Telling Audiences the Truth, and Nothing but the Global Truth?
Tracing Elements of Global Journalism in American Offline and Online Foreign Reporting

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Abstract

Globalization has changed the world in fundamental ways, causing people, places and identities to be more interconnected than ever. As journalism plays an important role in shaping people’s worldviews, it is imperative to look at whether the news accurately reflects the globalizing world. With the scope of news events increasingly transcending national borders, traditional forms of foreign and domestic journalism appear to have become inapt ways to describe the world. Connecting this to a basic understanding of journalism as a provider of truthful information, it is argued that forms of “global journalism” are highly needed to lay bare the complexities of the global world to news consumers. Trying to fill a gap in global journalism research by establishing its empirical existence, this thesis constructs a content-based, empirically testable framework of global journalism, using and expanding on Peter Berglez’s work on a “global news style” (2008) and Herbert Gans’ “multiperspectival news” (2011). This project carries out a comparative quantitative content analysis, focusing on how three prominent American news outlets, the New York Times, Wall Street Journal (both on- and offline) and GlobalPost.com, cover a prime example of a global crisis: the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami. By comparing journalistic genres (financial journalism, foreign news journalism) and platforms (print and online journalism), it is exposed that while traditional practices of foreign corresponding and domestication still reign, global journalism can be identified as a concrete practice that shows up in different variations. Through adopting such forms of global journalism, media organizations can help to educate a more politically-active, cosmopolitan citizenry, while also securing their own relevance as an institution that spreads a ‘global truth’ about the world.

Key Terms: Media globalization, global journalism, global news style, cosmopolitanism, global crises, online journalism, hyperlinks
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Introduction

“The future doesn’t fit in containers of the past.”

- Rishad Tobaccowala (cited in Burcher, 2012, p. 246)

Welcome to the world society, where the global economy never sleeps and where information flows across national borders as if they are not even there. Where it is easier than ever to travel across the globe and where lifestyles and forms of entertainment in different places are looking increasingly similar. Ulrich Beck calls it “a glass world,” one where boundaries between people that used to be firm have now turned transparent (2006, p.8).

The world society is also a place where, thanks to developments in communications and technology, media are transmitting information worldwide 24/7. It has created a situation in which the news is more pervasive than ever. It is not even controversial to argue that the “news shapes our lives” (Archetti, 2010, p. 1), as most of what we know about the world comes from what the media tell us. Think about the constant stream of images of the world surrounding us on an increasing number of screens, reaffirming the power of the news as our “window on the world” (Tuchman, 1978).

That notion makes it imperative to look at whether the news is covered in such a way that it accurately reflects the changing global world. One of the central pillars of American journalism, in many ways an example for media systems around the world, has been an obligation to tell audiences “the truth” about the world (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001). Aware of the multifaceted nature of this truth claim, this project stays away from discussions on whether true objectivity is possible, rather adopting a very basic understanding of journalistic truth as the aim to supply accurate information to audiences. As globalization is turning the world into a place where many dimensions of life are transcending national boundaries (Beck, 2000), traditional forms of foreign and domestic news journalism, describing events as isolated, nation-based happenings, appear increasingly unable to explain these global dimensions to news consumers. Take, for instance, the rise of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. This has led to a conflict unrestricted by national boundaries: it is being fought in different countries and between various national armies, a coalition of Western powers as well as transnational militant
groups. Also taking into account the exodus of refugees the conflict has set off, it is clear that the impact of this conflict has become much bigger than any national framework could possibly explain. Such an example of a “global crisis” (Cottle, 2009) serves to show that if journalists want to spread truthful information about the world, forms of journalism that can lay bare the complexities of a global world are highly needed.

Scholars have tried to come up with the concept of “global journalism,” broadly defined as a strand of journalism adapted to economic, political and cultural globalization, but competing definitions are being used to variously describe developments on the level of content, production and audience reception. While Mark Deuze describes it as a set of universal journalistic values applicable around the world (2006), for Stephen Reese global journalism revolves around transmitting news images on a global scale (2004). Ingrid Volkmer focuses on how audiences use the media’s information to deliberate in a global public sphere (2003). This has led to misplaced expectations and a lack of empirical research into how global journalism actually shows up in the news, causing skeptical scholars to argue that traditional practices of domestication and the use of domestic sources and frames are still widespread (Hafez, 2008; Nossek, 2004; Riegert, 2011).

By understanding global journalism to be a concrete practice, this thesis sets out to trace elements of global journalism in news content and establish its empirical existence. A framework for global journalism is constructed by making use of and developing further Peter Berglez’s concept of a “global news style,” defined as the journalistic practices that aim to “explain how economic, political, social and ecological practices, processes and problems in different parts of the world affect each other, are interlocked, or share commonalities” (Berglez, 2008, p. 847). Focusing on the inclusion of global powers, global spaces and global identities in news content, global journalism in this sense is about offering multiple perspectives on news events (Gans, 2011), connecting a wide range of nodes available in global information networks (Heinrich, 2008) and discursively constructing global and transnational “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2006). This thesis argues that such forms of
journalism would enable journalists to spread a ‘global truth’ about the world, making visible through
news coverage how people, spaces and identities around the world are increasingly interconnected.

Existing research projects into global journalism have focused almost exclusively on the workings of
global and transnational media (Olausson, 2013), causing scholars to lose track of how national
outlets and the content they produce are evolving. This even applies to American journalism: while it
has been widely documented that American journalism is in a dire financial crisis, particularly
affecting the amount and quality of coverage of foreign affairs (Livingston and Asmolov, 2009), it
remains largely unclear whether actual news content has changed with the times and if elements of
global journalism can be identified.

This thesis aims to fill that gap in research, by fitting the characteristics of a global news style (global
powers, spaces and identities) into a comparative quantitative research design. The project looks at
how three prominent American news outlets with well-respected foreign news desks, the New York
Times, Wall Street Journal (both offline and online) and GlobalPost.com, cover the Japanese
earthquake/ Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011, a prime example of a global crisis that is difficult to
explain accurately within national frameworks and thus would benefit from the inclusion of global
perspectives. Crucially, establishing the empirical existence of global journalism in crisis coverage can
make it much clearer how American journalism is undergoing changes in times of globalization,
stimulating scholars to give more attention to the important strand of global journalism research.

Besides clarifying how global journalism shows up in news content, this project also touches upon
the potential influence of global journalism on people’s lives. It will be argued that truly global
coverage of the 2011 Japanese earthquake, accurately describing the global physical and moral
impact, would make journalism a powerful force in educating a more cosmopolitan citizenry, which is
self-reflective, has a sense of moral responsibility towards others and is willing to take political
actions (Dahlgren, 2013). The globalizing world, the corresponding number of global crises and the
potential for cosmopolitan citizens that seek solutions to global problems, all serve to strengthen the
notion that adopting forms of global journalism could be the only way through which American journalism can survive in the long term as the institution that tells ‘the truth’ about the global world.

This thesis revolves around the following research question: To what extent do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal (both print and online) and GlobalPost adopt a global news style when covering a global crisis, thereby helping to educate a more cosmopolitan citizenry?

This is a comparative research project, comparing journalistic genres (financial journalism/foreign affairs journalism) as well as journalistic platforms (online/offline). This can make it much clearer how and where global journalism tends to show up in the news. Potentially, online journalism seems to be “perfectly suited for global journalism” (Berglez, 2013, p.112), as a medium where geographical boundaries play virtually no role. Outlining the specifics of an online global news style, it is argued that through the use of hyperlinks (De Maeyer, 2012), online journalism can represent a plurality of voices, spaces and identities in its coverage. This thesis will analyze whether the web really is a place where global journalism is produced more regularly, by comparing print articles of the New York Times and Wall Street Journal with articles specifically published for their online platforms, as well as with articles published on GlobalPost.com. Hence, the following sub-question will be discussed:

SQ 1: Is American online journalism more “global” than print journalism?

In the following chapters, I will first explain what globalization and media globalization entail, as this sets the scene for the corresponding changes in journalism. The emergence of “global crises” (Cottle, 2009) plays an interesting role, as events that transcend national borders in terms of impact. I will argue that these epitomize the need for global journalism and connect it to the potential education of a cosmopolitan citizenry. In chapter 2, I will first touch upon the scholarly discussion on global journalism and then develop an empirically testable model of global journalism for both offline and online news journalism. In chapter 3, the state of American foreign news journalism will be discussed and hypotheses will be crafted. Chapter 4 will provide background information on the Japanese crisis, discuss the outlets analyzed and introduce the coding scheme used in this research, while chapter 5 and 6 will present and discuss the results of the comparative quantitative content analysis.
1. A global world: globalization and its many variations

In the following chapter, I will first discuss the idea of globalization, starting out with a broad overview of how globalization is changing the world. That is highly important, as this will be later connected to the ways journalism is changing. After that, I turn to media globalization and to the emergence of global crises, trying to paint a picture of how globalization and the media are mutually influencing each other. This chapter ends with an discussion on cosmopolitanism, trying to go beyond the normative descriptions of the concept, while assessing whether forms of journalism incorporating the global world have the potential to foster the education of a cosmopolitan citizenry.

1.1. Explaining globalization

Globalization has turned into a buzzword meaning different things to different people. In this dissertation, globalization is understood as “the intensification of worldwide social relations and interactions such that distant events acquire very localized impacts and vice versa” (Held and McGrew, 2007, p.2). This intensification takes place in almost every dimension of life, ranging from the economic to the ecological, from the political to the technological. To illustrate, take political upheavals in the Middle East. Even though far away, these episodes will have an effect on people living in Europe, the Americas or Asia, whether it is reflected through localized protests, an increase in migrants, spikes in gas prices, etc. It has led to the emergence of “a world society” in which nation-states become less dominant entities, a result of “a multiplicity of social circles, communication networks, market relations and lifestyles, […] [that] now cut across the boundaries of the national state” (Beck, 2000, p.4).

For instance, the world has been relatively shrinking during the last decades, referred to by globalization scholars as time-space compression (Bauman, 1998; Held and McGrew, 2007). Thanks to developments in transportation it has become faster and cheaper to travel the globe, while evolutions in technology have caused communication times to implode. Think of online communication networks: within seconds you can connect with your own neighbor, while it is just as easy to communicate with someone located on the other side of the world. As a result, it is argued
that “space and spatial markers cease to matter” (Bauman, 1998, p. 13), causing notions of nearby and far-away to start losing their validity. For example, if you call your bank in the United States, it is very possible that the employee who is helping you in real-time is actually sitting behind a desk in India.

In the “world society” (Beck, 2000) a global economy has taken shape, one in which national governments have lost significant power to influence their own economies. Manuel Castells explains that networks of labor, capital, information and technology are transcending nation-state boundaries, helping to bring about a globally networked economy (2010). Consequently, national economic space cannot be equated with national territorial space anymore (Held and McGrew, 2007). Take Apple, considered an American company, even though most of its production takes place overseas. It is argued that thanks to economic globalization, “the whole planet is capitalist” (Castells, 2010, p. 160), a significant observation in that it has brought about a situation of close interdependence: if the economic situation of the U.S. (or any country for that matter) deteriorates, economies around the globe can feel the effects.

Beck stresses that the dynamic concept of globalization affects basically every dimension of life, whether it is ecology, culture or politics, arguing that these are overcoming national boundaries as well (2000, p.9). Think for instance of how the world society handles global warming. It is questionable whether traditional power networks of nation-states can tackle a global ecological issue like this, which is “largely produced and shaped by globally interdependent processes that move beyond the realm of ostensibly sovereign state territories” (Castells, 2008, p. 82). The nation-states’ increasing inability to manage the world’s problems has stimulated the creation of a global civil society, in which new actors such as non-governmental organizations, multinationals and citizens try to address global problems with “a global […] frame of reference in their action and goals” (Castells, 2008, p. 84). The result is, for instance, that climate change has become part of a global conversation on the future of the planet, held simultaneously by ordinary citizens all over the world, (global) political actors and the media.
1.2 Media globalization and global crises

The forces of globalization have certainly influenced the ways in which journalism is produced, distributed and consumed. Think for instance of how technological developments such as “rapid long-distance transportation and computer networks” (Castells, 2008, p.81) have enabled media organizations like CNN and BBC World, but also any news website, to transmit information and images around the globe. At the same time, audiences virtually all over the world can now get access to this information. The globalizing world has caused “an explosion of journalism” (Van der Haak et al., 2012, p. 2923) as well as a new media ecology to come about, consisting of a complex web of offline, online, local, national, transnational, western, diasporic, peripheral, alternative and citizen media outlets, where information flows are continuous and go in various directions (Cottle, 2009). It explains why scholars have also pointed to the media as “one of the deep drivers of globalization” (Held, 2004, p. 11), a force helping to speed up the creation of a globally interconnected world.

Not only the reach of media outlets has broadened, the scope of news events has been affected by globalization as well. Traditionally, news has been categorized either as ‘domestic’ or ‘foreign’, as what is happening within a particular nation-state, or what happens outside of it. As a result of political, economic and cultural globalization, such categories based on nation-state frameworks are becoming outdated (Olausson, 2013). News increasingly transcends national borders, extending connections beyond the local and the national: “In a world of increasingly porous borders, the lines between foreign and domestic blur for news just as they blur for commerce, health, culture, and the environment” (Hamilton and Jenner, 2002, p. 10). You can take virtually any topic and detect the global connections at play. A story about economic growth in Sweden? Closely tied to what happens in the rest of the world. That new musical in the Netherlands? It is a remake of an American one. A war in Syria? Fighters from around the world are joining.

Prime examples of globally enmeshed matters are described by Simon Cottle as “global crises” (2009): unexpected events like natural disasters, financial catastrophes, epidemics and wars, of which the impact and “humanitarian, emotional and political responses” transcend national
boundaries (Pantti et al., 2012, p.4). Large conflicts, for instance, are rarely isolated happenings, but are rather “embroiled in changing global configurations of state power” (Pantti et al., 2012, p. 19).

There are many examples of such global crises, from the War on Terror to the tsunami that hit Southeast-Asia in 2004, from climate change to the spread of Ebola.

The media play an important role in constituting these global crises. As Cottle explains, it is through widespread media coverage that these crises start to live in the minds of people, directly influencing how they understand and respond to them (2009). Global crises are an integral part of the global world, causing national frames of reference to be ineffective at discovering its origins, effects and possible solutions. Rather, global crises are better conceptualized in global terms (Pantti et. al, 2012), stressing the underlying interconnections between people, spaces and identities and fostering people’s “capacity to live simultaneously in both the global and the local” (Urry, 2003, p. 137). For instance, when a natural disaster hits in India, journalistic coverage in the United States can talk about the local physical impact, while at the same time stressing underlying global factors like climate change.

1.3 Cosmopolitan citizens

By discursively constructing global crises in such a way, journalism can be a force to help “break down former barriers of social distance and physical space and [...] sustain a sense of moral solidarity with others” (Cottle, 2009, p. 133). In the same vein, Ulrich Beck argues media coverage of global crises can cause “cosmopolitan moments” (2009), “connect[ing] all of us as members of a global community” (Pantti et. al, 2012, p. 140). Ideally then, the combination of a globalizing world and forms of journalism that have adapted to this new world can foster people, in their thinking about how to overcome transnational problems, to become aligned with distant others and start to develop cosmopolitan ideals.

Contemporary ideas of cosmopolitanism are directly tied to the forces of globalization. On a very basic level, cosmopolitanism is a form of citizenship extending beyond the borders of the nation-state (Dahlgren, 2004). Since the world society is based on an increasing number of global
connections that transcend nation-states, “seemingly natural” forms of nationalism lose influence at the expense of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2009, p. 19). Scholars have, for instance, pointed out the global dissemination of American culture (Ritzer and Stillman, 2003), from Hollywood movies to fast-food restaurants. At the same time globalization, by facilitating the global mixing of people and cultures, has helped bring about a new sense of global belonging among people (Held and McGrew, 2007). Potentially, this can foster a cosmopolitan citizenry that has the “the ability to stand outside a singular location (the location of one’s birth, land, upbringing, conversion)” (Held and McGrew, 2007, p. 41) and forge an inclusive, plural identity “rooted in one cosmos but in different cities, territories, ethnicities, hierarchies, nations, religions - all at the same time” (Beck, 2003, p. 6).

Cosmopolitanism is not regarded a plainly normative concept that announces the creation of one universal culture, as differences between people and their identities around the world still abound. Rather, there are also descriptive elements, tracking how forces of globalization have caused a hybridity of cultures to emerge which, although distinct from each other, have overlapping and intermingling values (Held and McGrew, 2007). Scholarly debate on the issue has helped identify a set of cosmopolitan attributes in the global age, such as the capacity of self-reflection, tolerance of other cultures and having a sense of moral responsibility towards global others (Beck, 2006; Turner, 2002; Chouliaraki and Blagaard, 2013). There is also a political element to cosmopolitanism, the idea of exerting political agency on the basis of feelings of kinship with distant others. Peter Dahlgren calls this “civic cosmopolitanism” and describes it as “translating the cosmopolitan moral stance into concrete political contexts that benefit not just our own interests, but those of globalized others” (2013, p. 165).

The newly established sense of worldwide connectedness gives a cosmopolitan citizenry an important edge in understanding and resolving the increasing number of global problems. The ideal place for deliberation like this to take place is in the “global public sphere” (Volkmer, 2002). Whereas political deliberation used to take place on the national level, with the traditional public sphere constituting the discursive place where nation-states and its citizens come together to discuss
problems (Habermas, 1991), deliberation in the global public sphere revolves around global actors and “world citizens” (Volkmer, 2002). These discussions on global public affairs are mainly taking place through internet networks, virtual spaces where the world’s public opinion can start to inform global policy making (Castells, 2008).

Contemporary media outlets play a vital role in educating people about the globalizing world, potentially empowering them to take part in discussions on global issues. For example, widespread coverage of global crises, symptomatic of a globally interconnected world, can make visible the increasing number of transnational and global connections between people, spaces and identities around the world. This, in turn, can foster people to better understand the processes of globalization and their own position in relation to the entire world (Dahlgren, 2013). Not just any form of journalism will help foster a more cosmopolitan citizenry though: in fact, scholars have shown that journalism has been slow in adapting to the new situation of global problems (Berglez, 2008), often sticking to the reproduction of nationalist feelings, while downplaying global sentiments.

Foreign news topics and events do not show up in the news by accident: the selection of what is news and what is not is closely tied to something Galtung and Ruge call news values. In their seminal work from 1965 they present a list of twelve factors that help predict which foreign events in “the cacophony of world [affairs]” (p. 65) will usually be deemed newsworthy. Most important for this project are the ideas of geographical and cultural proximity: the first following the rule that what happens close by takes precedence over far-away events (O’Neill and Harcup, 2009), the second stressing that remote events can get attention, provided there is a sense of cultural similarity between a far-away place and the media outlet’s home country (Galtung and Ruge, 1965).

These values have shown to be enduring forces in journalism, helping to explain why a large number of crisis events around the world is ‘forgotten’ by mainstream media (Cottle, 2009). Importantly, when far-away events do receive coverage, journalists often rely on national frameworks of understanding, “domesticating” events for a rigidly national audience (Berger, 2009; Gans; 2011; Riegert, 2011; Nossek, 2004). Alasuutari, for instance, showed how British, Finnish and Pakistani
newspapers covered the 2011 Egyptian revolt in three wholly different ways, domesticating the event for their particular group of readers (2013). Nossek describes this practice as journalists “wear[ing] a pair of domestic glasses” (2004, p. 349), using national frameworks to make sense of the world. This is illustrated by media outlets describing events, issues and problems as either “ours” or “theirs,” thereby stressing geographical and cultural boundaries, or by including a range of domestic sources to help explain far-away events (Nossek, 2004).

What the enduring domestication of foreign news topics serves to show is that even though many news media are operating globally these days (Archetti, 2010), this does not automatically mean they are taking into account the global dimensions of life or that they are fostering a more cosmopolitan citizenry. This only highlights the importance of research into forms of journalism actually adapted to the global age.
2. The inherent need for global journalism

The quickly globalizing world, the corresponding number of global crises (Cottle, 2009) and the potential for a cosmopolitan citizenry that has an advanced understanding of how to resolve these, epitomizes the need for journalism to adapt news coverage to the new “globalizing social reality” (Berglez, 2008). Consequently, scholars have come up with the concept of global journalism, which will be the focus of this chapter. First, an overview is given of some of the different ways the concept of global journalism is being used. After that, a global news style, a framework of global journalism that can be applied to print and online news texts, is explained in detail, in that way enabling the researcher to empirically test whether global journalism shows up as a concrete phenomenon.

2.1 What is global journalism?

As the influence of globalization on the world and on the media has become more and more apparent, journalism scholars have responded by introducing the concept of “global journalism”. Generally, scholars agree that global journalism refers to forms of journalism adapted to economic, political and cultural globalization, but a common definition is not available. Rather, scholars focus variously on the levels of content, production and audience reception to explain what global journalism exactly entails. For instance, while Mark Deuze describes it as a set of universal journalistic values that can be taught around the world (2006), Stephen Reese argues that global journalism is about transmitting images and news on a global scale, thereby fostering a conception of the world as “a single community” (2004, p.2). Alternatively, Ingrid Volkmer focuses on how audiences use the information they get from the news to participate in a global public sphere (2003). As a result of the ambiguity of the concept of global journalism, academics have struggled to prove global journalism’s empirical existence in news content.

The Swedish scholar Peter Berglez has in fact developed an empirically testable model of global journalism which can be applied to news texts. In this sense, global journalism is described as a concrete practice, which makes it “into an everyday routine to investigate how people and their actions, practices, problems, life conditions etc. in different parts of the world are interrelated”
Berglez argues that examples of global journalism are already being produced, but that scholars generally miss it because elements of global journalism are “marginalized, hidden or anonymously embedded in traditional news” (2013, p.11). It leads him to argue that “what we look for might be in front of our eyes, we just have to look closer” (2013, p.10). Trying to detect elements of global journalism in news texts is highly important, as this can expose whether journalism content is changing in the face of a globalizing social reality, possibly fostering the creation of a more cosmopolitan citizenry.

Even though not many, there have been some research projects that have tried to establish the empirical existence of global journalism by analyzing news content. Ibold and Iberi (2012) have looked at whether the New York Times is discursively constructing the idea of an international community, a presumed effect of the increasing number of global issues and problems. They conclude that international communities of politicians, activists or ordinary people are indeed receiving attention, helping to create awareness of global connectedness. Yet they also concede that the idea of a collective, global community of people was absent in the news. Konieczna et. al (2014) look at the use of frames in U.S. and Canadian television coverage of the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference, analyzing whether the coverage presented viewers with the global causes and effects of climate change or rather with culturally-bound interpretations. They conclude that American media include more global frames in their coverage than their Canadian counterparts. Van Leuven and Berglez (2015) have conducted a comparative study of Le Monde, The Times and De Standaard to see if a global news discourse was emerging in the face of a changing social reality. Even though they did find elements of global outlooks in news texts, they acknowledge that interpretation of the results can lead one to argue that there is both little and much global journalism to be found in newspapers (2015).

2.2 Defining a global news style

This thesis aims to expand on such empirical research projects by taking and developing further Peter Berglez’s empirically testable concept of global journalism called a “global news style” (2008).
Whereas traditional forms of foreign and domestic journalism take social reality and turn it into separate spatial events and processes, a global news style reconnects these. In this way, complex global relations can be made visible through journalistic stories, showing people how their lives are connected to seemingly isolated events, practices and processes (Berglez, 2013). Rather than replacing established forms of journalism, a global news style should be considered an addition to traditional domestic and foreign news styles, adding a global discourse as an “essential ingredient in the future of […] news” (Berglez, 2013, p. 68). Hence, a global news style is understood here as the necessary journalistic response to the forces of globalization that are changing the world. In contrast to forms of journalism based solely on national frameworks, a global news style aims to stress the global dimensions of life, helping to enhance news consumers’ understanding of how the lives of people around the world are becoming increasingly interconnected.

In order to detect the possible mixtures of journalistic styles, Berglez identifies a horizontal and vertical dimension of news styles (2008). The horizontal dimension defines the type of news, which can be domestic (focusing on the home nation of a news outlet), foreign (looking at what happens in other countries) or global (interrelating separate events, places, and processes) (Berglez, 2008). The vertical dimension defines specific journalistic outlooks on social reality, which also can be domestic (sharing national views on the reported matter), foreign (foreign views on a news event) or global (“establish[ing] knowledge of how our lives in Copenhagen, Cairo, Brisbane and Mexico City are intertwined” (Berglez, 2008, p. 847)). Ideally, a global news style would combine global news with a global outlook, but there can also be elements of a global news style present in domestic and foreign news (Berglez, 2008).

There are three specific characteristics of a global news style that can be traced in news content, which will form the cornerstone of the quantitative content analysis conducted as part of this research: global power, global space and global identity.

*Global power*

Global power refers to the changing power relations between micro- and macro-powers in the global
world. As it is argued that nation-states are gradually losing the ability to manage the world’s problems, scholars have argued a system of “global governance” is coming about, in which transnational organizations such as NGO’s are becoming “the advocates of the needs, interests and values of people at large” (Castells, 2008, p. 83). At the same time, ordinary citizens have acquired a more powerful position in the global age as well. An important development in that regard is that people have the ability to engage in “mass self-communication” (Castells, 2008, p.90), meaning that anyone with access to the internet can take part in many-to-many communication, publishing videos, blogs, etc., and make his or her voice be heard.

Herbert Gans’ concept of “multiperspectival news” is based on the idea that these changing power relations require a different journalistic mindset (2011). Traditionally, journalists have relied heavily on national political elites to shape their stories, disregarding the news consumers they are actually trying to represent (Gans, 2011). “Multiperspectival news”, on the other hand, would include the voices of ordinary citizens and non-mainstream groups in journalistic coverage (2011). Such an increased number of perspectives in journalism could help people see the many different power relations at stake, valuable information for news consumers to be used in the public sphere (Gans, 2011).

A global news style adapts to the changing power relations by including a “multi-power discourse” consisting of “individuals, groups, organizations, institutions, and companies at the local, national, regional, transnational and global level” (Berglez, 2013, p.38). The more varied the range of powers included in an article, the more global the discourse becomes. Important is that a global news style also stresses the connections between these powers, for instance when looking at how a decision made on the global level (e.g. a UN intervention) affects actors in different parts of the world, whether these are local, national, regional or global.

Global space

Coming back at Herbert Gans’ concept of representative, multiperspectival journalism, this form of journalism would include “all the major [...] geographic sectors” in its news coverage (2011, p. 6).
Even though Gans refers here specifically to covering all of the United States, his idea can be easily broadened to include geographical spaces around the globe, thereby trying to craft a more accurate picture of the “insufficiently reported and represented” (Gans, 2011, p.7).

The notion of including a plurality of spaces can also be taken a step further, referring to global space as the collapse of geographical boundaries. In traditional foreign and domestic reporting, news stories are built on what takes place in specific spatial, political or cultural contexts, “put[ting] the nation-state at the centre of things” (Berglez, 2008, p. 847). Such traditional stories often include a spatial center, a central place where a news event takes place, and which is not, or only briefly, left in the article. An example would be a foreign news story about crime in a city in Spain, only talking about what happens in that place, stressing geographical distance and reproducing cultural barriers.

By interconnecting places in news texts, a global news style can potentially cause spatial distinctions to disappear altogether. This happens when a story has no spatial center, but rather connects seemingly disconnected spaces to each other or includes virtual, global spaces such as online networks (Berglez, 2013). This way, multiple news events in different spaces are tied together. The story about crime in Spain could include an angle about how police in Norway has responded to similar crime issues, or how the U.N. in New York just discussed global crime policy.

*Global identity*

Global identity involves the processes of integrating individuals into identity formations that transcend local or national communities (Berglez, 2013). Benedict Anderson’s theory on imagined communities may prove to be useful here. Focusing on the creation of the nation-state, Anderson famously argues that “even members of the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (2006, p. 7). The media’s role in creating these imaginary national communities is crucial, producing “mass ceremonies” that tie people together by constantly reproducing the national “we” in stories (Anderson, 2006, p. 20). Examples of this are widespread: for instance, think of how organizations, politicians and ordinary people are constantly categorized according to their
national descent: the American people, our President, the Danish Prime Minister, etc. As these markers are considered natural by most of us, Anderson concludes: “Nationalism […] invents nations where they do not exist” (original italics, 2006, p. 20).

Rather than emphasizing a national “we”, a global news style would open up the possibility for new identity formations to show up, possibly stimulating a sense of global identification. This can be exemplified by the presence of a “global voice,” literally including comments in news coverage such as “it is humankind’s responsibility to do something about it” and “it has been globally condemned,” but also by mapping out identity conflicts (local, national and global) that can urge people to consider a global perspective on matters (Berglez, 2013, p. 43). Moreover, global news journalism can “discursively connect people with potentially similar identities across continental borders” (Berglez, 2013, p. 43). For instance, instead of focusing on American women, or the Swedish Labor Party, a story can refer to all women in the world or to the international labor movement, thereby transcending national identities.

2.3 An online global news style

This comparative research project aims to compare offline and online news content, in order to make it clearer how global journalism shows up in the news. As online journalism is understood as a platform with its own identity and content, it is useful to craft a model for an online global news style.

One may think that since the internet enables global dissemination of information (think of YouTube videos that are watched by over a billion people around the world), global journalism flourishes online. Global journalism is not per se about global reach though, but about the type of discourse attached to news coverage. In this regard, Peter Berglez argues that the internet is “hardly flooded with global outlooks” (2013, p. 105). Rather, research shows that, while the internet is in essence a global medium that knows no geographical boundaries, it is dominated by domestic news production and consumption. Thorsten Quandt’s study into content produced by ten online newsrooms from five different nations leads the German scholar to argue that “online journalism […] is basically good
old news journalism, which is similar to what we know from ‘offline’ newspapers” (2008, p. 735). Guy Berger adds that generally, online news outlets mainly cover local and national news, still domesticate foreign news events, and only give scant attention to Third World countries (2009).

Nonetheless, the world wide web offers great potential for news outlets to produce forms of global journalism. The internet is a medium that is more immediate, offers more space for in-depth reporting and more possibilities of interaction (Allan, 2006). It has created a situation of “network journalism” (Heinrich, 2008): Digital information networks have created an innumerable amount of global links between journalists, sources and their audiences, enabling journalists to present “multiple dimensions of an evolving reality” (Van der Haak et. al, 2012, p. 2928). As a result of the information overload available online, journalistic ideals of being an authoritative gatekeeper of the news are becoming outdated, while “the ability to connect, interact, integrate and thus collaborate with other nodes will decide [journalism’s] future fate within the evolving global news sphere (Heinrich, 2008, p. 14).

Multiple scholars have consequently pointed to hyperlinking as the new practice that makes the internet the ideal place for a global news style to appear (Steensen, 2011; De Maeyer, 2012; Berglez, 2013). Hyperlinks are clickable elements in a digital text which bring the reader to a different web page that includes new information. The expectations of the role of hyperlinks in journalistic productions are sky-high. Juliette de Maeyer identifies four promises of linking practices in online news articles: hyperlinks make stories more interactive, as people have to decide themselves what to click on and what to ignore (2012). Secondly, stories with hyperlinks become more credible, as space for additional background information is virtually limitless. Transparency is also a result of linking practices, as the reader can trace back some of the author’s newsgathering practices. Lastly, hyperlinks can enhance diversity in journalism (De Maeyer, 2012), adding new and more voices, or as Herbert Gans would argue, help produce multiperspectival news (2011).

Connecting the use of hyperlinks to an online global news style, this thesis sticks to the three dimensions defined earlier: global power, space and identity. As for power, hyperlinks can make
global power relations more visible and graspable. They are symptomatic of “network journalism,” in which journalists have become nodes like many others in online information networks that are criss-crossing the globe (Heinrich, 2008). It is up to journalists to connect different nodes in news coverage, and hyperlinks can help to represent a more “dynamic combination of voices from different parts in the world” (Berglez, 2013, p. 119). These voices can be citizens on social media, advocacy groups, other media, etc. For instance, a story about one country’s CO₂ emissions can benefit from hyperlinks that bring the reader to websites of a range of national and transnational actors, in that way showing the power relations at play.

The online world is intrinsically a global space, as the boundaries that separate nation-states are non-existent. On the web, people can travel through space without even noticing it. An online global news style helps building the roads people take to travel the globe digitally, by including hyperlinks that narrate how different spaces in a story are interconnected (economically, politically, environmentally, etc.), actively escorting news consumers from place to place. This “virtual global transportation,” for instance by linking to another news story that takes place somewhere else on the planet, simulates human movement between places, instilling people with a sense of “real” global space (Berglez, 2013, p. 116).

As for identity formation, an online global news style can benefit from the increased interactivity on the web, with journalism’s use of social media as the force that can “definitively pave the way for the inclusion of plural identities” (Berglez, 2013, p. 119). On social media, there is a plethora of voices available that can portray identity processes triggered by a global crisis, thereby opening up space for the inclusion of a combination of voices around the world. Such global chats would certainly benefit the global public sphere, the concept of a virtual, political space where people from around the world have deliberative discussions about global problems (Volkmer, 2003). For instance, online coverage of a domestic event can turn into a global conversation when stories, opinions and social media updates from people around the world are added, thereby also laying the foundation for common identities.
After having explained the need for and specifics of a global news style, both for print and online journalism, it is instrumental to see whether a global news style really is a concrete practice. As discussed, the mere notion that news media are capable of spreading information on a global scale does not mean they are producing forms of journalism that accurately depict the global dimensions of life. In fact, this thesis will not even focus on global journalistic outlets, rather zooming in on a set of domestic media outlets to test whether the empirical existence of global journalism can be established.
3. American global journalism

Up to now, a big part of global journalism research has focused on global and transnational media outlets, following the logic that journalism content which is transmitted globally, also fosters a global discourse. A prime example of such research focuses on CNN and the CNN-effect, the presumed political and moral impact of spreading images of human suffering around the world (among others, Cohen, 1994; Gilboa, 2005).

As a result, global journalism research often overlooks the importance of local and national news, causing journalism scholars to lose track of how journalism systems around the world are changing. It is important to note that a global news style can show up in any type of media, whether local, national or global (Berglez, 2013) and that audiences still predominantly consume news from national journalistic outlets (Hafez, 2008). Crucially, as the world grows more interconnected, national media can actually be expected to use global frameworks more often (Olausson, 2013).

This makes it imperative to analyze domestic media outlets, explaining why this thesis focuses on American news organizations. American journalism, in many ways an example for media systems around the world, is an extremely powerful institution that has been variously described as a “bulwark of democracy” (Gans, 2010), “a window on the world” (Tuchman, 1978) and the truth-telling institution (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001). Hence, one of the core principles of modern American journalism is to present people with “fair and full information” about the world, so that they can make “sound political choices” (Schudson, 2008, p. 8). As a result of globalization, these ideals are seriously being tested. With economic, political and cultural dimensions of life mixing on a global level, American journalism would have to adapt if it wants to tell complete, truthful information. In this sense, adopting forms of global journalism, explaining the global connections at play in our world society, may help journalists to spread a ‘global truth’ about the world.

At this stage of the thesis, it is valuable to get a sense of the current state of American journalism. To get a full picture of the global world, American news consumers would benefit greatly from broad coverage of issues and events, but it has been widely documented that American journalism is going
through rough times. During the last decade, technological and digital developments have contributed to a range of major newspapers companies going bankrupt or laying off big chunks of their workforce (Starr, 2009), causing the total number of journalists employed by U.S. newspapers to fall from 56,900 in 2001 to 38,000 as of 2012, the lowest number ever recorded by the American Society of News editors (ASNE, 2012). The crisis situation extends to broadcast and online journalism as well, where the 24/7 news cycle has made speed more important than accuracy (Klinenberg, 2005), leading Kovach and Rosenstiel to conclude that the “mixed media culture” has actually “diluted the stream of accurate and reliable information” (2001, p. 3). The Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism adds that “with reporting resources cut to the bone and fewer specialized beats, journalists’ [...] ability to go deep into a story are compromised” (2013, n.p.). Some scholars even argue that these transformations mean that “journalism as it is, is coming to an end” (Deuze, 2007, p. 141).

The genre of international news has been hit particularly hard. The last decade, foreign news events have received less and less attention in traditional American media, “rapidly losing ground at rates greater than any other topic area” (Hamilton, 2009, p. 463). Along with this, since 2004 public interest in foreign news has declined steadily (Pew Research Center, 2012). As a result, when cuts had to be made, many outlets decided to close foreign bureaus and fire their correspondents in recent years (Livingston and Asmolov, 2010). Critics argue it has caused American media to cover just “the tip of the iceberg of all events and news produced daily around the world” (Hafez, 2011, p. 485), potentially harming the development of forms of global journalism that try to lay bare the interconnections on our planet.

Others say that, in the era of globalization, the genre of foreign reporting is in the process of evolving. The laying off of foreign correspondents has not only to do with economic considerations (J.T. Hamilton, 2010), but also with the notion that we now live in a network society (Castells, 2002) in which information flows are many and global, providing news organizations with new possibilities to gather the news. For instance, from behind their computers, journalists can turn to a broad range...
of information nodes (such as ordinary citizens, local media) to cover a far-away event. The idea that these days virtually “everybody can be a foreign correspondent” (J.M. Hamilton, 2009, p.478) was showcased by the coverage on the Arab Spring uprisings, when journalists made extensive use of user-generated content (Hänska and Shapour, 2012). It leads Van der Haak et. al to argue that these new networked forms of journalism may be a path to better, more independent journalism (2012).

Notwithstanding these developments, the fact that American media organizations are giving less space to less foreign news and that the public is paying less attention to it, brings up serious concerns about the American media’s capacity to adequately explain the complexities of today’s global world to its readers and viewers.

3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This observation brings us back to the idea that inherently the nature of news is changing, affecting the way it can be, and maybe should be, covered. This is exemplified by the emergence of global crises – as events that transcend national borders, they are ideally conceptualized in global terms. There lies the central challenge for American journalism’s claim to telling “the truth” about the world (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001): traditional forms of foreign journalism tend to cover news events as isolated happenings, not as interconnected processes. Even though such outlooks appear to be increasingly inapt ways to depict the global world (Olausson, 2013), they have shown to be dominant forces in American journalism. I argue that foreign news coverage would benefit way more from the adoption of a “global news style,” a form of journalism truly adapted to the global age. This type of journalism fosters a multiperspectival view of things by including a global range of powers, spaces and identities, thereby taking into account the increasing number of interconnections present in our world.

Most of what people know about the world, they get from the news (Archetti, 2010). If American journalistic outlets succeed in adopting a global news style, it could function as a force speeding up some of the processes started by globalization. The main example of that is the emergence of a cosmopolitan citizenry. Global forms of journalism, representing and voicing the realities of distant
others (Chouliaraki and Blagaard, 2013), produce information that helps people reflect on their actions in a globalizing world (Berglez, 2013), potentially stimulating a more politically-active, cosmopolitan citizenry (Dahlgren, 2013). Taking into account how the forces of globalization are changing the world, the increasingly global nature of problems (Bauman, 1998) and the potential to educate cosmopolitan citizens that can do something about them, makes the importance of adopting forms of global journalism in American news coverage difficult to overstate.

To reiterate, this is the main research question:

RQ: To what extent do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal (both print and online) and GlobalPost adopt a global news style when covering a global crisis, thereby helping to educate a more cosmopolitan citizenry?

This research is based on a comparative quantitative content analysis, looking at how three American news outlets, the NYT, WSJ (both offline and online) and GlobalPost.com, cover a prime example of a global crisis (the Japanese earthquake and corresponding nuclear disaster in 2011). The aim of this project is not only to establish the empirical existence of global journalism in American global crisis coverage, but also to trace potential differences between online and offline media texts. This comparison brings up the following sub-question:

SQ1: Is American online journalism more “global” than print journalism?

Comparing newspapers

Looking back at the theoretical framework, it is appropriate to craft some hypotheses. It has been argued that the presence of a global news style in contemporary forms of journalism has been marginal at best (Berglez, 2013). There is one important exception to this – financial journalism. This is of special interest to this research, as the coverage of the financial newspaper the Wall Street Journal will be analyzed and compared to that of the New York Times. As a result of the creation of transnational markets and a networked global economy, financial news tends to go beyond the use of national outlooks more often than other forms of journalism, using global spaces, powers and
identities to explain the current economic situation (Castells, 2010; Berglez, 2013). Examples include Bloomberg, Dow Jones and the Financial Times, organizations that consider a global outlook on news to be the standard (Berglez, 2013).

H1: The Wall Street Journal will adopt more global powers, spaces and identities in its coverage than the New York Times.

Comparing online-offline content

As shown, the rise of the internet has enabled new ways of covering the news, potentially contributing to the evolvement of foreign reporting. On the web, there is an innumerable amount of nodes containing valuable information. It is increasingly up to journalists to make sense of this “information overload” and serve as guides for news consumers (Van der Haak et. al, 2012, p. 2935; Heinrich, 2012). Hyperlinks, which enable news outlets to link to other web pages, can be important tools to fulfill this new role (De Maeyer, 2012). At the same time, hyperlinks are important elements of an online global news style, as the use of these links gives journalists new possibilities to include more global powers, spaces and identities in online articles.

H2: Thanks to the use of hyperlinks, the online articles of NYT and WSJ as well as GlobalPost.com will include a bigger range of powers, spaces and identities than the offline media outlets analyzed.

Comparing length

A global news style is considered an addition to traditional domestic and foreign forms of journalism, not something that replaces it. Fundamentally, global journalism goes a step further than domestic or foreign journalism, which is reflected in the inclusion of a broader range of powers, spaces and identities in news coverage. Consequently, even though Peter Berglez thinks a global mode of reporting does not have to be more time-consuming or expensive than other forms of journalism (2013), it can be expected that longer articles include more powers, spaces and identities, making the interconnections at play better visible for the reader. Hence the following hypothesis:

H3: The longer the article, the more probable it is to find elements of a global news style.
Discussing the research questions and hypotheses laid out above can spark an academic discussion on global journalism that goes beyond the repetition of unattainable, normative ideals. Global journalism skeptic Kai Hafez is right when he states that while existing global journalism research euphorically tends to announce a new era of journalism, such outpourings have not been based on firm empirical foundations (2008). While that leads Hafez to denounce global journalism as nothing more than a myth, that might be a bit too easy as well. In fact, journalists might have adapted since Hafez wrote his book in 2008. In the second part of this thesis then, the inclusion of global powers, spaces and identities in online and offline American foreign news coverage will be empirically analyzed, aiming to kickstart a more rewarding conversation on the future of journalism.
4. Methodology

To help answer the research questions, this project has conducted a comparative quantitative content analysis, comparing multiple American online and offline media outlets and their coverage of a global crisis, the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami. A quantitative content analysis is described as “the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of [...] those categories using statistical methods” (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014, p.3), enabling the researcher to identify manifest content in texts in an objective and systemic manner (Bryman, 2012). It is a method well-suited to analyze large amounts of data and compare and contrast content produced by different journalistic outlets, thereby potentially drawing valuable insights (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014). These characteristics of a quantitative content analysis make it the ideal method to see if the empirical existence of global journalism can be established. Moreover, it allows the researcher to detect whether there are differences between content produced by multiple different journalistic genres and platforms.

4.1 The Outlets

This research aims to draw conclusions about the extent in which American newspapers and websites are producing forms of global journalism. The United States has a broad spectrum of media outlets which, as described above, are struggling with changes brought about by globalization as well as trying to adapt to them. Three prominent American news outlets with well-respected foreign news desks have been picked for analysis, as these allow the researcher to establish the empirical existence of global journalism and to paint a picture of the evolving state of American foreign news journalism.

As for newspapers, the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal are leading players in their field. They are both known as quality newspapers and are the second (WSJ) and third largest (NYT) newspaper in the United States in terms of circulation (Beaujon, 2014). The Wall Street Journal focuses more on financial topics, whereas the New York Times is a general newspaper with various subsections such as politics, culture and fashion. Both outlets cover domestic as well as topics around
the globe and have the highest number of foreign correspondents amongst U.S. media (Enda, 2011). It can therefore be expected that the Japanese crisis is covered extensively. Additionally, scholars have exposed the power of newspapers such as the New York Times to set the “international news agenda” for other media organizations (Golan, 2006, p.323).

While circulation rates of both newspapers are going down, the New York Times and Wall Street Journal have two of the most-visited news websites of all American news organizations, also boasting the highest numbers of paid-subscribers (Doctor, 2015), making them well-suited outlets to compare articles published on their offline and online platforms. The content analysis of online articles of the New York Times and Wall Street Journal has focused on blogs such as NYT’s “The Lede” and WSJ’s “Japan Real Time.” These are not micro blogs1 on which amateurs publish their work, but rather integral parts of the newspapers’ websites filled with articles written by journalists. These professional blogs enable journalists to report on events quicker and with more depth than in the print edition, also offering more possibilities of interaction with readers (Reese et. al, 2007). One of the blogs is called “The Lede”, a New York Times blog mixing national and international news stories: its homepage states that its goal is “to supplement articles in The New York Times and draw readers into the global conversation about the news taking place online” (“About The Lede”, 2015, para. 1).

The reason for analyzing articles on these blogs is that they are not merely duplications of articles that appeared in print, but are written specifically for online purposes, thereby increasing the chances of finding forms of “link journalism”, exemplified by the extensive use of hyperlinks (Karp, 2008, para. 1). Shovelware, content first published in print and then reproduced online, was left out the content analysis on purpose, as this would have made it more difficult to retrieve valuable insights regarding the specific differences between journalism produced for a newspaper and for a website.

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1 Stuart Allan describes micro blogs as a citizen-based form of journalism, being “diaries or journals written by individuals seeking to establish an online presence” (2006, p. 44). The most popular micro blogs tend to revolve around a specific topic or theme, potentially creating online communities of interest (Allan, 2006).
The third online outlet picked for analysis is *GlobalPost.com*, an American news website founded in 2009 that aims to “report the world [...] without any political or ideological leaning” (“About GlobalPost”, 2015, para. 4). The mission statement of *GlobalPost* makes it an interesting outlet for this research project, as the website aims to “exploit powerful global demographic, political and economic trends” and to cover topics that “are shaping all our lives” (“Our Mission”, n.d., para. 1). In contrast to other media organizations, which have made countless cutbacks on foreign reporting (Livingston and Asmolov, 2010), *GlobalPost* makes use of a network of a hundred correspondents in over 50 countries, employing editors in Boston as well as Mumbai, India who are updating the website around the clock. Articles on *GlobalPost* tend to be examples of in-depth reporting, as the website publishes only a limited number of articles per day, often longer pieces. These characteristics make *GlobalPost* different from the other media organizations, potentially affecting the inclusion of global powers, spaces and identities, and therefore constituting an interesting outlet for analysis.

### 4.2 On the Japanese crisis

One news event has been picked for analysis, the Japanese earthquake and tsunami (and corresponding Fukushima nuclear disaster) in 2011. Important for this research project is that the event is an example of a global crisis as well as of a natural disaster – media coverage of which can “constitute a sense of our felt relationship to the environment and others” (Cottle, 2009, p. 84). According to Cottle, global crises mainly start to exist in people’s minds as a result of widespread media attention (2009). The Japanese earthquake is well-suited in that regard, constituting a story that received enormous coverage from American media in 2011, even serving as an event that sparked (at least temporarily) a renewed interest in foreign news amongst American news consumers (Pew Research Center, 2012).

This particular crisis had a grave physical impact on the region. The March 2011 earthquake off the coast of Japan was one of the most powerful earthquakes to be ever recorded in the world. To make matters worse, the earthquake triggered powerful tsunami waves that swept away entire villages on the Japanese coastline. Together, the earthquake and tsunami killed more than 15,000 people.
Various nuclear energy plants in Japan were damaged severely by the forces of nature, and in the aftermath of the disaster, there were reports of nuclear leakage in the Fukushima Daiichi plant. This led to the release of high amounts of nuclear radiation, causing an uncertain situation not unlike after Chernobyl. The Japanese government decided to evacuate approximately half a million people living in the vicinity of the reactor (Nuclear Energy Institute, 2015). The earthquake and tsunami hit Japan the hardest, but the waves also struck regions across the Pacific, from Russia to Hawaii, from the Philippines to Mexico.

Beyond the direct physical impact of the disaster, the corresponding political, economic and moral impact also spread across the globe. The nuclear leakage in Japan quickly led to worldwide discussions on nuclear energy, and it moved countries like Germany to reduce their reliance on this particular energy source (Harding, 2011). The economic impact of the disaster was equally far-reaching: energy outages, for instance, meant that many Japanese factories could not produce goods for the global market for weeks, causing almost instant problems for the global supply chains (Yamamura, 2014). The disaster led governments, aid organizations and ordinary people around the world to set up relief efforts to help the victims. Quickly after the disaster struck, 91 nations pledged financial help to Japan, a range of countries sent search-and-rescue squads to the region and people around the world donated money through Twitter, Facebook and iTunes (Ford and Provost, 2011).

Another interesting facet of this global crisis is that scholars have indicated social media networks were used extensively during and after the earthquake and tsunami. Whereas government communication was largely absent on online networks, ordinary people were highly active on social media, spreading crisis information and expressing their emotions (Seong Eun and Park Han, 2013). This is significant, as this particular event thus gave journalists at least the potential to include online nodes and links to social media in their coverage.

4.3 The sample

This comparative content analysis looks at individual news articles published in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, on their websites and on GlobalPost.com. All print articles of the New York Times
and Wall Street Journal were found through the online newspaper database ProQuest. The blog posts of the NYT and WSJ were found through their online archives (query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch/ and online.wsj.com/search). The researcher had full access to the paywall parts of these websites. Since GlobalPost does not have a publicly accessible online archive, those articles were retrieved through a targeted Google search, adding a time frame, specific key words, and the search term “Site: GlobalPost.com” to limit the search to pages appearing on that domain.

As for the time frame, the content analysis focuses on two weeks of coverage of the Japanese earthquake and tsunami. This period is chosen because it is long enough for newspapers and websites to extend beyond the first stage of ‘merely’ describing the physical impact of a disaster, thereby opening up room for more in-depth coverage. At the same time, the time frame helps to keep the sample size workable. Additionally, specific key words were used to make sure relevant articles were picked. The analysis covers articles that contain the keywords “Japan” AND “earthquake” AND “tsunami” between March 11, 2011, when the earthquake hit Japan, and March 25, 2011, two weeks later.

To ensure that all offline and online articles in the sample were relevant and comparable for the analysis, the researcher manually filtered out and excluded the following articles from the sample:
- articles only including minor references to the Japanese earthquake, tsunami or nuclear crisis
- articles merely summarizing what is in the newspaper or available on the web, as those articles serve as a sort of table of contents, rather than constituting full pieces of journalism
- articles in the ‘briefs’ section, as these only appear in print
- online material such as videos, slide shows etc. that do not have an equivalent in print

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2 The ProQuest database was specifically used because it granted access to both the NYT and WSJ, thereby making it easier to compare articles published in the two newspapers. LexisNexis Academic only included the NYT.
This way, a total of 441 articles about the Japanese earthquake were retrieved. Table 1 shows the number of articles per outlet. A full list of articles and their titles (including the articles that were manually filtered out) as well as hyperlinks to the online articles can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1: Sample size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlets</th>
<th>Japanese Earthquake (Keywords: “Japan” AND “Earthquake” AND “Tsunami”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wall Street Journal</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSJ Blogs</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYT Blogs</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GlobalPost</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What directly stands out is the relatively low number of articles found on GlobalPost, whereas the two newspapers gave significantly more space to this foreign news event. This may seem odd, as GlobalPost presents itself as a website that focuses mainly on foreign news. The reason for this is the publication policy of GlobalPost: the website publishes only a limited number of in-depth stories every day, most of them filed by their correspondents on the ground. The newspapers published such stories as well, but complemented these with different types of articles, for instance shorter articles written by editors located in the United States.

4.4 Coding

A detailed coding scheme has been crafted to help answer the research questions. The data was coded in Microsoft Excel. The articles were coded for a number of variables including basic story information (date, dateline, number of authors and type of story). The coding was done deductively, as the categories and qualifications in the coding scheme are based on Berglez’s work on a global news style, in which he defines three empirically researchable parts: global powers, spaces and
identities (2008). The coding scheme was tested by analyzing ten articles that were not part of the definitive sample, in that way seeing if the coding scheme, its rules and its categories functioned properly.

Firstly, the researcher looked for all powers cited in the opening paragraph and entire text to see how sourcing practices of the New York Times, Wall Street Journal (offline and online) and GlobalPost.com relate to changing power relations, for instance through including more non-state actors and ordinary citizens, referred to by Gans as multiperspectival news (2011). Table 2 shows the part of the codebook which explains how to code these powers. The complete codebook can be found in the appendix section (Appendix B).

Table 2: Codebook: potential powers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powers</th>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No powers mentioned</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Situation around Japanese nuclear disaster not improved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. American officials</td>
<td>Officials that are from the U.S.: all persons holding public office or having official duties, especially as representatives of the government. Also, bureaus/departments of the government.</td>
<td>Secretary Clinton wants investigation into nuclear energy threats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Japanese officials</td>
<td>Officials holding public office or having official duties as representatives of the Japanese government.</td>
<td>Tokyo mayor mourns victims earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Officials of other nations</td>
<td>All people holding public office from countries other than the U.S or Japan.</td>
<td>Chinese government to reassess nuclear energy after Fukushima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transnational officials</td>
<td>All elements connected to transnational political organizations that focus on a particular area of the world.</td>
<td>EU takes a stance on nuclear energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Global officials</td>
<td>All elements connected to global decision making powers.</td>
<td>International Atomic Agency fed up with Japanese government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aid organizations/NGO’s</td>
<td>Situated outside the official</td>
<td>Red Cross says more money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 This coding scheme is based partly on an earlier research project conducted by the author of thesis as part of the foreign reporting course, which also involved Berglez’s global news style (“Global Crises, Global News Style? Tracking the New York Times’ Coverage of the Rwanda Genocide and the Syrian Civil War”). The coding scheme has been altered to fit this specific project.
The second part of the analysis focuses on space and looks at whether spaces around the world are included and whether spatial distinctions are starting to disappear. For every article, it was established whether a spatial center is present by looking at how many locations (in different countries) are included in the text, and whether the text includes different news events happening in different spaces\(^4\). After this, the coder indicated the geographical impact of the news events described in the text. This could either be local, national, regional, continental or global.

The third set of variables is connected to the construction of national and global identities. By looking for the presence of American and other national identity markers (the American President, the Danish economy, etc.), the researcher could see if national imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) were being reproduced. Alternatively, the coder looked for markers of transnational identities that

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\(^4\) When identifying a global news style, it is most important to look at whether or not multiple spaces in different countries have been included in news coverage. It is less relevant to look at the question which specific spaces have been included, explaining why this is not part of the coding scheme.
connect people across nation-state boundaries (EU citizens, the international labor movement, the
global economy). To see if global identities were constructed, the researcher also looked for the
inclusion of a “global voice” (Berglez, 2013) that stresses universalist notions of humanity (mankind’s
responsibility, etc.).

As discussed earlier, the use of hyperlinks in digital journalism is pointed to as a potential tool for
journalists to include a broader range of powers, spaces and identities in their work (Berglez, 2013).
Therefore, three questions specifically tailored for online articles were part of the coding scheme.
Firstly, the researcher looked for hyperlinks in the text and tried to see if those lead to new or
expanded perspectives from the powers identified in table 2. Secondly, the researcher indicated
whether hyperlinks are included that transport the reader to new spaces, for instance in the case of
an article about nuclear leakage in Japan, a hyperlink that leads to a news story about nuclear energy
policy in Germany. Then, by looking for hyperlinks to social media and forums, the coder could
establish whether the news article enabled “a global chat” between citizens around the world
(Berglez, 2013).

Berglez argues that a truly global news style, combining global news with a global outlook is, even in
our global age, a rare phenomenon, as elements of multiple news styles often mix (2008). To test
that, the researcher combined, after reading the entire article, the dominant type of news with the
dominant type of outlook in the text. Table 3 shows the possible options.

Table 3 Codebook: News outlook – news type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News outlook - News type</th>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Example of a headline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Domestic-foreign</td>
<td>Domestic outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Americans worry about nuclear disaster like Fukushima”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Domestic-global</td>
<td>Domestic outlook on global news</td>
<td>“Republicans dismiss climate change report”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Foreign-foreign</td>
<td>Foreign outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Earthquake in Japan kills thousands”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Foreign-global</td>
<td>Foreign outlook on global news</td>
<td>“Japanese government angry with UN inaction”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Global-foreign</td>
<td>Global outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Nuclear disaster Japan: are plants around the world in danger?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Global-global</td>
<td>Global outlook on global news</td>
<td>“How to tackle climate change in face of natural disasters”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5 Limitations

As is the case with any research project, this thesis has its limitations and the researcher is well aware of them. Due to time constraints, there was only one coder and an intercoder reliability test was not applicable. Additionally, to keep the sample size workable, the sample was restricted in size by using a time frame of two weeks. While this was enough time to detect forms of journalism going beyond the first stage of describing the physical impact of the disaster, articles about the earthquake and nuclear crisis continued to be published long after this period. The last sampling limitation is the fact that the researcher did not have access to the online archive of GlobalPost.com. When the researcher set out with this project, the archive of GlobalPost was publicly accessible, but after the website got a makeover in March 2015, the archive function disappeared. Therefore, the researcher had to rely on a targeted Google search, which resulted in (slightly) different search results and a corresponding number of articles.

The online analysis conducted as part of this research suffers from a methodological limitation. When tracing hyperlinks in online texts, the researcher stumbled upon some dead, outdated links. In some cases, the URL of the link showed what kind of information was supposed to be there (for instance a link to a New York Times article that has been removed, or to an NGO that does not exist anymore), but in other instances the researcher could not determine this, thus potentially impacting the findings. Additionally, live blogs and other online formats were left out on purpose, as this would make the online content less comparable with the print articles, but analyzing these hybrid forms of online journalism would be highly interesting for future global journalism research.

Readers of this thesis need to keep in mind that the outlets and news event were picked specifically because of their large potential for global journalism. Analyzing coverage of events not defined as global crises can result in significantly different findings. Moreover, the researcher analyzed three prominent national offline and online outlets, all three dedicated to foreign reporting, indicating that the results can be different when the content produced by more or other American media outlets (tabloids, TV, etc.) is analyzed. Ideally, these limitations serve as stimuli for other research projects.
that can help enhance our understanding of how journalism is affected by globalization. Lastly, the researcher has made a conscious decision to focus only on American media. This leaves ample room for scholars to do cross-national analyses and see how global journalism is practiced around the world.
5. Findings

In the quest to determine the empirical existence of global journalism, considered a way to educate news consumers about the global dimensions of life, this part will present the findings of the comparative content analysis that has been conducted. To reiterate, this project revolves around one main research question and a sub question:

RQ1: To what extent do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal (both print and online) and GlobalPost adopt a global news style when covering a global crisis, thereby helping to educate a more cosmopolitan citizenry?

SQ 1: Is American online journalism more “global” than print journalism?

This chapter starts out with identifying differences and similarities between the five outlets in terms of basic story information. After that, findings regarding the inclusion of different spaces, powers and identities in the outlets’ news coverage will be presented.

Basic story information

In total, 441 articles were coded, all published in the first two weeks after the earthquake hit Japan. Firstly, articles were coded for length in paragraphs. On average, articles in the print version of the New York Times were the longest, with 23.4 paragraphs, while especially the blog articles were much shorter, as can be seen in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wall Street Journal (N=119)</th>
<th>WSJ Blogs (N=97)</th>
<th>New York Times (N=131)</th>
<th>NYT Blogs (N=57)</th>
<th>GlobalPost (N=37)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average length in paragraphs</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By far most articles published by the five outlets were categorized as ordinary news stories, with the outlets also publishing a lower number of opinion pieces, editorials and news analyses. The
percentage of news articles as part of the total sample hovered around 85% for the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *GlobalPost*. On the WSJ blogs 79.5% of the articles were news stories, while the same was true for only 57.9% of publications on the NYT blogs. Whereas the NYT blogs gave less space to news stories, it did publish a significant number of opinionated pieces and editorials, amounting for 31.5% of its total sample. Also interesting is that about 7.9% of articles on the WSJ blogs did not fall in any category, being new or hybrid formats.

Another finding relates to the number of authors who wrote the articles and the datelines attached to them. In the two newspapers, it appeared to be a common practice to let articles be written by multiple journalists, often located in different spots on the globe. On average, the *New York Times* articles were written by 2.4 authors, the *WSJ* publications by 2.6. At the same time, almost all articles on *GlobalPost* and on the two blogs were the work of just one journalist.

### 5.1 Powers

The rest of the findings section will zoom in on the type of global journalism laid out in the theoretical framework, a global news style. One of the basic tenets of a global news style is the inclusion of a varied range of powers. Firstly, it is interesting to look at the average number of powers that was cited per article, comparing the five different outlets.

Table 5: Average number of powers per article, per outlet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wall Street Journal</th>
<th>WSJ Blogs</th>
<th>New York Times</th>
<th>NYT Blogs</th>
<th>GlobalPost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average number of</strong></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>powers per article</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On average, articles published on *GlobalPost* included the largest number of different powers, almost four per article, while articles on the two blogs showed the lowest number of powers. The *New York Times*’ print articles generally cited more powers than the *Wall Street Journal*. Importantly, this table shows only the powers that were included in plain text, without paying attention to hyperlinks. In
fact, hyperlinks used by the three online outlets brought readers to a new or expanded set of powers.

When looking at the overall use of hyperlinks, it becomes clear that the New York Times blogs made the most use of them: in only one article (out of the total of 57) no hyperlinks were found. In the case of the Wall Street Journal blogs, 74.2% of the articles included hyperlinks. On GlobalPost, 67.6% of articles contained hyperlinks. This finding is reflected in the number of powers that were accessed through hyperlinks, counting both new powers as well as expanding the perspective of powers already present in the text. On average, the New York Times blogs included the most of these, with 2.5 new or expanded powers. Hyperlinks present in the WSJ blogs included 1.7 powers, while links in GlobalPost articles helped access an average of 1.6 powers. Notwithstanding the differences, all three online outlets added additional powers through hyperlinks, thereby surpassing the range of powers included in the print articles that were analyzed.

Following Berglez as well as Gans’ concept of multiperspectival news, it is not only important to look at how many powers are included in journalistic productions, it is just as crucial to see which powers are represented, as a global news style is not about the inclusion of global powers, but about representing a broad range of them. Only looking at powers included in plain text, thus excluding powers found through hyperlinks, table 6 shows which powers were cited the most in coverage on Japan.

**Table 6: Powers present in percentage of articles, per outlet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powers/Outlets (Power cited most per outlet is <strong>bold</strong>)</th>
<th>Wall Street Journal</th>
<th>WSJ Blogs</th>
<th>New York Times</th>
<th>NYT Blogs</th>
<th>GlobalPost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Officials</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese officials</td>
<td><strong>50.4</strong></td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other national officials</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational officials</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are interesting differences as well as similarities to note in regard to the inclusion of powers.

The *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times* and *GlobalPost* relied heavily on Japanese officials as sources, in about half of the articles. The two blogs were significantly less reliant on these sources. When adding all officials (U.S., Japanese and ‘other’) together though, it shows that these are very much dominant sources, with *GlobalPost* including officials in basically every article.

Experts were used as sources extensively by all five outlets, with the *New York Times* giving them the most space, in 52.7% of all articles. These experts could be, for instance, financial analysts, scholars, or experts in nuclear energy, which became important sources in the aftermath of the Fukushima nuclear plant breakdown. Whereas it is not surprising that financial newspaper the *Wall Street Journal* included companies and their spokespeople in high numbers, the *New York Times* did the same, and there are almost no differences to be found between the two in that regard.

*GlobalPost* included the broadest range of powers, including all possible powers in over 10% of the articles, except for transnational officials (2.7%) and U.S. companies (8.1%). The foreign news
website made particularly much use of the coverage of other media, in over half of its articles.

Additionally, in relatively many GlobalPost articles, the voices of ordinary citizens were represented, whether they were from the U.S, Japan or somewhere else. The Wall Street Journal and its blog version gave the least attention to ordinary voices. Lastly, global officials were found in about 20% of the articles published by the two newspapers and GlobalPost, but were almost non-existent in articles on the two professional blogs.

Again, the blogs and GlobalPost also represented additional or expanded perspectives of powers through the use of hyperlinks. Which powers were linked to the most can be found in table 7.

Table 7: Online powers included through hyperlinks, in percentages of articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powers/Outlets</th>
<th>WSJ Blogs</th>
<th>NYT Blogs</th>
<th>GlobalPost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Officials</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese officials</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other national officials</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational officials</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global officials</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid organizations/NGO</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. citizens</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese citizens</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other citizens</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. companies</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese companies</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other companies</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experts</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hyperlinks on GlobalPost brought the reader the most times to web pages from other media (in 48.6% of the articles), as well as to Japanese official sources (29.4%). Whereas the New York Times blogs linked to other media even more often (in 50.9% of the articles), the WSJ blogs almost completely refrained from doing that (only in 14.4% of the cases). Compared to the two other online platforms, the New York Times blogs gave relatively much attention to U.S. officials and U.S.
companies, hinting at practices of domestication. Even though the number was low (5.3%), the NYT blog posts also linked to U.S. citizens the most often of the three outlets. Generally, the WSJ blogs included a broad range of powers through its hyperlinks, with no clear dominance of one or two powers. When comparing table 7 to table 6, it appears there is quite some overlap between the powers accessed in the text and through the hyperlinks, making it clear that while hyperlinks do have the potential to bring readers to new powers, they can also help to give more space to powers already present in the text.

5.2 Spaces

This part of the content analysis looked at whether there are signs that spatial distinctions have disappeared in times of globalization. First looking at how many different locations were included in the articles, the five outlets, on average, all contained about two different spaces in different nation-states. The *New York Times'* print articles included the highest number of spaces: 2.3 per article. *GlobalPost* included 2.2 spaces per article, the WSJ 2.1, and the two blogs 2.0.

Hyperlinks have been described to help virtually transport readers to different spaces, for instance through a link to a news article about something happening on the other side of the planet. After indicating the dominant space in a text, it was established how many additional spaces were included through hyperlinks. In the case of the NYT blogs, one new space per article was added through links. WSJ blogs included 0.7 new spaces per article, *GlobalPost* 0.6.

The corresponding question was whether the article made attempts to interconnect news events happening in different spaces, thereby overcoming the traditional spatial center, a dominant place which is not, or barely, left in an article. The *New York Times'* articles made these connections the most times, in 62.6% of all cases. The *Wall Street Journal* did this the least times: in 45.4% of the articles multiple news events and locations where included and connected to each other. There was not much of a difference to be found between the online outlets, with 55.7% (WSJ blogs), 56.1% (NYT blogs) and 56.7% (*GlobalPost*) of articles connecting different spaces and events.
The researcher also looked at the geographical impact of the news events described. As can be seen in figure 1, all five outlets extensively used national terms to describe the scope of news events, with *GlobalPost* doing this the most times: in 45.9% of all articles. The *Wall Street Journal* is the outlet that most often described events in global terms, in 40.3% of the articles. A relatively high percentage of WSJ blog posts discussed news events in terms of regional impact: 32% of the times.

![Geographical scope per outlet](image)

*Figure 1: Geographical scope of news events in percentages of articles, per outlet*

### 5.3 Identity

This part focuses on the construction of national and global identities in print and online articles. The results in table 8 show that markers of national identities were ubiquitous among publications of all five outlets. U.S. identity markers were particularly dominant in the *New York Times*, where 56.5% of all articles included textual markers of an American identity. Correspondingly, the NYT articles also included a literal “American we” relatively often, in 16 instances or 12.2% of the sample. This is the highest number found among the five outlets: the *Wall Street Journal*, for instance, included a national we in only 3.4% of the articles.
Other national markers, predominantly Japanese, were widely found among all five outlets, with every *GlobalPost* and 95% of the *Wall Street Journal* articles containing textual markers that reproduce national identities. The findings show that the two blogs contained the least national identity markers: about a quarter of all articles on the WSJ blogs, for instance, included markers of an American identity, while 29.8% of the NYT blogs did the same.

*Table 8: National and transnational identity markers in percentage of articles, per outlet*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identities/Outlets</th>
<th>Wall Street Journal</th>
<th>WSJ Blogs</th>
<th>New York Times</th>
<th>NYT Blogs</th>
<th>GlobalPost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Markers of an American identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers of other national identities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers of transnational identities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussing transnational identity markers, between 42.1 and 48.1% of articles on the five outlets included such markers, with no big differences between the different media organizations. A global voice, stressing universal dimensions of humanity, was rarer to find. The NYT blogs included a global voice the most, in 22.8% of the cases. *GlobalPost* was not far behind, with 21.6% of the articles containing a global voice. The *Wall Street Journal* included a global voice the least, with 13.4% of articles in the sample stressing universal dimensions of humanity.

Peter Berglez puts a lot of hope in linking to social media as a way for journalists to enable global chats between people, thereby fostering the news consumers’ understanding of similarities and differences between people around the world. Yet, the presence of hyperlinks or references to social media users in the online articles appear to be rather low in the sample. The NYT blogs contained most of them: 17.5% of the articles had links to social media platforms. Of these, 60% included voices from different parts of the world, thus enabling readers to experience and in theory participate in a
global conversation. The two other online outlets linked even less. *GlobalPost* linked to social media and online forums in 10.8% of the sample articles, while 6.2% of WSJ blog posts did the same.

5.4 Dominant news outlook – news type

After reading each article, it was indicated which combination of news outlook and news type was dominant. Ideally, a global news style would combine a global outlook with global news, but in general, according to Berglez (2008), mixtures of outlooks and news types are more typical of news coverage. The results shown in figure 2 indicate that the traditional combination of a foreign outlook on foreign news was dominant. This is true for the *Wall Street Journal* and the WSJ blogs, but particularly for *GlobalPost*, where 70.3% of the articles fell in that category. Also interesting is that both *New York Times* outlets show a high number of domestic-foreign news articles, stressing a domestic outlook on foreign news events. The combination of a global outlook on foreign news was present in all five outlets, but the most times in the *Wall Street Journal*. There were only a few instances of a truly global news style, articles combining a global outlook on global news. Most of them were found on the NYT blogs, in 7% of the articles.
5.4.1 Looking at opinion pieces and editorials

Figure 2 shows the image that emerges from analyzing all articles, without making distinctions between different story types. In an earlier research project about the presence of a global news
style in foreign reporting of the *New York Times*\(^5\), it was found that a significant number of opinionated pieces took on a global outlook on news (Kossen, 2014), which makes for an interesting question whether this was the case too with reporting on the Japanese earthquake and tsunami. When the articles on all five outlets that were categorized as editorials or opinion pieces were singled out (N=49), 44.9% of articles were still categorized as foreign news with a foreign outlook. The main difference when comparing editorials and opinion pieces to the entire sample is the number of articles that fell in the category global-global: 12.2% of the opinion articles shared a global outlook on global news, higher than seen in the graph above. Nonetheless, the most interesting finding emerged when looking at identity markers: almost half of all editorials/opinion pieces included a global voice, 46.9%. This is a significantly higher percentage than what was found among all articles, when the NYT blogs included a global voice the most times, in 22.8% of the articles.

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\(^5\) This research paper, “Global Crises, Global News Style? Tracking the New York Times’ Coverage of the Rwanda Genocide and the Syrian Civil War”, was written by the author of this thesis and was presented in the foreign reporting course.
6. Discussion

This comparative quantitative content analysis has brought forth interesting findings on the empirical existence of global journalism, which will be further discussed and analyzed in this section. Touching upon the hypotheses and research questions, this chapter seeks to make observations as to whether American foreign reporting of the NYT, WSJ and GlobalPost is embracing forms of global journalism. Starting out with a close-text analysis, the first part of this chapter aims to clarify the three main ways foreign news articles in the sample were structured: the traditional foreign news article, the domesticated article and the globally-minded article. After that, the discussion will focus on the hypotheses, comparing and contrasting newspapers, journalistic genres and mediums in order to find out whether and how global journalism shows up in the news.

The main research question of this project is the following: To what extent do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal (both print and online) and GlobalPost adopt a global news style when covering a global crisis, thereby helping to educate a more cosmopolitan citizenry?

6.1 The traditional foreign news article

Analyzing hundreds of articles on the Japanese earthquake, tsunami and corresponding nuclear disaster gives a solid overview of how three influential American news outlets approached this global crisis in the first two weeks. First of all, traditional forms of foreign reporting were everywhere to be found. All five outlets published news articles on Japan which fitted the category foreign news with a foreign outlook. Such stories generally contained a couple of elements. They tended to be written by journalists located in Japan, writing from cities like Tokyo or Sendai. The scope of the disaster was described in local or national terms. There was a dominant spatial center present and the geographical distance of Japan to an American audience was stressed. Regarding sourcing practices, in such articles journalists mainly talked to Japanese officials, spokespersons for TEPCO (the Japanese company managing the Fukushima plant) and ordinary Japanese citizens.
When it comes to the presence of identity markers, something interesting was found in these traditional foreign news articles. Discussing the disaster response, journalists tended to stress what is supposed to be the unique national psyche of Japan, talking about how well Japanese people are accustomed to earthquakes and tsunamis. Throughout the articles, the people of Japan were described as courageous, adamant and down-to-earth, responding to all the hardships “with a [...] mood of quiet stoicism” (Fackler, 17 March 2011). Other authors noted with surprise that “few Japanese in the hardest-hit areas have complained” and that “there has been little sign of looting” (Bellman and Inada, 23 March 2011). Thus, rather than talking about universal feelings of loss and despair after the natural disaster, such articles stressed national identity markers to describe the reaction of the Japanese people as a distinctly national and cultural one, also hinting at the notion that Americans would have reacted in a wholly different way.

6.2 Domestication

Besides these typical foreign news articles that stress the physical and cultural distance of a crisis to its audience, practices of domestication, bringing a foreign news topic closer to the United States, were also widespread. Even though most Americans were not physically affected by the natural disaster in Japan, it was only shortly after the earthquake and tsunami hit that articles in which the U.S. played the main role started to get published. During the first days of the coverage, the consequences of the tsunami waves for the U.S. West Coast were widely described in the news, while in the end the damage done was only minor, particularly when comparing it to the situation in Japan. When President Obama sent navy ships to Japan to help with rescue missions, American media paid extensive attention to that, with some outlets even having correspondents on board of the ships. When the nuclear crisis started to unfold inside the Fukushima plant, American media turned their attention to the state of nuclear plants in the U.S. Even when the financial impact of the crisis appeared to be turning global, for instance when Japanese carmakers closed their factories for several weeks, journalists thought of ways of how to domesticate this. A WSJ blog post with the
heading “How Will Japan’s Earthquake Affect U.S. Car Makers?” (Welsh, 15 March 2011) is a potent example.

All of this can be traced in the findings, particularly when looking at the coverage of the *New York Times* and the NYT blogs. U.S. officials, U.S. citizens and U.S. companies were widely cited by these two outlets, which also included the most markers of an American national identity. It led the *New York Times* to publish articles that shared a domestic outlook on either foreign or global news in 32.8% of the cases, while the NYT blogs did this even more often, in 45.6% of all articles.

This way, covering a far-away crisis with only weak initial connections to the U.S., can actually reproduce an American national imagined community. Benedict Anderson talked about “mass ceremonies” to explain how media messages can tie people together and reproduce national identity, something which can be demonstrated by referring to one of the articles in the sample. An op-ed published in the *New York Times* titled “A price too high” connected the nuclear problems in Japan to the United States, literally asking the question “can a disaster comparable to the one in Japan happen here?” (Herbert, March 19, 2015, para. 4). In answering it, the author talks about “our” reliance on nuclear power, and how “we” should respond to the heightened risk of a disaster (Herbert, March 19, 2015). The author calls that a question “Americans have an obligation to answer” (March 19, 2015, para. 3), clearly addressing the audience as one American people, helping to strengthen the national imagined community.

6.3 Global space, scope and power

Even though these types of articles seem to be the opposite of the concept of global journalism as described in the theoretical framework, it is important to remember that a global news style is supposed to exist next to traditional forms of domestic and foreign journalism, supplementing what is already there, not wiping it out. Typical foreign news reporting as well as domestication are important forms of journalism that help educate people about what is happening in far-away places, as well as bringing those events closer to audiences. Crucially though, in the era of globalization, virtually every news event also contains global angles which can be made visible by global journalism.
This is clearly the case with the Japanese earthquake analyzed in this project, as a foreign event that quickly turned into a global crisis.

In the 441 articles analyzed, there were signs indicating that, rather than disappearing and in crisis, foreign news journalism is in the process of transformation. This can be exemplified by pointing out the forms of global journalism that were found, for instance in the pieces of financial reporting. Most of them published in the *Wall Street Journal*, articles on financial topics often included a plurality of spaces and a global scope. On March 16, 2011, the WSJ published an article titled “Crisis Adds New Risk To Global Recovery,” describing in global terms how the looming nuclear disaster could affect the world economy. Tackling how stock markets fell around the world and how international companies are bracing for problems with global supply chains, the article contains a quote by an economist who says, in response to the situation in Japan: “The world is rapidly becoming a scarier place” (qtd. in Barta and Whitehouse, March 16, 2011, para. 4). What this article is particularly good at is illustrating that quote, tying together seven different locations to give an overview of how events such as “the debt troubles of Greece”, “tensions in the Middle East” and “North Africa in turmoil” are coming together with the Japanese disaster to have an amplified global economic impact (Barta and Whitehouse, March 16, 2011).

Not financial journalism, but in-depth reporting on nuclear energy and natural disasters offered the most possibilities for a global voice to pop-up. One piece published on *GlobalPost*, about the attempts to fix the Fukushima plant, seemed to be a typical foreign news story, starting out with quotes from Japanese officials, but the article also gives room to the voices of “people around the world” who are critical of the Japanese government and energy company TEPCO (Kirk, March 22, 2011, para. 4). When a World Bank report about the estimated economic damage is quoted, the author indicates that whatever economic hardships there may be, “the human cost promises to be much higher” (Kirk, March 22, 2011, para. 22). A similar global voice was present in a *New York Times* article about the line of seawalls that failed to defend Japanese cities against the crushing power of the tsunami waves. The author notes that “whatever humans build, nature has a way of overcoming
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it” (Onishi, March 14, 2011, para. 14). Instead of focusing on national cultures and identities, these two articles stress a common sense of humanity that everybody can relate to.

At least at times, the articles that were analyzed fitted the definition of multiperspectival journalism. Herbert Gans complained about American journalists’ reliance on national officials and the corresponding lack of ordinary citizens and non-mainstream groups in news reporting. Whereas official sources still have an important presence in the articles published by all five outlets, the media organizations do offer space to a fairly broad range of powers from around the world. American citizens, for instance, were included in more than a tenth of all articles published by the New York Times, the NYT blogs and GlobalPost, notwithstanding the fact that they had only a minor role to play in the crisis. Publications on the WSJ and WSJ blogs contained, rather unsurprisingly, a mix of companies around the world. Experts and specialists were included in over 40% of all articles from the five outlets. The inclusion of NGOs was particularly high on GlobalPost and in The New York Times, but the other outlets also gave room to these non-governmental organizations typical of the increasingly influential political system of “global governance” (Castells, 2008).

In an ideal situation, this can lead to something Berglez calls a “multi-power discourse,” in which virtually every stakeholder in a discussion gets to have his say (2013). Especially some of the articles published on GlobalPost were examples of that, containing an average of four powers per article, also adding 1.6 powers through hyperlinks, and including every potential power included in the coding scheme in more than ten percent of the articles, except for transnational officials and U.S. companies. For one, a story titled “Japan: Migration to Osaka” describes how people in Japan are migrating to cities further away from the Fukushima plant or even overseas (Narang, March 21, 2011). Eight different sources are cited, including an Austrian ambassador, German, Japanese and U.S. citizens, a non-profit organization, an Italian airline and the Osaka tourism bureau. It leads to a plethora of voices and perspectives on the matter, leaving the reader with the opportunity to dissect them. Articles with such a broad range of powers will inevitably lead to a broader range of
perspectives, and as these views can come from people around the world, it increases the chances of fostering a global discourse.

6.4 Comparing two newspapers

Besides giving a general overview of how American journalism is adopting a global news style, this project is comparative, comparing mediums (print, online), genres (foreign news, financial) and long and short articles with each other. Peter Berglez argues that, up to now, global journalism is marginalized in every journalistic genre, except for in financial journalism (2013). By including both the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* in the analysis, this project can see if Berglez’s claim holds up. Hence, the first hypothesis is:

**H1:** The *Wall Street Journal* will adopt more global powers, spaces and identities in its coverage than the *New York Times*.

This has not been proven unequivocally. On average, the *New York Times* articles were longer and included a broader range of different powers. Additionally, the NYT connected events happening in different spaces more often than the *Wall Street Journal* did. Surprisingly, there was almost no difference between the outlets in terms of including company sources.

This is only one side of the coin though. The financial type of reporting typical of the WSJ includes a lot of talk about bonds, supply chains and ‘the markets’, elements that are inherently tied to the contemporary global economy (Castells, 2008). When discussing the stock market in the U.S., it becomes difficult to explain trends without touching upon worldwide factors, of which the Japanese earthquake was certainly one in 2011. This explains why a large number of WSJ articles did discuss the global scope of news events and share a global outlook on foreign news, significantly more often than the *New York Times*.

The downside of such financial reporting is that a human element was often lacking, with no or scant attention being given to ordinary people, who are relatively far-removed from the world of stock markets and investment banking. A global voice, talking about the universal elements of humanity,
did not seem to be a good fit with articles discussing global markets either. The *New York Times* offered more space to ordinary citizens and identity markers than the WSJ, but oftentimes did so in order to domesticate the Japanese natural disaster. This is showcased by the presence of many domestic outlooks, markers of a U.S identity and at times an ‘American we’.

In the end, whereas there are differences in the way the two newspapers approach news topics, they produced a largely similar set of news outlooks, with a dominance of foreign outlooks on foreign news. What was most interesting to see was that when financial topics were discussed, the articles included a global outlook more often.

It seems that, as the economy has turned irreversibly into a global organism, slowly a new media logic is starting to come about in which the economy is commonly described in global terms. Media logic here refers to the set of routinized ways and dominant formats journalists use to construct the news and decide what gets represented and what does not (Berglez, 2011). This is certainly not only dependent on the agency of individual media workers, but rather is a complex product of many elements, including institutional, technological and cultural contexts (Deuze, 2009). Over time, publics, political actors and journalists internalize and naturalize these norms, explaining why there are commonly shared understandings of what ‘a good story is’ or what is meant when terms like ‘politics’ or ‘the economy’ are used (Chadwick, 2013). Crucially, as the world around us is globalizing, these changing contexts seem to be creating a situation in which it becomes more natural and even expected that financial topics are discussed in global terms. A term like ‘the economy’ then, would gradually become synonymous with the notion of an interconnected, world economy.

### 6.5 Comparing offline and online

Online journalism has been defined as an ideal place for a global news style to emerge. Sub question 1 asks whether online journalism can be argued to be more global than print journalism. Even though the comparative quantitative analysis indeed has led to proof of the existence of a distinct online global news style, at the same time there is also much room for journalists to make use of the web in a more effective way.
For instance, hypothesis 2 states that thanks to the use of hyperlinks, the online articles of NYT and WSJ as well as GlobalPost.com will include a bigger range of powers, spaces and identities than the offline media outlets analyzed. This hypothesis has been proven, as all three online outlets made use of hyperlinks, in that way clearly broadening the range of powers and spaces included in the coverage. An example of that is a story on the NYT blogs which discusses the response of U.S. officials to the nuclear leakage in Japan. In the opening paragraph, there is a link to an article on another news website which explains that the American Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) has just recommended U.S. citizens in Japan to stay at least 50 miles away from the Fukushima plant (Zeller Jr., March 17, 2011). This hyperlink gives context for the rest of the article, replacing a full paragraph in a traditional print story. In the remainder of the article, the author moves on to analyze the NRC’s response, by giving voice to scientists, an NGO and a U.S. energy company. Links lead to official websites of the NGO and energy company, thereby elaborating their perspectives. Besides discussing the U.S. situation, the article also touches upon European policy making, linking to an article on the website of the BBC about how German chancellor Angela Merkel has changed her views on nuclear energy, as well as to a WSJ article written in Prague about how the European Union is responding. This way, even though this article is domesticating the Japanese nuclear crisis, thanks to the use of hyperlinks the reader is virtually transported from Japan, to the U.S., to Germany, to Prague.

Use of hyperlinks was found among all three outlets, bringing in more perspectives from around the world, thereby fulfilling one of the promises of hyperlinks as defined by De Maeyer (2012). That having said, only the NYT blogs systematically made use of hyperlinks, while the WSJ blogs and GlobalPost also published a range of online articles with no hyperlinks in or around the text, even when there were clear possibilities to do so. For instance, an article on the WSJ blogs talks about a possible rapprochement of South- and North-Korea (Woo, March 18, 2011), in fact textually linking this to the natural disaster in Japan, but refraining from including a hyperlink to a news article about Japan, which would have given more context as well as serve as a way to virtually transport readers to another space.
What may have played a role there was the notion that on the WSJ website, there seems to be a policy discouraging the inclusion of links to competitive news organizations. As a result, there was a dominance of internal links on WSJ.com, leading the reader to web pages of the media organization itself. This goes against the notion of broadening the number of perspectives, explaining why internal linking has been identified as an enduring challenge to the emergence of a true linking culture (De Maeyer, 2012).

In contrast, the NYT blogs and *GlobalPost* linked extensively to other media organizations, sometimes even basing entire articles on what other media already said. Whereas it is debatable whether such borrowing increases the overall quality of journalism, these forms of widespread linking can be argued to be a way for journalists to make the most use of the possibilities of the web. At the same time, it helps include a bigger range of powers, spaces and identities in news articles, while it also reaffirms the notion that journalists do not have to be located in a certain spot anymore to cover news events in that place.

*6.5.1 Social media links*

The findings show that the amount of links to social media, in that way facilitating “global chats” between online citizens (Berglez, 2013), was underwhelming. The potential is certainly there, as exposed by the articles that did include links to social media and forums. The NYT ‘Dot Earth’ blog is the prime example of that, publishing articles on how humans are shaping the planet and its climates. These stories are not just full of hyperlinks, the authors asked readers oftentimes to comment and systematically included links to Twitter in their articles. For one, there is a story on the ‘Dot Earth’ blog about an animated Japanese video that tries to explain the nuclear crisis to kids (Revkin, A.C., March 21, 2011). Thanks to Twitter users around the world, the video was quickly subtitled in different languages and went viral. In the article, the Japanese artist is interviewed and individual tweets are referred and linked to, thereby enabling the reader to get access to and engage in a virtual discussion. Deliberation such as this fits the earlier discussed idea of a “global public sphere”, a virtual place where people come to talk about global issues (Volkmer, 2003).
Still, considering the fact that social media channels were used extensively during and after the Japanese earthquake and tsunami (Seong Eun and Park Han, 2013), it is unfortunate these information nodes were only sparingly used in news coverage. Ideally, examples of “network journalism” would systematically make use of online citizens, considering them nodes like any other in the network society (Heinrich, 2012). One of the potential roadblocks for journalists in this case might have been language issues: Japanese signs had to be translated into English to become understandable for most journalists as well as the audience, which only some of the articles did.

While there were not a lot of references to social media comments within the articles, the online media outlets do have the sheer reach to foster global chats by simply spreading the stories through their social media accounts. The New York Times Facebook page, for instance, has more than 9 million followers, who can share stories to a multitude of that number: for further research it would be highly interesting to look at how news organizations are using social media platforms to foster conversations about global issues.

6.5.2 Does story length matter?

To include a foreign outlook on foreign news, an article usually cites foreign officials or citizens to describe a far-away situation. For a domestic outlook, a journalist can turn to U.S. officials, companies or citizens. A global outlook would require a mix of powers, spaces and identities, which can be expected to take more space and thus be found in examples of longer, in-depth reporting. To foster our understanding of how global journalism shows up in the news, hypothesis 3 was formulated:

H3: The longer the article, the more probable it is to find elements of a global news style.

Articles on GlobalPost and in the NYT were, on average, the longest and included the most varied range of powers and spaces. For instance, a story of 49 paragraphs in the NYT titled “A Crisis that Markets Can’t Grasp” follows how markets and financial experts around the world respond to the earthquake, including seven different powers, seven spaces, a global scope and a global outlook
In contrast to such in-depth reporting, the blog posts were much shorter, on average half the size of a NYT article, also including significantly less powers, spaces and identities. Looking at it this way, it seems the hypothesis holds up, but online journalism has an important edge: extensive use of hyperlinks can help to make up for the difference in length. An article of only six paragraphs can, through hyperlinks, still include a broad range of powers, spaces and identities. The findings indeed show that when links are included, the average number of powers and spaces in online articles go up significantly, underscoring the value of a true linking culture on the web.

When it comes to space, newspapers have clear limits they can devote to a topic, often meaning foreign and domestic perspectives dominate over global ones. Whereas online outlets potentially have unlimited space to fill, they have shown to produce mostly fast, short bits of information (Allan, 2006). It is through linking that such short articles can turn into forms of multiperspectival, global journalism.

### 6.5.3 Type of stories

The type of stories published on the two blogs are significantly different from what is published in their print counterparts. For instance, while by far most articles in print were typical news stories, the blogs offered more space to opinionated articles (particularly the NYT blogs) as well as to new hybrid forms of journalism (WSJ blogs). Articles in a WSJ blogs section called “Economists react” serve as an example of a hybrid format: in those articles, a WSJ journalist starts out with summarizing recent news events and market trends (often in just a few sentences with various hyperlinks), after which a group of economists, analysts and bankers around the world tell what their predictions are, both politically and financially. These articles do not fit the category news story, nor are they simple opinionated pieces: rather elements of both are present.

At the same time, the blogs published pieces about a broader range of topics than found in the other outlets, some of them ostensibly further removed from the actual natural disaster. This is reflected in the ‘other powers’ that were included on the blogs, both in-text and through hyperlinks. These are actors that did not fit in the range of powers that were thought to potentially play a role in the
Japanese earthquake and tsunami. Examples include blog posts about how Japanese soccer players active in the American Major League Soccer are coping with the disaster (Kimura, March 18, 2011) as well as an article about a famous comedian who gets criticized for making jokes on Twitter about the earthquake (“Aflac searches for New Duck,” March 14, 2011). These topics did not get attention in the two print outlets, but neither on GlobalPost.

Possibly as a result of these new story types and a broader topic range, something interesting came up in the findings. Traditional forms of news journalism, mostly found in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, as well as in the online articles of GlobalPost, included markers of national identities almost in every article, reaffirming that this is a routinized way to cover people and their actions around the world. In contrast, the two blogs showcased more examples of innovative forms of journalism, while reproducing national identities significantly less. This contradicts the findings of Thorsten Quandt’s research on online newsrooms (2008), in which he concluded that online journalism still represented national interests and identities. The findings of this thesis indicate that on the web, long-lasting journalistic routines could be gradually changing.

6.5.4 Differences in news outlooks

In the end, did these differences between offline and online journalism lead to the presence of other journalistic outlooks? Not really. The dominant combinations of news outlook – news type were mostly similar: notwithstanding the elements of an online global news style that were found in the articles, all five outlets predominantly shared foreign outlooks on foreign events, the traditional way of covering far-away events. The New York Times print version and its blog also domesticated the coverage in high numbers. Still, global outlooks on foreign events were also found on all outlets, the most times in the Wall Street Journal. A truly global news style, combining a global outlook with a global news topic, was found only sparingly, for instance in 7% of the articles on the NYT blogs. This may seem like a low number, but taking into account previous research projects exposing the enduring influence of national sources and identities in news coverage (for instance Gans, 2011;
Riegert, 2011), finding some perfect forms of global journalism serves to show that, even though still marginalized, it has turned into a concrete practice.

One of those inherently global articles was titled “Gauging Disaster’s Toll on an Economy” (Appelbaum, March 15, 2011). Importantly, this NYT blog post does not focus on Japan’s economy, but on any economy after a disaster has struck. Citing reports about the 2010 Haiti earthquake, the 1995 Kobe earthquake and a recent earthquake in the Chinese province of Sichuan, the story tells in general how disasters can affect economies and people. The global outlook becomes especially apparent in the following phrase: “Disasters function as a kind of savage stimulus, drawing an economic response as surely as our bodies send cells to staunch wounds” (Appelbaum, March 15, 2011, para. 5). The article essentially takes a step away from the Japanese earthquake and makes clear that earthquakes can and do happen in many places around the world (thus entailing a global news type), also stressing that people tend to respond to them in largely similar ways (thus including a global voice and sharing a global outlook). It is through such an article that the global interconnections between people, places and events around the world can be made visible by journalists.

6.6 Global journalism and cosmopolitan citizens

While global journalism critics such as Kai Hafez (2008) and Kristina Riegert (2011) are right when they argue there is still a strong reliance on national officials and practices of domestication in foreign news journalism, this quantitative content analysis of 441 news articles has also shown that global journalism can indeed be identified as a concrete practice. Sometimes a global news style shows up as a specific kind of journalism, existing next to domestic and foreign journalism, but more often there are certain elements of a global news style intermingling with those traditional approaches to news. Crucially, this analysis exposes that, even though still marginalized, a global mode of interpreting social reality does exist in regular news reporting, as a new media logic seems to come about that turns it into a journalistic routine to stress the interconnectedness of the world.
Importantly, various different variations of global journalism were found across journalistic genres and platforms. Examples of financial journalism, having been described as the first “modern product of global journalism,” stress over and over again the “global relational rationale” of stock markets, bonds and other business-related topics (Berglez, 2013, p. 126). Some of the global, in-depth reporting on the Japanese nuclear crisis discursively constructed relations as well, but more so between people than between economies, concretized by the increased presence of an emotional, global voice. On the web, forms of global journalism were more compact and innovative, constructing worldwide relations and a global discourse by using chains of links that can add a multitude of powers, spaces and identities to news coverage.

The empirical existence of global journalism causes questions to emerge as to how audiences are affected. Through laying bare the global dimensions of events, issues and relations, journalists can start to spread a ‘global truth,’ enabling readers anywhere to experience the shared, global world as something concrete and graspable (Berglez, 2013). American coverage of the Japanese earthquake and tsunami concretized the globalizing planet in two main ways: firstly, there was a recurring discourse of inescapability, the idea that nobody is left unaffected by globalization. For example, articles telling audiences that global mechanisms such as natural disasters and climate change “could threaten, annoy, control, or reach them wherever they might be situated on planet earth” (Berglez, 2013, p.28). Secondly, when the issue of nuclear energy was discussed, a discourse of catastrophe was often apparent, stressing that if something goes wrong, people around the world will be part of the problem. For instance, a GlobalPost article about nuclear energy quotes an ordinary citizen as saying “building nuclear power plants is preparing for the end of the earth” (qtd. in Clarke, Mar. 20, 2011), clearly reproducing a sense of inescapable catastrophe.

Spreading a global discourse about the dangers that all citizens of the world are facing (Beck, 2006) could certainly affect audiences that consume this news coverage. As noted in the theoretical framework, global journalism has the potential to educate audiences about the changing world and help them turn into cosmopolitan communities: people that come from different cultural
backgrounds, but develop a shared set of values such as self-reflection and a moral responsibility towards others (Beck, 2006; Turner, 2002; Chouliaraki and Blagaard, 2013). At least in some cases, coverage of the Japanese earthquake seemed to fuel “cosmopolitan moments” (Beck, 2009), bringing people together by laying connections between ‘here’ and ‘there’ as well as by stressing universal elements of risk.

This kind of information can lead people to reflect upon their position and actions in the interconnected world, potentially providing people an impetus to start rallying for changes in the world society. Much of such global activism, described by Peter Dahlgren as civic cosmopolitanism (2013), can be found online: in the aftermath of the Japanese disaster, people around the world spread their opinions on social media, forums, etc., resulting in the type of worldwide deliberation imagined by Ingrid Volkmer to be part of a “global public sphere” (2003). Around the world, nuclear energy became a hot button issue and swings in public opinion helped to bring about political changes in some places. For instance, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, taking into account upcoming elections, decided to close a number of nuclear energy plants after the Japanese disaster sparked public unrest in Germany, whereas an American NGO successfully lobbied for a stress test for U.S. nuclear plants.

Nonetheless, the notion that global journalism is fueling a global public sphere (Volkmer, 2003) full of cosmopolitan citizens is normative and difficult to establish empirically. In other words, it cannot be simply assumed that a few pieces of global reporting will turn people into global activists. Rather, before it can be argued that global journalism has a direct effect of fostering a more cosmopolitan citizenry, forms of global reporting would have to become an integral part of mainstream news reporting. Paralleling how the “mass ceremonies” of traditional foreign reporting have slowly but surely naturalized the concepts of nation-states and national cultures (Anderson, 2006), forms of journalism spreading a ‘global truth’ could be on a similar track, discursively constructing global spaces, identities and people.
A new, global media logic that makes connections between what is ‘here’ and ‘there’, whether on a geographical, cultural, political or social level, would need to become a standard way of explaining news events. If global relations are constantly reproduced in news reporting, gradually these global elements no longer have to be voiced, having become a naturalized way of interpreting social reality (Berglez, 2013). That this is possible in the globalized world can be exemplified best by the genre of financial journalism, where the global relations tied to the contemporary economy have been partly naturalized and no longer need to be literally named every single time. For instance, when language such as “the markets” is used, readers are able to imagine the global relations behind it. The appearance of such a media logic constitutes an important sign that journalism is actually adapting to the global world.
Conclusion

This thesis started out with seemingly basic questions such as “what is global journalism?” and “how does it show up in news content?”, actually delving into the complicated relationship between globalization and the media. The contemporary world has been described as a place where many dimensions of life are transcending national boundaries, directly affecting the nature of news. Fostering a basic understanding of journalism’s goal to tell people ‘the truth’, this thesis consequently argued that if journalists really want to spread truthful information about the world, forms of global journalism that take into account and make visible the global relations at work in our world today are urgently needed. Through the inclusion of global powers, spaces and identities in everyday news coverage, journalists can start to spread a ‘global truth’ about the world.

Did American journalism show signs of doing this? Whereas Hafez dismissed global journalism as a myth back in 2008, this comparative quantitative analysis indicates that American journalism is in the process of changing. Crafting a framework for an empirically testable model of global journalism and analyzing offline and online coverage of the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami, this dissertation found that global journalism is more than just a theoretical fantasy, it is concrete practice. By zooming in on the presence of powers, spaces and identities in individual news articles of the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and GlobalPost, articles were found that were multiperspectival, made use of the countless information nodes available in the network society, stressed universal elements of humanity and included physical and virtual spaces around the world.

Having compared different outlets and journalistic genres, this thesis found that global journalism can show up in different shapes and forms. Whereas financial journalism described the scope of news events oftentimes in global terms, this kind of reporting generally gave only scant attention to how ordinary people are affected. Forms of longer, in-depth reporting on the nuclear crisis did show signs of establishing connections between people in different parts of the world, whether by connecting news events happening in different spaces or by including a global voice that stresses universal elements of humanity. On the web, forms of global journalism were found to be shorter,
yet innovative, using hyperlinks to include a broad range of powers, spaces and identities, in that way making up for the difference in article length between on- and offline articles. What these forms of global journalism have in common is an underlying media logic that describes global relations and global risk as an inescapable facet of our globalizing planet, potentially contributing to a more politically-active, cosmopolitan citizenry.

Nonetheless, the analysis has also shown that global journalism and a global media logic are still marginalized phenomena. Amongst all three U.S. outlets, there was a dominance of traditional domestic and foreign reporting, covering news events as happening in particular spatial contexts, reflected in the widespread use of official sources, national identities and domestic spaces.

Moreover, whereas the web has shown to be a place where there is room for new, innovative ways of reporting the news, offering possibilities for global journalism to flourish, the online outlets analyzed are not yet making full use of those possibilities, and a true linking culture still has to develop.

This thesis has to be considered an exploratory attempt at establishing the empirical existence of global journalism in news content. The comparative content analysis zoomed in on a selective set of American news outlets, as all three can be considered frontrunners in the business, with high budgets, well-respected foreign reporting desks and innovative online platforms. I am well-aware of the limits of this approach and argue that in order to be able to craft a broader picture of the existence of global journalism among American news outlets, genres and platforms, future research would have to include more and other types of outlets (E.G. tabloids, TV news).

The findings of this thesis underline the importance of additional global journalism research, as journalism scholars and journalists alike would benefit greatly from more detailed information on how journalism is undergoing changes in times of globalization. To see if the adoption of a global news style is expanding, researchers can make use of the framework of global journalism developed in this thesis to look at how media outlets around the world are covering the many global crises popping up (Cottle, 2009). Currently, for instance, there is widespread coverage on migrants coming
into European countries like Hungary and Italy, a theme which can only be explained satisfactorily if journalists step away from national frameworks and start to include perspectives from around the European Union and the Middle East. Research that compares how different domestic media outlets are covering the European migrant crisis would help to track the emergence of a global media logic among various platforms and genres. Especially on the web there seemed to be a lot of unused potential for global journalism. As that may change quickly, online journalism deserves particular scholarly attention.

Lastly, this project touches upon the significant influence global journalism can have on audiences, but rather stays on the theoretical side. Global journalism research would benefit greatly from reception studies as well as ethnographic studies, as both directions can help foster our understanding of the complicated relationship between the forces of globalization, the conscious and unconscious construction of global journalism and the way news consumers around the world process this information. One could think of research looking at how people respond to coverage of a global crisis (Cottle, 2009) online through comments on news websites or Facebook. Whether it focuses on discussions surrounding the rise of Islamic State or the issue of climate change, such type of audience reception studies can enhance our understanding of the potential power of a global discourse held by cosmopolitan citizens. Additionally, newsroom studies into financial news outlets like the Wall Street Journal could serve to clarify whether and some of the ways how a global media logic is naturalizing forms of global discourse.

Kovach and Rosenstiel have referred to “the truth” as the “most confusing principle” of American journalism (2002, p. 35), noting that there are always different ways to reach it. When describing the world, there are indeed multiple ways to do so: whether it is by domesticating a far-away event, or by stressing geographical and cultural distance in foreign reporting, journalists are spreading one particular interpretation of the truth. This thesis has attempted to describe why these types of journalism are becoming worn-out, inapt ways of representing a world that has turned into a complicated puzzle with billions of pieces, making the adoption of global journalism a matter of
necessity (Berglez, 2008). In trying to continue to spread accurate information, telling audiences a ‘global truth’ about the world becomes more and more important for journalists everywhere, as the main way to provide audiences with a deeper understanding of what is happening on our globe. A global media logic that naturalizes the idea of a world characterized by global relations will not become prevalent in everyday news reporting overnight. Tracking the evolution of global journalism around the world is imperial, as the future of journalism as a sustainable institution is on the line.
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Appendix A: List of articles

The titles of articles included in the sample can be found in the list below. Articles that were not deemed fit for analysis, for instance because they were too short, a duplicate, etc., are crossed out.

New York Times (N=131)

1. Japan's Strict Codes and Drills Are Seen as Lifesavers
2. Powerful Quake and Tsunami Devastate Northern Japan
3. Hawaii and West Coast Avoid Catastrophe as the Tsunami's Strength Dissipates
4. Japan's Industrial Heart Escapes the Heaviest Blows
5. Evacuations Ordered Near Two Nuclear Plants After Warnings of Small Leaks
6. After Tsunami, Igawa Leaves Yankees' Camp
7. As Death Toll Rises, a Frantic Effort to Rescue Survivors
8. Japanese Scramble to Avert Nuclear Meltdowns
9. On Edge of Disaster, Sleepy Town Reels From Tsunami Devastation
10. Crisis at Pair of Reactors Underscores Japan's Fear Of the Nuclear Industry
11. Released Radioactive Materials Range Broadly in Degree of Danger
12. Premier Calls Mounting Crisis Worst Since World War II
13. U.S. Nuclear Push May Be in Peril
14. Japan Reels As Toll Rises and Nuclear Risks Loom
15. Residents Who Escaped Return to See What, if Anything, Is Left of Their Lives
16. Second Explosion at Reactor as Technicians Try to Contain Damage
17. Seawalls Offered Little Protection Against Tsunami's Crushing Waves
18. Quake Moves Japan Closer to U.S. and Alters Earth's Spin
19. U.S. Nuclear Plants Have Same Risks, and Backups, as Japan Counterparts
20. Supply Disruptions of Power and Water Threaten Japan’s Economy
21. When Unrest Stirs, Bloggers Are Already in Place
22. Japanese Stocks Plunge as Investors Worry About Effects
23. Auto Plants in Japan Remain Closed as Companies Take Stock
24. A Festival Of Japan's Culture Proceeds
25. For Elderly, Echoes of War's Horrors
26. Anxiety and Need Overwhelm a Nation
27. Nuclear Crisis Grows for a Stricken Japan After Radiation Spews From a Reactor Fire
28. In the Aftermath of Disaster, Survivors Search a Landscape of Loss
29. For Japanese, Learning To Receive
30. Japan's Multiple Calamities
31. In Japan, a Disaster on Many Fronts
32. Memories, Washed Away
33. Energy Needs Sustain Nuclear Push: Crisis Batters the Supply Chain For Makers of Electronics and
35. Shares Tumble as Investors Worry About Japan
36. As Routines Falter, So Does National Confidence
37. Workers Brave Radiation Risk at Failing Japan Reactors
38. In Remote Coastal Towns, Survivors Give Witness to a Wave's Power
39. Pillar of Relief Coverage: Americans Reconnected With Anxious Families
40. 2nd Containment Unit May Also Have Crack, Intensifying the Crisis
41. Experts Had Long Criticized Potential Weakness in Design of Stricken Reactor
42. A Charitable Rush, With Little Direction
43. Scattered Across New York, With Disaster at Home
44. In Japan, No Time Yet for Grief
45. Tallying the Financial Aftermath: Japan Government Likely To Bear Big Monetary Loss
46. Germany Shuts 7 Nuclear Plants as Europe Plans to Hold Safety Tests in 27 Countries
47. Tallying the Financial Aftermath: Investors Remain Nervous After Global Stock Slump
48. When the Marketing Reach of Social Media Backfires
49. Oil Price Falls as Investors Dump Commodities
50. In Tokyo, a Dearth of Candor
51. U.S. Sees 'Extremely High' Radiation Level at Plant, Focusing On Spent Fuel's Impact
52. Hobbled by Debris and Water, Crews Scour Tsunami Zone for Victims
53. Misery and Uncertainty Fill Up Shelters
54. How to Help Japan Quake Victims
55. Nuclear Agency Tells a Concerned Congress That U.S. Industry Remains Safe
56. Amid Shortages, a Surplus of Hope
57. For a Change, Proud to Be Japanese
58. Long Pause for Japanese Industry Raises Concerns About Supply Chain
59. Headlines From Mideast And Japan Spook Investors
60. Data Show Radiation's Spread; Frantic Repairs Go On
61. Fear and Distrust Push Thousands From Homes
62. With U.S. Nuclear Plants Under Scrutiny, Too, a Report Raises Safety Concerns
63. Greater Danger Lies in Spent Fuel Than in Reactors
64. Disaster May Deal Blow To Tourism in Hawaii
65. With Crises, Universities Worry About Students Abroad
66. Early Questions After Japan
67. Funds Find Opportunities In Volatility
68. 2 Meltdowns With Much In Common
69. Exodus From Tokyo
70. Lacking Parts, G.M. Will Close Plant
71. Group of 7 To Intervene To Stabilize Yen's Value
72. A Yen Position For Speculators
73. FedEx Earnings Hurt by Storms And Fuel Costs
74. Shares Rally as Panic Over Japan Eases
75. Indonesia to Continue Plans for Nuclear Power
76. Stuck in Japan's Danger Zone, The Stranded Await the Merciful
77. How to Help Quake Victims
78. Japan Races to Restart Reactors' Cooling System
79. Try-Anything Strategy In Nuclear Crisis Draws Criticism, and Sympathy
80. Japan Crisis Could Rekindle U.S. Antinuclear Movement
81. Plume Reaches Sacramento, but Experts Say Radiation Levels Pose No Risk
82. For Hardy Californians, Another Frisson of Danger
83. A Price Too High
84. Radiation Fears Cloud Japan's Recovery
86. Japan's Automakers Expect Longer Delays
87. Bank Shares Pace a Rally as Group of 7 Nations Try to Stabilize Yen
88. Reeling From Crises, Japan Approaches Familiar Crossroads
89. Japan Finds Contaminated Food Up to 90 Miles From Nuclear Sites
90. ‘Too Late’ For Some To Rebuild On Coast
91. Worries That Even the Perception of Contamination Could Taint Japanese Brands
92. Executives May Have Lost Valuable Time at Damaged Nuclear Plant
93. Lives on Edges, Focused on the Quake Zone.
94. Help From the U.S. for Afflicted Sister Cities in Japan
95. A Crisis That Markets Can’t Grasp
96. Stress Test for the Global Supply Chain...
97. Athletes Come Out In Support Of Japan
98. From Survivors: Lessons for No
99. The Japanese Could Teach Us a Thing or Two
100. Bitter Legacy, Injured Coast
102. Crises in Japan Ripple Across Global Economy
103. A Baseball-Loving Nation Delays Its First Pitch, but Not Without Debate
104. Japan Makes Progress at Nuclear Reactors, but Contamination Spreads
105. A Disaster Spares The Heart Of Sony
107. Auto and Electronics Plants Take Steps to Resume Some Production in Japan
108. Japan Extended Reactor’s Life, Despite Warning
109. Japanese Town Still Hopes, as Reality Intrudes
110. Need for Further Repairs Stalls Efforts to Stabilize Crippled Nuclear Plant in Japan
111. Radiation, Once Free, Can Follow Tricky Path
112. Operators Of Indian Pt. Say Changes Are Likely
113. Japan's Nuclear Crisis Causes Run on Radiation Detector
114. Lessons of Japan: Travelers, Be Prepared
115. Blindsided by Ferocity Unleashed by a Fault.
116. Helping Hands Rebuild Lives and United States Ties to Japan
117. In Tokyo Shops, Residents Clutch Local Links to Devastated Areas
118. Fresh Crisis Halts Nuclear-Plant Repairs
119. Diplomas, and an Uncertain Future, for Japanese Pupils
120. For Cuomo and Indian Pt., New Round in a Long Fight
121. Disruption In Japan Slows Rise In Oil Price
122. More Pain for Airlines, but This Time Carriers Are Ready
123. F.D.A. Bans Some Food Imports From Japan
124. Anxiety Up as Tokyo Issues Warning on Its Tap Water
125. Severed From the World, Villagers Survive on Tight Bonds and To-Do Lists
126. New Problems at Japanese Plant Subdue Optimism and Present a Risky Agenda
127. German Chancellor Calls for Tests of Europe’s Nuclear Reactors
128. Scarce Parts To Idle Some U.S. Plants, Toyota Says
129. U.S. Investors Place Record Wager on Japanese Fund
130. In a Mass, a Cradle of Consolation for Japan
131. Shigeru Ban on Designing Shelters for the Quake Victims
132. Lobbyists’ Long Effort to Revive Nuclear Industry Faces New Test
133. Japan Raises Possibility Of Breach in Reactor Vessel
134. Japanese Town Mulls a Future Without Whaling
135. Extent of Damage to Japan's Infrastructure Still Unclear
136. Disruptions Spread In Global Carmaking
137. A Radical Kind of Reactor
139. Rules Faulted For Poor Data On Failures At Reactors

Wall Street Journal (N= 119)

1. Quake, Tsunami Slam Japan --- Death Toll in the Hundreds; Government Orders Mass Evacuation
2. Disaster in Japan: In the Northeast, Fire, Water and Ruin
3. Disaster in Japan: Nations, Agencies Launch Aid Effort
6. Disaster in Japan: Earth's Energy Unleashed As Tectonic Plates Shift
7. Sturdy Japan.
8. Quake Adds to Woes In Asia and Europe
9. Japan Roils Oil, Corn
10. Quake, Tsunami Spur Japan Bears to Action --- Toyota Motors, Insurers Draw
11. Euro Advances on Dollar, While Yen Surges --- EU Leaders Reach Accord on Competitiveness;
12. Japan Races Against Time --- Officials Struggle to Prevent Meltdown at Two Reactors
13. Rescuers Dig for Survivors, But Thousands Feared Dead
14. Disaster in Japan: Recovery Begins in Hard-Hit Town --- Sendai Residents Survey Damage, Search for Supplies, Console One Another and Discover Old Friends Who Survived
15. Disaster in Japan: Quake to Test Nation's Economic Resilience
16. Disaster in Japan: Amid Evacuation, Hunting for Family
17. Disaster in Japan: U.S. Could Rethink Nuclear Reliance --- Industry Ponders Political Fallout in America Following the Problems in Japan
19. Disaster in Japan: Multiple Failures Cast Doubts Over Safety Measure
20. REVIEW & OUTLOOK Editorial: Nuclear Overreactions
21. Japan Does Not Face Another Chernobyl
22. Moving the Market: Asia Stocks Tumble Early On Monday; Nikkei Drops
23. Moving the Market: A Big Hit to Insurers --- Disaster Threatens to Be Costliest Ever for the Industry
24. A Nation's Vigil of Hope and Loss
25. Japan's Nuclear Crisis Escalates --- Damage Spreads to Fourth Reactor; Prime Minister Warns of
26. Disaster in Japan: Firms Assess the Damage From Quake --- Texas Instruments Plant Won't Ship
27. Disaster in Japan: Death Toll Surges as Rescuers Scramble --- Northern Communities Suffer Food and Water Shortages, While Markets, Economy Reel; U.S. Forces Step Up Assistance
28. Disaster in Japan: Economic Disruptions to Ripple Across Asia
29. Disaster in Japan: GE Offers Technical Assistance In Crisis
30. Disaster in Japan: Obama Stands By Nuclear Power
31. Disaster in Japan: Atomic Plan Stirs German Elections |
32. Japan and the Broken Window Fallacy
33. Blue Chips Fall 51.24, Recover From Worse
34. Treasury’s Pass a Test As Buying Is Strong
35. Fund Managers Say Tsunami, Quake No Reason to Quit Tokyo
36. Setback in Reactor Fight
37. Crisis Adds New Risk To Global Recovery
38. Disaster in Japan: Winding Road to Reunion Bridges Three Generations
39. Disaster in Japan: At Core of Ruin, a Search for Life --- Residents Pick Over Destroyed Landscape
40. Disaster in Japan: Hiroshima's Legacy Heightens Fears
41. Disaster in Japan: A Town Warns Residents: Stay Inside
42. Disaster in Japan: Nuclear Plants in EU to Be Tested
43. Disaster in Japan: China, Also on Fault Lines, To Get Additional Scrutiny
44. The Future of Nukes, and of Japan
45. After More Market Tumult, Buyers Creep In --- Yen Moves Upward As Small Investors Exit 'Carry
46. Japan Quake Spooks Its Property Recovery
47. U.S. Sounds Alarm on Radiation
48. A Long, Painful Reckoning
49. Aid Groups Temper Their Contribution
50. Disaster in Japan: Disaster Victims Face Growing Scarcity --- Despite Hunger and Homelessness,
51. Disaster in Japan: Fishing Town Suffers, Caught in Waves' Wake
52. Disaster in Japan: Nuclear Agency's Assessment Lags. 53. Disaster in Japan: U.S., Japan Split on Zone Of Evacuation
54. Disaster in Japan: China Halts Plant Approvals In New Nod to Safety Issues
55. Disaster in Japan: Reactors on Fault Lines Getting Fresh Scrutiny --- Critics Ask if Facilities Can
56. Yen Climbs to Record Against Dollar --- Traders Cite Deluge of Late-Day Buy Orders; Questions Swirl on Possibility of Central-Bank
57. Uranium Tumbles on Japan Crisis
58. Global Finance: Insurers Face Claims as Supply Chains Break
59. Global Finance: Coupon Helps 20-Year JGB Sale
60. Nations Act to Put Brakes on Yen's Rise.
61. Japan Reassures, Others Flee
62. Disaster in Japan: Details Trickle Out On Workers in Plant
63. Disaster in Japan: GE Steps Up Reactor Aid
64. Disaster in Japan -- Analysis: A Hunger for More Information
65. Disaster in Japan: Chinese Find Admiration for Longtime Rival
66. Disaster in Japan: Most-Damaged Areas Await Food, Aid
67. Disaster in Japan: U.S. Sticks to Relief Mission Amid Nuclear-Plant Fears
68. Will Grief Turn to Anger in Japan?
69. After the Quake, Japan Says 'Never Give Up'
70. Behind Yen's Record Surge --- Individual Investors and Hedge Funds Scrambled to Buy in Echo of
71. Shares in Tokyo Advance on G-7 Statement
72. Disaster Weighs on Steel
73. Bid to 'Protect Assets' Slowed Reactor Fight
74. Disaster in Japan: Dozens of Reactors Sit in Quake Zones --- Japan, Taiwan Account for Most Sites in High-Activity Areas; 'Large Margins of Safety' Factored In at U.S. Plants
75. Disaster in Japan: U.S. Marines Build Aid Slowly.
76. Disaster in Japan: Supply Shortages Stall Auto Makers.
77. Disaster in Japan: In Tsunami Zone, A Tunnel Between Life and Chaos
78. G-7 Moves In Sync To Steady The Yen.
79. Central Banks vs. Mrs. Watanabes
80. DJIA Hangs On to 83.93-Point Rise — But Blue Chips Fall 1.5% for Week Amid Mideast Political Turmoil, Japan Crisis
81. Asian IPOs Are Mixed Bag.
82. Companies Head to Sidelines — New Sales Plunge as Issuers Opt to Wait Out Uncertainty of Global Turmoil
83. Yen for Japanese Currency May Fade
84. REVIEW --- Japan's Shattered Mirror
85. REVIEW --- The Awesome Unpredictability of Tsunamis residents
86. Stocks Stumble as Financial Fallout Spreads
87. The Aggregator: Donate to Japan Victims, Not to Scammers
88. Japan Plant Had Troubled History
89. Disaster in Japan: Nation Makes Gains in Nuclear Fight — Radiation Levels Down; Elite Hyper Rescue Squad on Scene
90. Disaster in Japan: Radiation Fears Prompt New Exodus
91. Disaster in Japan: Officials Expect 'Ups and Downs' In Reactor Fight
92. Disaster in Japan: Plant Workers Recall Moment Quake Struck
93. Disaster in Japan: Tests Conducted On U.S. Facilities
94. Disaster in Japan: Radiation in Food Rises — Higher Levels in Tokyo Spark New Concerns; Village Near Plant Has Tainted Water.
95. Disaster in Japan: For Struggling Towns, a Final Blow
96. Disaster in Japan: Quake Damages Estimated In Billions
97. Disaster in Japan: Aid Begins to Reach the Hardest-Hit Areas
98. Information Age: Tsunamis of Information
99. City News: Japan Aid Efforts
100. Car Plants To Restart Operations In Japan.
102. The View From Hong Kong: Greater Threat to Growth: Fear --- Panic Could Worsen Economic Impact of the Crisis in Japan
103. Markets Ask: What Turmoil? — Gold, Oil Feel Little Impact From Japan, Mideast; Weighing Long-Term Effects
104. Disaster in Japan: At Plant, Repair Is Painstaking Task — Smoke Briefly Shrouds Progress, But Kan Voices Optimism: 'We Are Seeing a Light at the End'.
106. Disaster in Japan — Main Obstacle Stalling Aid: A Severe Shortage of Fuel.
107. Oil Price Instability Puts Companies in Tough Spot
108. Corporate News: Korean Firms Monitor, Adjust After the Quake
109. Dolce & Gabbana Expanding in China
110. Japan Damage Cost: $300 Billion — Among Costliest Events Ever for Insurance Industry; East Asia Export Concerns.
111. Japan Ignored Warning Of Nuclear Vulnerability
112. Disaster in Japan: Looting Rears Its Head In Japan
113. Disaster in Japan: Rescue Bus: China Sends for Its Own
114. Disaster in Japan: Power Restored to Ailing Plant’s Reactors — Hopes Rise of Starting Cooling Systems But Smoke, Steam Continue to Escape
115. NRG’s Reactor Plans In Doubt
116. Corporate News: Auto Makers Face Scarcity of Parts
117. Europe’s 3-Day Rally Ends
118. Treasury’s Fall, but Not So Hard
119. Disaster in Japan: Workers Struggle For Gains At Plant
120. Disaster in Japan: Plant Operator Seeks Billions in Loans
121. Disaster in Japan: Top Nuclear Aide Sees No Slowing of Sector
122. Disaster in Japan: Tokyo Estimates Disaster Costs of Almost $200 Billion
123. City News: Cuomo Softens Power Claim
126. Global Finance: TSE Slams Foreign Investors --- Tokyo Exchange Chief Resented Calls to Halt Trading: ‘They Wanted to Run Away’
127. Copper Market Enters the No-Fly Zone
129. U.S. News -- Reporter’s Journal: Keeping a Nuclear Vigil --- Workers at Maryland Plant Sympathize With Counterparts in Japan
130. Disaster in Japan: Reactors Had High Rate of Problems --- Japanese Records Show Workers Mixed Up Plant Plans, Misconnected Drains; Three Hurt by Radiation in Day’s Battles
131. Disaster in Japan: Radiation Is Beyond Zone, Report Says
132. Disaster in Japan: Survivors Now Look For Cars, Property
133. Japan: The Business Aftershocks --- Wal-Mart’s Local Team Shifts Into Crisis Mode
134. Japan: The Business Aftershocks --- From Chips To Banks, Companies Scramble

NYT Blogs (including hyperlinks to articles, N=57)

1. State Dept. Releases Travel Alert for Japan
2. Despite Foreshock, No Way to Anticipate Japan’s Great Quake
3. In Tokyo, the Search for Solid Ground
4. Igawa Leaves Yankees After Earthquake Strikes Japan
5. Ocean-Spanning Power of Japan’s Great Quake on Display
6. Networks Rush to Bolster Coverage in Japan
7. Do We Get Tsunamis Yet?
8. An Unpredictable Test of Japan’s Resilience
9. On Earthquakes, Warming and Risk (Mis)Perception
10. In Deadly Earthquake, Echoes of 1923
11. After Quake and Tsunami, Japanese Citizens Flock to Social Networks for Information
12. Radiation and Pregnancy
13. Power and Water Disruptions Threaten Japan’s Economy
14. ‘Hereafter’ Is Pulled From Japanese Theaters
15. G.O.P. Cuts Could Hit Tsunami Warning System, Foes Say
16. Kurosawa on Earthquakes
17. Aflac Searches for New Duck
19. Nuclear Plants Multiply in Developing Countries
20. On Our Radar: Wind and Solar Stocks Surge on Nuclear Fears
21. Japanese Tech Execs Share ‘Save Japan’ Strategies at SXSW
22. Gauging Disaster’s Toll on an Economy
23. The Japanese Crisis and World Energy Prices
24. Model Shows Intense Wave Power of Tsunami
25. Returning to a Nightmare in Japan
26. J-League Season Postponed Indefinitely
27. 2012 Republicans Embrace Nuclear Power, So Far
28. Q. and A. on the Nuclear Crisis in Japan
29. Some Airlines Begin to Reroute Japan Flights
30. Concert for Japan at Miller Theater
31. The Giant Catfish Under Japan
32. U.S. Official Affirms Nuclear Loan Guarantees
33. Seeing Things | Handmade for Japan
34. Citing Near Misses, Report Faults Both Nuclear Regulators and Operators
35. Hawaii Braces for Dip in Japanese Tourists
36. Nintendo’s 3-D Players Are on Schedule
37. Risks, Radiation and Regulation
38. Heading Into the Tsunami
39. Only Japanese Player in M.L.S. Seeks Help for People at Home
40. Restaurants Try to Help Japan
41. Your Comments on My Japan Column
42. Was Tokyo Electric Singing Hesitation Blues?
43. Buffett Sees 'Buying Opportunity' in Stricken Japan
44. Crowd-Created Video Uses 'Poo' to Explain Japan's Nuclear Crisis
45. Edanoru
46. Divergent Lessons from Japan's Calamity for McKibben, Monbiot
47. Super-Frog
48. Hollywood Faces High Prices but No Tape Shortage Yet
49. Earthquakes and Central Banks
50. The 'Dread to Risk' Ratio on Radiation and Other Discontents
51. Banks May Lend $25 Billion to Stricken Japanese Utility
52. Nuclear Lessons for America from Fukushima, France and China
53. Toyota to Resume Production of Prius and Two Lexus Hybrids
54. 'Warning Whiplash' With Radiation in the News
55. Groups Demand Data on Radiation Release
56. Radiation + Cable Anchor + Science = ?
57. Benefits for Japan

GlobalPost (N=37)

1. China nuclear: Japan tsunami won’t stop Beijing - GlobalPost
2. Indonesia: lessons from Aceh - GlobalPost
3. Japan: rebuilding in Ofunato - GlobalPost
4. Japan: Tokyo tap water unfit for babies - GlobalPost
5. Japan: Cooling pool nearly boils over
6. Engineers reconnect power lines to all six Japan reactors
7. Opinion: "Tsunami" is a Japanese word - GlobalPost
8. Japan: migration to Osaka - GlobalPost
9. Japan: Hopeful talk dampened by setbacks - GlobalPost
10. Japan rebuilding may cost $235B, says World Bank
11. Japan: miracle quake survivors - GlobalPost
12. Vietnam to go ahead with nuclear plans - GlobalPost
13. Earthquake, tsunami, nuclear disaster, and now this...
14. Japan nuclear fears spread to China - GlobalPost
15. Japan tsunami disaster: As Japan scrambles, Twitter reigns
16. Japan takes desperate steps to cool nuclear reactors ...
17. In Japan, logistical difficulties hamper aid effort - GlobalPost
18. Emperor prays for Japan as radiation halts work to cool reactor
19. A US nuclear spokesman on Japan’s Fukushima Daichi Nuke disaster
20. Can Japan’s PM weather the storm? - GlobalPost
21. Northeastern Japan struggles to regain footing - GlobalPost
22. Radiation spreads in Japan after new blast and fire at ...
23. Chernobyl survivors say Japan’s Fukushima nuclear ...
24. Western Japan far away but not unaffected - GlobalPost
25. How will China-Japan relations weather storm? - GlobalPost
26. Hiromitsu Shinkawa and other miraculous tales of tsunami ...
27. Meltdown fears intensify after new reactor blast and fire ...
28. Malaysian "Ultraman" cartoon mocks Japan’s tsunami ...
29. Global economy to take a beating after tsunami - GlobalPost
30. Japan PM calls tsunami the worst crisis since WWII
31. Japan quake prompts pity, angst in Asia - GlobalPost
32. Disaster Japan meets the global economy - GlobalPost
33. In Japan, a nuclear horror story - GlobalPost
34. Second nuclear reactor under meltdown threat after Japan ...
35. Japan government scrambles to cope after tsunami
36. Tsunami off Japan coast rocks Pacific - GlobalPost
37. Japan: Help with money, not stuff - GlobalPost

WSJ Blogs (N=97)

1. After Ruins, Rugby -- Scene Asia
2. Mazda Halts Orders For Japan-Built Models
3. Morgan Stanley CEO Follows Jamie Dimon to Japan
4. Economists React: Japan’s Unique, Uncertain Challenges
5. Japan’s earthquake hurts South Korea’s export of flowers
6. Analysts Say Auto Parts Shortages Will Hit U.S. Soon
7. J.P. Morgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon Pays Visit to Bank’s Japan Offices
8. Prius Goes Back Into Production
9. Toyota Motor Shares Falling in Tokyo on North America Production Halts
10. Toyota Tells Workers: Brace For Shortages, Slowdowns
11. Short-Lived Haneda Dreams as Japan’s Earthquake and Nuclear Concerns Weaken Travel Demand
12. Poland Rebuffs German Call on Nuclear Power
13. Despite Arrest, Wounds Still Fester in China over Japan Radiation Salt Panic
14. Osaka Politician Apologizes for Calling Earthquake ‘Divine Fortune’
15. Euro-Zone Woes: Portugal Government Teeters Ahead of Budget Debate
16. Japan Earthquake: Car Production Problems Persist
17. Yukio Edano: Chorus Leader, Twitter Sensation, Prime Minister?
18. HK Film Industry Reaches Out to Japan — Scene Asia
19. EU Energy Boss Caps Bad Few Days After His Japan Nuclear Remarks
20. Car Prices Likely To Jump As Shortages Spread
21. FDA Will Monitor Japanese-Made Drugs as Well as Food for Radiation
22. Asia Today: Japan Winning Nuclear Fight
23. Swiss Re Counts the Cost of Japan Disaster
24. G-7 Shouldn't Claim a Currency Victory Just Yet
25. Warren Buffett in South Korea: We're Hunting For Deals!
26. Japan Nuclear Crisis Simmers, Companies Start Resuming Production
27. At a Glance: Pressure Levels Stabilizing at No. 3
28. A Nuclear Harvest
29. U.S. Navy Commander Discusses 'Operation Tomodachi'
30. Food Contamination: The Last Thing Japan Needed
31. Earthquake Another Blow to Students' Job Market
32. Thailand Braces for Tsunami, Then Cold Snap
33. Nissan Seeks to Reassure Customers
34. Nobel Prize Winner Kenzaburo Oe in Le Monde: Japan 'Burned by the Nuclear Fire'
35. Radioactive Isotope From Japanese Nuclear-Power Plant Detected in California
36. Hackers Luring Victims Using Japan Earthquake, Tsunami, Nuclear Disaster
37. G-7 Yen Intervention Is Just Symbolic Tempering of Market, Economists Say
38. North Korea suggested the South to do a joint research on Mt. Baektu
39. Survivor's Story, Japan Earthquake: Stranded at the top of Mount Komagatake as Quake Hits
40. Japan Marks 1 Week Since Earthquake
41. Yen Aftershocks: Analysts React
42. Questions About the EU's Nuclear Stress Tests
43. Japan Disaster May Delay Indian Nuclear Power
44. Government Sends Officials to Japan to Aid Hong Kong Residents
45. Getting a Sense of Sendai
46. Japan Tries Humor With 'Nuclear Boy' Fukushima
47. Platinum Group Metals Lose Their Luster
48. For Small Town, Japan Tsunami Means Economic Ruin
49. On the Road: 'I Survived World War II, So We'll Survive This'
50. On the Road: Infant Formula, Kerosene Run Low
51. Taking Stock After the Japan Quake And Tsunami
52. Did NRC's Jaczko Misspeak?
53. Read Michael Lewis's 22-Year Old Japan Earthquake Predictions
54. Transcript of Obama's Remarks on Japan
55. FDA Says it Will Monitor Food From Japan For Radiation
56. Cathay to Consider Adding More Flights for Japan
57. Obama Visits Japanese Embassy
58. Japan Earthquake: Risk for Medical Technology Stocks?
59. Graphic: Japan Earthquake and Tsunami Survivors' Stories
60. How Small Businesses Are Aiding Tsunami Victims
61. Japanese Media Temper Flares at Tepco Press Conference
62. Europe's Nuclear Future To Be Decided by Individual States
63. Chinese Billionaire Makes Rescue Mission
64. China Response to Japan Quake: Buses Dispatched, Best Wishes from Sichuan
65. Japan Crisis Could Cause ECB to Back Off Rate Hike Plans
66. Fed Makes No Mention of Japan
67. After Japan, India Likely to Be Tougher on Nuclear Liability
68. Apple Delays Launch Of iPad 2 In Japan Following Disaster
69. How Will Japan's Earthquake Affect U.S. Car Makers?
70. Aftershocks: Blue-Chips Dive in Hong Kong
71. Economists React: If Worst Happens in Japan, All Bets Are Off
72. Will the Quake Shake Indian Markets?
73. Growth Worries Get in Euro’s Way
74. Italy’s Nuclear Referendum Has That Déjà Vu Feeling
75. Aflac Hit Hard on Japan Worries
76. After Earthquake, a Hong Konger’s Journey Home
77. Even Moscow Jumps to Assist Japan
78. Hong Kong-Listed Insurers See Limited Impact From Earthquake
79. China’s Nuclear Energy Officials Watch Japan
80. Crisis in Japan Stirs Fears in Taiwan
81. Japan Interrupted: TV Programs, Soccer Matches, and World Figure Skating Championships Canceled, Postponed
82. Twitter Implores Japan’s Yukio Edano to Sleep, Naoto Kan to Wake Up
83. Don’t Look for Fed to Flag Japan Worries Directly
84. South Korean Economy Feels Little Immediate Impact from Disaster in Japan
85. Japan’s Lesson to U.S.: Get Your Fiscal House in Order
86. Tokyo Faces Energy Cuts, Train Suspensions After the Tsunami, Quake Disaster
87. Japanese Car Makers Extend Shutdowns
88. Facebook Supporting Japan Earthquake Communication and Relief Efforts
89. Reading the Runes on JGBs
90. Japan Earthquake Hobbles Car Makers
91. Japan Earthquake Disaster: Market Watchers React
92. France, Germany, Switzerland Suggest Nationals in Tokyo Consider Leaving
93. Thailand Gathering Aid for Japan Earthquake to Repay Help from 2004 Tsunami
94. Why Hong Kong Won’t Feel Tsunami Impact
95. China Offers Japan Support for Quake Relief
96. Japan Earthquake Expected to Shake Markets
97. The Shaky Science of Assessing Damage From Japan Earthquake and Tsunami
98. (UPDATED) Taiwan Issues Tsunami Warning
99. Obama: U.S. Will ’Stand With Japan’ as It Rebuilds
100. Earthquake Points to Fallibility of Forecasts
101. IT Stocks Best Broad Market—but Not Quake
102. Japanese Quake Could Affect Catastrophe Bonds
103. NOAA’s View of the Tsunami
104. Japan Earthquake: The Wall Street Effects
105. Japanese Earthquake: How TV in Tokyo is Covering the Disaster
106. Analysis: What the Japan Earthquake Means for Insurance Markets
107. Japanese Shares Tumble in U.S. After Earthquake
108. Earthquake Could Slow Delivery Of Japanese Cars
109. Obama Expresses Sympathy for Japan’s Earthquake Victims
110. Organizations Ready Aid in Quake Aftermath
111. Why Hong Kong Won’t Feel Tsunami Impact
112. No Signs of Tsunami in Taiwan
113. Philippines Braces for Tsunami
114. Taiwan Issues Tsunami Warning
Appendix B: Coding Scheme

Codebook
Content Analysis Global News Style

Central research question:
The aim of this project is to find traces of global journalism in American news media and connect this to the education of a cosmopolitan citizenry. This project uses Peter Berglez’s concept of a global news style to empirically analyze the coverage of a prime example of a global crisis (the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami and corresponding Fukushima nuclear disaster) by five American news outlets (Wall Street Journal, New York Times, GlobalPost, the NYT blogs and WSJ blogs). The following research question guided this study:

RQ1: To what extent do the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal (both print and online) and GlobalPost adopt a global news style when covering global crises, thereby helping to educate a more cosmopolitan citizenry?

This research design is based on a comparative quantitative content analysis. As content in online and print articles will be compared, the following sub-question will be answered:
SQ1: Is American online journalism more “global” than print journalism?

Coding Scheme
This coding scheme is based on the three tenets of Berglez’s global news style: global powers, spaces and identities. The last section of this coding scheme is about the use of “hyperlinks” and applies to online articles only. All other questions are applicable to all articles.

Unit of Analysis: Individual article on the Japanese Earthquake/Fukushima nuclear disaster in the Wall Street Journal, New York Times (print and online editions) and on GlobalPost.com.

Basic Story Information
1. Date: DD/MM/YYYY
2. Dateline: Indicate where the article was written from according to the dateline. Format: City, Country. If no dateline, fill in ‘no dateline.’
3. Number of authors: how many authors wrote the article? Also count ‘contributors.’ In the case of an editorial, which represents the opinion of a newspaper, fill in 1. [      ]
4. Story length in paragraphs: [      ]
5. Define the type of article.
   1. News story (in the sections national/foreign news) – Rule : Traditional news story covering one or more events.
   2. News analysis (also in national/foreign news desk, but subheading says: “News Analysis”) – Rule: An article that analyzes event(s) instead of reporting about them
   3. Editorial – Rule: Opinionated article that expresses the opinion of a newspaper/website
   4. Opinion piece – Rule: Opinionated article that expresses the opinion of the author
   5. Letter to the editor – Rule: Content supplied by readers
   6. Other – For instance, an online hybrid format
Powers

According to Berglez, in a global news style a varied range of powers is included, something Herbert Gans would dub “multiperspectival.” This makes it important to look further than only at the inclusion of global actors. Identify all powers cited, paraphrased and/or described in action in the opening paragraph, in order to establish prominence, and then do the same for the entire text. The range of possible powers can be found down below.

6. Which power(s) are present in the opening paragraph? More than one can be checked.
7. Which powers are included in the text? More than one can be checked.

Table: potential powers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powers</th>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. No powers mentioned</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Situation around Japanese nuclear disaster not improved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. American officials</td>
<td>Officials that are from the U.S.: all persons holding public office or having official duties, especially as representatives of the government. Also, bureaus/departments of the government.</td>
<td>Secretary Clinton wants investigation into nuclear energy threats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Japanese officials</td>
<td>Officials holding public office or having official duties as representatives of the Japanese government.</td>
<td>Tokyo mayor mourns victims earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Officials of other nations</td>
<td>All people holding public office from countries other than the U.S or Japan.</td>
<td>Chinese government to reassess nuclear energy after Fukushima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Transnational officials</td>
<td>All elements connected to transnational political organizations that focus on a particular area of the world.</td>
<td>EU takes a stance on nuclear energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Global officials</td>
<td>All elements connected to global decision making powers.</td>
<td>International Atomic Agency fed up with Japanese government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Aid organizations/NGO’s</td>
<td>Situated outside the official system of power, functioning nationally, transnationally or globally .</td>
<td>Red Cross says more money “highly needed” for Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Ordinary US citizens</td>
<td>American citizens who speak for themselves.</td>
<td>Randy from Wyoming flies to Japan to help victims earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Ordinary Japanese citizens</td>
<td>Japanese citizens who speak for themselves.</td>
<td>Kim lost his home due to the earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Citizens of other nations</td>
<td>People from nations other than U.S./Japan, or when text does not specify nationality of a citizen.</td>
<td>Greek citizen has a plan to end violence in Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Other media</td>
<td>When direct reference is made to other media’s coverage.</td>
<td>Three people killed, Al Jazeera reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. U.S. companies</td>
<td>Companies based in the U.S. and all elements, employees connected to companies</td>
<td>Apple CEO Tim Cook donates to Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Japanese companies</td>
<td>Companies based in Japan and all elements, employees connected to companies</td>
<td>Mazda spokesman: car exports will drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Other companies</td>
<td>Companies not based in U.S. or Japan and (trans)national industry associations</td>
<td>BNP Paribas hit by Japan earthquake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Experts/specialists</td>
<td>Scholars, specialists, analysts on the topic.</td>
<td>Scientists explain the dangers of Japanese nuclear disaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Other sources</td>
<td>Power in the text which does not apply to any of the categories above.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berglez: The more multifaceted and multilayered the picture of power in news coverage, the more global it becomes. For instance, when analyzing coverage of the earthquake in Japan, the inclusion of Japanese and American officials can be expected. What makes for global journalism is the inclusion of a far broader range of sources.

**Spaces**

8. How many different physical locations are included in the text: [ ]
- e.g. An article ‘goes’ from a bomb in Aleppo, to a speech by David Cameron in London, and to a response from the United Nations headquarters in New York. This would mean three locations.

Rule: Berglez talks about a “multifaceted geography” as a key element of a global news style. This is the case when an article includes multiple spaces, disregarding national borders. Therefore it is important to only code one location per country.

9. In a text with a global news style there is usually no spatial center. This is a particular place where a central news event takes place and which the author barely leaves in the article. e.g. New Jersey, when a hurricane strikes there. Instead, a global news style connects multiple news events happening simultaneously in separate places. - e.g. Damascus when a bomb is dropped there, and Washington, where President Obama responds to the bombing with a speech.

In order to identify whether there is a spatial center in the article, indicate whether the article connects multiple news events happening in separate places.

1 = Yes
2 = No

10. In a global news style different connections are made between local, national and global actors and events. How is the geographical impact of the news event(s) described in the article?

Rule: Only one can be picked.

**Table 2: Geographical scope**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical scope</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Local</td>
<td>Article’s scope is geographically described in local terms only, so</td>
<td>Japanese village hit by earthquake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
within a nation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. National</th>
<th>Geographical scope is confined within national borders.</th>
<th>Americans collect money and goods for Sandy survivors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Regional</td>
<td>Scope of the article includes nearby countries.</td>
<td>Canadian and American officials come together to discuss Sandy cleanup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Continental</td>
<td>Geographical scope is described in continental terms.</td>
<td>Big parts of Asia fearful of tsunami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Global</td>
<td>Geographical scope is described in global terms.</td>
<td>Japan earthquake sparks worldwide discussion on global warming</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berglez: The more processes and practices simultaneously occurring in separate spaces in the coverage, the more global it becomes.

**Identities**

11. Berglez stresses that a global news style would not limit itself to including rigidly national denominators and frameworks of understanding, but would open up space to include multiple identities and even map out potential conflicts between them. Which identity markers are present in the text?

Rule: More than one can be picked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identities</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Markers of an American national identity</td>
<td>Article uses national denominators, thereby strengthening national American imagined community.</td>
<td>American interests, President Obama, the Republican Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Markers of other national identities</td>
<td>Article uses national denominators of countries other than the U.S.</td>
<td>Japanese Prime Minister, Danish Interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Markers of transnational identities</td>
<td>Articles includes denominators that discursively construct a common identity across borders.</td>
<td>Asian leaders, EU citizens, International labor movement, Women of the world</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National denominators and frameworks of understanding are believed to be still dominant in news coverage, thereby strengthening a national imagined community (Anderson, 2006).

12. Is a literal national “we” included in the text? – E.G. “We have always been good at rebuilding this country” “Our strength is..” – The reader is talked to as part of a national community, in this case an American national imagined community. This can be also present in quotes of sources.

1= Yes
2= No

Berglez: Global journalism stresses the universal dimensions present in distinct identities. Potentially, global journalism can foster a “global imagined community,” one expressed through a discursively constructed “global we.”
13. Is there “a global voice” included in the article, stressing universalist notions of humanity? E.G. Mankind’s responsibility, global condemnation, people’s choices.
   1 = Yes
   2 = No

14. In Berglez’s view, a news style can be divided into a news type and a news outlook. Domestic news takes as its starting point the nation from which it is reporting. Foreign news looks in isolated ways at what happens in other countries and regions. Global news tries to interrelate separate events, places, and processes. The outlook can also be domestic (sharing national views), foreign (foreign views) and global (interlocking people and practices).

Ideally, a global news style would combine a global outlook with global news, but mixtures of outlooks and news types are more typical (Berglez, 2008). After reading the text, indicate which combination of news outlook-news style is dominant in the article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News outlook - News type</th>
<th>Rules</th>
<th>Example of a headline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Domestic-foreign</td>
<td>Domestic outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Americans worry about nuclear disaster like Fukushima”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Domestic-global</td>
<td>Domestic outlook on global news</td>
<td>“Republicans dismiss climate change”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Foreign-foreign</td>
<td>Foreign outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Earthquake in Japan kills thousands”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Foreign-global</td>
<td>Foreign outlook on global news</td>
<td>“Japanese government angry with UN inaction”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Global-foreign</td>
<td>Global outlook on foreign news</td>
<td>“Nuclear disaster Japan: are plants around the world in danger?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Global-global</td>
<td>Global outlook on global news</td>
<td>“How to tackle climate change in face of natural disasters”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following part applies to online articles only:

15. Powers: On the web, hyperlinks are potential tools for journalists to include more voices and perspectives in a story, being perfect examples of network journalism (Heinrich, 2009). Are there hyperlinks included in the text that, when clicked on, bring the reader to new or expanded perspectives from powers?

Rule: Look broadly at the page you’re redirected to in order to define which power/s is/are linked to here: If it’s the website of the Red Cross, consider it the inclusion of an NGO. If it is a social media update, it’s probably “ordinary citizens.” If it’s the New York Times, it’s “other media”. When a link leads to a news article, read the headline and opening paragraph to establish which powers will be included. Use table 1 to state which powers are linked to.

In case of dead links: If the dead link’s URL clearly exposes what kind of information was supposed to be there, for instance a link to a NYT article that has been removed, use the powers in table 1. If it is unclear what kind of information was supposed to be there, fill out an X.

16. Space: Online space is borderless. Berglez identifies the potential for online journalism to transport readers from one place to another through the use of hyperlinks that show (among others) the economic, political, ecological interconnections between different places.

Look for hyperlinks included in the text that, when clicked on, bring the reader to new spaces, that
are different from the dominant space in the text. How many physical locations, transcending national borders (code one per country), are linked to?

Example: An article about a flood in Sweden linking to a recent news article about a flood in Brazil, in that way laying bare an ecological interconnection.

Rule: Besides looking for hyperlinks in the text, also look at sidebars with related hyperlinks. Do NOT look at sections as “Most Popular” or “What’s new”, as those hyperlinks lead to recent articles and were not available at the time of the Japanese earthquake.

See example of the website of the Wall Street Journal:

QUAKE HITS JAPAN
- Magnitude-9.0 Quake, Tsunami Strike Japan
- Japan Issues Emergency at Nuclear Plant
- Quake Warning System Alerted Tokyo
- Tokyo Grapples With Its Vulnerability
- Out of Ruin, Unity
- Quake-hit Area Was Already Reeling
- Temblor Hits Already Weak Economy
- Post-Kobe Measures May Have Limited Damage
- Video: Japan Quake and Tsunami Coverage

GLOBAL IMPACT
- Nations Brace for Tsunami Impact
- Airlines Cancel, Divert Flights
- Foreign Businesses Gauge Impact
- Telecom Operators Report Damage to Undersea Cables
- European Reinsurers Share Slide on Japan Quake

There were also reports of water and structural damage along the town’s main street, as well as water and structural damage to two hotels, said Quince Mento, administrator for Hawaii County Civil Defense Agency.

In Maui, county spokesman Rod Antone said the greatest damage was suffered by Maalaea Harbor, where the docks were nearly destroyed and four boats suffered major damage.

The biggest wave in Hawaii, at five to six feet, surged at 3:30 a.m. local time onto low-lying land in the island’s biggest town, Kauhui, and sent water nearly a half mile inland where it stopped at the parking lot of a Walgreens, a cashier there said.

After the tsunami warning was downgraded in Hawaii, at Kanaha Beach Park on the coast in Kahului, some explorers found piles of octopus and fish, Mr. Antone said. Firefighters picked up a 40 to 50 pound sea turtle that had washed up on the shore and put it back in the water.

17. Identity: Berglez argues that interactivity on the web can foster “global chats,” when online voices of ordinary citizens around the world are included in a multi-faceted article. This can be of value to the notion of a global public sphere, where people have deliberate discussions on global problems.

Are there online citizen voices included in the article? Rule: Look for references/hyperlinks to social media Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.

1= Yes
2= No

18. If yes, are these voices from different countries in the world?

1=Yes
2=No