolated and universalized to become the hegemonic perspectives in the field.

In turn, contributions from journalism studies in the South have often been bound to national contexts, and even when contributions from the South reach international journals and conferences they often fail to impact on central research agendas or theoretical frameworks. Too often the result remains a 'panorama of the field' (Nordenstreng 2009,:255) rather than a coherent attempt to revisit central epistemological and methodological assumptions on the basis of the diverse range of experiences uncovered.

There have been some important exceptions. Löffelholz and Weaver's (2008) collection makes a call for journalism research across national, cultural and disciplinary boundaries and engages with fundamental epistemological and methodological questions. Thussu's (2009) collection on the internationalization of the broader field of media studies takes perspectives from the developing world and emerging democracies seriously on a range of aspects pertaining to media studies, which include challenging the disciplinary location, research methods and pedagogy of media studies. The hosting of the 2nd World Journalism Education Congress in Africa (http://wjec.ru.ac.za/) is also a highly significant event in terms of creating a presence for Africa on the global journalism studies calendar.

This paper wants to echo Weaver and Löffelholz's (2008:3) assertion that 'journalism research can nog longer operate within national or cultural borders only'. It offers a modest contribution to the continuation of these efforts (but also including teaching alongside research as its remit), and offers a critique of the kind of global journalism studies which remains at the level of broad panoramas and vistas from afar without allowing such views to permeate back to the foundations upon which journalism studies rest. The central argument this paper wants to put forward is that the teaching and research of journalism studies needs

to become genuinely global in a way that is inclusive, self-reflexive and participatory. The centrality of new media technologies in contemporary approaches to journalism may lead us to use Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2007) as a metaphor for this kind of approach - what is needed is a journalism studies that:

- draws on collective intelligence and information sharing, trusting the 'wisdom of crowds' (in this context taken to refer to scholarship outside the elite centres of academic production, but also, by means of cultural and ethnographic approaches, the input from audiences) rather than the same small group of Northern-based elites;
- is interactive, collaborative, open, exploratory while building on pre-existing expertise, and
- is constantly being updated, revised and critically reflected upon.

If you want, call it 'Global Journalism 2.0'.

3. The foundations of critical global journalism

Just as 'international journalism' is not conceptually rich enough to capture the interconnected practices of journalism in the contemporary global mediascape, the inclusion of 'international journalism' as a separate and distinct field of teaching and scholarly enquiry is not an adequate response to the challenge of globalising the field of journalism studies. What is required is an orientation that takes into account the varied and multiple ideologies, practices and institutions of journalisms around the world, yet seeks interconnections and comparisons between them. Instead of treating them as marginal cultural curiosities or, conversely, succumbing to cultural relativism, journalisms outside the dominant centres of scholarly production will be engaged with critically. In the field of research, this means

engaging with other journalisms outside the Anglo-American context on a theoretical footing and not only as examples or illustrations of journalism 'elsewhere'. In teaching, this means that merely including a module on 'global journalism', or even a course in 'international reporting' is not enough, but that the reorientation towards the global should place across the curriculum.

The new challenges facing journalism in an interconnected world have not rendered all old questions obsolete. The perennial question of inequities in global communication can therefore not be absent from theorization about contemporary global journalism. Precisely because of the seductive ability of new media technologies to present current journalistic practices in the era of convergence as radically new, current debates in journalism studies seem to be dominated by questions about 'the future of news'. A critical global journalism would emphasise how, despite the current global mediated moment throwing up some radically new questions, long-standing debates have not lost their relevance overnight even though they might have to be rephrased. The complexity of contemporary global journalism demands new approaches to global media inequalities that no longer understand the world in terms of centres and peripheries like in the days of the New World Information and Communication debates, partly as a result of the rise of regional media centres (Thussu,2007a; Berger, 2009). More critical observers (e.g. Parameswaran, 2002:312) point to the ways in which these globalized media 'continue to reproduce the hierarchical relations of race, gender, and nation articulated in Euroamerican colonial ideologies'. A critical global journalism studies would therefore resist easy belief in the myths that media globalization necessarily equals communicative equality. Unlike what proponents of strong globalization theories (Friedman, 2005) suggest, globalization has not turned the world into a flat, level playing field. For someone losing their job in a flower factory near Kenya's Lake Navaisha, the global interconnectedness made visible through the eruption of Mount Eyjafjallajökull

arguably means more than the temporary disruption to mobility experienced by an elite global cosmopolitan class. The kind of ethical reporting of these inequalities envisaged by Silverstone (2007) may indeed help Northern consumers of journalism 'conceive of the world as a whole' (Robertson, 2010:9), but a journalism studies that – to adapt the words of Marx - interprets the world as interconnected does not necessarily provide us with the option of changing it. A critical global journalism, based on the principles of interactivity and participation (Rusbridger's [2010] notion of 'mutualised' journalism is apposite), would therefore continue to explore ways in which the dominant globalization paradigm might offer ways for journalism to facilitate global social change. The link between theories of media globalization and programmes for social action have thus far been more elusive than in the case of earlier paradigms such as modernisation, imperialism or empowerment (Sparks, 2007:155).

The rapid development of new media technologies may be seen to support both these viewpoints, depending on your point of view, and as such may be seen as contradictory and complex phenomena (Berger, 2009). For some observers, new media technologies provide the opportunity to overcome the old divisions between mediated centres and peripheries, providing vehicles for contraflow, hybridity and glocalization. For others, these technologies exacerbate the global divisions between centres and peripheries and widen the divide between them. A critical consideration of new media technologies should therefore be central to the study of global journalism, as well as its pedagogy. The potential of new media technologies to facilitate greater participation and multi-directional communication has been seen by cyber-optimists as a way towards greater empowerment of and participation by those people who have formerly been constructed as the objects of news reports (Jay Rosen [2006] even refers to 'the people formerly known as the audience'). In global journalism terms, this has been taken to mean greater empowerment for of the developing world. But the optimism

surrounding the potential of new media technologies to overcome global communication disparities notwithstanding, the internet and related platforms are fraught with contradictions which have complicated rather than solved global media inequalities (Berger, 2009). We will return to some of these contradictions later in the paper.

In view of these power relations within which global journalism remains embedded, a critical global journalism will therefore not simply collapse the 'local' into the 'global', but will have to find new ways of critically relating the local and the global, via the national and the regional. Robertson (2010:xii) is correct in pointing out that an understanding whether global media today really contribute to a cosmopolitan view of the world as interconnected, would rely on empirical work to substantiate what has largely been speculation and conjecture. However in order to assess claims about media globalization, such data has to be couched in a critical theoretical framework.

One approach to this conundrum is the notion of 'critical regionalism' first put forward by the postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (Rao, 2010). Critical regionalism offers a new way of looking at the local - as complex, dynamic rather than static, enmeshed within larger regional geographies yet not collapsed into our subsumed by them. A critical regionalism approach to global journalism would allow other Africas, Asias or Latin Americans to emerge (cf. Rao, 2010), in order to undermine monolithic views of journalism in these regions. On this view, it would become impossible to talk about 'Western', 'African' or 'Latin American' journalism in any unproblematic fashion. At the same time a critical regional perspective will resist thinking about the globalization of media only as a wave of McJournalism (Franklin, 2005) sweeping across the world from the general direction of North America and Europe. Without a doubt the neoliberal globalization of media institutions and practices have in many cases had a devastating impact on local journalisms. But a critical regional perspective would also seek to understand the local social dynamics that led to the

emergence of popular media like tabloid newspapers (Wasserman, 2010), or how audiences consume 24/7 infotainment (Thussu, 2007b) outside the Anglo-American world. Such analyses would for instance look for signs of hybridity or glocalization in the way that global formats are appropriated and adapted for local contexts.

A critical regional approach to global journalism would also seek to encourage greater comparative work within regions of the Global South. As a result of the often violent and tumultuous national histories of countries in regions such as Africa or Latin America, scholarly attention in these regions has often been directed inward to national media and its relationship to state and society. But global shifts in the communication landscape will demand that comparative studies of journalism in rising regions such as South Africa, India and Brazil (e.g. Wasserman & De Beer, 2010, Wasserman & Rao, 2008), or 'Chindia' (Thussu, 2009: 18, 2010) become imperative.

Critical studies of journalism in the global context, viewed from the perspective of those on the margins, are important not only for those scholars and researchers located in the Global South. The experiences of the periphery can highlight the limits of the dominant assumptions about journalism in the centre (Tomaselli, 2009:17), and so may contribute to De-Westerniszing or Internationalizing media studies (Curran and Park, 2000; Thussu, 2009) – even while for those on the periphery, media and cultural studies have always been involved in a process of negotiations between local experiences and global epistemologies (Shome, 2009).

What would a *critical* global journalism look like? A critical global journalism would:

- Seek to include a more diverse range of perspectives on contemporary journalism, but in terms of their interconnections and the power differentials between various points of access and consumption of global news rather than as a set of disconnected case studies

and examples. Such a study would be characterized by an awareness that the global and the local are often in tension, or that what constitutes ‘global’ is constantly contested against the background of local experiences.

- Be based on the ethical understanding of inclusivity, collaboration and mutuality, which would include an effort to understand journalism practices, institutions and ideologies within their specific contexts, instead of extrapolating the status quo in the Global North on the assumption that conditions there pertain universally.

- The implication of an understanding of global journalism as not equating ‘international’ journalism for teaching would be that global journalism is not only relegated to a separate niche area where the engagement with journalism ‘in other nations’ are dealt with, but taught as a dimension of subjects across the curriculum. Nor would global journalism be a smokescreen for teaching essentially Anglo-American journalism to international students in a monetised tertiary education environment.

What implications might the above approach have for journalism education?

4. Teaching global journalism

The case has been made thus far for a critical global journalism studies as a response to radical shifts in global journalism practices, institutions and professional ideologies. The need to rethink journalism studies not only in terms of scholarship, but also on the level of pedagogy, also arises as a result of changes in the global higher education landscape. Thussu (2009:4) remarks on the popularity of media studies with students from across the world, who have become increasingly mobile and seek higher education at universities outside their own national context. These students can enrich classroom discussions with a diverse range of views resulting from their different backgrounds. However, they will also demand that

curricula shift to accommodate their experiences and perspectives and validate their understanding of journalism. Even during the current global economic downturn, collaboration and partnerships between universities in the developed and developing world continue to receive high priority (see for instance the remarks by the president of the University of Pennsylvania, Amy Gutmann, 2010). In some respects, the response to student demand for tertiary education in the US or UK might be seen as a cynical response to the neoliberal globalization of higher education. In a system such as the British one, for instance, where foreign students pay higher fees than 'home' students, market considerations may often be the driving force behind 'international journalism' courses. Universities in the developing world, on the other hand, are drawn into international collaborations and exchange programmes with universities in the North, which brings an influx of foreign students into developing world campuses and vice versa. The political economy of these global flows in tertiary education notwithstanding, the coincidence of the current commercialising moment in global higher education with the shifts in global journalism practice, might contribute to the evolution of journalism studies to 'truly reflect the landscape of a globalized and interconnected planet' (Thussu, 2009:5).

Because of the shifts in the field as discussed above as well as the changing higher education landscape, departments where journalism studies are taught would have to respond by globalizing their curricula. But how should this be done? While degree courses in 'Global Journalism' or modules in e.g. 'Global Media' or 'Journalism and Globalization' are important steps in the process of establishing a global journalism presence in journalism studies programmes, such an attempt is not enough to ensure a wholesale shift in perspective from nation-based studies of journalism to a critical global journalism which at once is based on global interdependence and at the same time acknowledges the huge inequalities scarring the global communications economy. The demand to understand all journalism as global

journalism in this sense does not mean that the local becomes unimportant – on the contrary, the local attains even greater importance as its global resonances are explored. This reorientation in perspective requires that global journalism becomes a dimension of the journalism studies curriculum as a whole, i.e. that all subjects are taught with some global dimension. Let us look at some suggestions where this can be done.

4.1 Political economy of news

Discussions about the 'future of journalism' (cf the special issue [vol 10(3) of the journal *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism* with the theme 'The Future of Journalism' and two similar theme issues for the journal *Journalism Studies* on 'The Future of Newspapers' [vo. 9(5)] and 'The Future of Journalism' [forthcoming]) tend to dominate scholarly production in the field currently. These debates tend to be characterised by an alarmist view of journalism's future, and although there have been participants in these debates from outside the Anglo-American axis, the panic about the imminent death of newspapers has been informed largely by the situation in the North.

Classrooms consisting of students of different backgrounds could provide fertile settings in which to compare the present state and projected future of journalism in various parts of the world (an 'international journalism' perspective), but these encounters should also be used to engage critically with the very assumptions upon which debates about the future of journalism rest.

A study of the political economy of journalism in various regions would be one area where a global approach to journalism might complicate or undermine dominant assumptions about 'global' trends regarding convergence, the death of print and failing of existing

business models for journalism. While the woes experienced by the news industry in the developed world, a closer study of the political economy of news in other parts of the world (as mentioned above regarding the health of print journalism in the developing world; Timmons, 2008) may expose these assumptions as less universal as they might claim to be. However, a global journalism approach to the political economy of news would not see the news industry in these localities in isolation, but as part of complex interconnections between localities, regions and transnational movements of capital. For instance, knowledge of the specific local historical and political circumstances surrounding the South African media's re-entry into the global media landscape after apartheid (for instance the relationship between Independent's Tony O'Reilly and Nelson Mandela, or Naspers' ideological repositioning after its former association with the apartheid regime [Wasserman, 2009]) is required to understand the interpenetration (Tomaselli, 2000) of media capital in these multinational companies. At the same time, global trends in conglomeration and concentration are important to understand in order to identify the countervailing pressures of a globalized commercial journalism market and political repositioning of media companies in for instance post-conflict countries or new democracies in the South. A study of the political economy of the news in the contemporary journalism landscape should therefore be focused on global trends such as conglomeration, concentration and convergence but approach these trends through a focus on how these processes play out in localities and how the local, regional and global are interconnected through the transnational flow of capital.

Such a structural study of the interdependence as well as the variances between news industries worldwide on a macro-level should however be complemented by closer attention to the micro-picture of localities, which require a more cultural, ethnographic approach to news.

4.2 Audience studies

The characteristics of a critical global journalism outlined above included an emphasis on the differential power relations between various points of access and consumption of global news around the world. These power relations emerge from a closer look at how journalism practices, institutions and ideologies are manifested within their specific contexts, and how global structures are negotiated and contested within local settings. To achieve such a critical understanding of global journalism, a structural study of the political economy of news and its future is not enough. While political economy approaches to global journalism can provide a structure for the way transnational flows of capital are interconnected around the world, it requires a more detailed contextual complement in order to establish how these economic conditions - about which alarmist speculation currently abounds in the field of journalism studies – actually influence journalistic practices, attitudes and patterns of consumption around the world.

Equipping students of global journalism with the methodological skills developed in sister fields like cultural and media studies might help them understand the everyday practices of and relationships between journalists, citizens and institutions in contexts that differ from theirs, or from those usually highlighted in journalism textbooks. Anthropological approaches and ethnographic methods become especially pertinent to address questions in under-researched areas of global journalism, such as Africa. Because post-colonial or post-authoritarian regions have historically seen much conflict between journalism and governments, the prism through which journalism in these countries have been viewed has largely been that of freedom of speech and independence from state interference. Hegemonic global discourses of ‘good governance’ have also contributed to a normative insistence on structural conditions that enable citizens the right to communicate. Such activist concerns remain important in many areas of the world. But too often this view of journalism in the globe’s regions becomes a debate about citizens without citizens, limited to a clique of

professional journalists, academics and advisors. Berger (2009:364) mentions that audience studies was largely ignored by the political economy orientation of the NWICO debates. A critical global journalism in the age of the Internet, would need to take account of how audiences are now able to relate much more directly to global news content, e.g. via social media platforms or citizen journalism. Furthermore the way in which audiences outside the global North interact with journalistic tools and platforms in their everyday lives – for instance through mobile phones rather than through fixed-line connections, or integrated into oral networks, or as rituals aimed at increasing social capital in a modernising environment, etc. – may be very important to problematize dominant assumptions about journalism's role in society, and to understand the different ways in which individuals, communities and national publics are interconnected in the global journalism landscape.

Ethnographic audience studies are also important to understand the much-vaunted potential of the Internet to create a global public sphere in which citizens from around the world would be able to participate. The Internet has undoubtedly shifted conceptualizations of news audiences. Rusbridger (2010) provides a vivid illustration of how the newspaper he edits, *The Guardian* has grown from a predominantly British one to a trusted global news brand. This is all a result of the access a global audience has to the newspaper on the Internet: *The Guardian*'s print edition is the 9th or 10th biggest paper in Britain; on the web, it is the second-best read English-language newspaper in the world (after the *New York Times* which might start charging for access with a resultant fall in web readership) (Rusbridger 2010). This means that *Guardian* journalists are turned into 'unintentional foreign correspondents'. However, the link between having a global audience and providing genuinely global news content or taking global angles on stories is not always self-evident. As Berger (2009:365) observes, news websites in the US often only provide internal links and have a largely national character even if they have a global audience. The effect is the internationalization of

national (e.g. US or UK-based) news to a global audience rather than the emergence of a truly supranational public sphere. The ability for users to personalize news preferences on web browsers may further contribute to the filtering out of international news, thus amplifying the existing parochialism in Northern-based news production (Berger 2009:366). Exactly how audiences outside the global centres of production make meaning - decode locally what had been encoded elsewhere – can only properly be established through ethnographic studies. Such consumption would however be considered against the background of the political economy of global news as mentioned above, for, indeed, 'meaning is made in the context of certain constellations of power' (Robertson 2010:20).

4.3 Journalism, democracy and development

Apart from the prism of 'press freedom', other favourite tropes through which global journalism discourse engages news contexts outside the dominant Anglo-American world are that of 'development' and 'democracy'.

Globalization poses new questions for thinking about development journalism. The old models of centre-periphery approaches to development are being challenged by the emergence of rising powers like China, India, Brazil, Russia, South Africa, which at first glance indicate the potential for 'developing' countries to successfully navigate global markets to their advantage. Yet internally in these countries, huge inequalities persist (South Africa and Brazil being two of the most unequal countries in the world). New media technologies such as the internet and the mobile phone have vastly increased the opportunities for journalists in the developing world to participate in a global conversation. Yet the neoliberal, unequal globalization of the media industry continues to set terms and conditions limiting the range of options of what can be said in that conversation. For some (e.g. Thussu,2007b) the spread of infotainment is an example of how the global media

industry has hollowed out journalistic narratives; while others have pointed to the clamour of glamour and lifestyle reporting that drowns the voices of development journalists trying to make the voices of the poor and the marginalized heard. The Indian journalist Palagummi Sainath gives a vivid example (see http://www.whydemocracy.net/film/34) to illustrate how establishment journalism in the developing world buys into the Western narrative of countries like India as 'shining examples' of liberalised trade in the global marketplace, while hiding or ignoring globalization's underbelly: in the same year that 512 journalists were accredited to cover a gigantic Fashion Week in India in 2006, a total of 1520 cotton farmers committed suicide because price of cotton have been destroyed by global trade policies which include subsidies for US and EU farmers. Yet not a single correspondent of that country's mainstream media has a full-time beat to cover labour or poverty.

The dimension of 'development', and its relation to 'democracy' and 'press freedom' would be important components of a critical global journalism studies characterized by goals of inclusiveness and diversity. But here, as in other focus areas of global journalism studies, it would be important to challenge students' assumptions of 'development' and the role of journalism within democratic debate, as these have been shaped by the normative assertions of journalism studies in the North. Students would need to be encouraged to explore alternative ways of viewing 'development journalism' against emerging (and in themselves limited and problematic, see Sparks, 2007) paradigms of globalization. Such exploration would, as in other dimensions of critical global journalism, be premised on finding the interconnections between journalism in the developing and developed regions of the world in ways that defy the easy and utopian visions of globalization as alluded to earlier in this paper.

4.4 Global journalism ethics

A critical global journalism studies, it has been mentioned above, would not only interpret the global media landscape, but seek ways of changing it for the better. An academic field which takes its responsibility in this regard seriously would therefore not be content only with descriptive or analytical studies of global journalism, but would construct an ethical response to the changing global media environment.

In an era where media platforms increasingly have a global reach, journalists' ethical obligations can no longer be understood simply in terms of local or national audiences (Ward & Wasserman, 2010) . The now well-known example of the Danish cartoons that offended Muslims globally illustrates how what is seen as freedom of speech in a Western liberal democracy does not unproblematically translate to contexts of reception everywhere. The global reach of media also raises dilemmas for representation, e.g. how audiences relate ethically to the portrayal of distant suffering (Moeller, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone, 2007). The complex questions raised by the multicultural nature of diasporic media within nations, as well as the sometimes conflicting interpretations of central ethical concepts such as 'truth', 'human dignity', 'freedom' and 'responsibility', pose challenges for the field of journalism ethics that require a global outlook, rather than an Anglo-American one masquerading as universal or well-meaning attempts to include examples of ethical thinking from 'elsewhere', to fit an existing theoretical framework. The answer does however not lie in the type of counter-reaction that offers an unhelpful dichotomy between 'African ethics' (see Banda's 2009 reappraisal of Kasoma's work in this regard) and 'Western ethics'. A crude 'us' and 'them' opposition could stifle free expression instead of opening journalism ethics up for debate (Tomaselli, 2003, Fourie, 2007). Instead, attention should be paid at how journalism ethics are being negotiated or glocalized in local settings.

Even appeals for a moral cosmopolitanism and greater sensitivity for distant suffering brought closer to global audiences via primarily television(Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone,

2007; Robertson, 2010) are often premised on the benevolence of a Western audience who are to be convinced that sufferers elsewhere are 'like us' and therefore worthy of empathy (Robertson, 2010:11). A cosmopolitan outlook of this kind, however generous and kind in its orientation, is not necessarily a critical one which engages the asymmetrical distribution of communicative power in a globalized world head-on; or if it is, the perspective is most often that of the media producer or user based in the Global North.

4.5 New media technologies

At the beginning of this paper it was mentioned above that the sense of the world as being interconnected is largely facilitated by pervasive new media technologies. These technologies should indeed be central to the study of global journalism today, but not in a mere pragmatic or deterministic way. Today's students, the majority of whom (especially in the developed world) might be considered 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001), might already expect that new media technologies, including social media, be integrated into journalism courses (see for instance the discussion 'Let's be honest about J-School' on the blog The Future of Journalism [Kaufman, 2009]). Critics like Nordenstreng (2010:261) have however warned against the 'Nokia syndrome' in media studies, where technology dominates curricula to the extent that other communication phenomena are neglected or the study of technology is undertaken without sufficient disciplinary depth.

As argued above, a critical global journalism would explore the interconnections between local and global news events, remain attentive to the asymmetrical power relations in the global news industry and would be based on the ethical understanding of collaboration and openness.As Berger (2009:356) observes, the way new media technologies enable extra-national reporting of news requires us to rethink definitions like 'local', 'foreign',

'international' etc. news. He (2009:357) correctly observes that news stories are often hybrids of these different classifications, more so now that the internet has de-linked the location of news producers, distributors and consumers from the content of news stories. He sees news on the Internet as counting simultaneously as all the variants of global, international, local etc. news.

Of course it would be imperative for journalism courses aimed at equipping future journalists with the skills they will need in the contemporary converged newsroom to give students as much exposure to the technical aspects of using new media technologies. But it would be very short-sighted to imagine that technical skills are all that journalists need in order to flourish in a new global journalism landscape. Journalism courses that approach students as if they can continue to work as an elite, professional class will have to make way for reflection on how journalism has become a more collaborative field (or 'mutualised', Rusbridger, 2010) of practice . This would mean the incorporation of citizen journalism into journalism courses, providing training to members of the public to contribute to their empowerment as partners in this collaboration, but also encouraging students to develop new attitudes and skills they will need when working alongside citizen journalists.

On a practical pedagogical level this could mean incorporating more collaborative ways of teaching – making use of team work, setting up wikis for classroom discussion or collaborative journalistic pieces; encouraging students to open their work up for comment (e.g. by writing an assessed blog which allows comments from student peers and readers internationally); using social media such as Twitter to connect with journalists globally and disseminate their own work, etc. This style of teaching journalism could add a global dimension to a range of taught subjects, and will also require a mindset shift of lecturers whose teaching will of necessity take on a more open and collaborative dimension when they use new media platforms to invite feedback and comments from students. This more open

and collaborative approach to teaching of course also has its pitfalls, most notably for issues around privacy or confidentiality. The point is, however, to get students to not think about new media technologies as neutral tools in a technologically determinist way, nor to see the use of these technologies as universally normative for journalism practice everywhere, but to reflect critically on their use within global journalism. Such critical reflection should be encouraged in the first place in terms of students' own use of new media – this can be done by incorporating new media practices such as blogging, Twitter, Facebook etc. into a global journalism curriculum and creating spaces where such use can be informally critiqued among their peers and formally assessed in terms of course outcomes.

A critical global journalism would however have to incorporate the study of new media technologies not only on the practical, but also a more reflective intellectual level as well. Critical approaches to media globalization will puncture the often exaggerated and technological determinist views of the potential of new media technologies for journalism by studying the use of these technologies within the overarching structural economic conditions as well as their actual everyday use. This would mean taking into account the enormous disparities worldwide regarding access to the internet, for example, but also the creative ways in which people in the South appropriate and adapt technologies to suit their various socio-cultural and economic settings. Students in the South could be encouraged to find examples of such adaptations in their everyday lives and reflect on how such practices invite different theorizations about the relation between new media and society than those dominating scholarly literature produced in the North – for examples how mobile phones are adopted in African societies (De Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman, 2009), how the Web is accessed via intermediaries (Wasserman & Kabeya-Mwepu, 2005) or how new technologies are combined with traditional media by social movements (Wasserman, 2007). Simplistic notions of how new media technologies can achieve the modernization of societies by 'leapfrogging' over

stages in a uniform trajectory to development will be discarded in favour of more nuanced, culturally informed approaches to the study of the implications of these technologies for the relationship between journalism and society in the developing world.

5. Conclusion

The contemporary global media landscape demands a critical study of how journalism practices and institutions relate to processes of globalization in a way that moves beyond older notions of communication between nation-states. A recurring point of focus in debates about the current status of journalism globally has been the facilitative role played by new media technologies. This paper has argued that to understand the complex and often contradictory status of contemporary journalism, the study of new media technologies in global journalism has to be viewed as part of a multi-dimensional reorientation of the field towards the global. Such a reorientation should be *critical*, i.e. based on the scrutiny of the power relations inherent upon global journalism today, as well as *cultural*, in that it should be informed by an ethnographic approach to the everyday practices of and relationships between journalists, citizens and institutions. For researchers and students of journalism, the challenge lies in contextualising their own experiences of journalism against a wider, comparative background of similar contexts which includes more specific attention to the Global South. If a sustained engagement between journalism studies of the North and the South, and within the regions of the South internally, could be achieved, real headway could be made in the internationalization of journalism studies.

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