Remixing international news reporting: Towards a renewed confederacy of correspondences

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ABSTRACT: The operative concept of remix translates into a renewed tension in the contemporary journalistic field by means of a complex and not pacific coexistence of a read/write and a read/only culture. This ambivalence has also been designated as a convergence or mash-up culture. Beyond its modern structural elements (overseas delegations, staff correspondents, special assignments, freelancers, stringers, fixers, translators), the overall framework of international news reporting is being remixed and challenged by the emergence of a renewed confederacy of correspondences supported by online digital networks. The combination of technology particularly the Internet and its graphical interface, the World Wide Web with the emergence of nonconventional journalists is transforming previous meanings and implications of eyewitnessing as a journalistic keyword. Traditional foreign correspondents no longer exercise hegemony over international news. This article, based on a comprehensive literature review, addresses the state of flux in international journalism signalling the emerging typologies and confronting those with the previous standard model of correspondence.

KEYWORDS: counter-power, global journalism, remix, international news reporting, networked journalism

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INTRODUCTION: CONVERGENT JOURNALISM TOWARDS MULTIDIMENSIONAL GATEWATCHERS

After the first decade of experimental electronic publications (1982–1992) and a second phase (1993–2001) in which news media began to consolidate their presence on the Web, online journalism is currently undergoing a third wave of development characterized by new types of relations and partnerships with end users and a bridge between mass and customized/personalized information (Pryor, 2002).

In this third generation of online journalism, mobile and locative media (Lemos, 2007) brought new dimensions to the access and publication of information. Of all available artefacts, the cell phone is the most widespread (*Measuring the In-*

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formation Society: the ICT Development Index, 2009): whether in high income countries it achieved the status of quasi-ubiquity, in countries of middle and low income it proves to be primarily for network connectivity.

The cell phone considerably generalized the portability of social connections. Communities are now becoming mobile and to a certain extent can be constantly accessed (Chayko, 2008). Therefore, journalism has to deal now not only with interactive (Web 2.0) but also portable communities. Mobile technologies and expressively the cell phone are a clear component of "citizen journalism," which "is in some cases more direct, more open to public comment than traditional forms, and is providing the news consumer alternative approaches to events" (Ling & Donner, 2009, p. 119).

The need to manage mobile online communities may never have faced journalism so clearly, especially considering four major trends affecting the production and reception of news today: 1) news proliferation; 2) news audience fragmentation; 3) news migration online and 4) news owner concentration (Lasorsa, 2010).

These are crucial trends to be acknowledged since that for the last decades traditional mass media have had a decline also in terms of advertising revenue and public trust (Gronke & Cook, 2007). In recent years digitalization in journalism has also been accompanied by "organizational demands for cost-cutting and profits, a growing distrust of elites generally, and a do-it-yourself culture that looks with increasing scorn on the specialized education and bureaucratic barriers to entry that professions cultivate" (Lewis, 2010, p. 3). Professional journalists are struggling for occupational control and jurisdiction over the objective (material) and subjective (rhetorical) delimitations of their legitimate territory.

Networked journalism (Beckett, 2010) is also being built upon a distinct online time-machine of timeless time (Castells, 2000) through non linear editing (Campbell, 2004), operating "a more compact time dimension impacting the news cycle" (Weiss & Joyce, 2009). If "for the foreign correspondent, instant satellite communications left little time for developing expertise in a specific country" (Utley, 1997, p. 4), with the Internet "the time between witnessing a story and writing about it has been reduced to basically no time at all. Most newspapers have created a parallel online presence where news can be published instantly, without waiting for the ink-on paper version to reach readers" (Hamilton & Cozma, 2009a, p. 608).

The socially networked Internet (Lewis, 2010) represents a transformation from broadcast to self-cast and from here to a less asymmetrical mode of communication. This distinct media logic has been observed as already incorporated in the culture of some online journalists, for whom the main characteristic seems to be towards empowering audiences as active participants in the daily news (Deuze, 2002).

This depicted empowerment of the audiences, a traditionally extramedia force, can impact what content is published (Cassidy, 2008). Folksonomies (e.g. Delicious, Flickr, Tagzania), online social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) and user partici-

pation can be at this point fundamental elements in building specialized journalistic content (Vivar & Herreros, 2011) and fighting information exclusion by allowing users to transmit their needs (Pérez, 2011). On the other hand, they are also enhancing a trend to personalized news where editorial "decisions" are taken by computer algorithms and/or by end users (e.g. Google News and Fast Flip, News.me, Trove, RSS readers).

Since personalization works through implicit mechanisms such as aggregated collaborative filtering, contextual recommendations, geo-targeted editions and profile-based recommendations and explicit functionalities like newsletters, homepage customizations, RSS feeds, SMS alerts, widgets it directly impacts not only news consumption and content diversity, but necessarily journalism economic context and the formerly conventional role of journalists as gatekeepers (Thurman, 2011).

This movement towards an on-demand journalism (Heald, 2009) not only users customising their news, but also traditional mass media requesting from users their participation as witnesses is also opening renewed questions for journalistic narrative conventions and decision-making. It stimulates new dilemmas regarding the extent of connectivity-based storytelling and the desired level of users' participation in the narrative, which in turn have considerable implications for the meaning of the journalist as a professional identity and culture (Deuze, 2005). Arguably, in this evolving mediascape, professional journalists no longer have the monopoly of suggesting to people what they need to know in order to self-govern themselves.

In recent years, social networks have been emerging as a new component of journalists work (Portillo, 2011), transforming online news production in the newsrooms towards a more collaborative work. Studies show that a collectivistic, high-context communication culture is more supportive of a collaborative work environment; consequently, this approach tends to make the news accurate and comprehensive to the public (Weiss, 2008).

Information aggregation is now considered a central task in networked journalism (Grueskin, Seave & Graves, 2011). The evolving mechanisms of online sourcing suggest professional journalism as social networking, "including public co-production of news, interactivity between journalists, their readers and their sources, collaborative production models, ongoing editing and revision of news based on new information, and the need for site managers to develop an 'ethics on the run' in managing online site interaction" (Flew & Wilson, 2010, p. 139).

These evolving participatory avenues in newswork resonates produsage, a more open participation of users in news stories co-production, arguably less hierarchical, towards a continuous process of revision (Bruns, 2008). It enhances active users as gatewatchers in collaborative online news production (Bruns, 2005), readers as gatekeepers (Shoemaker, Johnson, Seo & Wang, 2010).

Previous studies strongly interpreted news production throughout the metaphor of a news factory model (Bantz, McCorkle & Baade, 1980) in which newswork

was divided into five steps: story ideation, task assignment, gather and structure materials, assemble materials and present newscast. Produsage now suggests a contemporary two-step flow gatekeeping process, shared among professional journalists and their publics.

REMIXING INTERNATIONAL NEWS REPORTING

International journalism is commonly understood as the production of news media around the world and reporting about foreign countries, frequently denoting coverage by Western correspondents of countries other than their own (Chakars, 2009, p. 764). It can be generically defined as news operations from the reporter covering events outside the country (Hamilton & Cozma, 2009a, p. 596) using foreign countries as informational raw material (Hafez, 2007, p. 38).

Following a cultural perspective on their work, foreign correspondents can be adequately regarded as reporting and interpreting actions and events from and for different societies (Starck & Villanueva, 1992, p. 5).

The adaptation of Web 2.0 and its renewed production possibilities to newswork has paved the floor for the still emergent and evolving forms of mash-up journalism, the combination of resources from the social web with a journalistic purpose, converging several sources and third party contents in one new complete service or application. These creations represent an open questioning to traditional news production principles and practices, while encouraging collaborative and co-operative work (Tejedor, 2007).

This new technical hybridity suggests a new social hybridity captured by a renewed discussion on what it means to be a professional journalist and condensed in the Pro-Am concept: "Innovative, committed and networked amateurs working to professional standards" (Leadbeater & Miller, 2004, p. 9). For Pro-Ams, leisure is not a passive consumption, they "build up forms of 'cultural capital' that they can deploy in their hobbies. This 'cultural capital' is made up of skills and knowledge, of the norms and practices, of disciplines and subcultures, which then allows them to become part of that group or pastime." In regard to professionalism, often they "do not see themselves that way. They do not earn more than 50 per cent of their income from their Pro-Am activities. They might be aspiring proto-professionals, semi-professionals or former-professionals, but they would not be regarded as full professionals" (p. 22). They can be adjustably considered within a diverse range of practices between the uncompromising devotion of the amateur to the high expertise of the post-professional.

The changing mediascape demands from practitioners and scholars to move forward the usual deterministic and radical opposite analysis of, on the one hand, the final liberation of readers from news monopolies and, on the other, the apocalyptic vision of the end of journalism and the risks that would represent for democratic societies (Neveu, 2010; OECD, 2010).

A synthesis position is needed. One that recognizes that as previously the new opportunities regarding a more diverse sourcing of information and the rise of entrepreneurial media organizations may also come with the challenge of distinct time pressures and lower-quality coverage, a greater homogeneity and superficiality of news angles, excessive commenting and opinion-led reports, market-driven journalism, and that the increasing fragmentation of audiences led to the exclusion of great segments of citizens from the access to high-quality, depth and contextualized journalism.

Not just one or monolithic civic engagement through the media model is observable (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Harcup, 2011; Romano, 2010). This demands from journalists a renewed intelligence on social issues, identifying and accrediting the widening of information sources in the scope of a dispersed editorial ability.

The previous nature of journalistic authority as an institution is under tension to the exact extent to which the very disparate networked community of "citizen journalists" see itself as a moral entity (Christians, 1999). It reminds professional journalists that making things public is an important ethical category. At the same time it brings to light what epistemologically has been called different compromises with truth (Hudson & Temple, 2010) and for that matter a clear cognitive dissonance on what news is and shall be, expressed through the vision of expert journalism (Boriss, 2007) or the heterogeneity of competence based on specialization and expertise. In this regard, "collaboration is not only in publishing news, then, but even in constructing the data sources that become the raw material that journalists from any news organization can work with" (Schudson, 2010).

Looking for renewed quality standards in networked journalism one obvious implication regards the ethical and legal responsibility of editorial decision-making: "If the content space is shared, is responsibility for the content itself also shared? Who decides what is credible, true, or even newsworthy in the first place? What happens to the prized journalistic norm of autonomy in this environment?" (Singer & Ashman, 2009, p. 4).

 These critical philosophical and practical implications of integrating user-generated content in professional newswork are stimulating a remix of journalism quality standards, between a read/write and a read/only culture (Lessig, 2008, p. 28), and have been already accommodated in the editorial guidelines of some of the most relevant news players in international journalism (e.g. BBC, 2011; Christian, Jacobsen & Minthorn, 2011; Hohmann & Committee, 2011; NPR, 2009; Reuters, 2011). These principles also led to the creation of new professional functions such as the social media editor, community editor, outreach editor or audience and engagement manager.

The migration from industrial journalism to an emergent convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006) or mashup cultures (Sonvilla-Weiss, 2010) needs now to accommodate the still essential ethical and legal duties and guarantees in the more dia-

logic aspiration of a new form of communication: the mass self-communication (Castells, 2007, p. 246).

The Internet openly questions one-way news flows whatever the former reference transmitter is (newspaper, radio, television, cinema). It is not exclusively or mainly a technological mediamorphosis (Fidler, 1997), but one with profound implications within a cultural logic of its own (Deuze, 2008b). Publics/audiences "share news stories with their social networks, helping to dictate a story's distribution. They shape the discourse and coverage of the news. And more and more, they are helping to capture, write, and share the news themselves over the Internet" (Sagan & Leighton, 2010, p. 119).

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EMERGING TYPOLOGIES IN THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL NETWORKED SOCIETY

With reference to media ownership, technology, America's involvement in international affairs and correspondents' roles and routines, the history of modern foreign correspondence has been conveniently divided in four periods: the popular press correspondents (1840–1900), organized foreign correspondents (1900–1920), the golden age correspondents (1920–1970), the corporate correspondents (1970–2000) (Hamilton & Cozma, 2009b).

In this article we advance the emerging notion of a multidimensional network of correspondences, illustrating the ongoing fusion of modern professional practices and socio-demographic typologies with the arising of renewed standards and conventions mostly enhanced by non-journalists.

Assuming news as a form of knowledge transient and ephemeral, closer to "acquaintance with" than "knowledge about," concerned with the present rather than with the past or the future (Park, 1940, p. 675), one basic structural element on international news reporting in modernity has been what we will call in this article the *epistemology of being there.*

This characteristic of eyewitnessing as a journalistic key word has three dimensions the eyewitness as report, as role, and as technology used over time as a claim for journalistic authority of news reporting in questionable circumstances, helping building its cultural authority (Zelizer, 2007).

In order to permit this personal, firsthand, eye-witness knowledge of international events, translated into original reporting, as far as modernity concerns news organizations relied greatly on overseas bureaus as the predominant site for the production of news (West, 2010, p. 94).

Apart from the fact that the geographies of foreign correspondence have received little academic attention (Farish, 2001), studies on the geographic distribution of foreign press corps not only show that they are mostly concentrated in the U.S. and Western Europe, but also that elitism and proximity are two major determinants on the deployment of journalists (Cohen, 1995, p. 90).

Previous studies on the demographic composition of foreign correspondents have been mainly portraying journalists working for U.S. and Western European news organizations; alternatively, foreign correspondents working in the United States of America or in the UK (particularly, London). For these reasons, journalism studies have yet to test the general conclusion and the correlative findings that journalists are increasingly elites (Hess, 1996, p. 12), by analysing other regional and organizational settings.

AGE, PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE, GENDER, REGION WHERE POSTED

In the 1950s, Maxwell (1956) examined U.S. foreign correspondents within the framework of five major institutions (family, education, economics, politics, and religion) covering an estimated 55 to 60 per cent of all full-time correspondents of American nationality ($n = 179$) who were employed abroad by American agencies, newspapers, news magazines, radio networks, and combinations of these organizations (pp. 387–388).

The author concluded that American correspondents assumed the function mostly between the ages of 25 and 30 years old. Almost forty years after, in 1992, the mean age of most U.S. reporters working as foreign correspondents was 43 years-old; the majority were 30–39 years-old (45.8%). Most of them had already spent a significant time abroad before becoming foreign correspondent (79%), mostly pursuing a university program (37%), travelling independently (26%) or with family (21%) (Hess, 1996); this data is consistent with the Nosaka study (1992) on American foreign correspondents working in Japan.

Regarding gender, authors in the 1990s depicted the field as a mostly male club (Utley, 1997, p. 3). Among the 29 correspondents who responded to the Nosaka study (1992, p. 18) only one was a woman. Even though it continued to be so at the end of the 1990s, the available published data already pointed to a more egalitarian occupation. In 1992, 63.5% of U.S. foreign correspondents were male and 36.5% female. Before (94%–6%), during the 1960s (95% –5%), the 1970s (84%–16%) and the 1980s (67%–33%) it was even clearly an occupation mostly executed by men (Hess, 1996, p. 132).

In modern journalism history, few women worked as foreign correspondents. Hence, they became associated with specific moments of crisis: for instance, the American-Mexican war (1846–1848) (Hudson, 1999) and China's civil war (1927–1937). This trend has been historically interpreted as revealing the difficulty of women in access to foreign assignments and gendered criticism (Beeson, 2004, p. 17).

The Vietnam War (1955–1975) was a transitional period for women in war correspondence. Despite this move, most women journalists covering the Vietnam conflict were freelancers, from a universe of 267 American women accredited by the United States Department of the Army (Born, 1987). More recent studies al-

ready contemplating the Persian Gulf war (1990) and Iraq War (2003) renew the consideration that war reporting is still amongst the most difficult areas for women journalists (Fennel, 2005, p. 138).

Regarding the region where foreign correspondents are more often deployed, among the U.S. correspondents studied by Maxwell (1956), most were based in an urban European or Asian capital particularly in London (15.79%), Tokyo (14.35%), Paris (10.05%) and Rome (7.18%). In 1992, most of them were still based in Europe (53%) and Asia (25%); Africa (5%) was the world region with the smallest presence of U.S. foreign correspondents.

The existing studies also observe who the foreign correspondents working in the U.S. are, concluding that in 2000 they were mainly working for Western Europe (47%), Asia (27%) and Americas (12%) based news organizations. Africa was also the world region with fewer foreign correspondents based in the U.S. (2%) most were 30–39 years old, men (75%), based in Washington (56%) for 2 to 5 years (Hess, 2005). Previous research contemplating exclusively Washington D.C. foreign correspondents show that the typical international reporter in the 1990s was a male of 41.7 years old, college-educated, well-paid, with 17.5 years of professional experience (Chen, 1995).

EDUCATION

Previous studies portray foreign correspondents as a cognitive elite. In the early 1990s, research emphasized that 57% of [U.S.] correspondents who began their careers before 1960 had attended the most selective schools. On the other hand, 70% of journalists who began their careers in the 1990s, had done so; 85% of those aged thirty had attended very selective colleges (Hess, 1996, p. 181).

Although demographic characterizations of contemporary correspondents is still a very scarce research field where so much is unknown, from the existing available literature it is possible to state that concerning U.S. foreign correspondents in recent years higher education seems to be a required qualification for most female war correspondents (Fennel, 2005, p. 69). Among these journalists, most have post-secondary educations, degrees in journalism or in the humanities and social sciences (e.g. international relations, political philosophy).

It has been admitted that despite formal education, most foreign correspondents are not historians or regional specialists and that only a few speak a foreign language (Mody, 2010, p. 20). Very few schools of journalism devote attention to these problems (Ginneken, 1998, p. 70).

Hess (1996) presents data apparently dismissing these historical claims: in 1992, U.S. foreign correspondents stated that showing some proficiency in two (36%), three (23%), four (10%) and more (5%) languages. Although in the exact extend that these numbers are based on foreign correspondents self-evaluation, it is difficult to extract a more exact appreciation of their actual practical meaning.

Nosaka (1992) argued that the language barrier was still a problem for American reporters working in Japan, particularly for older correspondents. Furthermore, research has shown more recently how the scarcity of Western reporters with proficiency in Arabic is among the factors explaining why Iraq war (2003) coverage was highly dependent of Iraqi journalists' and fixers' work (Palmer & Fontan, 2007).

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES

Identifying the basic functional terms of foreign correspondence we are addressing the idea of professionalization in journalism and the one of specialist correspondent (Tunstall, 1971). Thus, we are looking for international reporters' enduring values (Gans, 1979, pp. 41–52).

Analysing previous research efforts towards a typology of modern foreign correspondence based on employment/occupational setting and the time based in the local, research identifies a division between one A Team and one B Team (Pedelty, 1995). Usually, the first is composed of staff reporters (long-termers, special assignment reporters/parachutists or spiralists); in the second occupational category we find stringers and fixers (Hannerz, 2004). Blurring these lines, international news reporting is also practised by a very diverse group of freelance journalists (Hess, 1994, 1996).

Stringers are described as belonging to a subcategory of freelance who supplies content on a regular basis for a specific client (Polumbaum, 2009, p. 644). Fixers' work is considered as intervening between the event, the source and the journalist both through the arrangements that they make and in their role as interpreter (Palmer & Fontan, 2007, p. 6).

Due to this occupational diversity in the core of international news reporting, one can hardly argue that we are necessarily in the presence of a field of specialists, at least in the topical sense proposed by Tunstall (1971). Although that hypothesis shall also not be automatically dismissed, it is the knowledge accumulated by these journalists as newsgathering specialists that underlies the argument of specialization among correspondents (Hess, 1996; Jordan, 1999).

THE CULTURE OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS: TRAVEL AND COSMOPOLITANISM

In this essay journalists' culture is theorized as the interaction of their *ideas* (values, attitudes and beliefs), *practices* and *artefacts* (Hanitzsch, 2007). In this sense, journalists are not detached from cultural considerations; they belong to a specific culture and to specific professional subcultures (Ginneken, 1998, p. 65).

Although sometimes perceived as a contemporary trend in Western international news reporting (Palmer & Fontan, 2007), the reconnaissance of "often 'outside,' occasionally 'inside, but ultimately in-between and uncertain" journalists is

already identified in the scholarly literature regarding foreign correspondents in the First World War (Farish, 2001, p. 285).

The newsgathering work of these professionals has been conceptualized in an ambivalent manner: between their "fresh eyes" on the scene, capturing what permanently stationed reporters already take for granted, and their recurrent focus on "exotic" events, not being able to portray the underlying processes and the follow-up context.

Foreign correspondents work has been described as a variance of cosmopolitanism, amongst the most celebrated transnational migrants of our times (Hannerz, 2007); also their work may be regarded as cultivating cosmopolitanism in their audiences.

Accordingly, it has been argued that sometimes cosmopolitans tend to stick together, fixed in their transnational worlds and endosocial routines (Friedman, 2002, p. 21), as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1993). For this reason, contemporary international journalism cannot be fully understood if not in relation to globalization. This interconnectedness between contact zones (Pratt, 2008) must not although be assumed as multiculturalism (Hannerz, 2007, p. 304).

A FUNCTIONAL CONVERGENCE

Before the digitization of journalism the role of the journalist was generally one of 1) to survey the world and report the facts as they are best understood; 2) to interpret those facts in terms of their impact on the local community or society at large; and 3) to provide opinion or editorial guidance on those facts (Pavlik, 2001, p. 217).

Accordingly, in the past it has been argued that "the dominant producers determine the nature of the product, its marketing and distributions, and even its presentation. There is not a great deal of room for alternative producers, or for different conceptions and approaches to international news" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson & Ugboajah, 1985, p. 53). Less than two decades later, authors recognized that "the web provides a space where new producers interested in encouraging other voices can provide news" (Sreberny & Paterson, 2004, p. 11).

For this reason, partial convergence can be interpreted as operating in the domain of reporters' functions, i.e. who produce news reports and how they are assembled. Collaborative news production has the ability to "subvert the unilateral distribution of information towards a reconfiguration of current journalistic mediation and they may generate other meanings on everyday social reality" (Becker & Mateus, 2011, p. 59).

Even if international news reporting still suffers from being "elite-focused, conflictual and sensational, with a narrow parochial emphasis," leading to the argument that "if 'global' means giving 'dialogic' voices a chance to speak to each other without reproducing national ethnocentrism, then the world's media still fail to measure up" (Reese, 2010, p. 346), studies already show that a younger generation of profes-

sional correspondents have a critical approach to issues communicated by officials and rely on the Internet as a primary source for background information (AIM, 2007).

In the scope of networked journalism it is now crucial to observe how journalists are coping with user-generated content in their newswork. An analysis on the press coverage of Twitter (2006–2009) reveals that despite some skepticism, newspapers, magazines and weblogs promote Twitter's diffusion (Arceneaux & Weiss, 2010).

Very few studies exist on how journalists use online social networks and on how they perceive it value for newswork. The existing available research on the agenda-building role of social media content in business/financial journalists' work (story ideation and sourcing) indicates a scarce use of it: only 7.5% of journalists indicated that social media is very important to their work, while 24.5% perceived it to be important and 34% considered social media to be of little or no importance. The surveyed journalists do not perceive social media as improving their work. Learning needs is suggested as being in the root of the adoption gap (Lariscy, Avery, Sweetser, & Howes, 2009).

The reliance on established sources such as public relations (61%) and corporate spokespeople (59%) remains considerable. Journalists already allegedly use Twitter (47%), Facebook (35%) and weblogs (30%) in the sourcing process and 42% also use as a source weblogs they do not know or visited before (Oriella, 2011).

Other studies suggest that there are younger journalists who are enhancing the use of social media and portraying an attitude towards a more collaborative form of journalism: 69% of the respondents claim to use social networking sites as a tool to assist in reporting; from these 67% use Facebook and 33% LinkedIn. Also, 52% use Wikipedia and 48% refer to Twitter or other micro-blogging sites. Further, 69% agree that Twitter is an increasingly important tool for journalism. A further 91% consent that new media and communications tools and technologies are enhancing journalism, while 30% are of the opinion that social media technologies and citizen journalism will ultimately lead to the demise of journalism as a profession (Mc-Clure & Middleberg, 2010).

Although, a more nuanced view is also brought by content analysis revealing how journalists are using new communication artefacts, in the U.S., more often journalists express their opinion in Twitter, challenging the standard journalistic value of impartiality. To a lesser extent, they also provide accountability regarding their newswork; journalists working for national newspapers and television channels and for cable news networks are less likely to do it (Lasorsa, Lewis & Holton, 2011).

Since foreign affairs journalism is historically attached to state and governing institutions, the erosion of socio-spatial constraints for collective action associated with distance and time is giving room to a different morphology of global govern-

ance, based on a scale-shifting between the local and the global (Livingstone & Asmolov, 2010).

The field of global journalism studies has been until now a useful shortcut for very different research approaches: from cross-national comparisons of newsgathering practices (Herbert, 2000), media systems (Dobek-Ostrowska, Głowacki, Jakubowicz & Sukosd, 2010; Merrill, 1983) and news cycles (Cottle & Rai, 2008; Cushion & Lewis, 2010), to the interrelations between globalization and news flows (de Beer, 2010), culture and politics (Volkmer, 2002), journalism education (Deuze, 2008a; Wasserman, 2011) and ethics (Ibold, 2010; Ward, 2005, 2011).

While the previous Standard Model of Professional Journalism is being challenged (Fuller, 2010), scholars and journalists need to recognize and work towards new standards for news quality, addressing the Internet in international news reporting as 1) a means of information and transaction, 2) a means of communication, and 3) as a means of production (Schroeder & Stovall, 2011).

The multidimensional network is "one that includes multiple types of relations both among the same types of nodes and between different types of nodes. Thus, a fully multidimensional network has multiple types of connections among all possible types of entities" (Castells & Monge, 2011, p. 789).

We are being confronted by the emergence of a new foreign correspondence (Hamilton & Jenner, 2003). Different groups are experimenting distinct proposals: the *new professionals* (e.g. Global Post; Pro Publica), *citizen newsrooms* (e.g. Demotix; Nowpublic), *aggregators* (e.g. Breaking Tweets; Global Voices Online; Ushahidi) (Zuckerman, 2010, p. 69). Even if not well understood, the modern elitist occupational culture seems to be challenged towards a renewed profile. This recognition demands from practitioners and scholars a new theoretical and empirical commitment in order to give meaning to the emerging realities in international journalism.

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