The Need for Foreign Correspondents: A Cost Benefit Analysis

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAG.	
I.	Introduction3
	(An overview of the history of foreign correspondence and its value in a democratic society, an outline of the project subject matter)
II.	Literature Review6
	(A survey of scholarly journals, professional articles, and current books on the subject to investigate what industry professionals and researchers have found regarding this topic)
III.	Methodology7
	(Methods of finding and choosing sources, compiling data, and synthesizing information)
IV.	Discussion8
	4.1: The Decline of Foreign Coverage8
	4.2: The Market for International News12
	4.3: The Role of International Coverage in Shaping an Informed Community16
	4.4: Who Is a Foreign Correspondent?22
	4.5: Cost Benefit Analysis25
V.	Conclusion
	Bibliography35

Chapter One: Introduction

Why democracies need foreign coverage and how the United States is lacking.

The world is more globalized today than ever before. Individuals and nations alike have to be informed about international issues in order to succeed¹². Yet, even amidst the rapidly growing need for international news, the majority of domestic news providers have cut their foreign coverage drastically¹.

Some providers blame the internet for fragmenting audiences and detracting from revenue and readership. The internet allows readers to derive international information directly from foreign sources at no cost. This has created a strong push for domestic news outlets to focus on local and hyper local stories². Local issues can be covered in greater detail at a lower cost than stories from abroad. Additionally, community stories are unique. They are important to a regional newspaper's readership and can only be covered by local reporters. Domestic news providers increasingly favor hyper local coverage as a means of carving out a niche². However, this niche is coming at the expense of international news coverage.

A defense of cutting international news budgets is that there is not a strong enough market to justify the expenses inherent to foreign coverage. Proponents of this idea

¹ Utley, Garrick. "The Shrinking of Foreign News from Broadcast to Narrowcast." *Foreign Affairs* 76.2 (1997): 2-10. *JSTOR*. Council on Foreign Relations. Web. 29 Apr. 2011. http://www.jstor.org/pss/20047932.

² Arnett, Peter. "Goodbye World: International News Reporting in US Papers." *American Journalism Reviw* (1998): 50-51. *Expanded Academic*. Web. 29 Apr. 2011. http://find.galegroup.com/gtx/infomark.do?action=interpret.

contend that however important international news may be, the public is not interested in it³. They assert that the revenue generated by a minority of readers interested in global events will not offset the costs of maintaining an international body of reporters.

Media critics and readers alike have questioned the validity of this argument.

There is doubt as to whether or not the budget cuts are creating a self-fulfilling prophecy⁴.

Mainstream media sets the agenda for how viewers prioritize information⁵. The public associates coverage with importance. Generally, the amount of coverage that an issue receives is roughly proportionate to the story's assumed value in society. When international news reporting is abundant, viewers tend to consider international issues to be more significant¹⁹. When foreign news coverage decreases, viewers assume that it is because domestic stories are more pressing. By cutting international budgets, news organizations are decreasing the market for global news and using the diminishing market to justify further cuts.

A number of news consumers have spoken out against the diminishing quantity of global news. Dissatisfied viewers have launched campaigns to generate funding for destitute

³ Schwartz, Harry. "Covering the Foreign News." *Foreign Affairs* 48.4 (1970): 741-57. *JSTOR*. Web. 3 May 2011. http://www.jstor.org/pss/20039480.

⁴ "TV NEWS; Who Slashed the Budgets?." *The New York Times*, (1993): Column.

⁵ Rubin, Trudy. "How It's Playing in Peoria Coverage of Vital Foreign News Is Being Cut, There and in the Rest of the Country. - Philly.com." *Featured Articles from Philly.com.* 04 Mar. 2009. Web. 3 May 2011. http://articles.philly.com/2009-03-04/news/25277112_1_foreign-bureaus-foreign-news-number-of-foreign-correspondents.

programs⁶ and voiced their opinions through letters to the editor⁴. Others simply switched stations, as evidenced by Al-Jazeera's steadily growing fan base in the United States⁵.

While fully equipped, foreign bureaus may no longer be fiscally sustainable for most news outlets, in-depth international coverage is still an integral part of a democratic society, and it is economically attainable. Advances in technology make it possible for corporations to cut down the number of people that they send abroad without sacrificing content⁷. The internet and digital media are making it possible to significantly lower the number of people needed to produce a story. Multimedia journalists can generate leads, shoot video, write copy, create podcasts, edit all versions of a story and post it online or e-mail it to an editor based in state-side. What used to take a whole team can now be accomplished by just a pair of people or even just one journalist⁸.

International news coverage is crucial to fostering an educated and integrated global society⁹. Exposure to foreign news creates an increased awareness about current events, shapes public opinion, and influences the priorities of voters¹⁰. Maintaining a sufficient body of foreign

⁶ Jensen, Elizabeth. "After WNET Cancels 'Worldfocus,' Fans Rally – NYTimes.com." *The New York Times – Breaking News, World News & Multimedia.* 21 Mar. 2010. Web. 04 May 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/22/business/media/22pbs.html.

⁷ Kumar, Priya. "Bakcpack Journalism Overseas | American Journalism Review." *American Journalism Review.* Web. 04 May 2011. http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4986>.

⁸ Dorroh, Jennifer. "of One: Are ABC's New One-person Foreign Bureaus a Model for Covering the World in the Digital Age? | American Journalism Review | Find Articles at BNET." *The American Journalism Review* (2007). *BNET*. CBS. Web. 04 May 2011. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3138/is_6_29/ai_n29401665/>.

⁹ Hannerz, Ulf. "Media and the World as a Single Place." *Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004. 15-38. Print.

¹⁰ Norris, Pippa. *Politics and the Press the News Media and Their Influences*. Boulder (Colo.): L. Reinner, 1997. Print.

correspondents is imperative to providing much needed, global information to a democratic society.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

There is an abundance of information regarding the decline of foreign coverage. Specifically, the literature centers around documenting the reduced airtime/column space allotted to international coverage (Rubin, 2009). In a journal article entitled, "Redefining Foreign Correspondence," industry professionals John M. Hamilton and Eric Jenner confidently assert that the traditional concept of a foreign correspondent and foreign bureaus will soon be eliminated entirely. There is a general consensus that bureaus are too costly and impractical given the news industry's current state of financial affairs.

Though journalists and financial executives agree that the role of a traditional foreign correspondent may need to cut, they are not so eager to accept the near elimination of international coverage as a whole. In his book "The Global Journalist," Phillip M. Seib decries the lack of in-depth reporting, especially in relation to international affairs. Researcher Tran Hai conducted a study of the relationship between policy formulation and news coverage, and he maintains that the media has a great amount of influence in the formulation of political opinions and evaluations of other nations. Hamilton and Jenner also asser,t in their aforementioned article, that increased exposure to foreign news creates an increased awareness of international issues among the viewers.

Polls show that, despite what financial executives would lead the public to believe, there is in fact a considerable market for international news (Arnett, 1998). Viewers are turning to alternative news sources in search of foreign stories, according to the Al Jazeera website. In his

article "Correspondents: They Come in Different Shapes and Sizes," foreign correspondent James Reynolds details how organizations can increase their coverage of global events at an affordable cost by employing a variety of foreign correspondents from different correspondence models. By being creative, capitalizing on advanced technologies, and utilizing the internet, news outlets can boost their international coverage and live up to their responsibility to inform and educate the public (Dorroh, 2007).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Finding sources and determining their credibility.

The opinions expressed in this paper are the result of an analysis and synthesis of relevant material. A number of web-based searches were performed in order to find this information.

Both popular search engines and academic databases were used. The search engines include:

Google Scholar, JSTOR, Academic Search Elite, Communication and Mass Media, Ethnic News Watch, Expanded Academic ASAP and ProQuest Newsstand. The following search terms were used to harvest initial results and were refined as the focus of the paper was narrowed: "benefit of foreign correspondents," "expenses of foreign correspondence," "cost of foreign news coverage," "recession and foreign correspondents," "diminishing foreign correspondents," "international news coverage," "cuts foreign coverage," "foreign bureaus."

Textbooks, research driven books, newspaper articles, case studies and scholarly papers were used to obtain information in addition to web-based searches. The writers of the aforementioned literature are industry professionals or media critics. A few authors were pursuing an advanced level of education in the subject of mass communication or international relations/politics. Thirty-five sources were used in the creation of this paper. A handful of these sources supplied background information and general, foundational material. Any quoted or

paraphrased sources will be cited explicitly in the body of the text through a superscript number

and corresponding footnote. All sources will be included in the bibliography.

Chapter Four: Discussion

4.1: The Decline of Foreign Coverage

"How much foreign news is not enough?"

Foreign coverage has been steadily decreasing since the post-Vietnam era. At the peak of

foreign coverage, international news stories made up an estimated 40 percent of television news

coverage. By 1998, only a mere 7 percent of coverage was of international affairs². Through the

advent of television news broadcasting, audiences were exposed to the garish images of war for

the first time. Largely unregulated coverage showed sons and brothers being maimed and killed

in the Vietnam War. By the end of the war, most Americans were more than ready to leave those

pictures in the past.

As journalist Peter Arnett, who has written about the decline in foreign coverage, stated:

After the war ended, international news fell dramatically out of favor with editors.

They were armed with surveys that suggested readers wanted more local news

and service-oriented features (though not necessarily in place of world and

national news), and they were scarcely immune to the country's inclination to turn

inward after the decade-long nightmare of Vietnam².

Hess, Stephen. International News & Foreign Correspondents. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1996, Print.

News providers began to veer away from foreign news entirely, barring an occasional outlandish story or a true crisis. "It was as if the Vietnam War coverage licensed us to retreat into our national cocoon, only to emerge from time to time when there was a world disaster or sextuplets in Spain," Paul Davis wrote about the rarity of international stories making the news¹³.

In the 1980's foreign correspondence began a full –fledged decline. The Cold War and the breaking up of the Soviet Union had powerful implications in the realm of international media. Americans were recovering from the constant fear that they experienced during the Vietnam War and later the Cold War. As a result of the Cold War, Americans preferred to turn inward to lighter stories and domestic news, which they viewed as less hostile². Another result of the Cold War was the development of the internet, which further compounded the decline of international news coverage.

The current drop in coverage is not due to war but rather the growth of the internet. The internet's rise was the foreign correspondent's demise. Viewers who previously relied solely on news outlets for information could seek out content on the internet for free. Furthermore, they could tailor their searches specifically to topics of their interests. Industry professionals worried about how this new technology would fragment audiences¹². More than ever they felt a push to keep stories local².

Anyone could scan the web for international news and, within seconds, be reading an eyewitness account of an event that took place half-way across the globe¹². Smaller, domestic providers felt like they could not compete and began tailoring their content to emphasize stories that were unique to their location. The Indianapolis Star, a local, daily newspaper, allocated

¹² Hamilton, John M., and Eric Jenner. *Redefining Foreign Correspondence*. *Sage Journals Online*. Web. 8 May 2011. http://jou.sagepub.com/content/5/3/301.full.pdf>.

5,100 column inches per month to foreign news in 1977. By 1997, Star editors had cut back the space to an insignificant 3,900 inches – 23 percent less than just two decades before². The inches that used to contain international news now consisted largely of community matters and sports². Many newspapers adopted a similar mentality to that of Thomas Leyden, a community reporter for the Indianapolis Star, who declared, "A great day for me is an all-local front page²."

During the shift toward local media, executives directly targeted international stories when budgeting for the companies' resources. Foreign coverage bore the brunt of the financial cuts. Arnett recounted an incidence when an important international story of Jennifer Morlan's, an international reporter during the early stages of the shift, was trumped by local content:

It was late July 1990. The wires were reporting ominous troop movements in Southern Iraq. Morlan pushed the story at the page one meeting... "Someone muttered, 'Sounds like a helluva long way from the Circle (The circle is a reference to a round-about in town. The editors gauged how local, and thus how relevant, a story was by saying it is closer to or farther from "the Circle.")," she recalled. The story didn't make page one. It didn't even make the paper. The next day, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait².

Morlan's experience was not unique. In today's news, international stories only appear after a dramatic event has already occurred. When dealing with coverage from abroad, the only news that will make the news "involves bombs, natural disasters or financial calamity²."

Financial factors also contributed to a decrease in foreign coverage. The news industry was saddled with the task of altering its conventional business model in order to compete with the internet for revenue, an undertaking that most providers did not accomplish very

successfully. As a result, news outlets as a whole started losing substantial amounts of profits.

Corporations had to cut budgets to stay afloat.

Editors maintained that the audience for international news was not substantial enough to offset the weighty expense of staffing foreign bureaus. Bureaus became dinosaurs, slowly fading into extinction. ABC had 17 foreign bureaus in 1986. By 2001 that number was down to seven²⁴. By 2009, they had closed their bureaus in Moscow, Paris and Tokyo. NBC no longer operated in Beijing, Cairo or Johannesburg, and the only American, journalistic presence in Africa, India or South America consisted of a single reporter for ABC who was based in Nairobi¹³. The budget cuts to foreign news reporting spanned the board. Between 1980 and 2008, CBS's bureaus had dwindled from 28 to four. Of their 38 correspondents, only five made the cut¹².

In-house, foreign correspondents are not the only parties to feel the chill of the financial downturn. AP and other wire companies have found that their stories are receiving less play in most newspapers, which is creating financial difficulties for these services, as well. "Diminishing use of international news might cause newspapers to invest less in it (wire services), therefore restricting the AP's own ability to cover the world – and shutting off from the American public the best source of accurate balanced news that it could ever get¹."

While it is true that most Americans have access to the internet and the multitude of international news that it provides, the fact is that the majority simply do not have the time, energy or motivation to utilize this resource. Between work, school, errands, etc., the average person has little time to look up news that is not shown on their TV or flung on their doorstep.

¹³ Saluri Russo, Diana. "Is the Foreign News Bureau Part of the Past?" *Global Journalist*. 30 Jan. 2010. Web. 10 May 2011. http://www.globaljournalist.org/stories/2010/01/30/is-the-foreign-news-bureau-part-of-the-past/.

As author Stephen Hess noted in his book "International News & Foreign Correspondents," typical citizens do not have the luxury of seeking out in-depth reporting on international affairs.

He wrote, "Americans who have the time, interest and money will be awash in information, while those with limited resources, who probably rely on an evening network television program and a local paper for news, will not get the information that reflects the importance of the world in our lives¹¹."

Access to international news has the potential to morph into a type of media class system in which only the citizens with excess – excess time, excess money, excess interest – will be able to afford basic global knowledge. This gap in knowledge could prove to be extremely detrimental in a democratic society. The elite may be the only ones with knowledge of international affairs, but any adult can vote. The media's role in shaping political activity will be discussed further in chapter 4.3.

4.2: The Market for International News

"...it was corporate executives – not the mass audience – who slashed the budgets⁴..."

It is a fact that foreign news coverage is shrinking, but why? This question has been asked by journalists, news consumers and media critics. The standard response is that the economic plight of the news industry and the prolonged national recession have forced providers to reduce their staff and their content. Financial executives for most news corporations claim that international news is important to them but that they have no audience to market it to, thus shifting the blame from the producer to the consumer².

The legitimacy of this argument is questionable. In March of 2010, viewers rallied to save "Worldfocus6," a nightly news program distributed by American Public Television which exclusively broadcast international news14. Representatives from WNET, the television station which aired *Worldfocus*, said that they received "close to 2,000 calls, email messages or comments to the 'Worldfocus' Web site from viewers unhappy with the cancellation6." Though 2,000 people could not support the financial needs of a news station, the number is significant. It shows that there is a strong body of viewers who do care about international issues and that care enough to take a stand. Dissatisfied viewers even took to social media, launching a Facebook campaign to generate funds for the show6.

The viewers were not successful in saving the program, but their efforts did draw attention to a market which was often overlooked. *Worldfocus* was one television program. Typically, only the most dedicated viewers care enough to protest a show's cancellation. The actions of the protestors have a greater implication outside of the realm of *Worldfocus*. Nearly 2,000 people were willing to dedicate time and energy to saving international news coverage on one specific program. How much greater could that number be if it were applied to international news coverage as a whole? Moreover, the 2,000 people actively protesting were only a sample of a larger audience. They were the outliers. Take into account the people who enjoyed the show but were too busy, too forgetful, or too passive to write to the organization. How much greater would that number be?

Nonetheless, the news industry did not take note of the larger scale, and corporations continued to cut international coverage, justifying the cuts with the supposed lack of interest

¹⁴ "About Worldfocus | Worldfocus." *Worldfocus: International News, Videos and Blogs.* Web. 15 May 2011. http://worldfocus.org/blog/2008/09/09/about-worldfocus/373/.

from their viewership. Edward Planer made note of the contradiction between the claims and the evidenced market in a letter to the editor featured in The New York Times. He wrote:

Walter Goodman claims that television network news is simply catering to the taste of its audience when it does not devote more time to foreign and economic news and other substantive subjects. What he fails to realize is that it was corporate executives – not the mass audience – who slashed the budgets of the news divisions at the networks and drastically reduced their ability to cover foreign news⁴.

He concluded by asking, "Were corporate executives looking at the bottom line or at ratings books and audience surveys when foreign and domestic staffing was reduced⁴?"

Media critics asked this question, as well. Were cuts driven by an insignificant interest in foreign affairs or by the editors' underestimation of what is actually a significant market?

A number of polls confirm the fact that readers are, in fact, interested in global news.

Arnett cited one such poll in his article "Goodbye World: International News Reporting in US

Papers²." The poll was published by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in

1996, and it asked readers what types of news stories they consistently kept up with. The results showed that "fifteen percent said international affairs – just one point below Washington politics and slightly ahead of consumer news (fourteen percent) and the celebrity stuff (thirteen percent)²..."

Still, editors and corporate executives continue to underestimate the audience's appetite for international news. Arnett also cited a Harris and Yankelovich poll which was referenced in Mort Rosenblum's book, "Coups & Earthquakes²." The results of this poll showed that roughly

half of news consumers were interested in foreign news but that news executives estimated that only five percent of their viewership cared about global stories². Referencing the executives, Rosenblum said, "Many of them allowed themselves to be guided by their own instincts – and prejudices – rather than by the polls²."

Arnett is not alone in his assertions that editors are choosing to overlook their audiences' propensity for global affairs. Even figures like Dana Bullen, executive director of the World Press Freedom Committee in Reston, Virginia agree with this allegation¹⁵. Polls seem to show that international coverage is notably more appealing to news consumers than to news producers.

Ultimately, it is the domestic news corporations that will lose out as their audiences seek alternative sources for global news. Dissatisfied viewers will start following foreign sources or taking to the internet. The domestic industry executives' claims will turn into self-fulfilling prophecies as outward looking audiences turn to international outlets, leaving the domestically focused corporations with domestically focused audiences.

This migration has already begun to take effect. Al-Jazeera, a Qatar-based news corporation ¹⁶, is quickly becoming a competitor for even the biggest US players, like CNN⁵. Al-Jazeera, which now broadcasts in English as well as Arabic, began to attract domestic attention after the September 11th tragedy. Following the attacks, the Al-Jazeera webpage was viewed by about 1.2 million users per day⁵. The station gained further prominence during the initiation of

¹⁵ Davis, Paul M. "Foreign News: A Casual Disinterest." *The Quill* 77.4 (1989): 43. *Gake Group*. Web. 13 Apr. 2011. .

¹⁶ "About Us - Al Jazeera English." *AJE - Al Jazeera English*. Web. 15 May 2011. http://english.aljazeera.net/aboutus/>.

US involvement in Afghanistan, at which time the website generated an estimated 3 million views per day⁵. Currently, Americans make up more than 40 percent of visitors to the webpage⁵.

Even as September 11th and the United States' involvement in the Middle East has begun to lose prominence in the mainstream media rhetoric, viewers continue to tune in to Al-Jazeera, making it the fastest growing satellite network in America⁵. The corporation boasts an audience of about 500,000 subscribers in North America who pay \$22.99 per month to access programming through DISH Network⁵.

It is a global age. Citizens care about international news. By minimizing foreign coverage in response to an ailing economy, news organizations are compounding their financial woes and alienating an important market. As consumers turn to outlets who better represent their interests, domestic programming will suffer the effects.

4.3: The Role of International News in Shaping an Informed Community

"The news media sporadically provide bursts of information that tend to be so lacking in context that the public rarely understands why these horrible things are happening or how they might be stopped¹⁷."

The United States is a democratic republic. Every person older than 17 has the right to vote – regardless of gender, race, culture, or socioeconomic class. Each vote holds equal weight in determining who will be elected. Elected officials serve as the citizens' proxies to the world. They make decisions on a global scale relating to international trade and commerce, military

¹⁷ Seib, Philip M. *The Global Journalist: News and Conscience in a World of Conflict*. Lanham [u.a.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. Print.

action or inaction, fostering foreign alliances, verbalizing approval or disapproval for the actions of other nations, etc. Elected officials are the face of a country as seen by the rest of the world.

In order to make the most educated decisions when voting for future leaders, citizens must be exposed to relevant information. The media facilitates this exposure by disseminating news. When information is lacking, it is impossible to intelligently elect a representative. The media – "the fourth estate" – is responsible for providing the public with informative material, exposing them to differing views, explaining issues that otherwise would not be understood, and arming them with the knowledge that they will need to best understand and interact with the world. "News coverage can influence public opinion, which in turn can nudge the policy making process. At the end of this chain – sometimes – is progress¹⁶." If the media fails to deliver international coverage, then they fail to live up to their journalistic responsibility, as well.

Independent studies have shown that there is a significant correlation between the amount of international coverage that an individual views and his or her opinion of foreign nations¹⁸. Hai Tran, a researcher associated with the International Communications Association, found that "the more attention Americans paid to the (international) news coverage, the more positively they thought about nations¹⁸." His research showed a particularly strong correlation between the amount of international news a subject consumed and his or her assessments of North Korea, Israel and Mexico. The correlation remained significant even after ruling out all other variables¹⁸.

¹⁸ Tran, Hai. *Can Attention to International News Predict Feelings Toward Foreign Countries*. *EBSCO Publishing Service*. Conference Papers -- International Communication Association. Web. 5 May 2011. http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=0b529b1f-1887-4fc0-90c1-f4ee8ce1adc8@sessionmgr110>.

A second experiment of sorts was performed by John Cowles, Sr., owner of the Minneapolis Tribune. The Tribune, a medium sized paper, distributed primarily domestic coverage before Cowles took charge. He sent local reporters abroad to cover the international stories that would not be picked up by wire services. A survey taken by the readers after the newspaper's change showed that "public attitudes in the traditionally isolationist state became progressively more internationally minded¹²." Opinion changed so much that three out of seven readers supported the United States membership in the United Nations¹².

Cowles' experiment affirms Tran's results that frequent exposure to international news impacts a viewer's attitudes toward foreign policy¹⁸. In Tran's study, the impact was most clearly seen in the formulation of opinions concerning the United States' intervention in foreign affairs. Whether or not an individual supported or opposed an intervention was largely the result of how the media framed the situation¹⁸. This evaluation could be used later to vote for officials whose opinions most closely aligned with the individual's.

The media affects the way that political leaders make policy decisions, as well. News coverage brings issues to the forefront of public attention. The public expects policymakers to address pertinent issues in a timely fashion. Former Secretary of State, James A. Baker III, spoke to this point when he said, "The one thing it (the media) does is drive policymakers to have a policy position. I would have to articulate it very quickly. You are in real-time mode 10." David Nicholas, former spokesperson for the State Department, agreed, "Instantaneous reporting of events often demands instant analysis by governments..., 18" he said. An attentive media puts pressure on government officials to be equally attentive and to articulate their thoughts to the public that they represent.

When voters formulate policy opinions and leaders are prompted to act swiftly, real political change can occur. "The resulting public opinion (from news coverage of an issue) can overwhelm all but the most resolute politicians. This does not happen often, but when it does, it offers convincing evidence of the influence of news media on the making and implementing of policy²⁵." Historically, the media has consistently aided in influencing political change. "Television had an impact on public opinion, which in turn affected the government's formulation of foreign policy, during and after the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968, the seizure of the American embassy in Tehran in 1979, the terrorist attack on the Marine Corps barracks in Beirut in 1982, and the killing of American troops in Somalia in 1994¹."

Media coverage has greatly affected the implementation of policy regarding environmental issues and the allocation of foreign aid. A majority of citizens learn about science through the mass media²⁶. According to a survey conducted by the National Science Foundation in 2004, 53 percent of the people surveyed said that they relied on television programming to provide the news that they consumed. Twenty-nine percent relied on newspapers²⁶. There was little change to environmental policy until the media began to increase their coverage of global warming.

As the public became educated in this issue, they began to demand that the government take action to protect the earth's best interest. As stated by William Ruckelshaus, an administrator for the US Environmental Protection Agency, "If the public isn't adequately informed [about climate change], it's difficult for them to make demands on government, even when it's in their own interest. 26", Furthermore, a survey conducted by Bord, O'Connor and Fisher showed that once people were informed, they were more likely to report that they intended to take action to help remedy the issue 26.

Media coverage of global warming helped inform the public, which in-turn, led to the prioritization of environmental policy as a part of the pre-election discussions in 2006²⁶. Because of this, real, political change occurred. "Mass media representational practices have broadly affected translations between science and policy and have shaped perceptions of various issues of environment, technology and risk²⁶."

The extent of news coverage has also shaped policy implementation regarding foreign aid decisions. Douglas Van Belle conducted a study to determine how the amount of news coverage of a disaster correlates with the amount of monetary aid given to help the victims. He found that "each New York Times article was correlated with US \$1.2 million" and that "both total foreign aid and disaster aid showed positive correlations with newspaper and TV coverage in the US²⁶." These results show that the media has a direct and profound influence on the decisions made by governmental officials. Coverage does more than inform, it fosters actions. Van Belle concluded that "newspaper coverage of development issues influences bureaucrats who carefully watch issues in key daily papers²⁶."

The government is aware of the role that the media plays, and occasionally takes action to prohibit its influence. For example, former president George H. W. Bush limited press coverage of the Gulf War, because he was worried about how it might affect public support. He was concerned about the so-called "Vietnam Syndrome." "At the heart of the Vietnam Syndrome was the concern that the media coverage of military operations had the potential to undermine public support for an operation and erode troop moral on the ground 10." Similar worry was later expressed by his son, also a former president, George W. Bush, who prohibited newspapers from publishing images of soldiers' caskets.

The media can be used to exert influence over international leaders and well as American leaders. "Intensive television coverage of such an event as the air war over Kosovo and Serbia does not determine the political outcome of such crises, but such reporting (or nonreporting) has a clear impact on public opinion, which in turn may well influence decisions made by diplomats and political leaders of great nations¹⁹." As a major global player, America's collective opinion carries weight. Other nations realize this and, at times, may curb their actions in order to win the favor of the American press corps.

If there is no news being published, however, this influence greatly diminishes. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said, "National policy is determined by the plight of the Kurds or the starvation in Somalia as it appears on screen¹⁰." But what happens if that plight or that starvation does not make it to the screen? It has been shown that, when formulating opinion, people do not conduct a vast search of information before reaching an opinion. Instead, they base their decisions off of the information that has been made easily accessible to them. Increased exposure to information increases the likelihood that the coverage will impact their political activity²⁷.

Limiting foreign coverage means limiting the public's ability to be instruments of change. It is the news organizations, not the severity of a circumstance, that determine how important an issue is. According to Jessica Matthews, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "The process by which a particular human tragedy becomes a crisis demanding a response is less the result of a rational weighing of need or of what is remediable than it is of whet gets on the nightly news shows 10."

¹⁹ Hachten, William A., and James Francis Scotton. *The World News Prism : Global Media in an Era of Terrorism / William A. Hachten, James F. Scotton.* Ames: Iowa State, 2002. Print.

As fewer stories make the news, audiences are able to respond to fewer and fewer crises:

The traditional scholarly consensus has held that the mass public is woefully ignorant about politics and foreign affairs, and hence, with rare exceptions, only relatively narrow segments of the public – the so-called attentive public or issue publics – pay attention or wield any meaningful influence on policy makers²⁸.

News providers who fail to supply in-depth international news are failing not only their own audiences by depriving them of knowledge, but they are failing citizens globally by depriving them of aid and attention. "If this journalism of convenience prevails, chances of improving life in much of the world will be slim. If, however, the news media reassert their traditional values – such as the long-standing mandate to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable – perhaps journalism will help foster change¹⁷."

4.4: Who Is a Foreign Correspondent?

Is s/he a seasoned veteran? A gung-ho rookie? A foreign reporter? An average citizen? The lines of foreign correspondence are blurry.

News corporations are getting creative. Budget cuts have all but eliminated the traditional model of foreign correspondents and international news bureaus. Still, global stories have a place in society and in the daily news. In an effort to meet both needs, news outlets are experimenting with different reporting models. The twenty-first century definition of "foreign correspondent" is a malleable one.

When discussing foreign correspondence, it is important to differentiate between the types of reporters. The first type is the traditional foreign correspondent. These reporters

conventionally belong to large, national media corporations. They are part of a bureau and reside more or less permanently in the location where they report from. Traditional foreign correspondents are expensive. "The cost of maintaining well-trained foreign correspondents is increasingly seen as prohibitive¹²." Allowances must be made for their living accommodations, their transportation and the needs of their dependents – such as tuition for English language schools⁸.

Traditional foreign correspondents reside in an area for long enough to garner local knowledge. They can gauge the social temperature of their region, because are there day in and day out to experience the change. They become knowledgeable of cultural nuances and typically learn the local language¹². Despite the benefits, news organizations are progressively abandoning this model. With financial difficulty on the forefront, many corporations cannot staff full bureaus. In addition, many editors prefer a more flexible model, which allows the reporter to cover an array of foreign locations instead of being stationed in one location permanently⁸.

A much more flexible style of reporting is freelancing. Freelance reporters do not belong to any particular organization. They voluntarily travel abroad, pay their own expenses, find their own housing, pay for the needs of their dependents, and produce their own stories. They produce material of their own choosing, and then sell their stories to news providers. A corporation can buy a story from a freelancer for less money than it would take to send one of their own reporters to the same scene. However, since freelance journalists are not employed by a specific company, they do not tailor their stories to a particular demographic ¹².

More and more frequently, news outlets are employing stringers, sometimes referred to as foreign foreign correspondents. Stringers are non-US journalists who are hired on a story-by-

story basis¹². For example, say that a newspaper does not have company affiliated journalists based in India. However, a story comes out of New Delhi that the newspaper wants to cover. Instead of sending a reporter to New Delhi, paying for transportation, food, lodging, a translator, etc., the organization may choose to hire a journalist or a journalism student who lives in New Delhi to write the article. Companies are able to pay the stringer less than they would pay a domestic reporter, and they can call on the journalist to provide one story or multiple depending on their needs at the time¹². Occasionally, news providers use copy from news organizations in the foreign company. Foreign news providers can sell their stories to one or many domestic media outlets¹².

Another type of local reporter is a citizen journalist. Anyone with a camera, a camcorder, a sound recorder, a computer or a pencil can be a citizen journalist. Technology has increased the ways that the average person can tell a story and distribute information. In times of crisis or breaking news abroad, a news organization may look to citizen journalists for a number of reasons. To begin with, the material that these individuals supply is typically free. They upload a video to YouTube or add a new post to their blog, and news organizations can use that information as an eye-witness account of the day's events. Citizen journalists can offer live coverage of a situation. Often, it would take a reporter hours or days of travel to get to the scene of the breaking news event¹².

One reporting method that is thought to be a marriage of the styles mentioned above. This method is the single-person model. Famously employed by ABC, some news outlets are trading their few, large bureaus for multiple, single reporters stationed around the world. Single-person foreign correspondents are journalists who were educated and trained domestically. They possess

outstanding multi-media skills and know how to shoot video, log audio, write copy, and update social media⁸.

It is important for single-person foreign correspondents to have these skills, because they are the only ones producing their stories. Unlike traditional foreign correspondents who belonged to bureaus, single-persons are based in locations by themselves. They are responsible for constructing every element of their stories. Unlike stringers or freelancers, single-persons are officially affiliated with news organizations and have specific audiences. Single-person foreign correspondents are able to gain local knowledge like a traditional foreign correspondent but at a price that is reasonable even for ailing news providers.

4.5: Cost / Benefit Analysis

Where does quality of content meet the bottom line?

Quality and cost tend to go hand in hand. However, the word "quality" is objective and can change depending upon the situation in which it is employed. By utilizing a mixture of the various styles of foreign correspondence, news organizations can generate international material that still meets their bottom line. It is important to take note of which sorts of coverage are best suited to meet certain needs.

One model is traditional foreign correspondents. Traditional foreign correspondents and foreign bureaus are the most expensive to maintain. Bureaus cost roughly a quarter of a million

dollars per year to operate – more if the bureau is located in a dangerous area or a war zone²⁰. A single, traditional correspondent can cost between \$250,000 and \$500,000 per year, varying depending on how much is allotted for living stipends, accommodations, and dependents². This can be a difficult bill for news outlets to foot. According to a poll published by the Pew Research Center, "53 percent of foreign newspaper editors identified cost as the greatest obstacle to increased foreign coverage¹²."

Nevertheless, some reporters and editors think that the cost is justified by the in-depth, quality reporting that traditional foreign correspondents produce. "I know there's plenty of information out there about the world or fascinating video snippets on YouTube. But, even if you have hours to spend, you can't get the depth of analysis that experienced foreign correspondents offer⁵," said journalist Trudy Rubin. Jane Stevens, director of media strategies for the World Company, agrees. Moreover she thinks that the lack of in-depth reporting is partially to blame for the news industry's economic woes. "Network news ratings are down, because people in today's news ecosystem want more context than they can get in a two-minute story²¹," she said.

Sig Mickelson, the first president of CBS News, is aware of the cost associated with traditional foreign correspondence. Still, he asserts that the value of having a reporter from his organization – a familiar face – reporting is worth the expense. At CBS, each year, he would fly a number of correspondents back to the US to do a special segment about the international news of that year. Regarding the additional transportation expense, he said, "It was an invaluable

²⁰ Reynolds, James. "Correspondents: They Come in Different Shapes and Sizes." *Nieman Foundation*. Web. 17 May 2011.

http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/article/102445/Correspondents-They-Come-in-Different-Shapes-and-Sizes.aspx.

²¹ Kumar, Priya. "Backpack Journalism Overseas." *American Journalism Review* (2011). *American Journalism Review*. Dec.-Jan. 2011. Web. 17 May 2011. http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=4986.

opportunity to showcase a superior staff and promote the entire news and public affairs function 12."

Mickelson, however, is one of the few who still maintains this viewpoint. As budgets get smaller, corporations are less willing to spend excess amounts of money on reporters that could be replaced with a cheaper journalistic model. Former editor of *U.S. News*, Robin Rogrebin, said, "I think there is an inevitable decline in the foreign bureau presence, and our challenge is to find ways to more shrewdly interpret and explain the impact of foreign events on our readers' lives¹²." Many editors agree with Rogrebin, and foreign bureaus are consistently being closed world-wide.

As an alternative, corporations are turning to the material of freelance journalists. News organizations can buy stories from freelancers for a fraction of the cost of a traditional correspondent. This is primarily because the freelancer is unaffiliated. The organization buying the story does not have to worry about providing money for basic expenses such as transportation, lodging, etc¹². Freelancers are enticing to news providers, because their independence makes them cheap. However, being independent can prove costly to the reporter in terms of safety.

James Reynolds, foreign correspondent for the BBC, made note of the risks. Reporters who are formally employed by a corporation receive certain benefits that freelancers and stringers do not. One of these benefits is a crash course in field safety about basic first aid and negotiating with kidnappers²⁰. News corporations are equipped to provide support for a reporters' family if he or she goes missing or is imprisoned while covering a story. Many foreign correspondents also receive psychiatric, counseling provided at the expense of their employers,

when returning from a war zone or other traumatic scenes. These are benefits that a freelancer does not receive.

While Reynolds appreciates corporations' desires to have cheap and flexible journalists, he thinks that a line must be drawn. "We should not be quietly allowing dangerous news stories to be gathered by those with no support – simply because it's cheaper to do it that way...all of us need to think through the consequences of what it means to take that reporter's work without offering proper training and protection²⁰."

Like freelancers, stringers are not fully employed by US news organizations. Stringers are valuable to corporations for a host of reasons. For one, they are locals to the areas that they report from. They know the language; they know the culture and the context of a story²². Furthermore, they are able to report from restricted areas that US reporters may not have access to. When governments close borders or deny visas, stringers can still log stories given that they live in the area which is inaccessible to the rest of the world²⁰. Stingers are paid per story, and generally are paid at a wage comparable to what they would receive from an employer in their area of residence. Employment costs vary depending on location, but they are generally much less than what an employer would pay a reporter in the United States¹².

Stringers are clearly assets to any news organization for the aforementioned reasons. In 2005, only 31 percent of foreign correspondents were American journalists¹². However, employing stringers comes with disadvantages as well as benefits. "It's a very different relationship," Christopher Isham, Vice President of CBS, said. "They can be very helpful, but it's not the same thing as having your own people there²²." Stringers have no committed loyalties

²² "Stringers Pick up Slack." *Global Journalist*. Web. 17 May 2011. http://www.globaljournalist.org/stories/2009/06/30/stringers-pick-up-slack/.

to any one corporation. Additionally, it can be difficult for editors to know if the stringer's piece is biased or lacking prominent views, given that they have no other reporters in the area to confirm the context of the story ²². David Westin, President of ABC News, has employed stingers in the past and continues to work with them currently. Still, he said, "I'm confident that there are good stories that we didn't hear about⁸."

For those stories, editors can count on citizen journalists. Perhaps no subject has been more hotly debated in the world modern of journalism than whether an untrained citizen can be credible as a reporter. Some editors worry that "do-it-yourself journalists" may perpetuate "new sources of error, rumor, or propaganda," whether knowingly or otherwise¹². On the other hand, citizen journalist can provide a local perspective and up to date coverage as it occurs. Citizens can venture into areas that would be too dangerous or restricted for a domestically trained correspondent. Loren Jenkins, a foreign news editor for NPR, thinks that "grassroots" reporting has its place¹³. NPR "relies on bloggers who can get to areas that its correspondents can't¹³."

While some contend that, without the proper journalistic training, it is too easy for citizens to fall prey to activism, others believe that the method will self-regulate. These proponents of citizen journalism subscribe to a school of thought which closely resembles John Stuart Mill's philosophy regarding the "free marketplace of ideas²³." By this prediction,

²³ "John Stuart Mill (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Web. 17 May 2011. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mill/>.

²⁴ Shaw, David. "Foreign News Shrinks in Era of Globalization." Editorial. *The Los Angeles Times* 27 Sept. 2001. *Home* | *Common Dreams*. Web. 04 June 2011. http://www.commondreams.org/headlines01/0927-03.htm.

²⁵ Seib, Philip M. *Headline Diplomacy How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1997. Print.

inaccurate views will be weeded out by an analytical public, and the truth will ultimately surface. There are examples that support this belief. For instance, "during the November 2008 terrorist shootings in Mumbai, the Wikipedia entry for the attacks was updated over 900 times in 21 hours¹³." As noted by Harvard Humanitarian Initiative research fellow, Patrick Meier, "No mainstream media outfit could have edited all those voices 900 times over¹³."

Though traditional news providers may be wary of relying too heavily on citizen reporting, most use it occasionally. It comes down to a matter of immediacy and price. Citizen footage or comment exemplifies a situation as it is happening from a local perspective. It is up to the minute, raw material, and it is free.

As technology has advanced, news outlets are beginning to experiment with a model that would allow them to send company affiliated reporters to locations that span the globe. This model is the single-person correspondent model⁸. "We are fixers, shooters, reporters, producer and bureau chiefs," said ABC single-person correspondent Dana Hughs⁸. Networks like ABC send individual reporters to locations abroad as a means of establishing one-man bureaus. Developments in more user friendly technologies mean that single reporters are capable of generating leads, filing audio, shooting video, capturing still photos, writing copy, and posting their content to a website or e-mailing it to an editor in the US.

²⁶ Boykoff, Maxwell T., and J. Timmons Roberts. *Media Coverage of Climate Change: Current Trends, Strengths, Weaknesses*. Rep. 2007. Human Development Report Office. Web. 5 June 2011. http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2007-2008/papers/boykoff,%20maxwell%20and%20roberts,%20j.%20timmons.pdf.

²⁷ Mutz, Diana Carole. *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Pr., 2007. Print.

²⁸ Baum, Matthew A. *Soft News Goes to War: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy in the New Media Age.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2006. Print.

Most importantly all of this work can be accomplished for a fraction of the cost of a fully staffed, traditional news bureau. The equipment for a single reporter costs approximately \$10,000. Furthermore, reporters work from home and are stationed without stipends for spouses or dependents⁸. At this price, news outlets can get more bang for their buck. ABC currently has single-person correspondents in 19 cities across the globe, a feat that would be economically impossible if each city required a traditional bureau²¹.

By employing single-person correspondents, media corporations can support a relatively large body of company affiliated, domestically trained reporters to be the face of their company abroad and familiar faces to audiences at home. Moreover, single-person correspondents are able to understand the cultural and regional nuances as well as a traditional foreign correspondent or a freelancer would, because they permanently reside in specific locations. Also, due to technological reasons, the content that they produce often has the same intimate feel as material produced by a citizen journalist without sacrificing the quality of content produced by a trained reporter⁸.

Reporters generally carry hand held camcorders which only allow for a fixed shot image⁸. Bill Gentile, a foreign correspondent and filmmaker, approves of this style of shooting video. "These machines have the capacity to deliver a much more intimate and more immediate form of television than the old beta cams were capable of," he said. Other journalists agree with Gentile and note that the fixed shot puts more emphasis on the subject instead of the reporter. It allows the image to tell the story in a documentary fashion which "can convey cultural and historical nuances more viscerally than a reporter's commentary²¹."

However, even this method is not without its problems. It can be difficult to find a reporter who is knowledgeable enough in all forms of multi-media reporting to be able to effectively utilize each form of technology. In addition, single-reporters have to do the work of an entire team. It may be that these reporters will be quicker to burn out due to the amount of work that is required from them. As with freelancers, safety can be an issue, too. Though single-person correspondents are classically trained and receive the support of their organization regarding precautionary field training and emotional support, they are not immune to hazards and may be more susceptible to danger than reporters who travel with a team. "In a conflict zone, reporters are safer when they have someone with them; being with someone else can save your life," said James Reynolds, single-person correspondent for the BBC²⁰.

Conclusion

"It could be that the biggest job that the mainstream media has is to somehow educate the public about the importance of foreign news in a global post-September 11th world, and to do that, it might require just the sort of in-depth reporting and informed interpretation that it is moving away from ¹³."

In-depth international coverage is a crucial component of the news media. It serves an integral role in fostering an educated democracy and increases awareness and interest in global affairs. As the world becomes less segregated, international events will begin to have an increased impact on the lives of every citizen. The media serves as a tool to prompt government officials and leaders into action or to make them articulate their reasons for inactions. It exposes citizens to situations and issues that they would be unaware of if not for the reporting of foreign

correspondents. This exposure facilitates the formulation of political opinions and the desire to use these opinions to enact political change.

The current state of the news is sad. Coverage is lacking, specifically in regard to the coverage of international affairs. The content provided is insufficient for nurturing an informed society. The mainstream media is not living up to its responsibility to inform and educate all members of the population. The market exists for foreign coverage, but editors selectively ignore the data which demonstrates a clear desire for increased international news. By leaving this segment of the population unsatisfied, news organizations are cutting themselves off from a significant readership and are losing revenue to alternative news sources that better cover global affairs.

There is a multiplicity of ways that news corporations can obtain international content. Between freelancers, stringers, citizen journalists, traditional correspondents, and single-person correspondents, corporations have the ability to access foreign material at a price that is economically sustainable. By relying on a variation of all of the aforementioned types of reporting, news outlets can offer a variety of differing content that will engage a variety of different demographics. Also, by incorporating a mix of reporting styles, corporations can choose the kind of reporting that is most affordable for the company and that best suited to cover any news situation which develops at any given time.

If industry executives wish to invest a bulk of their foreign news budgets into one model of foreign correspondence, the single-person correspondent is the most economical in terms of cost and quality of the content. This model allows the organization to maintain the majority of the benefits it received from traditional correspondents. It gives the company an international

presence at a fraction of the cost and expands the reach of coverage significantly. The reporters are classically trained and are seen as a credible, familiar source by viewers in the United States. Still, they are cheaper and more flexible than traditional correspondents at foreign bureaus.

The means through which news outlets receive foreign news of secondary importance to merely obtaining and distributing coverage through whichever means possible. Global ignorance and a lack of in-depth reporting seem to a current industry trend – a trend that is extremely detrimental to a democratic society. News outlets need to recognize the importance of international affairs reflect this recognition in the stories that they distribute.

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