A JOURNALISM OF HOSPITALITY

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents.

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I am deeply grateful for the support and advice of many, many people, who were critical in helping me complete this dissertation.

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ABSTRACT

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How would a newsroom look if we could build it from scratch, current technologies in hand? My project answers this question through a comparative study of legacy mainstream professional newsrooms that have migrated online, what I call "adaptive newsrooms", and two "transformative" newsrooms, Indymedia and Global Voices. In particular, it takes up the challenge of rethinking journalism in the face of new technologies, by analyzing the cultures, practices and people of a new kind of news production environment: Global Voices, an international project that collects and translates blogs and citizen media from around the world in order to "aggregate, curate, and amplify the global conversation online – to shine light on places and people other media often ignore."

An ethnographic study of Global Voices spanning four years reveals that the internet enables a radical shift in several key facets of news production: its political economy, its sociology and its culture. The Global Voices newsroom, for

example, demonstrates how the internet allows for different kinds of newsroom routines that are designed to bring attention to underrepresented voices, whereas it was previously thought routines determined the news to be biased towards institutional and authoritative voices. I argue that these changes in news production challenge us to judge journalistic excellence not only in terms of objectivity or intersubjectivity, but increasingly also in terms of hospitality. Roger Silverstone defined hospitality as the "ethical obligation to listen." Understanding journalism through the lens of hospitality, the internet presents a unique opportunity as well as poses a radical challenge: in a world where everybody can speak, who will listen? I suggest that in a globally networked world, there continues to be a need for journalism to occupy an important position, but that it will require a process of rethinking and renewal, one where journalism transforms itself to an institution for democracy where listening, conversation and hospitality are central values.

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PREFACE

When I first arrived at Annenberg, I was under the assumption that my dissertation would be related to the Chinese internet, a topic I previously had researched and continue to hold an interest in. I also played with the idea of writing about the immigrant "problem" in The Netherlands that increasingly dominated the political agenda. But choosing between the Netherlands or China felt a bit like choosing between my left or right arm: that's not much of a choice. Both topics are also very depressing. At some point, I met Andrew Lih, who was then teaching at the University of Hong Kong and is now with the Journalism School at the University of Southern California (USC). He was working on his book at the time, which has now been published as *The Wikipedia Revolution*. He inspired me to focus my attention on something positive that was happening, that we weren't quite sure of how it worked, that was in need of someone to shine his light over, so we could understand and learn from it. This became the story of Global Voices.

1. Introduction

This is the story of Global Voices and what it reveals to us about the interplay between new technologies and journalism. Global Voices is a "global citizen media" organization that was founded in 2005 by two Harvard Berkman Fellows, Rebecca MacKinnon and Ethan Zuckerman, to address journalism's increasing inadequacy to report the world. Global Voices is a non-profit established in the Netherlands, but is perhaps best understood as a global community of volunteers who report on blogs from around the world. Its mission is to "aggregate, curate, and amplify the global conversation online - shining light on places and people other media often ignore."

The interplay between new technologies and journalism is the topic of this dissertation. The impact of new technologies on journalism is a discussion with many sides disagreeing about what the outcome is or should be. The concerns crystallize perhaps most clearly in the current debate about the crisis in journalism, and what needs to be done in order to ensure "the future of journalism". Underlying the discussion are normative assumptions about democracy and journalism's role in it, in particular professional journalism. Yet, a historical look at journalism reveals that professional journalism is but one amongst many different models of journalism, ranging from the battle between the "journalism of information" and the "journalism of stories" in the 1920s (Schudson, 1978), the call for "new journalism" in the 1960s and 70s, or the "public journalism" movement in the 1990s (Glasser, 1999; Glasser, 2000;

Rosen, 2001; Haas, 2007). It is thus unfortunate that the majority of research focuses on how new technologies affect existing models of journalism, with an emphasis on professional journalism. It examines how traditional newsrooms make the transition to the digital world. Yet, few consider the potential of new technologies to improve journalism, let alone take up the challenge it poses for journalism to transform itself for the better. What remains relatively unexplored are transformative newsrooms that gives us an insight into the question of how journalism would look, if it were built from the bottom-up, with current technologies in hand. This is not merely a hypothetical question, because answers already exist and live in the efforts of groups like Global Voices.

Through an examination of the production process of Global Voices, this study explores how new technologies are changing the conditions and constraints of journalism, and ultimately, of how the world comes to know itself. Journalists have always claimed an authoritative role for themselves as an institution of society through which the public learns about what is happening in the world. The current crisis in journalism highlights the concern when the journalistic institution is weakened, and what this means for how we learn about the world. What is perhaps somewhat lost in the debate is that, long before the current crisis, this purported function of journalism to project a representative picture of the world has never been without problems.

1.1 Learning About the World Through Journalism

To understand the role of journalism in society, it is useful to clarify where exactly its power is located. Couldry and Curran (2003a) provide two ways of thinking about media power. One way to think about the media is that they funnel power from other institutions – advertisers, the government, lobby groups, etc. As a waterfall, they channel the power that is generated by other institutions, but are incapable of exerting much influence over the flow or pace of water themselves. In contrast, a second way to think about the media is to conceptualize them as a water engineering plant. In this model, the media can best be thought of as an institution that consists of an intricate series of mechanisms that filter and process the water that comes in and goes out. Power in this model is located within the media, rather than outside of it. The media matter because they are an institution that is in charge and control of regulating a resource that is crucial for a healthy democracy and essential to our understanding of the world. This dissertation assumes that journalism is an institution with representational power in society; it explores what factors enable and constrain the news production process, and ultimately how reality is constructed.

Understanding how the world comes to know itself requires an understanding of the production process of journalism. Among policy makers and scholars, the failure of journalism to represent the world adequately has long generated critiques and debates about justice, power and knowledge. In 1980 an

influential UNESCO report titled "Many Voices, One World" by the MacBride Commission (1980) criticized the dominance of industrialized countries in the production and distribution of media content. Furthermore, scholars have criticized the existing model of news production because it systematically misrepresents or excludes certain voices, people, countries and even whole continents (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hall, 1978; Said, 1978; Schiller, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 2002). For example, Hall et al (1978) argued how, in their search for objectivity, journalists give structural preference and privileged access to authoritative and institutional sources for the definition and interpretation of events. Similarly, Said (1978) was concerned with the distortion in constructing the image of the Other. He provocatively argued that the Western machineries of cultural information play a crucial role in sustaining a Western view of the Orient that is largely an imagined construct, facilitating a discourse he called Orientalism, resulting in the subordination of the Eastern world. In other words, to understand the failure of representation it is necessary to examine the conditions, circumstances and constraints of news production.

A proper understanding of the news production process and its constraints is crucial for assessing how voices are represented and why certain voices are privileged over others. Much of the classic literature on news production, however, dates back to the 1970s and has not been fully updated over the last thirty years (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980). While these landmark studies still offer valuable insights, the conditions of news production have

naturally changed drastically since then, particularly with regard to the state of technology. With a few exceptions (Boczkowski, 2004; Klinenberg, 2005; Paterson & Domingo, 2008), scholars have not kept up with the pace of change in the newsroom, leading Cook (1998) to say "it is as if a virtual moratorium were placed on further studies" of newsrooms and Klinenberg (2005, p. 49) to declare that the "sociology of news organizations is all but dead." Cottle (2000b) made an urgent call for "a second wave" of news ethnographies that would theoretically map and empirically explore the production of news in today's society. By focusing on the production process of Global Voices, this dissertation positions itself as a direct response to the calls for a better understanding of the production of news that is more in tune with today's differentiated media ecology (Cottle, 2000b; Zelizer, 2004b).

1.2 The Interplay Between New Technologies and Journalism

New technologies are important for the discussion of news production because they change its conditions and constraints. More fundamentally, they invite us to reconsider the values, principles and purpose of journalism. Broadly speaking, there are two camps in the debate about technological change and journalism. One camp believes that new technologies do not significantly alter the principles and values of journalism, and argues that the essence and the core of journalism remain the same. It believes new technologies introduce change that is gradual and adaptive. In contrast, the other camp argues that new technologies

challenges journalism at its core, that new technologies have a disruptive and transformative effect on journalism. However, within this camp, opinions vary widely about how this change might look, and they range from the dystopian to the utopian view. On the one hand, dystopians see new technologies as largely responsible for the crisis in journalism. They point to the destruction of the advertising-based revenue model, caused by the internet. They argue that the internet has opened the floodgates for amateurs to enter the profession of journalism, leading to news that no longer distinguishes between facts and values, or reporting that no longer has rigorous standards of fact checking. On the other hand, the utopians celebrate that now "everyone is a journalist". They argue that the internet is capable of regenerating an engaged citizenry through the radical democratization of communication, and envision a future where journalism thrives and democracy is revitalized.

But what do we mean exactly when we talk about "journalism" and "democracy"? What the debate surrounding new technologies highlights is the increasing conceptual confusion about what constitutes "journalism" and "democracy". These terms have inherited a multiplicity of meanings over time, becoming overloaded and overdetermined in the process. James Curran (2005, p. 122) rightfully pointed out: "The literature on media and democracy is in need of a removal van to carry away lumber accumulated over two centuries." New technologies make salient the need to start with taking stock of journalism theory, then critique and free it from conceptual frameworks that are defined and

determined by particular historical exemplars. Similar to Dewey (1954) who refused to see "the public" as people assembled in a single forum, I reject the conflation of "journalism" with professional journalism. Instead, I offer three models of journalism - professional journalism, alternative media, and public journalism - that correspond with three models of democracy - liberal democracy, participatory democracy, and deliberative democracy. Global Voices does not fit comfortable in any of the models, but comes closest to being associated with a revised model of deliberative democracy, proposed by Young (1996, 2002), called communicative democracy. The task at hand is to reconstruct a model of journalism based on Global Voices, which I call a journalism of hospitality. Again, here are the models of democracy in relation to the models of journalism:

model of democracy	liberal democracy	participatory democracy	deliberative democracy	communicative democracy
model of journalism	professional journalism	alternative media	public journalism	journalism of hospitality
technological innovation	adaptive newsroom	Indymedia	-	Global Voices

1.1 types of journalism and technological innovation

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Existing Models of Journalism

Existing models neither guide nor explain in an adequate manner the role of journalism in contemporary society. There are at least two reasons. First, they do not take into account how new technologies have radically lowered the barriers to entry. This glaring inadequacy is perhaps most obvious in the model professional journalism operates in. According to liberal democracy, the role of journalism is to provide the citizenry with information, giving rise to the ideal of the "informed citizen". However, many have argued that this ideal has never existed in the past, and perhaps more damning, is a highly unrealistic and impossible ideal to live up to, especially given growing concern over information overload with the arrival of new technologies (Schudson, 1998; Delli Carpini, 2000; Bennett, 2003b; Zaller, 2003; Zelizer, 2010). Moreover, it has always been the question whether journalism is capable of providing the information citizens need, an issue that goes back as far as the Dewey-Lippmann debate (Whipple, 2005; Schudson, 2008). Scholars have repeatedly pointed out how the structural conditions of news production lead to the exclusion of marginal, minority and citizen voices (Tuchman, 1973; Hall, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980; Herman & Chomsky, 2002). The failure of professional journalism to be more inclusive becomes especially jarring in the face of new technologies. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, new technologies negate or invalidate many of the structural factors used to legitimize exclusions in the news.

The model of alternative media is a critical response to the exclusionary character of professional journalism. This model disagrees with the distinction between a "journalist" and "citizen", made by the professional journalism model, and instead advocates that all citizens can and should partake in the production of news and media. Following the principles of participatory democracy, it believes in an engaged and active citizenry, where the role of the media is to encourage participation. Perhaps not surprisingly, alternative media have embraced the potential of new technologies and explored enthusiastically the possibilities of giving all citizens a voice. In other words, making use of new technologies, alternative media's response to the exclusionary character of professional journalism has been radical inclusion. Nevertheless, radical inclusion carries its own set of problems. As the following chapters discussing Indymedia will show, an open newsroom is often unable to protect itself against those that might seek its destruction; nor is it willing to edit content, at the detriment of the quality of the news.

Similarly, the model of public journalism is a response to the problems of professional journalism. Like alternative media, it finds fault with professional journalism, and believes it is responsible for an apathetic and unengaged citizenry. Unlike alternative media, it believes professional journalism can improve and once again take up a critical role in engaging the citizenry. Following the values of deliberative democracy, it believes the best way to do this is through the facilitation of a deliberative process. However, scholars have pointed out the

exclusionary character of deliberation that emphasizes rationality and disregards identity-based claims, which in particular disempowers minorities who often speak from a position of experience (Fraser, 1990). Proposing what she calls "communicative democracy" as a corrective to deliberative democracy, Young has advocated for a more inclusive communicative process that includes rhetoric, narrative and greeting as complements to rational deliberation (Young, 1996; Young, 2002). Her proposal is particularly interesting in the age of the internet where a proliferation of blogs and other platforms has given rise to a plethora of communicative practices that otherwise would be disregarded as irrational and undemocratic.

These arguments suggest that none of the existing models of journalism have generated an adequate answer on how to address the capacity of new technologies to lower barriers to speech. In particular, Hartley (2000) sensitizes us to the historical and technological conditions that modeled journalism into a profession of writing, but that increasingly its role might be in the practice of reading. That is to say, in an age where everybody can write, Hartley's concern is that there will be nobody left to read, and subsequently, that this will negatively affect the formation of publics that is so critical to democracy. Central to Global Voices is a similar concern, best captured in its motto: "The world is speaking. Are you listening?" Furthermore, with few exceptions, academics have done surprisingly little to theorize about what the boundaries of journalism should look like in an age of global interdependence (Price, 2002; Bohman, 2007;

Castells, 2009). Warner (2002) argued that publics are formed when its members realize the extent of their actions, suggesting that in an age of global interdependence, there is an increasing need for the formation of publics on a transnational or global level. Yet, existing models of journalism still assume the boundaries of journalism revolve around the nation-state as its critical building block. In other words, new technologies and globalization demand a renewal and rethinking of journalism's role in democracy.

The debate regarding the changing normative role of journalism in democracy brought about by new technologies highlights the necessity for grounded empirical research that assesses the different claims that are in contention with each other. However, a problem soon becomes apparent. First, what should the object of our study be? It is relatively clear in the adaptive case: we look for existing newsrooms, observe and analyze what changes become apparent after the introduction of new technologies. Not surprisingly, the majority of research on the impact of new technologies on journalism consists of examinations of adaptive newsrooms, existing newsrooms that make the jump to the digital world (Boczkowski, 2004; Klinenberg, 2005; Paterson & Domingo, 2008). Yet, if one accepts that new technologies radically challenge the meaning and definition of "journalism" and "democracy", then it is insufficient to limit ourselves to an analysis of existing newsrooms, and instead it is necessary to examine transformative newsrooms as well. The challenge is to identify

newsrooms that practice journalism but which we might not recognize (yet) as such. Perhaps also not surprisingly, there is a relative paucity of empirical research on transformative newsrooms. The contribution of this dissertation is in its examination of Global Voices as a transformative newsroom.

1.3 Global Voices: A Critical Case

A marginal man, according to Robert Park (1928), is an individual who lives in two different worlds, in both of which the individual is a stranger. Park's notion of the marginal man extends Simmel's concept of the stranger, defined as an individual who is a member of a system, but who is not strongly attached to that system (Simmel, 1950, p. 402). The stranger is best understood through the concept of social distance: "Distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near" (Simmel, 1950, p. 402). In other words, the stranger, being relatively distant and not as committed, can more easily deviate from the norms and expectations of the system. This has clear disadvantages, since the stranger will be considered disruptive and unpredictable, viewed with suspicion, by others in the system. Yet, Simmel and Park made clear that there are also unique advantages to being a stranger with a more distanced perspective. Simmel (1950, p. 402) argued that "To be a stranger is naturally a very positive relation", because s/he is more open-minded to consider new ideas and fresh perspectives. Indeed, the disruptive presence of strangers help prevent cultural stagnation, as such, they are essential to both

preserving and transforming societies. They can help strengthen the norms and values of the system, or bring about radical transformation. An example of the former is the rise of the field of public relations, that forced journalism to articulate its own norms and values (Schudson, 2001).

Global Voices can be seen as such a stranger, or more accurately a marginal man, in the field of journalism. Central to what Global Voices does is the practice of bridging across different cultures, through the translation, contextualization, aggregation, curation and amplification of blogs from different parts of the world. As such, it is neither alternative media nor professional journalism. It is an uncomfortable fit with existing news categories, and is only captured partially but not wholly by labels such as "foreign news", "international news", or "global news". It uses new technologies to challenge and negotiate the boundaries of appropriate journalistic practice. Indeed, Global Voices raises the question whether what it does can be considered journalism at all. Its very ambiguity as a stranger is what makes Global Voices an ideal candidate, or in the words of Glaser and Strauss (1967) a "strategically chosen example", to study how new technologies challenge the normative foundations of journalism through which it grants itself authority and legitimacy.

1.4 Approaches to Journalistic Change

New technologies enable the rise of "strangers", such as Global Voices, raising the question of journalistic change. However, the transformative impact of new

technologies on journalism has yet to be explored in a comprehensive manner. Scholars tend to study the impact of new technologies on journalism "as-it-always-has-been", but have neglected its impact on journalism "as-it-can-be". They examine how traditional newsrooms make the transition to the digital world, and analyze, amongst others, how new technologies affect the funding, the social routines, or the culture in the newsroom. For example, Pablo Boczkowski (2004) examined how existing newsrooms, including the *New York Times*, adapted to new technologies, and others have taken a similar approach (Paterson & Domingo, 2008).

Towards a Transformative Understanding of Journalism

Transformative newsrooms such as Global Voices challenge the institutional culture of existing models of journalism, and implicitly, the unspoken ideal roles of journalism in a democracy. As such, they invite a rethinking of the traditional and adaptive newsroom studies. Newsroom studies so far follow a particular template: they build theoretically on assumptions about what journalism ideally should do, then empirically examine what journalism can and cannot do, allowing them to explain the specific constraints that prevent journalism from achieving its ideal. For example, Tuchman argued that the routines of the newsroom, such as the deadline, are critical factors in understanding why the news includes certain voices but not others. Adaptive newsroom studies largely build on and extend this research model, and aim to examine how new

technologies change the everyday practice of journalism. For example, many have argued that the internet has obliterated the deadline, making it harder for journalists to practice rigorous fact-checking.

A transformative understanding of journalism has to grapple with the challenge of thinking about the new, without relying exclusively on preconceived notions of the old. For example, why is a deadline necessary in the first place? Hannah Arendt has called this the challenge of "thinking without a banister", of thinking about the new without exclusively relying on the old. In Arendt's words, banisters are "categories and formulas that are deeply ingrained in our mind but whose basis of experience has long been forgotten and whose plausibility resides in their intellectual consistency rather than in their adequacy to actual events" (Disch, 1994, p. 144). To think without a banister is an invitation to do research with critical categories that are not imposed on but rather inspired by one's engagement with the empirical. More than a proposal for empirical research, Arendt (1970, p. 10) urges us to do so with an open mind, calling for "a new kind of thinking that needs no pillars and props, no standards and traditions to move freely without crutches over unfamiliar terrain". In other words, the goal is to criticize and reconstruct journalism from the ground up, with current technologies in hand. With the rise of the internet and the massive changes it has brought about in the way we communicate, the need to reflect on an appropriate stance of journalism is urgent, and the possibilities for a better, more democratic journalism is waiting for us to be reclaimed.

What this means for a study of Global Voices, to think about it without a banister, is that it becomes necessary to generate a conceptual framework that goes beyond professional journalism or alternative media. A transformative understanding of journalism thus demands a reconstruction of journalism. Following an approach similar to John Dewey (1954), I will undertake a reconstruction of journalism consisting of two steps. First, a conceptual clarification is needed, one that draws out the implicit normative assumptions in the relationship between journalism and democracy, so that it becomes possible to critique and deepen them. Second, not satisfied with only a conceptual clarification and critique, it needs to be followed by a conceptual reconstruction. New technologies allow for new conditions of journalism, that bring about their own forms and practices, which stretch and break the existing models of journalism. I will discuss the different models of journalism in the following chapters, but before we proceed, let me talk briefly about what I mean by a journalism of hospitality.

1.5 Towards A Journalism of Hospitality

The idea of hospitality originates from Immanuel Kant (2006), who argued that hospitality is a critical principle for living peacefully in a global world. Arguing that no single individual or country can make a priori claims to possession of the earth, Kant made the case that everyone has the obligation to offer the other a temporary right to visit, the right to hospitality. The idea of hospitality has

generated interest in recent years with an intensification of globalization. For example, Benhabib (2004) relied on the notion of hospitality to make sense of immigration rights, arguing for the regulation of borders that is neither wholly open nor closed, but porous instead. In addition, Jacques Derrida (2000) argued for hospitality as the quintessential condition of globalization, who defines "ethics as hospitality, hospitality as ethics". Last but not least, Roger Silverstone (2007) imported the idea of hospitality into media studies, defining it as the obligation to listen to the stranger. He argued that media are the institutions of representation, and as such, have a need to be hospitable.

Examining the role of journalism through the lens of hospitality thus suggests a shift by which journalists not only speak or write, but also read and listen. A journalism of hospitality is particularly relevant given that new technologies have changed the constraints of communication, such that more people are now able to speak and write in public. Amidst the noise, the facilitating function of journalism lies not only in representation, but increasingly so in redaction - the act of selecting, moderating and guiding. Most models of journalism tend to understate the role of journalists as active producers of culture, instead viewing them as mere relayers of information. This transmission view of journalism is reinforced by statements of journalists themselves, who often argue that they only report the news as they see it, explaining that they are responsible to project an accurate and representative picture of society, without distortion or bias. The potential of new technologies, as well as the need they

demand for an increase in the agency of journalists, thus invites us to reconsider the purpose and possibilities of journalism.

In the following chapters, I will argue that new technologies invalidate the traditional explanations for exclusions in the news. My argument does not depend on a strong version of the claim that new technologies are able to completely eradicate exclusion, but only that they are sufficient in providing the ability for journalists to improve on the currently existing conditions of news to achieve a more proper representation. However, a journalism of hospitality also reminds us that a radical lowering of the barriers of speech does not necessarily solve the problem of exclusion; it is not only enough to ask whether particular voices are included, but also *how* they are included; in other words, it asks not only whether the guest is admitted but also whether s/he received proper treatment.

A journalism of hospitality recognizes that structural inequalities of communicative power do not prevent the possibility of temporary equality. That is to say, a wide dispersal of media power is not a necessary requirement for a democratization of communication. To push the argument further, it is the very existence of power hierarchies that obliges the host to treat the guest with hospitality, to listen and give the other voice. What is unique to the debate about new technologies is not just that it calls into question the ability of journalists to do better in terms of representation. It also implicitly challenges the existing underlying normative models of journalism, suggesting that journalism as an

institution is not merely about the accuracy of representation, but also about the justice or fairness of redaction. In other words, hospitality asks for the recognition of others as active participations in multiple publics. As such, it is responsible for a fundamental condition of democratization, the freedom to address others and be addressed as a full member of the public. Furthermore, it highlights the need for a reexamination of journalism in a cosmopolitan context that goes beyond the nation-state. A richer conception of "the public" is needed, one that does not solely see the members of the nation-state as legitimate members of the public, but that also includes the "communities of fate" that are increasingly transnational or global. This does not necessitate the existence of a global public sphere, but it does seek to prevent domination, such that one can agree on the terms of and retain the right to initiate a conversation.

1.6 The Organization of the Dissertation

The analysis of this dissertation is based on a virtual newsroom ethnography of Global Voices, to study the structural conditions that enable and constrain the news production process. The study spans several years of research (2006-2010) and includes participant observation, ongoing conversation and interviews with key members of the community, textual analysis of internal documents and communication, such as mailing lists, internet chat channels and blogs. The ethnography was not entirely virtual but also included face-to-face meetings during the Global Voices Summit in Budapest in 2008, at other conferences such

as the 2007 International Communication Association conference (ICA) hosted in San Francisco, the 2008 Beyond Broadcast conference hosted at the University of Southern California (USC), or the 2009 WeMedia conference hosted in Miami. From 2008 to 2009 and after, I was also a resident fellow at the Berkman Center of Internet & Society, Harvard University, which gave me the opportunity to work closely with Ethan Zuckerman, co-founder of Global Voices. Furthermore, it allowed me to interview members who visited or work at the Berkman Center, which many consider the birth place of Global Voices.

I have done over forty formal interviews, both online and offline, and I have conducted numerous informal conversations, many of them still ongoing. I have been granted access to several internal sites, some of which are accessible to members, others restricted only to the core team. These include access to the raw statistics of the website, as collected, gathered and analyzed by Google Analytics, but also internal documents and mailing lists. I have examined internal documents, such as board meeting reports and log files of chat meetings between volunteers and editors. I also tracked on a daily basis the conversations on several internal mailing lists to get a sense of the problems and issues the newsroom deals with on a regular basis, including the general one that all Global Voices authors and Lingua translators are part of, and also more specific lists, such as the list for Lingua Dutch (the Dutch translation arm), the Global Voices cross-border list (its aim is to promote cross border cooperation and authoring), and the general Rising Voices mailing list. In particular, I documented cases of

conflict and how the community resolved them, such as discussions about what position individual authors and Global Voices should take in controversial events, which for example reveal the dynamics of how a journalism of hospitality survives and operates in a larger ecology where it still needs to account for the dominant professional journalistic norm of objectivity.

Following Schudson's (2005) tripartite analysis of news production, the research examines the Global Voices newsroom through a political economy, sociology and cultural lens. It does this through a comparison of the traditional literature on professional journalism, and examines how new technologies affect the three lenses, contrasting three online newsrooms: the adaptive newsroom, Indymedia, and Global Voices. The goal is to fill the blanks of the following graph:

	political economy	sociology	cultural studies
professional journalism			
adaptive newsroom			
Indymedia			
Global Voices			

1.2 proposed framework for comparative analysis

Chapter 2, "The Story of Global Voices", provides the basic story of Global Voices and answers the question "what it is" before I compare it with other newsrooms. It gives a description of the history, the organizational structure, information about the number of visitors and a general idea of the budget, the recruitment and training process, and the specific work Global Voices sees itself being in the business of. In other words, it is a "thick description" of Global Voices, that provides insight in the organization, the community and its culture - insight I consider necessary for the rest of the dissertation that is a broader comparative analysis that contrasts the political economy, sociology and culture of Global Voices with that of other newsrooms.

Chapter 3, "The Political Economy of Global Voices", documents the economic organization of Global Voices. It shows how new technologies are changing the political economy of journalism by contrasting it against the economic organization of the adaptive newsroom and Indymedia. This chapter traces how original concerns of political economy continue to evolve on the national and global level, such that it is no longer tenable to rely on the traditional market oriented focus on most political economy studies, but instead increasingly attention needs to be paid to how journalism operates in an ecology where state, the market and civil society interact to solve the public good problem of news production. The chapter provides a multi-interactionist framework that maps out the different internal and external forces in the political economy - the

law, technology, leadership, funders and the mainstream media - that a global citizen media organization such as Global Voices has to confront and address.

Chapter 4, "The Sociology of Global Voices", examines the larger shifts in the social organization of news work brought about by new technologies, which influence the design and characteristics of the newsroom, and the different ways of coordination and collaboration that guide news production. It explores how Global Voices is able to run a newsroom that is global in scope and driven by volunteers and that retains certain concepts from a traditional newsroom, such as editors and editorial guidelines, but that departs in many other significant ways from it. This chapter shows that routines continue to be important, yet this does not mean that the routines of the traditional newsroom retain the original power that was attributed to them. Indeed, new technologies radically change the nature of many of the constraints that undergird the traditional newsroom routines, such as the deadline, suggesting that it is possible to shift, and offset, existing exclusions in the news.

Chapter 5, "The Culture of Global Voices", explores the deeply cultural changes in journalism brought about by new technologies. It considers how new technologies bring in new players with beliefs, values and principles that are distinct from both mainstream professional journalism and alternative media. In addition, it argues that an understanding of the impact of new technologies on journalism has to understand technology as culture as well, that the internet is a

lived space with its own cultures and distinct values, creating a richer and more complex journalistic ecology.

Political economy, sociology and culture are critical lenses in examining how new technologies affect and change the structural conditions of news production. By examining how these lenses explain the changing structural conditions of news production, this study shines a light on the transformative effect of new technologies in a critical juncture of journalism.

2. The Story of Global Voices

This is the story of Global Voices. It provides a sense of what it is like to volunteer and write for Global Voices, and what it means to be part of their community. Presented here as a scene-setter for the analytical chapters that follow, the chapter, which considers Global Voices as an organization on its own merits, is outlined as follows: First, I describe the business in which Global Voices sees itself. Second, I sketch a short history of Global Voices, explaining how it originated and which intentions and motivations continue to drive the community. Third, I explain how Global Voices is organized, through a narrative description of my personal volunteer experience, as well as those I gathered through participant observation and interviews. These data points touch upon how Global Voices recruits and trains its volunteers, and how it ultimately achieves its goals. I conclude by tracing the cultural core and organizational structure of Global Voices to a philosophy and culture of hospitality.

2.1 Curation, Aggregation, Amplification

Global Voices describes itself as being in the business of curation, aggregation and amplification. What do these terms mean and how do they shape the work Global Voices does? The three terms - curation, aggregation, amplification - are related, yet distinct. They explain the raison d'être of Global Voices, and why it continues to hold appeal and draw volunteers from around the world. To put what Global Voices does in contrast: it is not original reporting, nor does it

facilitate the direct publication of user-generated content ("have your say") that is so typical of most instances of citizen journalism. Instead, Global Voices is in the business of producing highly moderated and edited - or in its own terminology, curated, aggregated, amplified - meta-coverage of blogs and other citizen media sources.

Curation, aggregation and amplification describe the work authors, translators and editors together do, with the aim to foster a global conversation, with special attention to ensure certain underrepresented people are being heard. A typical story often opens with a paragraph describing a particular event, followed by a series of opinions and perspectives from bloggers and citizens. Aggregation then, is the practice of scanning for new citizen sources, often blogs; monitoring and following them; collecting, gathering and selecting a range of opinions from different bloggers, and ultimately putting them together in a blog post, comparing and contrasting them. Curation is related, but better understood as the showcasing of different stories within a larger context; for example through categorization by language, region, and other keywords, by making the story available for a diversity of platforms, such as the website, RSS feeds, the daily digest or Twitter. Last but certainly not least, amplification refers to the idea that Global Voices wants to make sure that underrepresented voices are being heard - underrepresented in the sense that they are relatively ignored in other media. An important practice that has to be understood in this context of amplification is translation; first, by authors who translate blog posts to English, making them

available to a wider public; and second, by the translators who take the Global Voices stories and translate them into a multitude of other languages. Another important practice of Global Voices, the prioritization to work with the mainstream media, to have its people interviewed and its stories covered by them, should also be seen as practical extensions of the desire for amplification. Of the three, curation and aggregation serve the larger goal of amplification, which explains why Global Voices celebrates collaborations with the mainstream media: they still command the majority of the public's attention.

Curation, aggregation and amplification are the main practices of the Global Voices newsroom. However, they do not wholly cover the activities of the other branches, Outreach, Advocacy and, to some extent, Lingua. Lingua, the translation of Global Voices stories to other languages, can be explained in terms of amplification. Outreach and Advocacy are better explained in terms of the goal to foster a global conversation. For a conversation to be global, it has to take into account that some voices remain silent, but not because they have nothing to say. To push the metaphor further, Outreach seeks to bridge the digital divide, making sure that those who are silent, but not mute, have a chance to get heard too; similarly, Advocacy can be seen as supporting those who are silenced, but not necessarily mute. Outreach and Advocacy can also be seen as branches that are responsible for ensuring survival, given how dependent Global Voices is on being able to draw from citizen media sources.

2.1 The Organizational Structure of Global Voices

The organizational structure of Global Voices gives an idea of how the organization is run, to what extent decision-making is centralized, and introduces its central players. In addition, it illuminates how an organization that started with just two members has over time evolved into a global community of over several hundred volunteers. It reveals the intentions, hopes, dreams and aspirations - powerful motivations that can explain the growth of the community, how it decides what to do (and what not to do), and what the forces are that bind the various people together into a community with a common purpose and goal.

Global Voices has its origins in a conference that was organized at the Berkman Center of Internet and Society of Harvard University. The exact date of birth can be traced back to a panel of a conference held at the Berkman Center on December 10 and 11, 2004, which is now sometimes referred to as the "Zero Summit". Summits have become a regular and important event for Global Voices, where an organization that is most of the time virtual at times gathers its volunteers and meets in a physical location to review past performance, to brainstorm and discuss plans on how to move forward, and perhaps just as important, to have a social gathering, to meet friends, to build trust, and generally, to have a good time together. Summits have so far been held in Cambridge, Massachusetts (the Zero Summit), London, at the Reuters headquarters (2005), Delhi (2006), Budapest (2008) and Santiago (2010). This is not to say that these are the sole occasions where people from Global Voices

meet each other. There are often other occasions where a smaller subset of the community meet, such as at the We Media conference that is held in Miami every year and focuses on innovations in the news, but the Summit is uniquely designated and exclusively dedicated to the Global Voices community.

The Zero Summit was originally a panel that brought together many bloggers from around the world, when it became clear that there was an urgent need to foster a global conversation, made possible by the incredible potential new technologies. The frustration with the level of underrepresentation and misrepresentation in the news about the world, in particular the developing world, was the main driver for Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon, the two co-founders of Global Voices, to build what is now known as Global Voices. Developed in the context of the rising popularity and proliferation of blogs, tools that made it easier and more accessible to speak, Global Voices was seen as allowing people around the world to "take control of their own story". Especially promising was the potential of blogs to change the face of international reporting, which due to its restrictive and expensive nature, was suffering in terms of quantity and quality. The popularity and proliferation of blogs promised to solve at the very least the quantity question, if not always the quality question of international reporting.

However, it also became clear that blogs in themselves were not going to solve the problem of making sure there was adequate international reporting, which could make even willing citizens better informed about the world. For

example, the enormous growth of the Chinese blogosphere did not mean that citizens elsewhere were able to learn more about China or its people: issues of time, of language, of cultural context, amongst many others, often still imposed an insurmountable barrier. It became clear that an intermediary was needed who could bridge the different cultures and bring them into conversation with each other. So-called bridgeblogs soon formed: perhaps the most famous one was Salam Pax, a citizen who blogged in English from Baghdad during the War on Iraq, giving the people in the West a glimpse and a perspective that they would otherwise not get from traditional news organizations. But while Salam Pax enjoyed a brief moment of fame, other bridgeblogs often remained under the radar from both the public and the press. At the Zero Summit, Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon decided to correct their lack of visibility and started Global Voices as a way to aggregate and bring attention to these bridgeblogs, which they considered increasingly important components of a global world.

The first iteration of the Global Voices website was a barebones Wordpress website, hosted on the servers of Harvard's Berkman Center. Its current website address, http://www.globalvoicesonline.org, was not yet in use, and instead the website was found at http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/globalvoices/. The majority of blog posts were initially written by the two founders, Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon. As the organization grew, they increasingly delegated tasks to others. For example, they used their initial funding to hire an intern who could help them with the production of content. Rebecca MacKinnon and Ethan

Zuckerman, fellows at the Berkman Center, together with John Palfrey, managing director of the Berkman Center at the time, applied for a grant with the McArthur Foundation, which came in the summer of 2005. This allowed them to employ an intern to do daily roundups of the global blogosphere, and afforded the founders to focus on developing a long-term strategy. By the fall of 2005, Global Voices had six regional editors employed, each paid $500 a month, to monitor various blogospheres and to highlight valuable content. Regional editors are seen as "responsible for writing and editing stories on Global Voices that reference citizen media in their regions". They included:

Middle East/North Africa: Haitham Sabbah

South Asia: Neha Viswanathan

Sub-Saharan Africa: Sokari Ekine

East Asia: Jose Manuel Tesoro

Americas: David Sasaki

Eastern Europe, Russia, Caucasus & Central Asia: Nathan Hamm.

Over the years, both the community and the editorial team grew in number. In 2010, the number of regional editors has almost doubled from 2005, increasing from six to ten regional editors now. They include:

Caribbean: Janine Mendes-Franco

Caucasus: Onnik Krikorian

Central Asia: Adil Nurmakov

Eastern & Central Europe: Veronica Khokhlova

Latin America: Silvia Viñas

Middle East/North Africa: Amira Al Hussaini

North East Asia: Oi wan Lam

South East Asia: Mong Palatino

South Asia: Rezwan

Sub-Saharan Africa: Ndesanjo Macha

Upon seeing the different regions, one might wonder how Global Voices decides which regions and countries to cover, or for that matter, which places count as "countries"? Maps are inherently political - which borders are recognized, and which are not? - and Global Voices is directly or indirectly providing a map to the world. However, it would be unfair to see the expansion of the number of regions in this light. The expansion of regions has mostly been a question of resources; as more funding becomes available, more money can be allocated towards editorial work, allowing the hiring of an additional (part-time) regional editor.

Yet, the geopolitical problem of definition remains: is Taiwan a country or not? Is Kurdistan? And so on. These are longstanding problems that have no particular immediate solution. In deciding how to name particular places, and whether they are recognized as countries and labelled as such, Global Voices has

taken an informal and pragmatic approach where they defer these decisions de facto to Wikipedia. In other words, Global Voices benefits from the fruits of labor of the Wikipedia community, which has often already conducted intense debates on this topic, and which has the added advantage that these discussions are often publicly available, allowing Global Voices to reuse the argumentation and justification provided elsewhere.

However, Global Voices increasingly recognized that the world is not only divided in terms of regions, but also languages. An editor can be responsible for North East Asia but not necessarily know Chinese, Japanese and Korean at the same time, which is a problem if s/he is expected to cover this region. To address this issue, Global Voices also recruit so-called "language editors", who are "responsible for writing and editing stories on Global Voices that reference citizen media in their languages, regardless of geography." In other words, language editors are specifically tasked with making sure the language, rather than the region, is adequately represented in the content of Global Voices.

The addition of language editors mirrors an important development of Global Voices, from covering bridgeblogs to becoming a bridgeblog itself. Global Voices, as noted earlier, started from the idea to bring more attention to the so-called bridgeblogs. Bridgeblogs were often written in English, the de facto "bridge" language between strangers, and thus to contribute to Global Voices one often was able to get by with only English. As Global Voices started to grow, the number of bridgeblogs became a constraint: there simply were not that many

around, because they demand particular language and cultural skills from the producer, and time and effort to maintain the blog. The solution was to allow Global Voices to become a bridgeblog itself: to find interesting conversations in different parts of the world, then translate, contextualize and write them up for Global Voices. To do so, increasingly volunteers with language skills other than English became necessary. Currently, there are nine language editors. They include:

Arabic: Amira Al Hussaini

Chinese: John Kennedy

French: Lova Rakotomalala

Japanese: Tomomi Sasaki & Scilla Alecci

Persian: Hamid Tehrani

Portuguese: Sara Moreira

Russian/Belarusian/Ukrainian: Veronica Khokhlova

Spanish: Firuzeh Shokooh Valle

Korean: Lee Yoo Eun

Global Voices can be thought of as an organization that needs to do two things: 1) produce content and 2) make sure the organization itself keeps running. The regional editors, the language editors and the volunteers (which I will talk about later) are primarily tasked with producing content. The task of managing the

organization lies in the hand of the so-called "Core Management Team". The structure of this team is ongoing and developing, but as of September 2010 consists of the following functions:

Core Management Team

Executive Director: Ivan Sigal

Managing Director: Georgia Popplewell

Managing Editor: Solana Larsen

Multi-Lingual Editor: Paula Góes

Lingua Director: Leonard Chien

Advocacy Director: Sami Ben Gharbia

Outreach Director: Eduardo Ávila

Code & Design: Jeremy Clarke

The two founders, Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon, are also considered part of the Core Team, although not explicitly so mentioned on the website. The Core Team is responsible for the day-to-day operations, for making strategic plans, for fund raising, for planning the Summit. It consists of the Executive Director, who is responsible for fund raising and long-term strategic planning; the Managing Editor, who is responsible for talking to all the different regional editors, for coordination and consistency and for making sure the day-to-day work is running smoothly; the Managing Director, who is tasked with the

administrative and financial back-end operations; the Multi-Lingual Editor, who provides support to the regional editors in terms of language and copy-editing support; and last but not least, Code & Design, who is responsible for making sure the website remains accessible, usable and who also programs new functionalities for the site.

In addition, the Core Team consists of three Directors who are responsible for a particular branch of Global Voices: Lingua, Advocacy and Outreach. Global Voices proper is the newsroom, whereas the three branches are activities Global Voices as a community supports, but which do not necessarily fit into the traditional notion of a newsroom. The three branches function like an extension to the Global Voices newsroom: Advocacy is best understood as the branch that protects and upholds freedom of speech online, by documenting and limiting censorship; Outreach is the branch that seeks to educate, train and reach out to under-served or underrepresented groups that lack the skills and technology to go online and have a voice; last but not least, Lingua is the translation arm of Global Voices. Lingua takes existing blog posts (in English) from Global Voices and translates them into a wide array of other languages. Lingua Editors are "responsible for coordinating teams of volunteer translators and editing translations from and into the various languages".

Lingua Editors: (as of September 2010)

Lingua Arabic: Anas Qtiesh & Mohamed ElGohary

Lingua Bangla: Rezwan

Lingua Chinese: Portnoy & Soup

Lingua Dutch: Percy Balemans

Lingua French: Claire Ulrich & Suzanne Lehn

Lingua German: Tina Seidenberger

Lingua Indonesian: Carolina Rumuat

Lingua Italian: Bernardo Parrella

Lingua Japanese: Hanako Tokita

Lingua Macedonian: Elena Ignatova

Lingua Malagasy: Jentilisa & Avylavitra

Lingua Polish: Sylwia Presley & Krzysztof Pawliszak

Lingua Portuguese: Diego Casaes & Debora Baldelli

Lingua Russian: Ekaterina

Lingua Spanish: Juan Arellano

Lingua Swahili: J. Nambiza Tungaraza

The difference between a Language Editor and a Lingua Editor is not large, yet distinct: a Language Editor curates, translates and contextualizes citizen media from around the world, whereas a Lingua Editor translates Global Voices posts. Both translate but they have structurally different sources. This distinction might seem small, but it is important for quality control purposes: within Global Voices, there is a rule that original Global Voices posts (that is to say, not translations

thereof) have to be in English, which ensures that most people, including the Core Team, can be confident about what is being said under the name of Global Voices. This would be much harder to ensure if original content would be allowed under a variety of languages other than English. Nevertheless, there are also initial explorations discussing the possibility of producing original blog posts in Spanish within the community.

Last but not least, there is also the Digest Editor who is responsible for sending the daily and weekly email newsletters that showcases some of the best or interesting Global Voices posts, and Subject Editors, who are responsible for a specific topic, rather than a region or language. Currently there are two Subject Editors, one for Public Health and one for Video.

Global Voices has as its core the newsroom, which consists primarily of its volunteers, the Regional and the Language Editors. But Global Voices is also more than a newsroom, in particular, it has three branches that complement and support the work the newsroom does, through Advocacy, Outreach and Lingua. Earlier I have argued that hospitality is a useful lens for judging the news work Global Voices is committed to producing. Its dedication to hospitality is perhaps even more visible when one considers the three branches. For a truly global conversation to take place, it is not only necessary to "curate, aggregate and amplify" the different conversations people are already having around the world. It also becomes crucial to ensure that people continue to be able to have a voice

(through Advocacy that confronts censorship), to make sure that those people who are not yet online gain through training the skills and comfort level to participate in the global conversation (through Outreach that trains and educates underrepresented minorities), and to translate these different conversations so that people from around the world can understand each other. That is to say, hospitality dictates that to foster a truly global conversation, three important barriers have to be overcome: censorship, the digital divide and language.

Authors

I have described the organization in terms of its roles and functions; how it consists of the Core Team that is responsible for making sure the organization is running smoothly, the different editors who are responsible for producing the content (Regional, Language, Lingua, Subject, Digest) and the Directors who are responsible for running the three branches: Advocacy, responsible for tackling censorship, Outreach, tasked with educating, training and reaching out to underrepresented minorities, and Lingua, the translation arm of Global Voices. The directors and editors might make sure Global Voices keeps running.

However, it is the authors, its volunteers, who are the life blood of the organization.What is missing until now - and what is I argue the critical part of Global Voices - is a description of its volunteers. In the following section I will discuss the organizational dynamics between Global Voices and its volunteers: how are volunteers recruited and trained? How do they work together and with

the editors? As mentioned before, the newsroom of Global Voices consists of editors and authors. Whereas editors are often paid on a part-time basis, authors always work on a volunteer basis. The regional editors and volunteers are divided into different groups that are each responsible for a geographic region, not unlike the foreign desks at a professional news organization.

Significantly, the newsroom is not open. That is to say, one needs to ask or be asked to become a volunteer for Global Voices. Each volunteer needs to have his own account on the website in order to to be able to submit stories to the queue on the Global Voices website. Once a volunteer has submitted a story, s/he usually notifies the editor. The editor then checks the story, suggests changes and make corrections, and is ultimately responsible for publishing the story.

Perhaps it is appropriate to start the story of the volunteers through a telling of my own story as volunteer. I don't exactly remember how I first heard of Global Voices. I suspect it was because I was closely following the work of the Berkman Center, which I increasingly respected and relied on for my research on the Chinese Internet. A friend introduced me to Oiwan Lam, whom I met in the summer of 2005, who was running InMedia, an independent media organization in Hong Kong, and who still runs it as of today. She would later become the North East Asia Editor for Global Voices. She first recruited me to volunteer as an author for Global Voices, in particular to help cover the Chinese blogosphere, which I was familiar with because of my research. A few years later, in late 2008, the Lingua Director received an email from someone who proposed to start a

Dutch Lingua that did not exist back then; in other words, to start a site that would take the stories from Global Voices in English and translate them to Dutch. Knowing that my parents were from Hong Kong, but that I was born and raised in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, the Lingua Director asked me whether I would be interested in helping this person, who was still unfamiliar with Global Voices. I agreed to help, although my efforts primarily consisted of the initial mediation between the newcomer and future founder of Dutch Lingua and the members at Global Voices she had to engage with in order to get the website off the ground. Several components of my story are fairly representative for the overall experience of being a volunteer at Global Voices. First, the recruiting process occurs; and second, the cross-pollination of members to different parts of Global Voices takes place.

2.2 The Numbers

How big is Global Voices? In terms of volunteers and staff, how many people are there? In terms of visitors, how many people do they receive each month and to what other websites are they comparable? In terms of finance, from where do they receive their funding, and how large is their budget?

First, in terms of the size of the organization and the community, it is hard to keep track of how many volunteers join and leave. Global Voices uses a rough standard of considering someone inactive if s/he has no longer posted in the last three months. Given this measure, the estimate is that the community in 2010

consists of around 300 or 400 members. This is a rough estimate that includes authors, translators and editors. Not every member contributes on a regular basis (but at least once every three months); some members are able to volunteer much more time than others. This is not so different from other online communities, such as Wikipedia, where generally a small percentage of people is responsible for a large percentage of contributions.

Second, in terms of its audience, the website draws around 300,000 visitors each month, according to Google Analytics. This number excludes the visitors to the various Lingua, Outreach or Advocacy website and only counts the visitors to the Global Voices newsroom. The number of visitors is not insignificant, but it is also generally not quite large enough to make it interesting enough for advertisers to buy attention from Global Voices on a consistent basis. That said, the topic of advertising as a source of revenue remains a sensitive topic within the largely volunteer driven community, although it is also clear that Global Voices is not anti-corporate per se, given that it has received and accepted grants from companies such as Reuters and Google.

A comparison between Global Voices and other websites sheds more light on how they currently are performing. For example, in a comparison with a popular daily such as the *Philadelphia Inquirer* or even the global alternative media website Indymedia, it is clear that Global Voices in terms of visitors does not reach what can be considered a mass or mainstream audience.
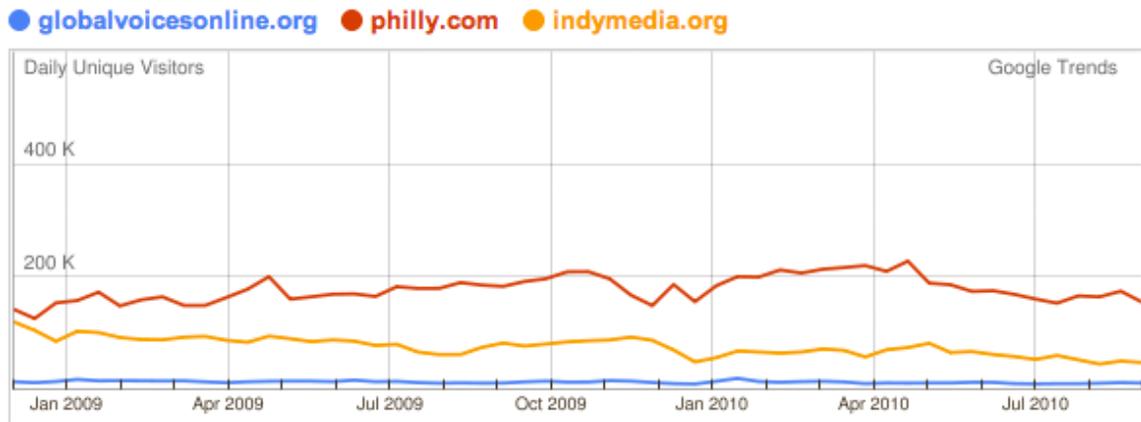
2.1 traffic comparison between Global Voices, Philly.com, and Indymedia

Instead, Global Voices is comparable to, and sometimes outperforms, websites that target audiences interested in global and international affairs, such as the well-known *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*. *Foreign Affairs* was founded in 1992 and is "the leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and international affairs", whereas *Foreign Policy* was founded in 1970 and considers itself "the global magazine of economics, politics and data". In a comparison with *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*, Global Voices outperforms *Foreign Affairs*, whereas *Foreign Policy*, a three time National Magazine Award Winner, beats them both.
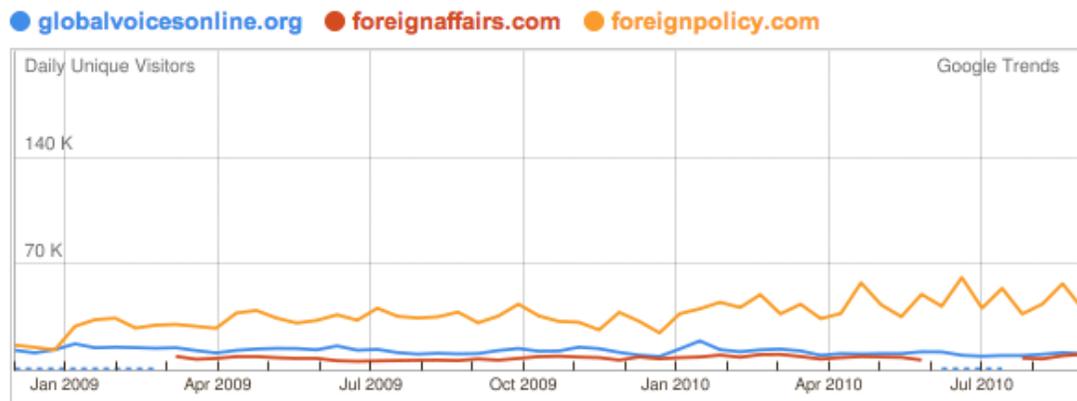
2.2 traffic comparison between Global Voices, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs

The number of visitors of all three sites - Global Voices, *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* might not compare favorably to those of mainstream media websites, but an argument can be made that the visitors all three of them receive are highly desirable, globally oriented and highly educated.

Finally, what follows are some basic numbers and facts about Global Voices. In terms of finance, Global Voices receives its funding from a diversity of sources. Global Voices has accepted funding from foundations (Knight, Ford, MacArthur) and corporations (Reuters, Google), but generally it does not seek government funding for the sake of editorial independence. The specific budgets are different each year, but for the past few years they hover around $1 million. Important to keep in mind financially is the Summit, which can take up a significant amount of the budget, and which was left off the budget (and thus did not take place) in years when it was financially difficult to survive. In general, the majority of the money is spent on wages, administration, accountancy, and server

costs. These costs are not unlike the budget of openDemocracy, a website that is comparable in terms of size and scope, and which seeks to publish "high quality news analysis, debates and blogs about the world and the way we govern ourselves". Curran (2003) concludes from his study of openDemocracy that

> *Indeed, perhaps the most significant implication of this study is that the international space between commercial and state-linked media – between CNN and BBC World News, The Economist and Al Jazeera – is not sustained by an online revenue stream that will enable new ventures to grow and flourish. There is not a ready-made business model that will support worldwide online journalism of a kind pioneered by openDemocracy.*

That there is no "ready-made business model that will support worldwide online journalism" is a depressing conclusion, one that sensitizes and warns us to be cautious in overstating the emancipatory potential of new technologies. However, I also argue that this discussion is far from over, that it is ongoing, developing and too early to tell yet how the future political economy of journalism will play out. In the following chapter, I explore how new technologies affect the political economy of journalism through a more in-depth and comparative study of Global Voices. However, the story of Global Voices first needs to be finished. In the rest of this chapter, I discuss the organizational dynamics of Global Voices, including recruitment and training of volunteers.

2.3 Recruitment

Recruitment often takes place through a personal invitation from someone at Global Voices, not unlike how the regional editor reached out to me. The story of my recruitment was in many ways typical. Regional editors are tasked with scanning and monitoring particular blogospheres (more on this in Chapter 3). As editors scan for new, unknown and interesting bloggers, they often use them as sources and link to them in stories. Being linked in a story is often the way bloggers first learn about the existence of Global Voices. This is generally considered a good thing by bloggers, because being linked is often perceived as a form of praise or recognition. As the regional editor of Global Voices continues to pay attention to and learn about the blogger - e.g., how is his/her writing; who does s/he often link to; what do other bloggers in the region think of him/her? - at some point, the regional editor might invite the blogger to join the Global Voices community as a volunteer author. This is by far the most common form of recruitment, but not the only one.

Another form of recruitment happens through self-identification. That is to say, the blogger presents him/herself directly to Global Voices, and is then invited to participate. For example, a person might respond to a Global Voices story by leaving a comment, suggesting how Global Voices can do certain things better. In most news organizations, that would often be the end of the story, but Global Voices has been occasionally known to extend an invitation to the person commenting, inviting him/her to write a story for Global Voices, under the spirit

of: "thanks for your suggestions on how we can improve our stories. Perhaps you would like to write one for us?" Another example is when someone writes Global Voices directly, asking whether it is possible to volunteer. This is essentially the earlier story of Dutch Lingua, which was formed through the self-identification of a person interested in setting it up, who was then put in touch with someone familiar with the community, me. That these categories are mostly analytical is suggested by the story of Sami Ben-Gharbia, currently Director of Global Voices, who eventually joined the community as a result of the comments thread discussing his Tunisian Prison Map that was featured in a Global Voices story.[1]

In addition, recruitment often happens through cross-pollination within the community. That is to say, members are often identified and recruited for different purposes, participating in multiple roles within the community. Again, my story is a fairly typical example, where I was originally recruited to be an author for the Chinese blogosphere but also help start the Dutch Lingua site. Other examples of cross-pollination are in the form of internal promotions, where members who have a proven track record are promoted to a position with more responsibility, for example from being an author to a regional editor. These internal invitations to participate more broadly in the community are to some extent standardized into routines. For example, the Managing Directory Solana Larsen generally extends an invitation to new Lingua Translators and asks them

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[1] See the thread at http://globalvoicesonline.org/2006/09/27/tunisia-opening-prisons-to-the-world/

to consider to write stories for Global Voices as an author. Similarly, authors who write for Global Voices, especially on the topic of free speech, are often invited by Sami Ben Gharbia to become a contributor for Global Voices Advocacy. As mentioned before, these invitations, or practices of hospitality are not just a nice gesture, but also very practical, ensuring that the community is being sustained with new volunteers, energy and lifeblood. Last but not least, recruitment can take place through external identification. In other words, a job advertisement is placed, applicants are interviewed and a candidate is hired, where the candidate can be either internal or external. For example, the current Managing Editor, Solana Larsen, was prior to her role at Global Voices working for the online magazine OpenDemocracy, whereas the Executive Director, Ivan Sigal, was previously a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). To sum up, recruitment can happen through identification externally (a regional editor invites a blogger), or internally (an author is also asked to translate for Lingua); or through self-identification, again externally (someone writes Global Voices and wants to volunteer) or internally (a volunteer applies for a higher position).

	internal	external
self-identification	e.g. member applies for new position	e.g. new person asking to volunteer
identification	e.g. lingua translator asked to write post for global voices newsroom	e.g. editor recruiting blogger

2.1 types of recruitment

The newsroom is neither open or closed, but best thought of in terms of hospitality. The recruiting policy of the Global Voices newsroom runs counter to the idea that online newsrooms always are open and traditional newsrooms are closed. Global Voices refers to itself as as a citizen media organization, but unlike most citizen media websites, it is not an open newsroom where people can "walk in" and submit stories, who are either directly published or after approval. Hospitality explains why the newsroom is volunteer-driven, and why it is on an invitation basis, rather than being completely open or closed. It is volunteer-driven because hospitality values, indeed demands, the invitation of strangers. As such, to rely on volunteers is also a decision based on the economics of hospitality. Failure becomes relatively cheap: that is to say, Global Voices can afford to invite multiple volunteers, and it is okay if only one of them becomes a

regular contributor, in contrast to a regular newsroom where a commission, or employment, has financial implications. Neither open or completely closed, it perhaps most resembles blogs like The Huffington Post that also invites people on a regular basis to blog for them. Having said that, a major difference between them is that Huffington Post bloggers primarily write op-eds, whereas Global Voices authors do not produce original content, but instead offer a meta-analysis and coverage of what bloggers and other citizens are discussing online around the world.

2.4 Training

What kind of training does a volunteer receive? On a practical level, what does a volunteer need to learn in order to write for Global Voices? On a cultural level, how are the community values and norms instilled and shared amongst members? Again, I first turn to my own personal experience and then discuss how it compares to the experience of others in the community.

On a practical level, one of the first things a volunteer has to learn is the content management system. The content management system, Wordpress in this case, is responsible for managing the collaborative workflow of the organization. Wordpress, one of the most popular blog platforms, is not the most difficult software to work with, but certainly also not as easy as turning on the light. Given that newly recruited volunteer authors often already have a proven background in blogging, learning how to work with Wordpress is not terribly

difficult. However, as the community grows, and as it expands beyond bloggers, working with Wordpress might become a bigger challenge. This has been the case for several Lingua volunteers, who often have a background in translation rather than blogging. Whereas most bloggers barely had to learn Wordpress, newer members who do not necessarily have a prior background in blogging instead rely increasingly on a set of documentation and tutorials teaching Wordpress, made available by Global Voices.

What are the requirements for a typical story on the Global Voices website? Besides the content management system, the volunteer also interfaces with the editor, the first, and closest, person within Global Voices with whom s/he will be working. As the volunteer prepares his/her first blog for Global Voices, a back-and-forth between the volunteer and editor takes place, which serves as a learning process for how to write a Global Voices post. One of the first things a volunteer probably learns is that blogging for Global Voices means that original reporting and personal opinion are not allowed, a big difference with blogging. The task of the volunteer is to cover bloggers and their blogs. A volunteer is of course allowed to have a personal opinion, but the place to express that is the personal blog, not the Global Voices website, according to Global Voices policy. In addition, stories on the Global Voices website have a typical format where in the first paragraph or so, a particular event is described and explained. What follows the first paragraph is generally a range of perspectives from bloggers who offer a variety of opinions on what happened. If possible,

quotes and citations are always linked back to their original sources. According to Global Voices:

> *A good post will have a clear intro sentence that describes what story you plan to tell in the text below. Normally, they will not be written in the first person, nor will they express an authors personal opinion. Ideally, you'll be able to tell a story using links and quotes from blogs and citizen media.*

Furthermore, there are semi-formal guidelines available for new authors. These are publicly accessible and often serve as reference for the editor to explain certain guidelines. Besides the author guidelines, there is a host of resources to be found on the Global Voices Wiki.[2] These include guidelines for editors, translators and commenting. The resources are hosted on a Wiki platform, which has the advantage of allowing every volunteer to contribute, edit and make changes, as well as affording a level of transparency, both to the community and the larger public.

A beginning author also learns by looking at his/her peers. Once the author has decided to accept the invitation, the editor will introduce and connect the author with the rest of the community. Any author joins at least two virtual groups, the regional community (for example, the team responsible for Dutch Lingua) and the broader community, which is the place where all authors, translators and editors of Global Voices come together. Group interactions are mediated through the mailing list functionality of Google Groups; a volunteer

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joins a community through the invitation of the moderator who is in charge of group management.

As a welcome, the editor generally posts a new message on the mailing list, introducing the new member. A welcoming ritual then starts: a new member is greeted by many other members, who show their appreciation often by posting a word of welcome in English and/or their language. Similarly, announcements of birthdays are another typical occasion where such rituals of hospitality are practiced, and that similarly invite a long string of replies of "happy birthday!" in a wide variety of languages. For a neutral bystander, these practices seemingly only fill up the mailing list and might even be considered "noise", but I argue these practices that might seem superfluous are actually critical for fostering trust and building social capital in a community that is primarily mediated virtually, and whose members come from a wide variety and mix of ethnicities, cultures and nationalities. In other words, a member is made familiar with a culture of hospitality right from the very minute s/he joins the community. As I will discuss more in detail in Chapter Four, hospitality is not only practiced during a welcoming or when there is a birthday, but is embedded into the very routines that make up the newsroom, and includes such practices as the sharing of posts, leads, ideas and sources, and the routinization of discovering new voices.

As the author becomes familiar with the community and starts interacting on a regular basis with other members, s/he learns about the cultural values and norms through celebrations and crises. An example of celebration is the earlier

mentioned elaborate greeting and welcoming of a new member in a variety of languages. Another important cultural practice that signifies the values of the community is the celebration that takes place when Global Voices manages to influence the mainstream media. This influence can take several forms, including when an author is being interviewed for a news story, or when a Global Voices story is being mentioned or linked to in the mainstream media. Widely celebrated are special occasions when Global Voices has the opportunity to collaborate on a more structural level with a mainstream news outlet; examples include Global Voices working with organizations such as the Economist or the BBC, to produce a series of stories, often organized around a particular theme.[3]

Besides celebrations, members also learn the cultural values of the community in moments of internal crises. It is at these moments that oftentimes implicit values are questioned, resisted, negotiated and discussed, and further defined and sharpened. An important example, which I discuss more in detail in Chapter Five, was the - at times heated - discussion within the community whether the word "massacre" should be used in Global Voices coverage of the events taking place in the Gaza region in 2009.

The crises and celebrations of Global Voices are cultural practices that signify the values that bring the community together. Such values need to be read in the context of the specific culture of hospitality. For example, the celebrations

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[3] For example, see for the collaboration with *the Economist* http://globalvoicesonline.org/specialcoverage/global-voices-on-the-economist/ or for the collaboration with the BBC http://globalvoicesonline.org/specialcoverage/bbc-and-global-voices/

of collaborations of mainstream media are in stark contrast with alternative media that see themselves as antithetical to corporate mainstream media.

Conclusion

I have given an insight into the organization, practices, values and norms of Global Voices. I suggested that to understand the organization and its culture, it is useful to keep in mind the concept of hospitality. It has its roots in the initial Zero Summit that recognized the threat the decline of foreign reporting poses, as well as the opportunities the potential of new technologies affords to learn about the world. The challenge this tension poses is best captured in the motto of Global Voices, which asks: "The world is speaking. Are you listening?" It invites us to take up the aspiration to be hospitable, to listen as the world speaks. Global Voices was built to encourage, stimulate and foster hospitality. From the way Global Voices recruits and reaches out to strangers, how it welcomes its new members, and how it celebrates collaborations with the mainstream media, the culture of Global Voices is immersed with hospitality.

As I will argue in the following chapters, Global Voices presents a transformative kind of journalism that is centered around hospitality. In what follows, I analyze the political-economic, social and cultural organization of Global Voices and compare and contrast it with traditional newsrooms which go online and Indymedia, the most famous online alternative media outlet.

3. New Technologies and the Political Economy of News

The news continues to decline, of great concern of many critics and scholars, with international news losing ground faster than any other category. A changing economic organization is seen as responsible for the decline, one that is measured in a loss of financial resources. Or in fewer words: it is a political economy issue. The state of international news, according to The Project for Excellence in Journalism (2008), is reflected in these sad numbers:

> *Roughly two-thirds (64%) of newsroom executives said the space devoted to foreign news in their newspaper had dropped over the past three years. Nearly half (46%) say they have reduced the resources devoted to covering the topic–also the highest percentage recording a drop. Only 10% said they considered foreign coverage "very essential."*

Critics consider the internet one of the main causal factors behind this decline, arguing that it has made readers expect content for free, and more importantly, that it has taken away advertising revenues. News organizations now have to compete with a wider array of media, unlike before the internet, and are all scrambling to vie for the increasingly scarce attention of the public. To compound matters, in even the best case, the loss of print advertising is not made up by dramatic increases in online advertising, because of the vast difference in charged fees. When we consider that international news has always been one of the more expensive forms of news production, it is not hard to imagine why news organizations have been shutting down foreign bureaus, laying off correspondents, and marginalizing news about the world.

Sadly, the decline happens at a time when the need for international news is as great, if not greater, than before. Globalization creates and accelerates mutual dependencies that stress the importance of knowing what happens where and understanding how others think about us. Ulrich Beck (1992) argues how we are increasingly living in a borderless and global risk society. David Held (1999, 2006) says we now live in "communities of fate", suggesting that our fates are bound together. Both argue for the need for mutual understanding globally, if we are to co-exist peacefully together.

The internet plays a dual sided and complex role in the changing political economy of news: it accelerates globalization and increases demand for international news, but at the same time it is responsible for the decline in its supply as well. In an internet age, international news comes at a premium: demand is high while supply is low. But is that the whole picture? Consider also how the internet is a medium with exceptional global reach and radical lower barriers to speech; it allows us to connect to others around the world with greater ease and lower cost than ever before, digital divide notwithstanding. Perhaps even more important, the internet has enabled a different mode of production that challenges our understanding of the political economy of global news. Yochai Benkler (2006) calls this commons based peer production, a mode of production that is decentralized, collaborative and non-market based, enabling projects whose success few people could have predicted from the outset. Notable examples include Wikipedia, "the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit", and

Linux, a free operating system with developers located around the world. Peer production suggests it might be more complex than an argument that "the internet is killing the news". If new technologies are causing market-based production to fail, might they also enable a non-market based production of news?

This chapter examines how the internet affects the political economy of news. Political economy has been described by Vincent Mosco (2009, p. 24) as the study of "the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources." He adds that political economy entails three critical elements: an understanding of social change and historical transformation, moral philosophy and praxis. In other words, political economy looks at the economic organization of production and considers its political implications, by studying how resources shape the (power) relationships between different players.

The chapter's first section sets the terms of the debate through a discussion of mainstream and global political economy of news. Both are concerned with structural imbalances in the production of news; in particular, they ask questions related to how advertising, ownership and ownership concentration affect journalism as an important institution in how we come to know the world. The internet invites a rethinking and renewal political economy if we are to understand the potential of new technologies to affect the political

economy of the news; in particular, a focus on the internet reveals that political economy lacks the analytical lenses to examine modes of production that are non-market based. I suggest that the "three failures theory" (Salamon, 1987; DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990; Bacchiega & Borzaga, 2003) provides useful clues towards an analysis of the role of global civil society in the political economy of news, because it helps us think through how the market, state and civil society interact with and respond to each other as different domains of production within one larger ecology.

The second section dives deeper into the role of new technologies and compares their impact on three cases: adaptive newsrooms, Indymedia and Global Voices. Adaptive newsrooms are newsrooms of existing news organizations that are making the transition to the digital world. However, to understand the potential of new technologies, it is necessary to take into account transformative newsrooms as well. IndyMedia and Global Voices are transformative newsrooms that are non-market based, online and global in scope. As civil society organizations, they require a a different analytical framework, given that the dominant paradigm of political economy research is market-based and positions advertising, ownership and ownership concentration as its main analytical lenses. I follow the United Nations definition of a civil society organization, understood as "associations of citizens (outside their families, friends and workplaces) that is entered into voluntarily to advance their interests, ideas, ideals and ideologies. It doesn't include associational activity of

people for profit-making purposes (the private sector) or for governing (the state or public sector)." I propose a multi-interactionist framework to help us think through the political economy of news organizations that are based in civil society. The framework considers the impact of five forces on the economic organization of news production: technology, leadership, funding, the law, and the relationship with the mainstream media.
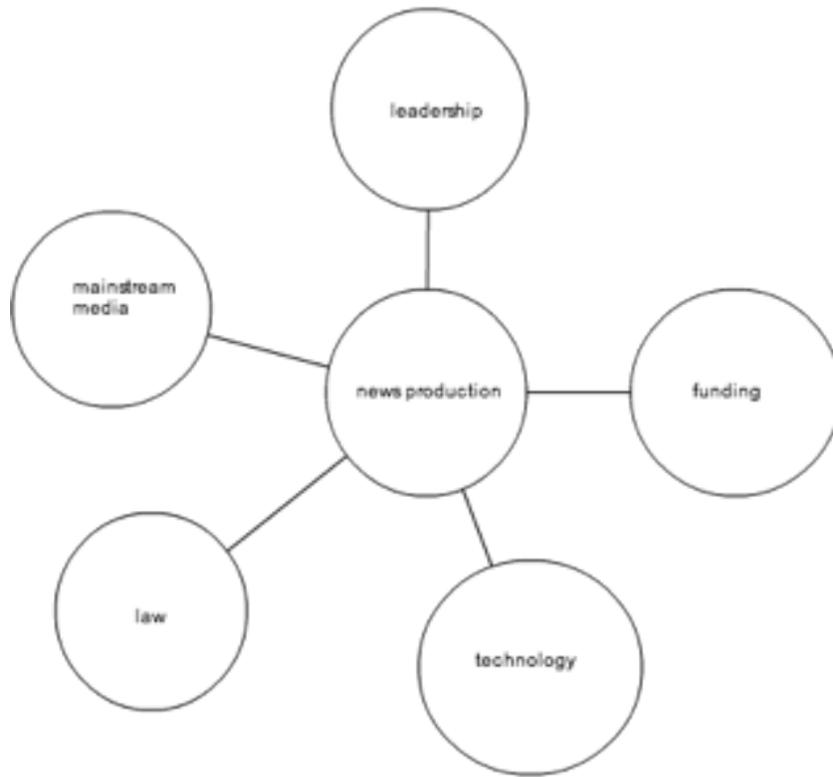
3.1 multi-interactionist framework

3.1 The Political Economy of News

An important contribution of political economy is to help us understand that a critical constraint on news production is the allocation of scarce resources. Consider, for example, the role funding, subsidies, policy-making, ownership or advertising play. An understanding of the structural constraints of news production is important because they impact what voices and stories are covered in the news, who receives attention and who is left out.

The political economy tradition is forceful in articulating the tension of media as both an economic and a socio-political force, pointing out the conflicts between the public's interest and the interest of the owners and advertisers (Baker, 1991; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Curran & Seaton, 2003). One the one hand, the media are commercial enterprises existing in a capitalist system that seek to maximize profit and minimize cost. On the other hand, the media also serve a larger role in democracy: they inform the citizenry and function as a platform for deliberation and discussion.

To understand the political economy of news, it is necessary to start with a definition of "market failure". The limitation of the market to provide for news is one type of market failure; a typical example is the closing of foreign bureaus. However, a broader definition of market failure centers on social equity, rather than economic inefficiency. This definition of market failure is particularly relevant in the case of journalism, an institution that has both economic and democratic value. As Napoli (1997, p. 207) argues: "Media organizations are both

political and economic entities. They are able – and even expected – to influence public opinion, government policy, and citizen voting behavior. … At the same time, media organizations' continued existence in a capitalist system such as ours depends upon their ability to maximize revenue and minimize costs."

Political economy scholarship has produced at least two strands of scholarship, one I refer to as mainstream political economy, the other as global political economy. In the next section, I first discuss mainstream political economy, and then global political economy. I proceed to look at how new technologies force us to rethink and renew political economy scholarship.

Mainstream political economy scholars have focused on the ways the industrial and capitalist logic of the market shape news production, suggesting that advertising, ownership, and ownership concentration are critical factors that negatively impact the democratic value of news. Scholars have argued that advertising has an oppressive effect on marginal and radical voices, limiting the vibrancy of the public sphere (Baker, 1991; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Curran & Seaton, 2003). Advertising-supported media organizations produce content in order to attract desirable audiences, but often at the neglect of the needs of other publics. For example, Hamilton (2004) provides evidence that the rise of soft news over hard news can be explained by the appeal of soft news to certain "ideal" or "mainstream" target audiences of advertising. In order not to upset the mainstream audience, advertising leads to a crowding-out effect of less desirable,

non-mainstream views in the media. Curran and Seaton (2003) show how the radical press enjoyed a healthy circulation that was radically curtailed by the introduction of advertising. Scholars continue to criticize the contemporary role advertising has on the consistent erosion of the public sphere, and argue that it leads to news that is characterized by a high degree of homogenization and imitation, decline of localism, and a preference for soft news over hard news (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; McChesney, 2004; Croteau & Hoynes, 2006).

Others have sensitized us to the consequences of increasing media ownership concentration as an important constraint on news production (Bagdikian, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; Baker, 2006). The owner is considered generally one if not the most powerful agent in determining how resources are allocated, and directly or indirectly, how the agenda is set. The influence of ownership becomes especially problematic from a democratic perspective if it is highly concentrated. Ownership concentration results in two trends that are interrelated: communicative power in a society increasingly resides in only a few hands, and the more concentrated ownership is, the higher the barriers to entry become. Unfortunately, there is a clear trend towards increasing concentration in media ownership over the past thirty years, both nationally and globally (McChesney & Schiller, 2003; Bagdikian, 2004).

If the lesson of mainstream political economy is that scarcity of resources matter, this lesson rings particularly true for global news, a field dominated by a few newswires: Reuters, the Associated Press (AP), and Agence France Press

(AFP). The global newswires, and the national news organizations to a lesser extent, decide how scarce resources are allocated, e.g. which continents, regions and cities get a news bureau, how many correspondents will be stationed there, etc. This matters hugely, although perhaps not surprisingly: the presence of a news bureau is consistently one of the strongest predictors of how much coverage a location receives (Wu, 2000; Wu, 2003; Wu, 2007).

The concern about the political economy of global news is not new, with its apex during the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO). According to the MacBride report (1980, p. 111), a central document in the NWICO debate, "concentration of resources and infrastructures is not only a growing trend, but also a worrying phenomenon which may adversely affect the freedom and democratization of communication", linking the market as a mode of economic organization to structural imbalances in global communication. Consider the near monopoly in the production and distribution of global news, primarily by corporations in leading developed countries, that created a situation where "the world receives some 80 per cent of its news through London, Paris and New York" (MacBride, 1980, p. 145).

Many critics argued the structural imbalances led to cultural or media "imperialism", the idea that a few countries are able to dominate ideologically and culturally through the export of their media products globally, reducing and restricting the development of other countries (Boyd-Barrett, 1977; Schiller, 1992; Roach, 1997; Tomlinson, 2002). Schiller (1976, pp. 98-103) argued that the

structure of global communication "follows the international division of labor, which itself is determined by the structure and practices of the strongest capitalist states", such that it "legitimates and reinforces the capability of a few dominant economies to impose their cultural definitions and perspectives on the rest of the world".

A critical recommendation of the MacBride report (1980, p. 255) concluded that developing countries should develop their own communication infrastructure; seen as particularly vital was the construction of strong national and regional news agencies. The report had other recommendations that were controversial and seen as too far reaching by the United States and the United Kingdom. They disputed the media imperialism thesis and argued that the proposed interventions would impede the "free flow of information", a belief that was supported by the prevalent "marketplace" doctrine and that advocated against obstacles that would impede the unfettered or unhindered dissemination of information. In protest to the recommendations proposed in the MacBride report, the United States and the United Kingdom threatened to leave UNESCO, and did, only to return decades later in 1997 (UK) and 2002 (US).

Whether the effects of the media imperialism thesis are real or not, many developing countries certainly perceived it to be so, and in response prioritized the construction of national news agencies. However, research suggests that national and regional news agencies have not necessarily led to more diversity in global news (Meyer, 1989; Natarajan & Xiaoming, 2006; Groshek, 2008). For

example, one study (Natarajan & Xiaoming, 2006) showed how the coverage of a regional Asian news agency did not differ in any significant way from CNN, even in the coverage of issues and events pertinent to Asian countries.

After their departure from UNESCO, the US and the UK successfully pursued and realized the "free flow of information doctrine" through other institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO). Cultural industries, which include the media, have become mostly a trade policy issue, despite attempts of other countries to frame it as a cultural policy issue (Baker, 2002, especially chapters 10 and 11). In one of the most powerful critiques against the free flow of information doctrine, Baker argued how the market for media products almost "naturally" gears towards a monopoly. Media products have high production costs for the initial copy and virtually zero marginal costs for any additional copies, thus rewarding organizations with high production costs, creating a market with high barriers to entry. Insisting on the importance of cultures to be able to express themselves without being shut out because of high economic barriers to entry, Baker concludes by making a case for state protection of cultural products, not unlike the recommendations of the MacBride report. However, Wu (2003, p. 21) concludes that not much has changed since NWICO, suggesting that:

> *the less developed countries' dependence on western news agencies for foreign news is still profound. Although various news exchange programs have been developed for decades, Third World countries still resort primarily to western news services for information.*

Disillusioned with the failure of national news agencies to improve the global media landscape, hope over time shifted towards community media. Increasing advances in technology and the lowering of operational costs meant that it became more affordable for communities to run their own media, such as community radio and community television. Nevertheless, issues of funding and sustainability remain a constant concern (Center for International Media Assistance, 2009a; Center for International Media Assistance, 2009b). They remain "fragile constructs", constantly feeling the pressure to find more constant sources of financial support, while having to remain vigilant that its participants stay motivated and do not succumb to "volunteer fatigue" (Internews, 2009, p. 18).

Have concerns about media imperialism been valid? Critics argued that the thesis was flawed because it only focuses on production, ignores the role of audience, and equates economic power with cultural influence (McGuigan, 1992; Golding & Harris, 1997; Boyd-Barrett, 1998). Liebes and Katz (1993), for example, demonstrated how groups from various national backgrounds interpreted the same Dallas episodes in drastically different ways, suggesting that audiences are no empty vessels, capable of re-appropriating content, ultimately giving rise to the notion of "the active audience" (Morley, 1980; Ang, 1985) and "hybridity" (Kraidy, 2005; Pieterse, 2009). However, the notions of the active audience and hybridity are not without problems either: scholars argued that the active audience thesis gave too much power to the audience, and hybridity is a

concept that describes what is happening as a blend, but does not make a deeper inquiry into what kind of blend it is or explain why a particular blend comes to exist. More seriously, they do not address the structural imbalances that continue to exist: media ownership is still largely concentrated and inequality of access to participate in the media remains an issue (Morley, 1993; Hamelink, 1994; McChesney & Schiller, 2003; Miller et al., 2005).

3.2 The Political Economy of the Adaptive Newsroom

How do new technologies affect the political economy of adaptive newsrooms; newsrooms of mainstream professional journalism that make the transition to the digital world? Political economy has stressed the importance of understanding the structural constraints in the economic organization of production, in particular stressing the influence of advertising, ownership and ownership concentration on the state of news. New technologies drastically affect all three factors.

Advertising

The decline of advertising in print media is perhaps the most talked about example. According to the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2009):

> *[advertising] fell by 13% in first quarter of 2008. But that drop jumped to 15% in the second quarter and 18% the balance of the year as the economic downturn kicked into full force. [..] Newspapers took in $49.5*

billion in advertising just two years ago. In 2008, it was about $38 billion, a 23 % decline.

Online ad revenues do not make up for the loss of revenues in print advertising (The Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2009):

> *[O]nline ad revenues, a healthy pocket of growth even as recently as 2007, shockingly went negative (-2.4 %) in the second quarter of 2008 and for the rest of the year. [..] The supply of available advertising space is abundant online so prices are actually falling. And the downturn is causing advertisers to cut new media as well as traditional media budgets. All these factors sent the once-robust growth of online advertising into reverse.*

The loss of advertising negatively affects the news as expensive but valuable forms of reporting are cut from the budget. Findings suggest it might seem that the internet makes things worse, not better. Advertising declines at a rapid pace to the detriment of the quality of the news. But as advertising keeps dropping and market-based production of news continues to shrink in size, opportunities present themselves for non-market based modes of production to fill the gap. I suggest there is a need for political economy to go beyond "advertising" as its analytical lens and to encompass a view that takes a broader look at "funding" or "sources of revenue", to include the influences of the economies that are located outside the market and rooted in civil society, such as funding from foundations and volunteerism.

Ownership and Ownership Concentration

The analysis of ownership influence on the media has a long history (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Baker, 2006). But as non-market organizations gain prominence, such as non-profits, networks and online communities, it no longer makes sense to continue to rely on "ownership" in the classic capitalistic sense as the only analytical lens. For example, in analyzing networked communities such as Wikipedia or Linux, who is really the "owner"? One could argue that these are the founders and what some call "enlightened dictators", such as Jimmy Wales and Linus Torvalds, whereas others might argue the grassroots community is in charge. What I suggest is to consider "leadership" instead of "ownership" as an economic resource and constraint. The political economy of leadership is particularly relevant in the context of civil society organizations (Lang & Lang, 1961; Melucci, 1996; Wallis & Dollery, 1999; Dollery & Wallis, 2003; Gitlin, 2003).

When it comes to the impact the internet has on concerns with media ownership concentration, there are roughly two sides among scholars. One camp believes the internet will make any concern we have regarding concentration obsolete (Compaine & Gomery, 2000; Owen, 2004). They point to the ease of starting a blog, to the explosion of blogs worldwide, the increasing competition between media players, and the unprecedented availability, diversity and affordability of news. Anderson (2008) made a broader thesis about the effects of

the internet to enable a wide variety of niche products to exist, what he refers to as the Long Tail effect. Whereas in the past it was only profitable to sell a high number of small "hit" or "blockbuster" items, it is now also possible, and profitable, to sell small numbers of lots of niche items. One example is Amazon, which carries a much wider inventory of books than any physical bookstore. The idea of the Long Tail has not been exclusive to commercial retail, but found its way to other domains as well, including the public sphere (Bruns, 2005; Benkler, 2006; Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Shirky, 2008; Deuze, 2009).

That is to say, it would be a clear mistake to underestimate the potential of the internet to contribute to a robust and vibrant public sphere. In some ways, it already has demonstrated its transformative effects on the public sphere; consider the role the internet played in the campaign of Howard Dean for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 2004, or the prominent role the internet played in the campaign of president Obama. Outside the US, mobile phones and the internet were valuable in the organization and coordination of mass protests, leading some to suggest that they have been critical in the overthrowing of authoritarian governments (Rheingold, 2003; Garton Ash & Snyder, 2008).

However, the opposite camp argues that there are still many reasons for concern. They warn us not to overstate the extent the internet will democratize communication and that the structural communicative inequalities have largely remained the same (Murdock, 2004; Dahlberg, 2005; Baker, 2006; Hindman,

2009). For example, Hindman (2009, 2008) argues that despite the immense growth of the blogosphere, it is still dominated by an elite that is primarily highly-educated, male, white, etc. Similarly, Dahlberg (2005) makes the case that we are really looking at a "corporate colonization" of cyberspace, that those that receive the most attention remain corporate and commercial media sites.

The two camps might disagree with each other, but I believe that it is possible that both are right. Implicit is an assumption that if diversity increases, concentration decreases, and vice versa. However, an increase in the diversity of *sources* does not necessarily mean a decrease in the concentration of *attention*. Napoli (1999) helped us understand that diversity can be examined on three levels: source diversity, content diversity and exposure diversity. His framework reveals that the critics have been arguing about different things: pointing to continuing structural imbalances, one camp points to the proliferation of sources and content, while the other camp warns that there is still a lack of exposure diversity, or a concentration of attention.

Baker (2006) makes perhaps the most sophisticated argument when he suggests that the internet leads to more diversity (of sources) but also more concentration (of attention) at the same time. He predicts that "the internet is likely to lead to much more diverse content being more easily available to those who seek it and to many more sources of information (and opinion), but overall, concentration of audiences in the internet world will be great and likely to be even greater than in the older offline world" (2006, p. 105). This is not

unprecedented: Markus Prior (2007) showed for cable television that a dramatic increase in the number of channels does not automatically lead to more channels being watched.

When the number of sources dramatically increase, there is a need for intermediaries that support coordination, that bring supply and demand together, and that help audiences make sense of the new and possibly overwhelming landscape. Hindman (2003) argued that search engines have achieved an overwhelmingly dominant role as information intermediary. Others raised the importance of understanding the politics and ethics of search engines, entities that play a critical role in commanding and redirecting attention online (Introna & Nissenbaum, 2000; Halavais, 2008; Turow & Tsui, 2008). Before there were search engines, it was news organizations that long played the role of information intermediary, guiding the public to the topics, stories and events they deemed important and valuable. But there are also signs that traditional news organizations themselves feel overwhelmed in the face of the new digital world, affording other organizations the opportunity to step in and act in their stead (Lowrey, 2006). Global Voices is, I would argue, such an intermediary, responsible for coordinating and directing audiences as well as professional journalists to content that they are not able to seek out but that might be valuable.

Rethinking the role advertising, ownership and ownership concentration play in news production are necessary and important actions for political economy. I propose to consider "funding" instead of advertising, "leadership" instead of ownership, and the role of intermediaries in a networked public sphere to examine the issue of attention concentration. Yet, to understand how technology transforms the political economy of news, they are not sufficient. The internet raises questions that were previously marginal or non-existent, and invites us to consider the existence of analytical blind spots. To understand the impact of new technologies on the political economy of news, it is necessary to move forward and address these analytical blind spots.

3.3 The Political Economy of Transformative Newsrooms

To understand the transformative potential of new technologies, it is necessary to go beyond the traditional analytical frameworks of the political economy of news. The journalism that political economy examines is the political economy of mainstream professional journalism, a journalism that is market-based, with its institutional and ideological origins in the US. These studies remain necessary, but are increasingly becoming insufficient as new technologies reveal a lack of analytical frameworks to think about journalism in a transformative manner. In particular, new technologies underscore that mainstream political economy is dominated by three concepts that overly constrain our thinking: the United States, the nation state, and the market.

First, mainstream political economy has focused the majority of its attention on developed countries, in particular the United States. This makes sense because news is largely produced by and its power located in the developed countries. Nevertheless, Downing (1996) in *Internationalizing Media Theory* makes perhaps the strongest case for the need to broaden our understanding of the media to countries other than the West. Analyzing Russia, he argues that it is often the contrarian case that challenges knowledge and reveals what is missing and lacking in our theories. Political economy has addressed this blind spot to some extent by increasingly focusing on other countries (Chakravartty & Zhao, ; Downing, 1996; Zhao, 1998; Curran & Park, 2006; Zhao, 2008). These are valuable studies that expand our understanding of political economy beyond the dominant research paradigms of the West. Yet, while these initial attempts towards a globalization of political economy are promising, they also remain in need of much further development.

Second, there is an emphasis on the nation-state, at the cost of ignoring developments that are more transnational or global in nature (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002; Beck, 2003; Sassen, 2003; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Chernilo, 2006; Beck, 2007; Beck, 2008). This critique is not addressed through an inclusion of other countries than the United States or the West. Instead, it points to the unspoken, invisible and often automatic acceptance of the nation-state as a proxy for "society", a conceptual flaw that is especially problematic in an age of increasing globalization and transnationalism. Referring to this bias as

"methodological nationalism", Beck (2008, 2007, 2003; Beck & Sznaider, 2006) argues that it tends to overplay the macro-economic logic and the role of the state as the only relevant arena of economic and social change and development. It overlooks networks, social movements and online communities that increasingly gain in power and importance, in large part due to the internet, and warrant attention from political economy (Castells, 1996; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Bennett, 2003c; Tarrow, 2005; Castells, 2007; Grewal, 2008; Castells, 2009). It is necessary to examine the meso- and micro levels of global communication, to focus on the networks, social movements and online communities, and the ways they interact with the larger macro-level. In other words, what we need is an examination of the political economy of global communication that takes a grounded and bottom-up approach, that takes a micro- and meso view, and that queries back what these findings tell us about larger and more mainstream political economy questions.

Last but not least, there is an emphasis on the market over other sites of production, in particular civil society and to a lesser extent the state. As argued above, the internet means it is no longer possible to ignore non-market modes of production. Its many significant contributions to our understanding of the market logic of media industries notwithstanding, critics have taken mainstream political economy to task for focusing on the market and ignoring other sites of production. For example, Schudson (2005, p. 175) has critiqued mainstream political economy for overlooking the crucial role of the state. While most of the

political economy tradition takes fault with the commercial organization of journalism, it is often "the absence of commercial organizations, or their total domination by the state, [that] is the worst case scenario" (Schudson, 2005, p. 175). The state as a site of production has received some attention from political economy scholars, mostly by those who focus their attention outside the US (Chakravartty & Zhao, ; Downing, 1996; Zhao, 1998; Curran & Park, 2006). For example, Zhao (1998) has helped us understand how the Chinese government has been able to marry the market logic with the Party logic, resulting in a climate by which news organizations operate in as "dancing with chains".

If mainstream political economy scholars have relatively ignored the state in their research, then the study of the political economy of civil society is virtually absent. While it has received some attention as a site of reception or even mobilization, there has yet to be any significant analysis of civil society as a site of news production. The absence of civil society analysis is remarkable for at least two reasons. There is a long history of journalistic work that is funded on a non-profit basis, as well as a rich tradition of radical, alternative or independent media outlets. In addition, the omission of civil society from inquiry is remarkable given that the political economy tradition is so critical of mainstream models and implicitly demands alternative or different models of news production.

It is at this point useful to discuss the concept of civil society more in detail. It has both normative and descriptive elements and the two are often used

interchangeably (Cohen & Arato, 1994; Edwards, 2009). Some understand civil society as one of three sectors, independent and separate from the state and the market, although sometimes with overlap in the middle. Cohen and Arato (1994, p. ix), however, warn us about conflating civil society with all aspects of social life that are outside the state or the market, arguing that while the spheres are distinct, there are nevertheless important relationships between them. They offer a useful working definition: "a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication" (Cohen & Arato, 1994, p. ix).

The rise of global civil society is a critical blind spot that the political economy of news can no longer ignore. However, the existing conceptual frameworks employed by political economy are primarily created to examine news production under market conditions. To move forward, a theoretical framework is needed that can make sense of a political economy of news production that is not just limited to the market.

The Three-Failures Theory

The three-failures theory provides a framework and theorizes for each domain - market, state and civil society - under what conditions production of a public good succeeds or fails. The three-failures theory does not see each domain as

distinct. While agents have their own specific motivations, they interact and respond to the actions of agents in the other domains, offering an explanation of how public good problems are addressed in a larger ecology consisting of the market, the state and civil society. For example, the market functions well when at least two conditions are met. First, for customers to make a purchase, they must have adequate information. That is to say, for supply and demand to meet, there needs to be a level of trust. Second, for the market mechanism to work, consumption must take place on an individual basis; it cannot be done collectively.

The lack of trust is a specific form of market failure, referred to as contract failure (Hansmann, 1980; Salamon, 1987; Steinberg, 2006). Non-profit organizations are a response to contract failure: they are more likely to be considered trustworthy because they are not driven by for-profit motivations. However, they might raise concern, for example in terms of ideological motivation, a form of voluntary failure. I follow Hansmann's (1980) definition: "a non-profit organization is one precluded from distributing, in financial form, its surplus resources to those in control of the organization." Hansmann (1980) referred to this prohibition on the distribution of profits as the "non-distribution constraint". The non-distribution constraint has important implications for how the organization obtains resources, how it motivates its members and for the public's perception of how trustworthy it is.

The second condition for a well-functioning market is the necessity of individual consumption, which describes the problem public goods pose to the market. Public goods are by definition non-excludable (one cannot prevent the other from consumption) and non-rivalrous (one person's consumption does not limit another person's consumption), making it hard to limit consumption to an individual. The state often intervenes in public good problems. Government investments, however, have to be in accordance with majority wishes. Non-profits are leaned on to provide for public goods that have a minority demand, supported through volunteering and individual donations rather than government funding. Non-profits, in turn, might suffer from "philanthropic insufficiency, amateurism, paternalism, and particularism, the chief forms of voluntary failure" (Steinberg, 2006). The state and market in turn fill the gaps left by non-profits, completing the three-failures theory (Salamon, 1987).

Furthermore, the three-failures theory reveals how technology is changing the political economy of news by situating the market in a larger ecology that includes the state and civil society. It shows how the internet undermines both the first and the second condition for a functioning market. The first condition for a well-functioning market stipulates the need for trust and the lack of information asymmetries. The internet might have made a proliferation of sources available, but unable to assess these sources, they are therefore considered untrustworthy, by both the public and professional journalists.

The second condition prescribes individual consumption, but news on the internet is generally free and easily shared with others. Attempts at pay-walls so far have mostly been unsuccessful, exceptions such as *the Wall Street Journal* notwithstanding. Prior to the internet, news organizations circumvented this problem by attaching a physical medium to news, such as paper in the case of newspapers, making individual consumption possible. This solution no longer works with the arrival of the internet. Another method the news organizations have relied on throughout the years to circumvent the public good character of news is to rely on advertising as a source of revenue, creating what economists call a "two-sided market": news organizations sell newspapers in order to attract an audience, and the attention of the audience in turn gets sold to advertisers. Advertising became the dominant source of revenues in large part because of the monopoly of attention that many news organizations had prior to cable television and the internet. However, the dramatic loss of advertising also makes this solution no longer as relevant as before, leading to the narrow sense of a market failure of news production, the inability of the market to produce news.

The three-failures theory also suggests how the state and civil society might respond to a market failure of news production. State funding for the news have been proposed as a solution, whether in the form of construction of national news agencies during the NWICO debate or in the more recent form of state subsidies to "bail out" journalism (Price, 2009; Gilmor, 2009). Nevertheless, as history has shown, any dependency on the state for the funding of (domestic)

news remains a sensitive issue, particularly in the United States, and is an "ideological impossibility" if you will, a particular instance of state failure (Dollery & Wallis, 2003). It is somewhat ironic that news is considered a public good suffering from a market failure, yet public funding raises strong ideological feelings of ambivalence.

There is a strong need to examine civil society as a domain of production for news, to understand under what circumstances news production thrives or fails under civil society, for several reasons. First, the three-failures theory suggests the necessity of an analysis of civil society as a critical response to market and state failures, both of which are applicable to news production. As mentioned, political economy has long been concerned with the industrial and capitalist logic of the media. But an understudied, yet increasingly relevant domain are non-market modes of production (Murdock & Golding, 2005; Croteau, 2006). Second, research indicates that the internet supercharges civil society production, particularly for cultural products, inviting us to examine how peer production applies to news and to revisit to what extent earlier findings of news as voluntary failure are still valid. Yochai Benkler (2006) makes the most powerful case, suggesting that market production is really a historical anomaly, and that amateur, or non-market based modes of production will grow in importance. At the same time, he is careful enough to warn us that this is not determined by technology and that legislation will have to play an important role in fostering this new mode of production he refers to as commons-based peer

production (Benkler, 1999). Certainly, his thesis does not exclude the possibility that the internet is invulnerable to the industrial and capitalist logic of the market or the state (Lessig, 2001; Lessig, 2004; Zittrain, 2008). The internet is nevertheless a complex beast; parts may fall under the market logic, yet other parts may give birth to and thrive in a non-market based production. Not to lose sight of the latter is crucial if we want to understand the potential of the internet, how it can revitalize democracy, and how we can design policy towards this goal. Third, research suggests that civil society production in particular has a strong potential to address aspects of market failure that technology accelerates. For example, Te'eni and Young (2003) argue that nonprofits have an important role to play in a network economy because of the increasing information asymmetries the internet gives rise to.

This chapter proposes a multi-interactionist framework to examine the political economy of news production under civil society conditions. The multi-interactionist framework is composed of five factors, two of which build on mainstream political economy research (funding, leadership), whereas the other three factors are suggested by the three-failures theory (technology, law and public policy, mainstream media). The three-failures theory illustrates how an understanding of the political economy of news production has to be situated in a larger ecology, one that encompasses the market, state and other actors in civil society. In other words, it suggests the necessity of extending a political economy

analysis to the networks of connectivity in which the object of study is located in. Murdock (2004, pp. 22-23) has argued that "media scholars have tended to ignore the analysis of networks. [..] [that] the political economy of connectivity is increasingly central to a full analysis of the social organization of access and use." Indeed, in order to proceed, it is necessary to include a consideration of the political economy of the internet itself.

In asking how new technologies affect the political economy of news, it is often forgotten that technologies themselves are not static, but continue to develop. The architecture of cyberspace is comprised of individuals, communities, networks, organizations and institutions that together build, extend and change it for their own purposes. Journalism is starting to understand that in order to make use of the internet, it has to play a role in the design and architecture of cyberspace, and has made starts to include software development as part of journalism education. For example, the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, together with the Knight Foundation, is offering journalism scholarships for software developers, in recognition of the growing importance of people who can bridge these two fields (Medill School of Journalism, 2009; Villano, 2009).

However, the majority of political economy research is also careful in overestimating the emancipatory impact of new technologies. A common political economy argument is that new technologies often appear fabulous at first. They are accompanied with hope of liberation, empowerment and democratization,

but they ultimately rarely challenge the underlying market logic. For example, it is easily forgotten how radio was once hailed as a democratizing technology, thought to make tele-education accessible and affordable. In a classic historical analysis of the political economy of radio, McChesney (1999) shows us how a combination of lobbying and public-policies eventually shaped the radio into the technology it is today, a shell of the former dreams we once had of it. Others fear the internet might go the same route (Lessig, 2001; Lessig, 2004; Mosco, 2005; Zittrain, 2008). For example, Mosco (2005) argued that our dreams of the internet - the end of geography, the end of politics and the end of history, what he calls the "digital sublime" - blinds us for the important role state and market logic play in molding the technology into a shape that aligns with their vision, rather than the public's. From a historical perspective, McChesney (2007) argues that the internet is at a "critical juncture", a moment in time where the development of new technologies can go various ways because it has yet to be institutionalized. The notion of a critical juncture suggests that it is necessary to understand which factors constrain the potential and development of the internet before it is possible to assess its impact on journalism.

A crucial factor is the law in its many different forms, but particularly in the form of mass media and copyright law. For example, shield laws define what constitutes "a journalist" and as such, who deserve legal protection. More broadly, mass media laws around the world in different degrees regulate, constrain and censor voices online. The internet does not only make mass media

law more salient for journalism, but also copyright law. Copyright reform has been paramount to at least two major developments: It has made possible the rise of Open Source and Free Software, opening up the field of software development, and through Creative Commons, it has been crucial in enlarging the pool of cultural materials journalists can draw from. Balkin (2006, p. 1) underscores the importance of the dynamics between free speech law and new technologies, arguing that new technologies have transformed the social conditions of speech to such an extent that there is a need to:

> *change the focus of free speech theory, from a [..] concern with protecting democratic process and democratic deliberation, to a larger concern with protecting and promoting a democratic culture. A democratic culture is a culture in which individuals have a fair opportunity to participate in the forms of meaning-making that constitute them as individuals. Democratic culture is about individual liberty as well as collective self-governance; it concerns each individual's ability to participate in the production and distribution of culture.*

Last but not least, the fifth and final element in the multi-interactionist framework I propose is the role of the mainstream media. Zelizer (1993) argued that journalists are an "interpretive community": they collectively make sense of how new developments, transgressions and crises fit into the larger narrative of the journalistic tradition. More importantly, this act of collective interpretation is authoritative, defining what practices are legitimate. The definition of what constitutes journalism carries powerful implications, not only on the cultural level, but increasingly also on the level of political economy. The interpretive community of mainstream professional journalism has a gatekeeping function

and defines which practices and which actors are considered "journalism". As such, it is necessary to understand how it responds to the rise of civil society actors that seek entrance into the journalistic domain.

The multi-interactionist framework I propose to analyze the political economy of news production under civil society conditions consists of five factors: leadership, funding, the law, technology and the relationship with the mainstream media, with news production squarely in the middle.
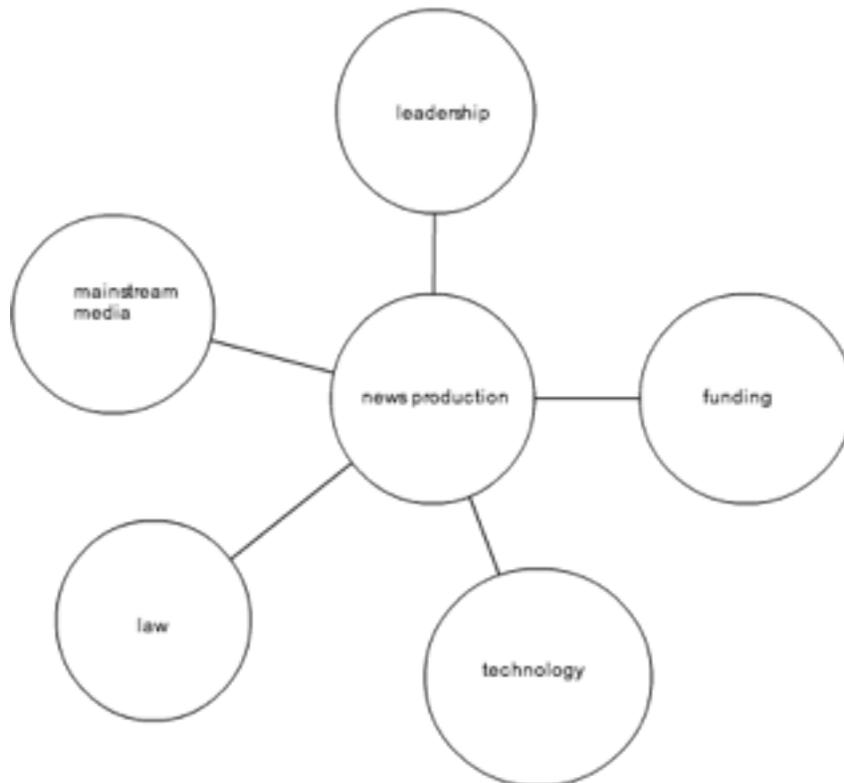
3.1 multi-interactionist framework

I proceed to use the multi-interactionist framework to compare Indymedia and Global Voices, two media organizations that have thrived because of the internet

and are rooted in global civil society, paying particular attention to how the internet has enabled or constrained their production. The choice for these two organizations is a strategic one. At first sight, they might be seen as similar organizations. They both have primarily a virtual presence online and are organized through the internet. They both see themselves as grassroots community media taking advantage of the internet to reach a global audience. Their existence is justified by dissatisfaction with the mainstream media, in particular how they cover grassroots voices. However, what I hope to show are the many contrasts between them. The choices they have made with regard to the factors in the multi-interactionist framework, in terms of funding, leadership, technology, the law and its relationship with the mainstream media have all led to divergent rather than convergent outcomes between them. Indeed, the comparison between the two organizations precludes a conclusion that the internet has "deterministic" effects; that is to say, the potential of the internet to change the political economy of news depends on the decision-making of the news organizations, which is influenced by and influences the different dynamics between the varying forces in the multi-interactionist framework.

3.4 The Political Economy of Indymedia

Indymedia is a global network of independent media outlets. It is well-known for its open publishing model that allows anybody to become a reporter, blurring the distinction between journalists and citizens. Its origins are located in the 1999

anti-WTO protests; as such it is critical of neo-liberalism and closely related to the global justice movement. According to its homepage, it offers "grassroots, non-corporate coverage", and explicitly seeks to serve as an alternative to state- and market-based media organizations.

Technology

The birth, growth and success of Indymedia can for a significant part be attributed to the internet. Instead of having to maintain an expensive network of foreign bureaus with correspondents around the world, Indymedia relies on the internet for communication and coordination with its members in various parts of the world. Instead of building their own global distribution network, Indymedia depends on the internet to deliver its content to audiences around the world. And instead of acquiring printing presses, Indymedia leverages Open Source software to manage content with an affordable publishing system. The global infrastructure of the internet and the rise of Open Source software (Weber, 2004; Benkler, 2006) allow civil society organizations, such as Indymedia, to have production and distribution on a global scale and reach, that is affordable and relatively shielded from the market.

Most alternative media are run by marginal groups that are dedicated to a political project for which there is often only a limited constituency. They are not susceptible to supply and demand because they operate to a large extent outside the market, which is both a source of strength and weakness. It is a strength

because it allows them to have a political voice that is relatively unencumbered by commercial considerations, but it is a weakness because it is harder to make content with high production value, that enjoys a wide distribution, and that appeals to a broad audience. Issues of scale are typical of alternative media, to the extent that "small-scale" has become an invisible modifier for alternative media, something that goes without saying because to mention it would be an oxymoron. Radical media have always been, according to Downing (2000, p. 70), "much more likely to be small-scale than large, for perhaps obvious reasons".

Perhaps stating the obvious, but alternative media traditionally have been unable to achieve a significant scale because of financial resource constraints. In contrast, Indymedia has made use of new technologies to overcome problems of scale, to become global in scope yet remain shielded from the market. In particular, the lower cost of acquiring and extending Open Source software that is produced under civil society, rather than market conditions, has important political implications for how alternative media are able to fund themselves and remain independent. In other words, in the larger historical context of alternative media, new technologies are significant because they allow them to overcome issues of scale by lowering the financial barriers to entry. But funding is not the only constraint.

Perhaps less obvious, alternative media are also forced to remain small-scale because of their insistence on participatory democratic self-management. Robert Dahl (2000) is famous for his "back-of-the-envelope" calculation where

he demonstrates how participatory democracy, which insists on direct participation of every citizen, will quickly run into problems of scale: there are simply too many people and too little time to have direct participation and meaningful deliberation on every issue. That is to say, the form of leadership, or mode of governance, is another crucial factor that enables or constrains news production.

Leadership

Indymedia's particular form of leadership is informed by its radical democratic belief in openness, independence and consensus for decision-making. As a result, the structure of Indymedia is highly decentralized. The decentralized and networked character has contributed to the rapid growth of Indymedia because there is little administrative overhead or bureaucratic permission needed to include additional chapters. Yet, its chosen form of leadership and the resulting mode of governance also turn out to be an important constraining factor for Indymedia's sustainability and further development (Pickard, 2006b; Pickard, 2006a).   Pickard has argued that a model of governance based on radical democratic principles carries significant risks of succumbing to "tyrannies of structurelessness, ideology and the editor".

One example that illustrates the challenges a radical democratic form of governance pose to a global organization is related to its code development. Indymedia is very aware of the politics of software and insists on the use of Open

Source software to run its many websites. Indymedia's insistence on open code that is freely accessible and adaptable mirrors its radical democratic belief in openness and transparency. It initially relied on a platform called Active, but the code became outdated and impossible to maintain, especially as Indymedia continued to grow at a rapid pace (Mako Hill, 2003). Plans to develop Active 2 were discussed but never took off, because it turned out to be impossible to reach consensus on even relatively small matters. Different local chapters disagreed to what extent Indymedia should be open, whether content should be moderated, and if comments should be allowed. Some considered any form of editing unacceptable, to the extent that a "karma" system - to allow participants to vote comments up or down - was considered committing censorship and silencing voices. Ultimately, no consensus was reached and disagreeing parties decided to "fork" and develop their own code. Some started programming their own platform, others continued to develop the Active platform, yet others relied on other existing platforms, such as Drupal, Plone or Slash. An unfortunate implication of forking is that solutions no longer can be easily leveraged across the network. Each fork effectively has to reinvent the wheel, hardly a cost-effective use of resources for an organization that is already resource-constrained.

Dahl (2000) argued that participatory democratic modes of governance are inefficient in large-scale situations. While technology has allowed Indymedia to overcome issues of scale to a certain extent, its chosen form of leadership

continues to pose challenges to further growth and development, affecting not only the politics of software, but also the politics of funding.

Funding

In terms of funding, Indymedia has taken many of the political economy lessons to heart. Locating the problems of the mainstream media in the influence of advertising, ownership and ownership concentration, it refuses to rely on advertising as a source of revenue, instead primarily relying on private donations and volunteering. In its search for alternative sources of funding, Indymedia insists on being able to maintain independence. However, the uncompromising insistence on independence has also led to internal struggles that have come at the cost of further growth and development (Pickard, 2006b). For example, the Ford Foundation offered to fund Indymedia to hold a regional meeting, but it was ultimately refused, because many Indymedia chapters felt uncomfortable accepting money from the Ford Foundation, "a dodgy foundation", which many believed "to have links to the CIA" (IndyMedia Documenation Project, 2002). A similar situation happened in 2008 when a local chapter from Indymedia applied for a $200,000 dollar grant with the Knight Foundation to fund the development of the Drupal software that runs on many Indymedia websites. However, the grant from the Knight Foundation was blocked by another chapter on similar rationale, arguing that it would run counter to Indymedia's "abiding ethos" (Media Alliance, 2008; IndyMedia London, 2008). However praiseworthy

its oppositional attitude and insistence on consensus and maintaining independence are, they also severely limit Indymedia's long-term sustainability and future growth. The politics of funding, and the aforementioned politics of software, reveal larger problems that link Indymedia's chosen form of leadership and mode of governance to issues of organizational health, growth and development.

Law

Indymedia's insistence on openness has also resulted in legal problems because it treads the boundaries of freedom of speech. For example, in early 2003, Google News temporarily stopped including Indymedia branches in its searches that referred to the Israeli military as "Zionazis", which Google considered a form of hate speech (IndyMedia San Francisco, 2003). The Open Publishing model leaves Indymedia vulnerable to legal threats that target hate speech or libel issues. These threats are further compounded by the fact that legal jurisdictions around the world have a different understanding of what constitutes hate speech or libel, which makes it practically impossible to create a uniform editorial standard. As a result, local chapters have to devote resources to deal with similar legal issues.

A word of caution: the decentralized character of Indymedia should not be confused with resilience or robustness. On first sight, one could surmise that the Indymedia network is resilient enough to survive attacks because it is highly decentralized, not unlike the internet itself. After all, there is no particular branch

that is central to the network: if a local chapter stops functioning, the Indymedia network itself will continue to exist. However, states and other institutions that target media organizations increasingly direct their efforts at network intermediaries, such as internet hosting or service providers. These intermediaries become "choke points" in the network, and reveal that an organization like Indymedia is more vulnerable than at first sight appears. Consider how the FBI in 2004 seized several hard drives from Rackspace, the hosting provider of many Indymedia websites, effectively shutting down a significant part of the Indymedia network (IndyMedia Documenation Project, 2004). Refusals of the FBI and Rackspace to offer explanation further complicated the problem. Apparent contradictions between later official statements and legal documents that became unsealed only after the Electronic Frontier Foundation litigated over six months illustrate how the law needs to be considered an important bottleneck for any global civil society media organization (Electronic Frontier Foundation, 2005).

IndyMedia and the Mainstream media

The relationship Indymedia has with the mainstream media is oppositional. The rise of Indymedia is a response to the failure of the market to produce the kind of news which Indymedia favors. Heeding the lessons of political economy, it is suspicious of how the market influences news production, and critical of advertising, ownership concentration and a perceived corporate bias in reporting.

During the 1999 anti-globalization protests in Seattle, activists criticized the mainstream media and argued that they covered the protests in a negative way. Their dissatisfaction with the mainstream media eventually led to the creation of the alternative and independent media that would become known as Indymedia.

The significance of Indymedia demonstrates the impact of new technologies, which has allowed a global movement to resist the mainstream media by providing an affordable and independent publishing platform. The framing of protesters in a negative way by the mainstream media is a repeated finding of framing research (Bennett, 2003a; Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Lewis, Inthorn, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2005). Todd Gitlin (2003) described how the mainstream media frame protests as threats to stability and authority through trivialization, polarization and an emphasis on violence, diminishing the credibility of these protests. However, leadership is a critical variable that shapes the framing of protests, in particular how it decides to communicate with the mainstream media (Gamson, 2001). Gitlin (2003) helped us understand how news organizations look towards central leadership and issue simplicity in deciding how to cover protests and movements. It is perhaps no surprise that Indymedia, with its commitment to openness and consensus, at the detriment of central leadership and issue simplicity, continues to have an antagonistic relationship with the mainstream media.

On first sight, Indymedia should enjoy a high level of trust from the public. A critical advantage civil society organizations have over corporations is a level of

trust that comes from the non-distribution constraint, which stipulates that profits have to flow back into the organization instead to individuals in control. Indymedia abides by the non-distribution constraint and goes even several steps beyond that by explicitly refusing advertising and funding from foundations that it finds ideologically suspicious. It does all this because of its insistence on radical openness, transparency and independence. It is ironic that despite Indymedia's insistence on openness and independence, which is supposed to counter corporate bias, they are seen as untrustworthy and ideologically biased by the general public. Indymedia is one example of a civil society response to a market failure in mainstream journalism, but it is not the only response: Global Voices suggests the possibility of a different civil society response to market failures in mainstream professional journalism.

3.5 The Political Economy of Global Voices

The idea for Global Voices was conceived at a conference held at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard on December 10 and 11, 2004. The frustration with the level of underrepresentation and misrepresentation in the news about the world, in particular the developing world, was the main driver for Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon, the two co-founders of Global Voices, to spearhead the initiative. They agreed that the tools to free speech had become easier to use and more accessible, allowing people around the world to "take control of their own story". In a session that brought together influential

bloggers from around the world, it became clear that there was an urgent need to foster a global conversation and the incredible potential new technologies offered to have such a global conversation.

Technology

The internet has changed the political economy of Global Voices on at least two levels: it has made it affordable to run a news organization that is global in scale, but it also enabled a rich domain of sources it can draw on for its reporting. Whereas Indymedia sees bloggers as journalists, Global Voices considers bloggers also as valuable news sources. Global Voices uses the internet not only as a distribution platform, but also capitalizes on it as a rich source for newsworthy events, stories and voices for its reporting. Its reliance on and expertise in harnessing blogs as news sources has become its raison d'être, the niche it is known for. In contrast, professional mainstream journalism often considers blogs either irrelevant or untrustworthy, or has had, at best, moderate success in making use of this opportunity.

Global Voices has optimized its organizational operations around the internet, and relies heavily, but not exclusively, on Open Source software. Open Source software provides Wordpress, the content management system that the Global Voices website runs on, as well as a set of tools, such as Google Mail, Google Groups and different kinds of wikis, that allow the members of the virtual organization to communicate with each other and coordinate their actions.

Some, but not all of these tools are open. Compared to Indymedia, Global Voices' attitude towards the politics of software is more pragmatic than ideological; it uses Open Source software because it is useful, but will also rely on proprietary software if it is necessary.

However, the occasional reliance of the Global Voices newsroom on proprietary software is also a potential vulnerability. The technology forms the basic architecture for the newsroom; some is Open Source, whereas other parts are proprietary software. Open code is less of a vulnerability, because access to the code makes it difficult to be held hostage, such as when the software company decides to discontinue the software or no longer support it. In contrast, the risk of being shut out is real in the case of proprietary software; consider, for example, NetNewsWire, a popular RSS reader for the Mac, and a tool many Global Voices authors relied on, which was discontinued and forced authors to find a replacement. In addition to proprietary software, there are also risks involved with so-called "cloud" services. Many tools and services used by Global Voices are based "in the cloud", which means that data is edited, saved and stored on remote servers that are owned by the corporations that run the service. For example, Global Voices relies heavily on Google Groups as a mailing list service to keep in touch with its members. What if the Chinese government decides to ask Google for details of Global Voices' members, many whom are political activists? This is not an entirely unthinkable situation, and is exactly what happened in 2004 when *Yahoo!* was asked by the Chinese government to provide information

regarding a Chinese dissident, Shi Tao, which it felt compelled to supply in order to abide by local law and regulation (Human Rights in China, 2005).

Global Voices has a fairly straightforward relationship with technology, not unlike many other virtual organizations. Coming from a particular background where he was heavily involved in the development of technology, Zuckerman actually expressed a hint of personal disappointment about how Global Voices has not been in a position to contribute much towards advancing software code or tools:

> *Technology is not what makes Global Voices interesting (personal interview, January 9, 2008)*

Instead of viewing this as a failure, however, I suggest it is more fruitful to see this as a success of technology. As Mosco (2005) points out, it is only "when technologies ... enter the prosaic world of banality ... that they become important forces for social and economic change". The ease and affordability of software that allowed Global Voices to quickly set up a website that is global in scale is testimony to the potential of new technologies to make a difference.

Nevertheless, leadership remains a critical factor that shapes how the potential of technology is harnessed to improve the political economy of the news. Indymedia is best described as an organization of activists, whereas Global Voices is a hybrid of activists, geeks and journalists. These ideological differences matter in the politics of software, the decision-making process that governs what types of code are considered acceptable and the ways code is created and developed.

Furthermore, these differences not only matter when it comes to technology, but also shape the decisions with regard to funding and the relationship it has with the mainstream media. For example, what types of funding are considered acceptable and is the relationship with the mainstream media one of resistance or collaboration? To understand these differences in approaches to technology, but also funding and their relationship with the mainstream media, it is important to delve a bit deeper into the leadership of Global Voices.

Leadership

Leadership is both a resource and a constraint for any organization, but a particularly important one for civil society organizations, because it shapes the access and management of valuable resources. It is a critical factor in attracting and retaining resources, including but not restricted to funding, donations and volunteers. It is also an important factor that shapes the creation and distribution of symbolic capital, through the provision of narratives and life stories, and how these symbolic resources create meaning for the organization and its members. Last but not least, it is an understudied area of political economy research that instead has focused the majority of its attention on ownership and ownership concentration that are useful analytical lenses for market based organizations, but are otherwise not quite applicable to civil society organizations.

Leadership explains the different ways Global Voices and Indymedia manage valuable resources, such as technology, funding and the relationship with

mainstream media. In terms of code development, Global Voices is run like a central organization, in contrast to the radically decentralized network of Indymedia, where each chapter is responsible for its own code development and maintenance. Consider the differences between Indymedia and Global Voices in the amount of resources, time and effort they need to create, develop and maintain technology. Indymedia was unable to arrive at a consensus whether to allow comments on its websites, and each disagreeing party ended up writing and developing their own content management systems, such as DadaIMC, Mir, Slash, Oscait, Active, SF-Active, Activismo, Drupal and Plone - all developed for their own purpose, and each fork requires its own maintenance and development. In contrast, Global Voices has one developer in employment that takes care of all its technical needs.

Perhaps more importantly, leadership influences not only which types of funding are considered acceptable but also the kinds that become accessible. Consider the importance of the Harvard affiliation, which legitimized Global Voices in the eyes of funders and fostered collaboration with other organizations. But personal reputation and social networks matter as well: Rebecca MacKinnon, thanks to the connections she built during her time as a professional mainstream journalist, was able to get Reuters interested in the Global Voices project. MacKinnon's journalistic reputation in combination with the Harvard affiliation convinced Reuters that Global Voices had legitimacy. As one Reuters editor commented:

The Harvard affiliation was definitely useful in convincing other people at Reuters who were at first skeptical of Global Voices (personal interview, June 2008)

Reuters invited Global Voices to hold its first annual conference, the summit, at its headquarters in London in 2005 and started funding Global Voices later that year.

At this point, it is worth delving deeper into the ideological differences between Global Voices and Indymedia and what implications they have for the growth and development of the respective organizations. Indymedia was born out of the 1999 anti-WTO protests in Seattle, which explains the activist character of the organization. In contrast, Global Voices was born out of a conference held at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University. The Berkman Center brought two fellows together who became the founders of Global Voices, Rebecca MacKinnon and Ethan Zuckerman, whose backgrounds explain the cultural and ideological ethos of Global Voices.

Rebecca MacKinnon and Ethan Zuckerman shaped the character of Global Voices as a hybrid organization that is built on journalistic, activist and technological expertise. The decision to start Global Voices was informed by the respective histories of its two leaders: Rebecca MacKinnon, who grew up in China and later became Bureau Chief of CNN for Asia, had become disillusioned over the years with the decline in journalism, especially international reporting. A symbolic moment for her was when she had the chance to do a rare interview for

CNN with (then) Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi. The interview was not aired by CNN United States, a decision ultimately made out of commercial interest and profitability, but which she found damaging from a democratic perspective (MacKinnon, 2004). Ethan Zuckerman likewise has been intrigued by how we learn about the world through the news, and having spent some significant time there, was particularly concerned about the lack of news on Africa. Prior to his arrival at Berkman, Ethan Zuckerman was CTO of Tripod, an influential web company and a pioneer in user-generated content. He was also the director of Geek Corps, a non-profit that recruiting volunteers to help people in the developing world through the provision of technical support and expertise. Before he founded Global Voices, he worked on a project called Global Attention Profiles (GAP), with the aim to analyze and quantify the news for references to countries and visualize how much attention was being paid to them, a project not unlike George Gerbner's many years ago (1977).

A strong, charismatic and inspirational leadership also carries risk: how will a civil society organization survive the loss or transition of leadership? Leadership matters for civil society organizations, perhaps even more so than for market-based organizations, because it provides the symbolic capital, found in the distinct meaning of their personal narratives, that infuses the organization with motivation and spirit. Global Voices is undergoing a transition, where the tasks of the two founders are transferred to a larger team of management, and they are no longer in charge of the day-to-day decision-making. To what extent

the transition will be successful such that the organization can afford to lose the faces of the founders remains to be seen. Consider the critical task of raising funding that is partially, but not wholly, transferred to Ivan Sigal, the executive director of Global Voices. Despite the efforts, it is telling that the task of raising funding is not easy to delegate, but remains a primary responsibility of Ethan Zuckerman, who has important personal connections but also represents Global Voices.

Funding

The ability of leadership to raise funding is crucial to any civil society organization. Rebecca MacKinnon and Ethan Zuckerman, fellows at the Berkman Center, together with John Palfrey, managing director of the Berkman Center at the time, applied for a grant with the McArthur Foundation, which came in the summer of 2005. This allowed them to employ an intern to do daily roundups of the global blogosphere, and afforded the founders to focus on developing a long-term strategy. By the fall of 2005, Global Voices had six regional editors employed, each paid $500 a month, to monitor various blogospheres and to highlight valuable content. Global Voices continued to grow at a rapid pace, and picked up several awards, including the Best of the Blogs award from *Deutsche Welle* in November 2005 and the prestigious Knight-Batten Award for Innovations in Journalism in September 2006.

Two partners were crucial in Global Voices initial development: The Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University and Reuters, the global news organization. Started as an initiative by two of its fellows, the Berkman Center provided Global Voices with significant institutional support, and carried responsibility for the administrative and financial overhead of Global Voices. before it became an independent nonprofit in December 2007. As mentioned, the affiliation with Harvard was also paramount in securing funding and providing legitimacy.

Reuters was the second important partner that was instrumental to the growth and development of Global Voices. The growing prominence of Global Voices and the continued interest of Reuters resulted in the announcement of an official partnership in April 2006. For Global Voices, the partnership included invaluable funding that allowed them to expand from six regional editors to an organizational model that encompassed ten regional editors, seven language editors, a podcast editor and a second managing editor. Reuters recognized the importance of new media for its business and saw Global Voices as a good opportunity to learn from and experiment with. In addition, as a Reuters editor suggested, the P.R. value in funding a "hip" organization such as Global Voices was "enormous" (personal interview, June 2008). In a field where most news organizations are hesitant and skeptical of new media, Reuters was seen as "forward looking". The official affiliation with Reuters was important in giving

Global Voices credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of other funders and the mainstream media.

Nevertheless, Reuters stopped funding Global Voices in 2009 due to its bad financial shape, but expressed the intent to continue work with Global Voices in developing and creating content. Yet, the loss of Reuters as a funder is significant, and forced Global Voices to look for other ways to fund the newsroom. In 2009, the MacArthur Foundation has committed to Global Voices for three years, at $250,000 per year, primarily to support the editorial and operations costs. In addition, the Arca Foundation has donated $50,000 in general support funds, and the New World Foundation has supported Global Voices with $20,000 in support funds, and also has become a platform to help them reach out to other donors.

(Perceptions of) Editorial Independence

Sources of revenue are strongly tied to (perceptions of) editorial independence; non-profit organizations are no exception to this rule, but operate under different dynamics than for-profit organizations. A crucial difference is the non-distribution constraint that prohibits the appropriation of surplus resources by those in control of the organization, but which should not be confused with a prohibition on commercial operations. For example, it is not uncommon for non-profits to rely on advertising as a source of revenue; what the non-distribution constraint stipulates is merely that the generated income cannot be distributed to

the people in control of the organization, but that it instead has to flow back to the organization. Increased trust of the public is an important implication of the non-distribution constraint. In contrast to for-profit news organizations, there is little reason to suspect a non-profit news organization for corporate bias in its reporting.

However, one type of funding Global Voices has not pursued so far is state money. According to the management team, this has pragmatic and philosophical reasons. Pragmatically, to apply for state funding, Global Voices would need to employ permanent staff to manage the grant application process, adding a layer of bureaucracy to the organization, perhaps at the cost of operational flexibility. A manager from Global Voices mentioned that government money requires greater reporting and a greater set of accounting responsibilities:

> *You almost need a separate organization just to manage this money. An office, staff is needed. It is a different level of operation cost. And once we hire staff, we need to keep them, which means less flexibility. Board and community currently do not want it, but Global Voices could potentially be much bigger (personal interview, September 23, 2009).*

Philosophically, the Global Voices community has expressed strong reservations against taking state money, because it fears it will hurt the public perception Global Voices has established as an organization that is global and editorially independent. One Global Voices community member expressed that state funding is considered "death by association" (internal communication, December 25, 2009). State funding is seen as intertwined with political and ideological

interests, whereas foundation money is seen as neutral and unbiased. As suggested by a member of management, this distinction is often more a matter of perception; like governments, foundations are not invulnerable to personal, political or ideological interests. Furthermore, it is sometimes hard to draw the line between foundation and state; many European foundations, including the Dutch foundation Hivos that supports Global Voices, are funded directly and solely with state money. The mixed background of the leadership of Global Voices shaped to a large extent the types of funding pursued by Global Voices, such that it has no ideological reservations to funding from a mix of sources, including foundations and commercial news organizations, acts that would have been unthinkable for Indymedia. Nevertheless, state funding remains off the table over concerns of (the public's perception of) how it will affect editorial independence.

Last, but not least, Global Voices intends to raise money through donations. There are stories of how the internet is changing the landscape of donation through so-called micro-grants, arguing that there is a "long tail" of donations that organizations now can tap into thanks to the internet. The argument is that the internet allows organizations to receive in an efficient manner a lot of small donations that add up to a significant amount; this is a break with the past where generally a few big amounts were considered the only working model of fundraising through donations. Examples include the successful Kiva who is extending micro-loans to entrepreneurs in the developing world, and the Obama campaign who was able to out-raise others because of its

proficiency with the internet. Yet, for Global Voices, donations so far have not been an overwhelming success. The lack of staffing was mentioned as a reason, the lack of a big name as a young organization, but also a lack of time and effort to spearhead a sustained effort:

> *Everybody campaigns, but not a lot of people make actual money (personal interview, September 23, 2009).*

Structures of Funding

As a civil society organization, Global Voices relies on a mix of sources for its financial funding: foundations, mainstream media, and individual donations. Revenue sources, particular grants and commissions, can be further distinguished as either restricted or unrestricted. Restricted funding is for specific tasks, whereas unrestricted funding can be spent however Global Voices sees fit. Examples of restricted funding include Reuters commissioning Global Voices to cover the Beijing Olympics or to undertake the Voices Without Votes project. According to a management member, the decision to accept restricted funding has to fit the larger goals of Global Voices:

> *If it is something we write about anyway, we do it (personal interview, September 23, 2009).*

Important is also that Global Voices insists on editorial independence:

> *They don't tell us what to write, but just to write, there is no editorial control (personal interview, September 23, 2009).*

In practice, this generally translates to restricted funding being used to support specific events or projects. According to a member of management:

> *50-70% is funding from disinterested partners, the rest is funded for a specific site or content, but without editorial control. It is similar to the non-profit NPR model: a block grant to underwrite a certain amount of cost and then underwriting of other projects (personal interview, september 23, 2009).*

The difficulty is that, as an editor states:

> *Unrestricted funding is more valuable, but they don't happen too often (personal interview, september 23, 2009).*

These structures of funding influence the organizational structure of Global Voices, and make operational flexibility a necessity. The organization has to be able to expand and contract to meet the demands of restricted funding that often ask for a specific outcome within a particular timeframe. This is not to say that organizational stability does not exist within Global Voices, but this core has to be kept small, and in practice falls on the shoulders of the editors and management. What are the implications for the news when restricted funding is much more readily available than unrestricted funding? Journalism scholars have written at length how journalists are geared towards news that is predominantly event-driven and ignores structural processes (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hall, 1978; Gans, 1979). How will the patterns of funding affect the structural organization of news that is already overly focused on events at the detriment of an understanding of

long-term, structural processes? Does this put the future of the news at the whims of the wavering interests of foundations? And how transparent and open is the process foundations rely on to decide which organization to fund? An early look at Global Voices indicates that there might be reason for concern. The kind of unrestricted funding needed to support the newsroom, work that is ongoing and has no immediate or clear outcome, is not easy to come by, even for Global Voices, an organization affiliated with Harvard and Reuters, and much more well positioned than other civil society organizations.

Law

Law is an important factor that enables as well as constrains resources that are available to civil society organizations. In particular, reform in copyright law has made possible, first the rise of Open Source software and second, the growth in blogs and other citizen media, both which are instrumental developments to making Global Voices possible.

However, law also poses an important constraint to a global civil society organization such as Global Voices. Blogs are the primary resource on which Global Voices depends for its reporting; as such it is particularly sensitive to media law and the constraints it poses to freedom of speech. Not only does it draw from blogs around the world, but many of its volunteers are bloggers themselves, some of whom might be vulnerable to legal restrictions on freedom of speech.

Consider how in September 2005, Ethan Zuckerman and Rebecca MacKinnon were invited to represent Global Voices and speak on the issue of repression of speech at the World Summit for the Information Society (WSIS), held in Tunisia, a country long known for its negative record on freedom of speech. It would turn out to be a controversial panel. Despite the global attention WSIS was getting, the Tunisian government nevertheless made a big effort to prevent the panel on repression of speech from taking place. Ultimately, the panel took place, but only after a diplomatic intervention from the Dutch ambassador to Tunisia who was strongly urged to do so by Hivos, a Dutch foundation, which impressed Ethan Zuckerman:

> *Hivos really stepped up and insisted on the panel (personal interview, January 10, 2009)*

The event in Tunisia proved to be a precursor to a productive relationship between Hivos and Global Voices. In February 2007, Hivos established a formal relationship with Global Voices and provided funding to hire a Global Voices Advocacy Director, Sami Ben Gharbia, with the explicit mission to act as a hub between anti-censorship initiatives around the world and to foster online freedom of expression in general. Ben Gharbia's personal history made him a good fit for this position, an activist who lives in exile in the Netherlands because of his activist background in Tunisia where he is originally from. Recruited earlier to cover the Tunisian blogosphere for Global Voices, he was already a familiar face to the Global Voices community.

The need for a Global Voices Advocacy was at its most visible as early as 2006, when Wu Hao, then Global Voices North East Asia editor, was detained by the Chinese government without a lawyer and without being charged for a crime. Global Voices made considerable efforts to get Wu released. They set up a website, wrote politicians and asked members of U.S. Congress to write letters in support of Wu, spoke at conferences and wrote to the press, including an editorial in the prestigious *Washington Post*, all to raise awareness and get support for Wu Hao. Despite these considerable efforts, months went by where nothing happened, leading Zuckerman (2006a) to express a sense of "hopelessness":

> *I'd be lying if I didn't admit that I'm feeling a little hopeless about Global Voices editor Hao Wu's situation. We've written politicians, talked to the press, gotten great support from GVO fans and fellow bloggers, but it's very hard to know if any of this attention has had any affect at all on the state security officials detaining Hao in Beijing.*

Then, almost out of nowhere, Wu Hao was released five months after his detainment in July 2006, still unclear to the reasons he was detained or released. The leadership of Global Voices nevertheless faced the harsh realities of running a media organization with staff and volunteers located in different parts of the world, including in countries where freedom of speech is not well protected.

From a legal perspective, bloggers do not enjoy the same levels of protection as journalists. The case of Wu Hao illustrates the importance of law and reveals the vulnerabilities of a civil society organization that has volunteer bloggers around the world. As MacKinnon (2006) said: "Hao Wu's situation is far

from unique".   A similar example of what can happen is IndyMedia, whose servers in 2004 were seized and taken offline without a clear explanation why. The state of media law worldwide potentially poses a significant constraint on the production of Global Voices, especially as bloggers have yet to receive the legal protection most journalists are entitled to. And if Global Voices with all its efforts and resources were unable to make any visible difference in the case of Wu Hao, it looks even grimmer for other civil society organizations.

A final word about the differences between a professional journalism and volunteer-driven nonprofit organizations, such as the Global Voices authors. As the importance of nonprofit organizations grows and with it, the reliance on volunteers in news production, it is necessary to consider how volunteers are protected and legitimated. Laura McGann of the Nieman Lab (2010) reminds us of the importance of being considered a "legitimate" journalist in order to get access:

> *I used to edit a nonprofit news site, The Washington Independent, where for two years I dealt with the reality of who gets considered "legit." If you're not, you lose out on the privileges given to traditional media outlets. Take Congressional press passes: The Washington Independent was denied admittance to both the daily and periodicals galleries because the site was not chiefly supported by subscriptions or advertising.*

Besides not getting access, an even more urgent issue is legal protection. It is unfortunate that shield laws effectively rule out any protection for bloggers and journalists that work on "volunteer" or "amateur" basis, defining that only those

with the following specific criteria count as journalists worthy of protection

(Seward, 2009):

> *(iii) obtains the information sought while working as a salaried employee*
> *of, or independent contractor for, an entity—*
> *(I) that disseminates information by print, broadcast, cable, satellite,*
> *mechanical, photographic, electronic, or other means; and*
> *(II) that—*
> *(aa) publishes a newspaper, book, magazine, or other periodical;*
> *(bb) operates a radio or television broadcast station, network, cable*
> *system, or satellite carrier, or a channel or programming service for any*
> *such station, network, system, or carrier;*
> *(cc) operates a programming service; or*
> *(m) operates a news agency or wire service;*

Besides legal protection, it is also important to consider technological protection.

According to Ethan Zuckerman (2006b):

> *We've found that it's incredibly important to train people how to blog*
> *safely – that if they're blogging about sensitive political issues in a*
> *country where speaking out might lead to their arrest, they need to take*
> *precautions and may want to blog anonymously.*

In addition to legal and technological protection, there is also a more basic

protection of labor rights. As one person from Newsdesk wrote in reaction to the

blog post of Ethan Zuckerman (2006b):

> *Your site is an important part of the current media landscape. The*
> *content and intent are vital. Yet, like our own Newsdesk.org, your site is*
> *managed and edited primarily by volunteers. Highly motivated, highly*
> *skilled volunteers, but still volunteers. Like our own staff, your staff does*
> *not enjoy the basic labor and employment rights of health care, liveable*
> *wages, maternity leave, reasonable working hours. We do not even enjoy*
> *the quality of life we advocate for others.*

Nonprofits have the potential to fulfill an important role as trust intermediaries in a networked public sphere, directing the public to trustworthy and dependable sources. Global Voices provide one model for doing so; collaborations with Reuters and the BBC suggests it is a model worth deeper looking into. However, a political economy analysis that compares professional journalism with volunteer-driven nonprofits also reveals many vulnerabilities volunteer and amateur journalists are exposed to. If there is recognition for the value that civil society organizations provide for journalism, it is necessary to consider what appropriate levels of protection they and their respective members deserve.

Global Voices and the Mainstream Media

Global Voices is a response to the decline in international news coverage by the mainstream media. Like Indymedia, it is a civil society response to the market failure of news, and international news in particular. Unlike Indymedia, Global Voices positions itself in a complementary as opposed to an oppositional role to the mainstream media.

The mainstream media have several different relationships with Global Voices. Alternately, they can be a funder that provides financial capital or other resources, a client that is in need of a particular service, or a news organization that relies on Global Voices as a source for its reporting. These roles are not always distinct and often overlap. Among the mainstream media, Reuters has the longest and closest relationship with Global Voices. As described earlier, it has

been a primary funder of Global Voices, supporting it with unrestricted grants for its initial few years, but also commissioning them to do specific projects, such as Voices Without Votes, which aimed to document bloggers' opinions of the 2008 U.S. presidential election around the world. Last but not least, Reuters works with Global Voices as a source for its reporting. It has experimented in various ways to include Global Voices content in its news, such as displaying an RSS feed on its country pages for the Reuters Africa website.
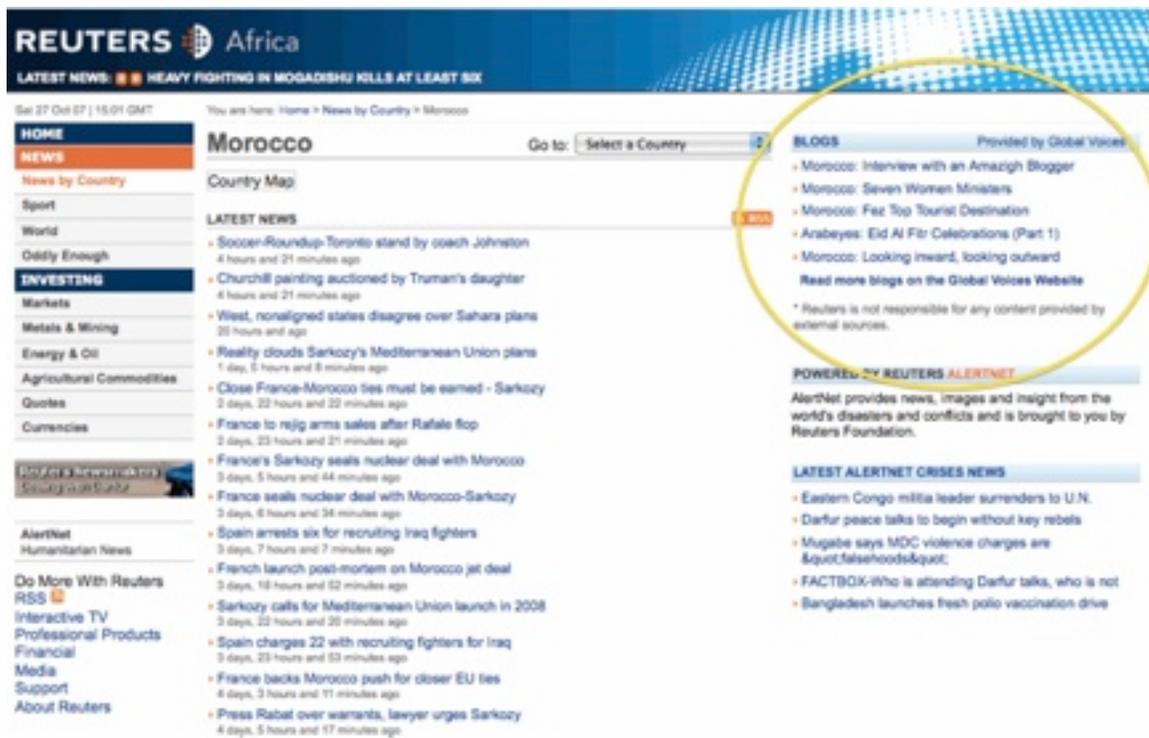
3.2 Global Voices RSS feed on Reuters Africa website

To have its content prominently featured on Reuters was an important milestone for Global Voices; according to Zuckerman (2007):

The inclusion of blog content on nearly every screen of the site is hugely significant for those of us involved with Global Voices. Reuters has been our largest fiscal sponsor over the past two years – we've been making the case that the information that comes from blogs can be a useful complement to the "hard news" reported by Reuters.

Zuckerman (2007) saw different ways Global Voices could help Reuters:

it will point to content on daily life and opinion -- and not just to breaking news stories about war and tragedy.

His hope is also that Global Voices can act as a radar for breaking news:

There's a rising tone of anxiety and despair in the Zimbabwean blogosphere, for instance, but it won't 'break' as a story unless the civil service strike goes off tomorrow and sparks a violent government response. In a perfect world, I think we'd find a way to help our friends at Reuters anticipate stories that might break based on our coverage -- that hasn't happened as much as I'd like.

Reuters was likewise excited about the collaboration. According to Reuters president Chris Ahearn (cited in an interview with Glaser, 2007):

We are especially proud to be integrating blogs and commentary, via Global Voices, into our Reuters Africa offering from the start. This further underlines Reuters' commitment to new digital platforms and user-generated/moderated content with community oriented tools, to deliver the next-generation of news and information.

Previous research suggests mainstream media have trouble using blogs and citizen media because they do not fit the "typical" template of professional journalism (Singer, 2003; Hermida & Thurman, 2008), and tend "to clash with entrenched notions of professionalism, objectivity and carefully cultivated

arrogance (emphasis mine, LT)   regarding the competences (or talent) of "the

audience" to know what is good for them (Deuze et al., 2007, p. 333).

The collaboration between Reuters and Global Voices suggests that a lack

of trust, not arrogance or antagonism, is a critical factor behind the strenuous

relationship between mainstream professional journalists and bloggers.

According to Solana Larsen, managing editor of Global Voices (2008):

> *Mark Jones from Reuters is frank about the difficulty of convincing "old media" colleagues about the ability to trust Global Voices (for instance) as "authenticators of content", and says he often brings up Global Voices' Harvard origins to help persuade them (we, in turn, tend to mention our Reuters friendship). His point is that part of the challenge of getting "old media" to interact with "new media" is developing new mechanisms of trust and authentication.*

Illustrative of the importance of trust are the following two screenshots of the

Reuters website, one taken in 2008 and the other in 2010:

BLOGS   Provided by Global Voices*

▸ Morocco: Interview with an Amazigh Blogger
▸ Morocco: Seven Women Ministers
▸ Morocco: Fez Top Tourist Destination
▸ Arabeyes: Eid Al Fitr Celebrations (Part 1)
▸ Morocco: Looking inward, looking outward

Read more blogs on the Global Voices Website

* Reuters is not responsible for any content provided by external sources.

POWERED BY REUTERS ALERTNET

AlertNet provides news, images and insight from the world's disasters and conflicts and is brought to you by Reuters Foundation.

LATEST ALERTNET CRISES NEWS

▸ Eastern Congo militia leader surrenders to U.N.

3.3 Reuters with disclaimer for Global Voices Feed

GLOBALVOICES - TUNISIA

▸ Tunisia: Killing the Web
▸ Arab World: Arab Tweeple Launched
▸ Tunisia: Bourguiba 10th Death Anniversary Remembered
▸ Morocco: Naoufel's Experience with Censorship Across Borders
▸ Tunisia: Tunisian Bloggers Speak in English

Powered by Global Voices Online.

LATEST ALERTNET CRISES NEWS

▸ Polish funeral set to go ahead despite ash cloud
▸ Thai PM makes army more involved in security

3.4 Reuters without disclaimer for Global Voices Feed

A comparison of the screenshots suggests an increase of trust over time. The 2008 screenshot explicitly states that "Reuters is not responsible for any content provided by external sources", whereas the 2010 screenshot no longer carries that legal disclaimer.

Another example is the collaboration with the BBC to supplement its global news with local perspectives offered by bloggers and citizen media:

> *The BBC has been very open to all different or deeper local angles to various stories .. They are very conscious of all the things they can do better than us with "real" journalists, but also very accepting and positive of the extra dimensions that appear through the type of work we do. (internal communication, March 11, 2010)*

The BBC sees it as Global Voices' role to help them navigate the world of blogs and citizen media, providing it with links it can include in its news stories and leads for stories that are "off-the-radar" with the BBC editors and reporters. The collaborations of Global Voices with Reuters and BBC suggest that nonprofit organizations have the potential to play an important role as intermediaries in the networked public sphere. As sources proliferate, it is not always clear which sources are trustworthy and dependable. Specifically, civil society organizations, such as Global Voices, have the potential to help the general public - as well as professional journalists - navigate through the various blogospheres and citizen media around the world.

Conclusion

The internet makes the necessity of a rethinking and renewal of political economy painfully clear. At first sight, a political economy analysis of the internet's impact on the news shows signs of a market failure. Consider how advertising revenues are falling and not being replaced; or, despite the internet's promise to democratize communication, it seems that the public nevertheless only visits a few websites, mostly commercial in nature, suggesting that concentration of attention remains high. The impact of new technologies on journalism seems limited, or even negative, from the perspective of existing newsrooms making the transition to the digital world.

However, an analysis of the political economy of the adaptive newsroom is only a partial picture. To consider the impact of new technologies on the political economy of news writ large it is necessary to look beyond its effects on existing newsrooms. Consider how the cases of Indymedia and Global Voices reveal that political economy scholars can no longer afford to focus exclusively on the market. Instead, while they show that there is indeed a market failure in the news, they also suggest the story does not stop there: civil society is able to offer a response to the failures of the market.

The role of new technologies is significant in both cases: they offer civil society organizations lower barriers to start and sustain a networked organization on a global level. In contrast to alternative media in the past, new technologies allow Indymedia and Global Voices to overcome issues of size and scale; to have

an organization where its members are located in different parts of the world; and to have a distribution network that can reach audiences anywhere people are able to go online. Global Voices also recognizes the journalistic value in the rise of blogs and other citizen media and has been able to use them as sources for its reporting. Furthermore, civil society organizations and nonprofits have a particular important role to play as information intermediaries in a networked public sphere, where sources continue to grow in number but also suffer from a lack of trust, from both the public and professional journalists. The three-failures theory suggests that civil society organizations are in a good position to address issues of trust, because of the non-distribution constraint.

Despite the similarities between the two transformative newsrooms of Indymedia and Global Voices, there are also significant differences, which are not explained by new technologies, but rather by the respective leadership of the organizations, whose decisions directly shape how the organization is structured, including influencing how the newsroom is organized, what types of funding become accessible, which ones are acceptable, and how funding is spent. The decisions by the leadership are shaped by their understanding of new technologies, and in turn, shape how new technologies are implemented in the newsroom.

In the case of Indymedia, it saw new technologies being able to provide a pathway to independence from what it understood to be the corrupting influence of capital and the corporate mainstream media. It understood new technologies

as a revolutionary tool that allowed for the creation and development of a network that was global and grassroots at the same time, a network that could stood on its own. It is the leadership's understanding of new technologies as a critical factor towards independence that explains Indymedia's decisions with regard to (the rejection of) funding, its implementation and development of code, and its relationship with the mainstream media.

In contrast, the leadership of Global Voices is organized around hospitality. It recognizes that the arrival of new technologies means that attention has become a critical constraint, and as such, that the fostering of hospitality has become a necessity, even more so than in the past. Hospitality explains why Global Voices has less trouble accepting money from certain foundations, why it insists on collaborations with the mainstream media, and why it decided to use the money to build branches that tackle the problems of censorship (Advocacy), the digital divide (Outreach) and translation (Lingua).

The comparison between Indymedia and Global Voices reveals that civil society can offer a response to the failures of the market, but that these responses can be very different: both understand new technologies to be critical forces, but whereas Indymedia understands independence to be the ultimate goal, Global Voices instead seeks hospitality as its mission. They illustrate how civil society organizations are not powerless in the face of the changing political economy of journalism, but are able to exert a certain influence over what position it can occupy in the ecology. Nonetheless, allow me a word of caution. I am not

suggesting that there is no need to worry about the news and democracy, or even that civil society will fill the gaps left by the failures of the market. An analysis of the political economy of Indymedia and Global Voices reveals significant potential vulnerabilities and weaknesses for civil society organizations. In particular, there are concerns about the political economy of the internet itself, a range of legal threats, particularly those related to the protection of speech, and the effects of the patterns of funding on the structure of news production.

Another note to keep in mind is that the discussion of new technologies on journalism is not a battle for what is "better": market or civil society, old or new media, professional journalism or citizen media. Instead, political economy needs to consider to what extent these different domains are able to complement each other, or in what ways they fail to. We need to have a more inclusive understanding that goes beyond what is offered by either professional journalism or alternative media. This sentiment is echoed by Henry Jenkins, who suggests the arrival of a convergence culture and argues that it would be "a mistake to think about either kind of media power in isolation." Roger Silverstone (2007, pp. 142-143) similarly argues that reform towards hospitality has the most potential with the internet, but that achieving any significant change in hospitality is not possible without the mainstream media. Any analysis of the public sphere still needs to include the mainstream media that is still receiving the majority of the attention from the public.

It seems unlikely that market driven journalism will return to its "golden age" where business was thriving and (supposedly) quality investigative journalism and international reporting was more common than it is now. Despite the many lamentations of the decline of (market and professional) journalism, it neglects that there are also initiatives, charged by new technologies and driven by civil society, that offer and even demand a renewed look at the political economy of journalism. As the number of sources and voices continue to increase, the role of intermediaries that can guide the public's attention grows as well. Market and even state driven news institutions have long fulfilled this role: this chapter suggests that understanding the potential of technology to improve journalism has to take into consideration the political economy of news organizations rooted in civil society as well.

4. New Technologies and the Sociology of News

The internet has a great transformative potential for journalistic practices, it carries a promise that significant improvements in representation are possible. But the emphasis is on potential: the outcome of technological change is never certain. How new technologies are implemented is shaped by the institutional culture; it constrains and enables to a large extent the different ways technologies can affect any meaningful change. Through a comparison of a variety of implementations of new technologies, by newsrooms associated with different institutional cultures, this chapter examines under what conditions new technologies can contribute to improvements in news representation. It argues for the need to understand and/or adopt newsroom practices that are transformative in the face of new technologies and can complement mainstream professional journalistic practices, if we want a public sphere that is more inclusive, diverse and hospitable.

An important task of journalism is to project a "a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 26). Critics over the years have taken professional journalism to task for its inability to project a representative picture of society (Hall, 1978; Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980; Herman & Chomsky, 2002). In particular, critics have targeted the newsroom routines of mainstream professional journalism. Hall et al (1978) for example argued that the combination of

deadlines and the search for objectivity have led journalists to prefer authoritative, institutional voices over marginal, minority and citizen voices.

At the same time, routines and practices of mainstream professional journalism help and enable journalists to do their work, by structuring work through the division of labor, organizing who looks at what, and establishing judgments of what is deemed to be important or "newsworthy". Scholars argued that mainstream professional journalists did not intentionally leave out non-institutional voices, but that the omission was the result of the way journalistic work was organized in the newsroom (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980). However, the framing of a moral crisis can become problematic if it is dominated by institutional or official sources (Cohen, 1980; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Critcher, 2003; Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston, 2007). Furthermore, Justin Lewis et al (2005) argued it is problematic when citizen voices are consistently left out of the news, and the media lose their capacity to teach people how to be good citizens (Lewis et al., 2005).

How do new technologies affect routines that are pragmatic solutions to news work constraints? To understand the potential of new technologies for improving journalism, I argue that we need to look beyond routines and instead have to take into consideration what I call "production logic". I define production logic as a set of principles underlying the routines and practices that involves a linear, step-by-step manner about how the problems of news work can be solved.

Production logic is both embedded in and driven by technological constraints and institutional culture. It allows us to question the underlying structural patterns that shape, guide and inform the newsroom routines. It invites us to ask what the problem is that journalism is trying to solve. As the Hutchins report (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 26) suggests, an important function of the press is to contribute towards "a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society". It is this common goal of collective representation that invites us to compare and contrast the production logics between the different online newsrooms of professional journalism, Indymedia and Global Voices. Sharing the same goal of representation, newsrooms might nevertheless have very different beliefs about how this goal is best achieved; beliefs that are shaped and informed by the institutional culture of the newsroom. Each strand of journalism believes its own logic is the best way to achieve truthful representation, yet perfect or absolute truthful representation of the world is neither attainable nor probably desirable. A closer look at the logic reveals the particularities of the various newsroom practices, which are pragmatic and imperfect attempts to solve the problem of the impossibility of truthful representation.

Production logic is affected by the constraints afforded by the state of technology. A logic gives purpose, shape, and order to the implementation of practices and routines. Technology can be used to make these practices and routines harder or easier, faster or slower, less or more efficient. A new

technology used in this manner fits within the existing logic and is adaptive. But new technologies can also be disruptive and transformative, challenging the fundamentals of the logic entirely, making existing ones obsolete while enabling radically different production logics. Organizations and institutions facing disruptive technologies can no longer continue to do what they do without the risk of being overtaken by new players who might be better at maximizing the potential of new technologies. I argue that Indymedia and Global Voices are two transformative newsrooms; comparing their production logic with that of the adaptive newsrooms of mainstream professional journalism brings to light the potential of technology for improving news representation.

This chapter provides an analysis of the production logic of different newsrooms, focusing specifically on how it affects representation. Targeting how different organizations deal with the challenge of technology, whether they adapt to the technology or allow the newsroom to undergo a transformative change, and what implications new technologies have for the logics of representation, I start with a discussion of the production logic of mainstream professional journalism, honing in on three key parts of the news production process that I believe are particularly important for setting the constraints on representation: news monitoring, sourcing and selection. Monitoring is the process where the journalist surveys the landscape, whereas sourcing tells us how the journalist decides, selects and make use of particular sources. Selection is the journalistic practice of judging which stories are important or "newsworthy". I proceed with

an examination of how the arrival of new technologies, in particular the internet, has challenged the production logic of professional journalism. To examine how new technologies allow for better representation (or not), I compare and contrast three online newsrooms. I analyze two newsrooms that are transformative, rather than adaptive: Indymedia and Global Voices. Before I turn to them, I first analyze adaptive newsrooms; these are legacy newsrooms of mainstream professional journalism that are making the jump to the digital world.

4.1 Production Logic of Professional Journalism

The production logic of mainstream newsrooms follows a sequence of practices that includes monitoring to detect events, sourcing to gather and collect material, and selection to present a limited number of stories. Stories are written up, edited and made ready for publication. A similar sequence is outlined by Golding and Elliott (1979) when they talk about planning, gathering, selection and production.
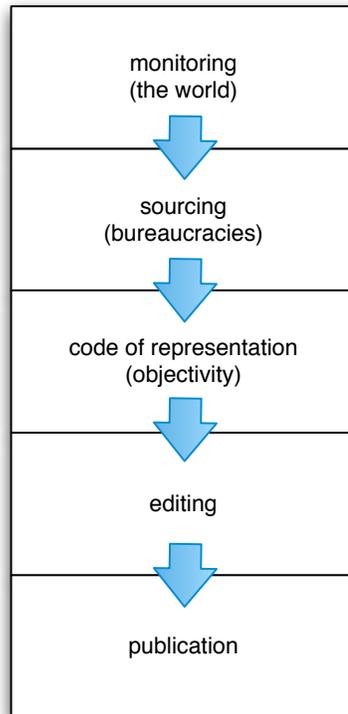
4.1 production logic professional journalism

News Monitoring and Sourcing

A primary goal of a news organization is to report what is happening in the world. To do so, news organizations constantly monitor, casting out what Tuchman (1978) has referred to as "the news net" to catch and detect events and occurrences of importance. A division of labor seeks to make monitoring manageable. Monitoring is structured along the lines of intensity, in the form of stringers, reporters and wire services. Tuchman compares these to the thickness of the threads in the net - some are stronger and filter more while others are more fine tuned and catch only what they are interested in. Besides intensity,

Tuchman (1978, pp. 25-31) identified three other ways the news net was structured: along the lines of geographic territoriality, organizational specialization and topical specialization.

Perhaps the most recognized division of labor for monitoring is the "news beat". As Fishman (1980) has argued: "for at least the past hundred years, American newspapers have settled on one predominant mode of coverage known as 'the beat'". The news beat is a crucial part of the news production process. Its basic aim is to set up a routine that allows for visiting a minimum set of people or places while maximizing the potential for news. Fishman suggests it involves "places to go and people to see" or "a series of topics one is responsible for covering".

Because of the news beat, he news organization is predisposed towards the steady information that comes from bureaucracies. Fishman (1980) argued that reporters must expose themselves to a few sources that process events rapidly, because of time and resource constraints. The news beat involves attending locations, organizations or persons that produce a regular supply of "legitimate" news, what Fishman refers to as the "bureaucratic foundations of news exposure". However, journalists do not only turn to bureaucracies because they make work easier. Sourcing from bureaucracies supports the journalistic ideal of objectivity because they are considered authoritative.

Objectivity is the most important element of the institutional culture of professional journalism. Objectivity guides and shapes "more specific aspects of

news professionalism, such as news judgment, the selection of sources and the structure of news beats" (Soloski, 1989, p. 213). More than just an ideal, mainstream journalists also rely on objectivity as a "strategic ritual" (Tuchman, 1972) to position themselves as professionals against the public, to provide them with protection and minimize the risk of criticism.

Many have argued that objectivity structures news beats such that preference is given to institutional sources over "non-authoritative" or "non-official" sources. Tuchman (1978) and Ericson (1989) argued how certain sources have more influence than others, particularly if they are able to make the work of journalists easier. Gandy (Gandy, 1982) referred to these as "information subsidies", incentives for journalists to entice them to work with institutions with the resources to prepare press releases, organize press conferences, turning such institutions into sources of dependable and "easy" news. Institutional bureaucracies thus have considerable power to shape what becomes news than others, and which frame or angle it is given.

The counterargument of journalists has long been that a news beat can just as well include visits to places other than institutional bureaucracies. However, with news budgets being slashed, fewer reporters now have to cover the same geographic regions, resulting that certain beats no longer exist and journalists rely instead on news wires or secondary and official sources. This trend is particularly acute when it comes to international reporting, where many foreign bureaus have closed. The subsequent reliance on "official" versions of

what is happening in the world has been shown to be problematic, for instance as in the official slant of much U.S. coverage of the war on Iraq (Bennett et al., 2007).

News Selection

It is often said that journalists do not "select" the news. The news makes itself and professional journalists only report what is going on, or so they argue. Objectivity is a useful defense against claims that they are biased, influenced by power and money, or in other ways intentionally or unintentionally distort the news (Tuchman, 1972).

In contrast to the claims made by practicing journalists, Golding and Elliott (Golding & Elliott, 1979, p. 114) argue that the news is a result of "the passive exercise of routine and highly regulated procedures in the task of selecting from already limited supplies of information". News values are the shared principles that journalists consciously or subconsciously employ in order to determine what is newsworthy and what is not (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Gans, 1979). The importance of news values on news production is noted by Herbert Gans (1979) who has referred to them as a "paraideology" of journalism. They are a practical solution for journalists who have to face a constant and fundamental dilemma in their day-to-day work: how to be comprehensive, while also having to be selective in what they report as the news (Golding & Elliott, 1979). The notion of news values points out the importance of understanding the news as a practice

of those who have the power to determine the experience of others. For the global production of news, the notion of news values is particularly important in explaining why certain countries are covered more in the traditional media than others (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Wu, 2000; Wu, 2003; Wu, 2007).

Many scholars have proposed and refined news values over the years (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Allern, 2002; O'Neill & Harcup, 2008). Golding and Elliott (1979) argued that assumptions about audience, accessibility and fit inform news values. In other words, assumptions about whether an audience can make sense of or perceives an issue to be important, how much resources the production of a particular news item will require, and whether the event fits the logic of production are all important journalistic factors for deciding what becomes "news".

Despite the importance of knowing one's audience, earlier studies pointed out the notion of the "forgotten audience" to suggest that "news producers know very little about their actual audience and perhaps do not always particularly care" (Cottle, 2000b, p. 28). Schlesinger (1978) referred to the "missing link" which he saw as a structural lacuna between the producers and consumers of news. However, Cottle (2000b) argued it might be more accurate to speak of the "imagined audience" rather than the "forgotten audience". For example, writing for colleagues is an age-old practice by journalists, according to Darnton (1975, p. 176):

We really wrote for one another. Our primary reference group was spread around us in the newsroom, or "the snake pit," as some called it.We knew that no one would jump on our stories as quickly as our colleagues; for reporters make the most voracious readers, and they have to win their status anew each day as they expose themselves before their peers in print.

On a global level, Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) helped us understand how the difficulty of producing news for a global audience was solved through a two-tiered system. The first tier consists of global news wires that target national news organizations. The news wires are in the business of "wholesale" news, news that is raw, bare-bones and decontextualized. The second tier is made up of national news organizations, considered the "retailers", and responsible for customizing and contextualizing the news for their national audiences.

The question of audience is not only commercial in nature, but also has political and moral implications. Peace journalism and public journalism both challenge journalists to think about what audience they ought to serve and what constituencies they should be accountable to. The public journalism movement was started with the belief that professional journalism was no longer serving the public (Glasser, 1999; Glasser, 2000; Rosen, 2001; Haas, 2007). Public journalism proponents believed journalists should rethink their practices and make it their mission to "help form as well as inform the public" (Rosen, 1998, p. 54). Proponents of peace journalism make similar claims about the importance of accountability. Critiquing mainstream professional journalism, which he referred to as "journalism of detachment", Bell (1998) argued that objectivity, especially in

war coverage, is both inappropriate and unworkable, instead advocating for a "journalism of attachment" to get closer to truth (Tester, 2001; Hoijer, 2004, see also).

Examining production logic by analyzing the structural forces behind monitoring, sourcing and selection makes it possible to bring to light which voices are systematically sought out and avoided. For all the critique against mainstream journalistic routines, we unfortunately also tend to think of them as unchangeable at their core. They have become entrenched and defined much of what we understand as journalism and the journalistic culture. As Cottle (2000b, p. 19) argues, they have become orthodoxy:

> *An orthodoxy, by definition, tends to dull serious reflection and can inhibit further research. Such is now arguably the case with the 'first wave' of substantive news production studies conducted across the 1970s and 1980s.*

Yet, a range of alternative media outlets and new technologies have emerged that challenge the production logic of professional journalism (Rodriguez & Dervin, 2001; Atton, 2002; Couldry & Curran, 2003b; Curran, 2003; Boczkowski, 2004; Atton & Wickenden, 2005; Paterson & Domingo, 2008; Mitchelstein, 2009). They demonstrate an urgent need to update the research concerning the sociology of the newsroom (Cottle, 2000b; Zelizer, 2004b; Mitchelstein, 2009). Utopian visions guided initial predictions of how the internet would change journalism. Many predicted the news would benefit from features such as

multimedia, interactivity, immediacy, and the "bottomless" news hole. It turned out that it was overly optimistic to extrapolate technical properties to social and institutional change. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that new technologies have not fundamentally changed anything. Technological change is neither uniform nor does it take place in a vacuum. For this reason, Williams (1981, pp. 226-227) considered technology a "social institution", a "product of a particular social system". What is needed, then, is an inquiry into technological change that takes into account the particular social system in which it is embedded. The need to take the social system into account is particularly urgent in the context of the internet. The internet facilitates the entry of a range of new mediators with different value systems. Their arrival raises the question how media organizations with different beliefs and values implement new technologies in news production. What follows, then, is an inquiry of how new technologies can reform news representation through an examination of three online newsrooms: first, the adaptive newsroom, the mainstream newsroom making the transition to the digital world; then, two transformative newsrooms, those of Indymedia and Global Voices, newsrooms less burdened by institutional legacies, with the luxury to build a newsroom from the ground up, new technologies in hand.

4.2 Production Logic of Adaptive Newsrooms

On the face of things, one might expect news from online newsrooms to look radically different given the features of the internet (interactivity, immediacy, hyperlinking), the availability of a range of alternative sources journalists can select from (blogs, citizen media, user-generated content), and the access to audiences that go beyond national borders. New technologies make it easier for non-institutional sources to have a voice because they lower the barriers to inclusion. Instead of having to seek out sources in identifiable places, the reporter now has much easier access to a wide array of non-institutional voices, through blogs, Twitter and other online means. While these voices might not be representative of the population, they nevertheless increase the diversity of the pool of stories and voices on which a reporter can draw. Golding and Elliott (1979) argued that news was shaped by assumptions of fit (consonance with and limitations of the medium), accessibility (prominence and ease of capture) and audience. All three radically change with the internet.

Professional journalists have adapted new technologies to existing monitoring practices, but evidence so far suggests that it unfortunately further obstructs the diversity of news. Boczkowski (2009) described how although new technologies make monitoring easier, they also accelerate news mimicry, the practice of mirroring articles from competitors. He (2009) argued that the anxiety of missing a critical story combined with the ability to constantly and obsessively monitor other news output, leads to the replication and copying of the

same stories. In other words, while new technologies make monitoring easier, they do not lead to journalistic reform. Instead, the arrival of new technologies accelerate and amplify the long practice of news mimicry, leading to a even higher degree of homogenization of the news than before.

Evidence also demonstrates that mainstream professional newsrooms have difficulty incorporating non-elite and non-institutional sources (Singer, 2003; Deuze et al., 2007; Singer, 2007; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008). Some parts of the newsroom do better than others: user-generated content is more readily accepted for soft news, but "hard news, and especially politics, is still regarded as too controversial to be opened to the involvement of news users" (Deuze et al., 2007, p. 334).

With regard to sourcing, it also matters who is dependent on whom. Newsrooms are increasingly creating dedicated areas that invite readers to come in and contribute. Opinions about the value of user-generated content vary: some editors see "secondary benefits" as they could "provide a source of stories and content for stories" (Thurman, 2008, p. 154) or as an alternative for vox-pops and opinion polls (Deuze et al., 2007), although others still remain in doubt about the editorial and commercial value of user contributions (Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Thurman, 2008).

In contrast, reporters seem less likely to seek out citizens and treat them as legitimate sources, despite the increased ease and decreased cost of doing so. According to Nicholas et al (2000, p. 104), "the idea that journalists spent their

time surfing the internet [for sourcing] was laughed at by more than one journalist." One explanation is that professional journalists are hesitant to seek out bloggers because their presence challenges central normative aspects of professional journalism, such as truth, transparency and autonomy (Singer, 2007) or journalistic authority (Carlson, 2007). Others have pointed out attempts to co-opt blogs (Allan, 2006; Reese, Rutigliano, Hyun, & Jeong, 2007; Hermida & Thurman, 2008). More fundamental, Singer (2007) argues that the very distinction between "professional" journalists and "non-professionals" exists by virtue of the belief that only professionals are capable of "good" journalism because of their particular talents, judgment or education (Singer, 2003). Deuze (2007, p. 333) adds that "news organizations do not necessarily engage the citizen on a more or less equal footing because the professionals involved are universally convinced that the breakdown between users and producers of news provides society with better information."

The inability or refusal of mainstream professional journalists to recognize blogs as legitimate sources is detrimental to further diversification of the news. For example, Stray (2010) found that news coverage for one particular event, the Google / China hacking case, only contained 11 percent original reporting. This number might or might not be representative, although the Project for Excellence in Journalism(2005) documents a trend that most online newsrooms do little original reporting. However, Stray points out a blurring of what counts as "original reporting":

Several reports, especially the more technical ones, also brought in information from obscure blogs. In some sense they didn't publish anything new, but I can't help feeling that these outlets were doing something worthwhile even so. Meanwhile, many newsrooms diligently called up the Chinese schools to hear exactly the same denial, which may not be adding much value.

Whether linking to bloggers should count as original reporting matters because it grants legitimacy to the practice in the eyes of mainstream professional journalists. At least in this case, linking to bloggers increased the diversity of news, in contrast to more conventional practices of original reporting, such as sourcing from the same Chinese schools for similar quotes most other news organizations already reported on.

Many proclaimed that the internet would solve the constraints of selection and news values, arguing that it made a "bottomless news hole" possible. The bottomless news hole might be a hyperbolic metaphor, although early findings show promise. For example, the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2008) consistently found very low coverage of foreign countries among all media, with the very exception of online media, which was characterized by a high level of coverage of foreign countries. In addition, Hermida and Thurman (2008, p. 349) mention how news organizations offered online space to foreign correspondents, as they were "most frustrated about not having their articles published in the paper".

Nevertheless, findings suggest that the move to the digital world by mainstream newsrooms has so far been a reactive rather than a proactive one,

that its purpose is to defend existing territory rather than explore the potential of the internet to pursue new opportunities (Boczkowski, 2004). The value of the internet for news work does not appear to be obvious to mainstream professional journalists. The features of the internet might even seem counterintuitive to the logic of mainstream professional journalism, limiting and constraining any efforts to explore new opportunities for innovation (Deuze, 2003; Boczkowski, 2004; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008; Quandt, 2008b). The adaption of new technologies by mainstream newsrooms does not fundamentally challenge the production logic of news, a legacy that is institutionalized from a previous technological era. Journalists might feel captive in the face of new technologies, which accelerates the underlying processes and mechanisms, but do not necessarily transform them. However, there appears to be a willingness, albeit reluctant, to experiment with more marginal types of news, such as soft news and foreign correspondence. A more cynical conclusion one can draw is that "they welcome the Net when it suits their existing professional ends, and are much less enthusiastic about, and unlikely to promote, radical change in news work" (O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p. 368).

The struggles of existing newsrooms suggest that the production logic of professional journalism might have outlived its usefulness. Yet routines continue to persist, the underlying logic rarely questioned. What is needed then, is an examination of production logic that seeks to maximize the potential of new technologies and lays the foundation for a transformative newsroom. More than a

rethinking of how existing practices can be improved, we need to look at newsrooms that are willing to re-examine the underlying principles of their work processes and see technology as an opportunity to go beyond the production logic of professional journalism, which includes a consideration of the way features specific to new technologies, such as interactivity, hyperlinks and instant publishing, can transform journalism.

What should not be forgotten is that journalistic routines and practices originate from a particular time, constrained by specific institutional and technological limitations. With the arrival of new technologies and the emergence of players with alternative belief systems, what possibilities exist for different routines and practices that have the potential to improve on the representation of society in the media? To understand the implications of new technology for the public sphere, it is necessary to examine the production logic that is embedded in technological and institutional settings other than professional journalism.

4.3 Production Logic of Indymedia

Indymedia is an alternative media outlet that has made use of new technologies to become a transformative newsroom. Through an appropriation of new technologies, it has been able to challenge the existing logic of alternative media and overcome its previous constraints. I will first discuss briefly the production logic of alternative media to situate Indymedia. I then examine the production logic of the Indymedia newsroom and argue that it is a transformative newsroom,

whether compared with a mainstream professional newsroom or an alternative media outlet.

Alternative media are a response to professional journalism and an intervention to its problems of representation. The culture of alternative media privileges first person or eyewitness accounts, a practice Atton (2003, 2002) referred to as "native reporting". A practical implication is that the opinions of non-institutional voices are no longer marginalized, but quoted at length as a contrast to the official voices preferred by mainstream professional journalism (Harcup, 2003). In addition, Rodriguez (2001) argued that alternative media derive their strength from allowing ordinary citizens the chance to tell stories on their own terms, using their own culture, identity and language.

As mentioned, the practical implementation of news work by professional journalism led to a particular "hierarchy of access" (Cottle, 2000a), resulting in a systematic preference for bureaucracies. The primary aim of alternative media is to invert this hierarchy of access, often by abandoning journalistic routines, in order to give preference to marginal and non-institutional voices (Atton, 2002; Atton & Wickenden, 2005).

Nevertheless, in explaining the state of news, Eliasoph (1988) warned against attributing too much power to journalistic routines. She suggested that it might not so much be the nature of journalistic routines that determined how news looks like, but the culture and ideology of the news organization. In a study of an "oppositional" newsroom, Eliasoph found that news beats no longer lead to

a preference of institutional sources over marginal or alternative ones, if a different logic than objectivity was followed, thus sensitizing us to the importance of the institution and its culture in which journalistic practices are embedded.

Yet, just as the impact of journalistic routines should not be overstated, neither should too much power be attributed to institutional culture. In a study of the sourcing routines of an alternative media outlet, Atton and Wickenden (2005) argue that alternative media often end up operating similarly to mainstream media, with the difference that they draw on counter-elite voices rather than elite ones, but that both have in common that they limit other voices to be heard. According to Atton and Wickenden (2005, p. 351):

> *The absence of professionalisation in alternative news media does not prevent them being subject to pressures similar to those in mainstream media. Deadlines still need to be kept; new and urgent stories might emerge close to deadlines. Low capital funding, poorly paid or voluntary staff and organisational pressures might all affect the ability to access a wide range of sources and to make those experiments with news routines that have been so often associated with alternative media.*

They found that alternative media constantly return to particular sources, whether for ideological reasons or pragmatic ones such as workload and deadlines. In other words, in the face of pragmatic constraints of labor and time, alternative media have been forced to resort to routinization, unable to overcome the practice of hierarchical or elite sourcing. Eliasoph may have been right to point out the importance of institutional culture in shaping routines, but Atton and Wickenden show the limitations of running a resource-constrained non-

profit alternative media newsroom. Together, they suggest the importance to understand the potential of new technologies for the alleviation of pragmatic constraints in alternative newsrooms. Indymedia is perhaps the most famous example of such a transformative newsroom. Through new technologies, Indymedia was able to transform alternative media practices and break with journalistic routines altogether. Indymedia is presented here not as a typical example of an alternative media outlet. Instead, the aim here is to show how new technologies can radically transform journalistic practices.

The Indymedia newsroom is different in many ways from mainstream newsrooms. At heart are different principles underlying the production logic of the news organization. As mentioned earlier, a production logic is a set of principles underlying practices that involves a linear, step-by-step manner about how a problem can be solved. In contrast to professional journalism, Indymedia believes that the production of news needs to follow a different logic in order to be more inclusive. Whereas a professional news organization is hierarchical and follows objectivity, Indymedia believes in a flat organization and rejects hierarchy and objectivity (Platon & Deuze, 2003; Pickard, 2006b; Pickard, 2006a).

Indymedia is a high profile case that helps us understand what happens when traditional journalistic routines are abandoned and a logic other than objectivity is followed for the production of news. The production logic of Indymedia is rooted in the values of participatory democracy. Participatory democracy differs from liberal democracy in that its philosophy gives much

greater value to the possibility of citizens to participate in politics. From a journalistic point of view, supporters of participatory democracy believe there should be no distinction between citizens and journalists - the ideal is that anybody can make their own media. Within participatory democracy, Indymedia upholds a particular strand of radical democracy, enabling wide-ranging freedom of speech and preferring or even insisting on consensus for all decision-making (Pickard, 2006a).

Not only is it unlike mainstream newsrooms, Indymedia is also different in many ways from "typical" alternative newsrooms, in large part due to its transformative use of new technologies. Earlier, we saw how other alternative media newsrooms were unable to escape the routinization of news work. Despite a different institutional culture, alternative media were unable to overcome hierarchical or elite sourcing. In contrast, Indymedia strategically rid itself of many typical journalistic routines, including news monitoring, sourcing and selection routines (Platon & Deuze, 2003). Reasoning that such routines prevented marginal voices from accessing the news and being heard, Indymedia wanted to avoid any form of censorship at all cost, resulting in a completely open newsroom. In practice, an open newsroom means that anybody can submit news and that it will appear on the front page, blurring the distinction between journalist and citizen. Indymedia refers to this as the "Open Publishing" model (Malter, 2001):

Open publishing means that the process of creating news is transparent to the readers. They can contribute a story and see it instantly appear in the pool of stories publicly available. Those stories are filtered as little as possible to help the readers find the stories they want. Readers can see editorial decisions being made by others. They can see how to get involved and help make editorial decisions. If they can think of a better way for the software to help shape editorial decisions, they can copy the software because it is free and change it and start their own site. If they want to redistribute the news, they can, preferably on an open publishing site.

The open publishing model means there is no monitoring, sourcing or news selection. The production of a news story for Indymedia takes place as follows. Anyone can go online and visit the website. Once on the website, visitors can click on "Publish" (Platon & Deuze, 2003). After filling out several forms that include the story, this news story will appear shortly after on the website. Consider how this process is in stark contrast with a traditional news organization, where generally only journalists will submit stories, and these stories are filtered by a line of editors, before they hit the front page. Indymedia allows anyone to publish a news story on its website, unedited, at least in principle and theory.

Nevertheless, a production logic of news based on complete openness and radical participation has problems safeguarding the quality of its material (Pickard, 2006b; Pickard, 2006a). The Indymedia production logic is an attempt to correct the undemocratic consequences associated with mainstream professional journalism. Though the intention and insistence on openness is noble in principle, it quickly encountered problems in practice, what Pickard (2006a) has referred to as the "tyrannies of structurelessness, ideology and the

editor". For example, if anybody can have their say, what happens to openness, transparency and no censorship when people do not share the same ideology, are abusive or engage in illegal behavior? In practice, then, IndyMedia was often forced to fall back on filtering after publication, something it frowned upon and only hesitantly practiced.

Indymedia

monitoring (the world)
↓
code of representation (openness)
↓
publication
↓
filtering
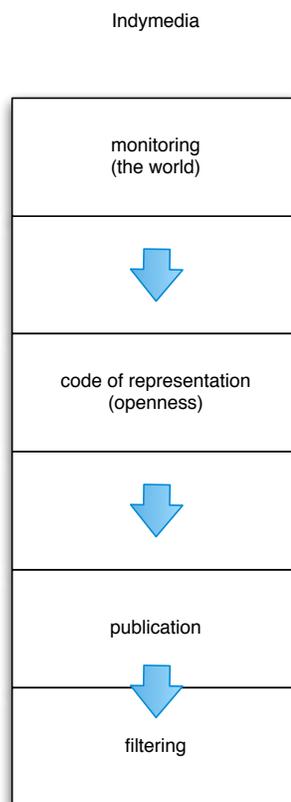
4.2 production logic Indymedia

The open publishing model of Indymedia is perhaps the best known example of a transformative newsroom. While newsrooms with alternative publishing models have existed in the past, none have been as open or as global in scope as

Indymedia. New technologies facilitated an ease of publishing that enabled Indymedia to have a newsroom that is open to everybody who could access the internet. It also allowed radical media to have a global scope and remain highly decentralized (Pickard, 2006b) . Radical media have always been, according to Downing (2000, p. 70) "much more likely to be small-scale than large, for perhaps obvious reasons", much of this due to its insistence on independent, democratic self-management that has difficulty scaling up. Indymedia has been able to overcome the problem of scale, to become global in scope while remaining decentralized, in large part due to the use of new technologies.

Technology thus has allowed Indymedia to have a transformative newsroom, one that has been able to reject and abandon routines of mainstream professional journalism and instead insists on openness and global scope. However, the rejection of journalistic routines has not necessarily led to the desired outcome of a news that is "better" than the mainstream media. In the next section, I compare and contrast Global Voices as another instance of a transformative newsroom. I examine its production logic and consider its solution to some of the problems Indymedia faced through an appropriation of journalistic routines, such as the use of editors and news beats.

4.4 Production Logic of Global Voices

Global Voices is a transformative newsroom structured around its goal to amplify underrepresented voices and foster a global conversation. Similar to Indymedia,

Global Voices believes that new technologies play a critical role in bringing about a further democratization of the media. However, unlike Indymedia, Global Voices does not believe in a complete rejection of professional journalistic routines as a prerequisite for achieving this goal. Global Voices similarly strives to produce news that is more inclusive, but in doing so, retains and appropriates certain routines and structures from professional journalism.

professional journalism	Indymedia	Global Voices
monitoring (the world)	monitoring (the world)	monitoring (blogospheres)
sourcing (bureaucracies)		sourcing (blogs)
code of representation (objectivity)	code of representation (openness)	code of representation (hospitality)
editing		editing
publication	publication	publication
	filtering	
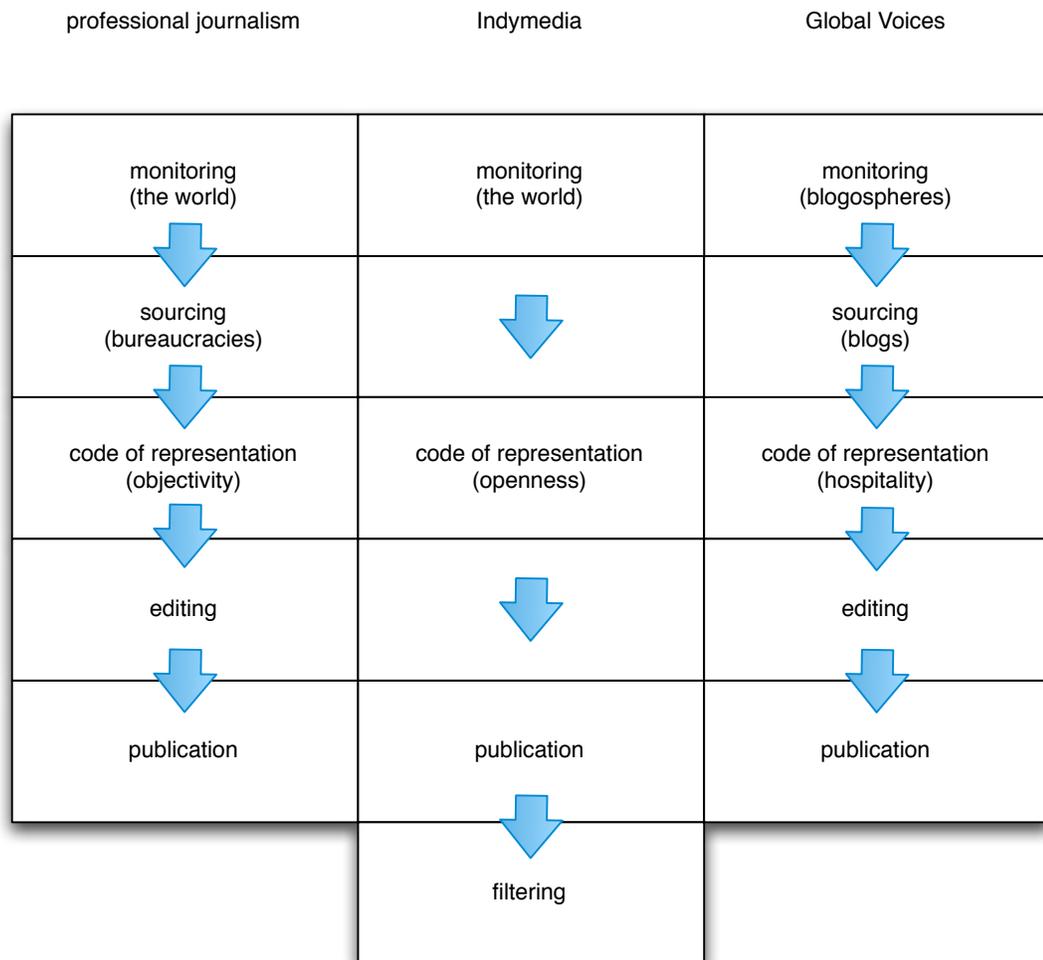
4.3 production logic Global Voices

An inquiry in the production logic requires at least two levels of analysis. Normatively, what principles help decide what story to cover, what to include and what to leave out, is asking in a perfect world, what stories, voices and events ideally should be covered by Global Voices in what way. Descriptively, how authors implement these principles in day-to-day practices, involves seeing how these principles are used to solve problems that need solutions. In order to understand the Global Voices production logic, I have examined fundamental documents of the organization, including its manifesto and mission statement, as well as style guides. I also conducted discussions with authors, editors and management on the topic.

Principles

What principles and values shape the stories that are covered by Global Voices? The original aim is perhaps best reflected in the Global Voices manifesto, a document that was born at the initial meeting at the Berkman Center:

> *We believe in free speech: in protecting the right to speak — and the right to listen. We believe in universal access to the tools of speech.*

The manifesto has a flavor of aspirational cyber-utopianism to it, a belief that has its roots in libertarianism and individual rights (Turner, 2006). It emphasizes free speech, but with a critical amendment that free speech is not only about the right to speak, but also the right to listen, which Silverstone has helped us

understand as a critical aspect of hospitality (2007). The manifesto furthermore

states:

> *We seek to build bridges across the gulfs that divide people, so as to understand each other more fully. [..] We believe in the power of direct connection. The bond between individuals from different worlds is personal, political and powerful. We believe conversation across boundaries is essential to a future that is free, fair, prosperous and sustainable - for all citizens of this planet.*

The quote emphasizes a belief in the power of connection between individuals

and the need for these connections to build bridges across cultures. In these two

paragraphs, the critical cultural elements crystallize and come together: a belief

in freedom of speech, both to speak and to listen, the role tools play in facilitating

this, and the belief and need for bridges across cultures. One of the first things

the two founders did was set up what has now become the Global Voices website.

It looked very different then from now; the initial idea was humble and consisted

of a blog with the goal to bring the so-called bridgeblogs of the world together.

According to Zuckerman (2005), bridgeblogs are:

> *blogs that reach across gaps of language, culture and nationality to enable communication between individuals in different parts of the world.They are distinguished from the vast majority of blogs by their intended audience: while most blogs are targeted to friends and family, or to an audience that's demographically similar to the author, bridgeblogs are intended to be read by an audience from a different nation, religion, culture or language than the author.*

A famous example of a bridgeblog is Salam Pax, a blogger from Baghdad who

blogged in English and became famous for giving the Western audience, a unique

on-the-ground view of the War in Iraq. The founders saw as an important goal of Global Voices to identify and gather bridgeblogs around the world, such as Salam Pax, and bring attention to the best stories they had to offer through the Global Voices website. Global Voices also started to turn its eye towards a larger goal of monitoring the blogospheres on its own and effectively become a bridgeblog itself. It evolved from being an aggregator to become a bridgeblog. Consider the original mission statement from May 2005:

> *Global Voices is an international effort to diversify the conversation taking place online by involving speakers from around the world, and developing tools, institutions and relationships to help make these voices heard.*

The mission statement of Global Voices helps define its culture. Quoted above, it captures a belief in the value of speech, individuals and diversity of speech, as well as the important role tools, institutions and relationships have to play. In February of 2006 the language in the mission statement changed as follows:

> *Global Voices seeks to amplify, curate and aggregate the global conversation online - with a focus on countries and communities outside the U.S. and Western Europe. We are committed to developing tools, institutions and relationships that will help all voices everywhere to be heard.*

The change of language is important in that it specifies more concretely what Global Voices does. Specifying what it meant by "diversifying the conversation online", Global Voices proposes to do so through amplification, curation and

aggregation. The change of language added an extra condition: the exclusion of the US and Western Europe. This exclusion was an issue of contention. Some argued that the task of Global Voices was to amplify underrepresented voices and these regions were neither lacking in coverage nor attention. Others countered that within these regions were groups whose voices were marginalized, for example the Native Americans in the US or immigrants in Western Europe. I discuss this issue of contention more in detail in a later section. For now, the contentious character of this issue was reflected in the removal of the clause in the new mission statement, revealed in April 2007:

> *Global Voices aggregates, curates, and amplifies the global conversation online – shining light on places and people other media often ignore.*

Between the different versions of the mission statements, we can distill a few principles of hospitality that guide Global Voices. The first principle is a belief in the importance of the diversification of the global conversation. Global Voices believes that interpersonal connections are crucial in this process. To that end, Global Voices aggregates, curates and ultimately wants to amplify those voices it thinks warrant more attention, the voices it believes other media ignore. Another principle follows from the implementation of the first: to amplify voices, it is necessary to collaborate with other media, including professional mainstream news organizations. It does not see itself as a better replacement, unlike Indymedia, for example. A complementary position is thus a strategic choice born out of its philosophy of hospitality; Global Voices believes that getting

sourced by the mainstream media remains a good way to get stories widely disseminated and amplified.

Hospitality and Proper Representation

> *"Before, when you Googled my country, you just got the movie" Mr. Rakotomalala says, referring to the 2005 animated film about four Central Park Zoo animals shipwrecked on the island. "We are correcting that." (Rhoads, 2009)*

The principles of Global Voices show a belief in hospitality and proper representation. Hospitality is the ethical obligation to listen (Silverstone, 2007). Without hospitality, there is no proper representation. The importance of proper representation is perhaps best articulated by Silverstone (2007). He contended that the media are a "space of appearance" that shapes our imagination and understanding of the world. The media shape how we imagine the other, the stranger and influence how voices and stories are brought into the news (see also Cottle, 2000a; Gitlin, 2003). The concept of "proper representation" borrows from Silverstone's (2003) idea of proper distance, who in turn borrows from Hannah Arendt (1994, p. 323):

> *to put that which is too close at a certain distance so that we can see and understand without bias and to bridge abysses of remoteness until we can see and understand everything that is too far away from us as though it were our own affair.*

Following Arendt and Silverstone, I suggest that proper representation is one that is neither too far nor too close. This distance is not just physical, social or even cultural, but also moral. Arendt stresses the important role of imagination for judgment, which she sees as the one and only human capacity that allow us to see with proper perspective. Smith argues a similar important role for imagination in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (2002):

> *As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation. .. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations.*

Silverstone adds that the media play a critical role in fostering our imagination and setting the conditions for an ethical life, by shaping to what extent we allow the other dignity, whether we allow a diversity of voices discourse and dialogue, and ultimately, whether we can avoid the consequences of improper representation. Our understanding of the world is primarily a mediated experience. The critique against the production logic of professional journalism has to be understood in this light: a lack of proper representation, including the underrepresentation or misrepresentation of voices, however unintended, has important moral ramifications (Tester, 1995; Moeller, 1998; Boltanski, 1999; Tester, 2001; Sontag, 2003; Chouliaraki, 2006).

How do the principles of hospitality and proper representation translate into practice? Below I examine the monitoring, sourcing and selection practices of Global Voices.

The Virtual News Beat

There are two levels of monitoring in the Global Voices newsroom. The first level is global, with the world divided into different regions. The regional editor and his or her team of volunteers are responsible for the coverage of the respective regions. The people who have volunteered to report for Global Voices are called "authors" instead of journalists, a terminological distinction I maintain here out of respect. The managing editor decides which blog posts are published on the main website (http://www.globalvoicesonline.org). The second level of monitoring is on a region-specific level. The regional editor and volunteers are responsible for monitoring their respective region. Each volunteer monitors the region generally through the use of an RSS reader. An RSS reader is a tool that makes it easy to follow many different blogs and websites in one convenient location. Most volunteers do not aim to be comprehensive, but instead try to find their own niche for reporting.

Like the news beats of professional journalists, the virtual news beat of Global Voices is organized along geographical territoriality and intensity. The regional editor is responsible on a daily basis for making sure nothing important or interesting is missed. He or she is tasked to survey the online landscape of the

region, in contrast to the volunteers who generally focus on a particular interest or niche and are more loosely organized. The regional editor relies on a combination of technologies to monitor the region, some of which are more important than others. The RSS reader makes it possible to survey many blogs at once with ease; regional editors generally monitor several hundred blogs. Microblogs, such as Twitter, and discussion boards are other sites the regional editor might visit on a daily basis. This is perhaps the practice that comes closest to what the mainstream professional journalist would call a news beat. But instead of a news beat that brings the journalist to different physical locations, the Global Voices regional editor makes his or her round through different virtual online locations. The virtual news beat of the editor has at least two advantages. First, the editor might come across leads for stories which are then suggested to authors. Second, the virtual news beat produces content for the website. The website has two columns, a left and a right. The left column is the main column of the website and carries the blog posts of the authors. The right column is a smaller column that carries links with short comments found by the regional editors while they are surveying their respective blogospheres.

4.4 Global Voices left and right blog

If Global Voices seeks to amplify underrepresented voices, how does it reconcile having a news beat? The earlier critique against the news beat of the professional journalist was its prioritization of certain organizations and institutions, in particular bureaucracies (Hall, 1978; Fishman, 1980), a critique so strong that many alternative media chose not to have news beats. However, I argue that the technological and institutional factors at play in the virtual news beats of Global Voices mitigate the risks of exclusive representation for which the traditional news beat has been criticized.

First, there are key differences between a news beat that revolves around physical locations and one that centers on virtual online locations. With a virtual news beat, the number of locations one can visit is potentially higher. It is not uncommon for regional editors to keep track of several hundred blogs in their RSS reader. The internet is also hyperlinked, making it easier to discover new sources. Blogs in particular often link to a wide diversity of sources (Tsui, 2008). More importantly, authors and editors recognize that the routine of a news beat might privilege familiar sources; to overcome this, they have built into the news beat a habit of scanning for fresh and new voices. In part, they do so by monitoring which websites they visit often and adjust their behavior accordingly. This can be as simple as checking to see if a hyperlink is purple (a sign the website has been visited in the past) or as advanced as using the statistics (provided by RSS readers, such as Google Reader) to analyze in microscopic

detail which blogs are visited most frequently. In addition, attempts to find new voices can be organized together in a collective manner, maximizing the number of blogs to which an author potentially can expose him or herself to. For example, the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) regional editor asked for volunteers to pool their RSS feeds together. For journalists this would be the equivalent of sharing rolodexes, a practice that might be considered cheating and unthinkable for those in search of an exclusive, but the practice is accepted at Global Voices because it allows its authors to be exposed to a wider variety of sources than they individually would be able to manage.

Second, there is another important difference between a physical newsroom with paid staff and a virtual newsroom consisting of mostly volunteers. The differences are made possibly by the internet and are related to cost, scalability and difference in staff-role (Benkler, 2006). A physical newsroom is a waste of resources if it is empty. At the same time, a physical newsroom also puts specific constraints on the maximum number of people that can work together: at some point it is impossible to add more people. There is both a fairly specific and highly constrained lower- and an upper boundary to the number of people which can work in a physical newsroom. In contrast, a virtual newsroom is more flexible and accommodates both less and more staff. Shirky (2008) suggests that the internet lowers the "institutional ceiling" that determines when collective action is efficient or sensible. A virtual newsroom is cost-efficient and has reasons to exist even if people are only doing a tiny bit of work, some of the

time. A virtual newsroom also makes it easier to keep adding staff. The constraint instead becomes the maximum number of volunteers the regional editor can manage. A virtual newsroom also allows for a team of geographically widely dispersed volunteers at a very low cost. Consider and compare a virtual newsroom with how costly it would to be have foreign desks around the world and have them staffed full-time correspondents.

A third significant difference is the decreasing or even disappearing influence of the deadline as a constraint. As Hall et al (1978) suggested, the particular combination of the news beat with the deadline constrained journalistic work and led to a predisposition towards bureaucratic sources. The internet and its ability to allow for instant publication has changed the constraining role of the deadline, but in different ways for different groups. While for professional journalists it has mostly meant a reduction of quality, the production logic at Global Voices suggests instead that the lack of a deadline means that authors can take more time to properly craft their story.

The internet makes the need for a deadline to maximize efficiency obsolete. A deadline is an artifact from the print medium, a necessity when the cost of publishing is high. It is a method to allow the newsroom to coordinate the act of publication around a single point in time for the sake of cost-efficiency. In contrast, the cost of online publication is low. One click and the article is online; another click and a second article appears. If the purpose of the deadline is to

make efficient use of the cost of publishing, then the internet eliminates that specific need for a deadline.

The oft-heard complaint is that the obliteration of the deadline also means a corresponding decline of the quality of the news. The deadline functionally acted as an enabling constraint for journalists to verify and check their facts (Tuchman, 1973). In an online era where publishing knows no deadlines and can be done instantly, the journalists feel pressured to publish news as fast as possible and experience less time to do proper fact-checking (Paterson & Domingo, 2008). Klinenberg (2005) argues that the news production cycle resembles a "news cyclone", whereas Pavlik (2000) speaks of "high-speed news". More recently, Quandt (2008a) found that German newsrooms lack the time to do fact-checking or original reporting because of constant search for immediate publication.

In contrast, the deadline as a routine works in a less constraining fashion for Global Voices authors. For professional journalists, not having a deadline means that they feel there is no time to fact check, whereas for Global Voices authors it means that they can take their time to craft a story. Some authors write up a post relatively fast, but most can afford to take a few hours, and some posts might even take days to write, if research and translation is included. Most authors appreciate taking the extra time because it allows for more careful writing. One Lingua editor for example commented:

we publish 3-4 post each day, weekend included, and beside carefully editing each of them there are many emails to take care of, comments, double-checking or fixing technicalities, etc. - I think in general much better having no rush ;) (sic) (internal communication, April 2, 2009)

Another author suggested that time was needed to write appropriately and carefully:

Pretty much all of my posts are on delicate subject matters, [..][that] needs to be written, re-written, and reviewed yet again to make sure I receive maximum balance while at the same time honoring the voice of my blogosphere (internal communication, April 1, 2009)

The deadline as straightjacket seems less relevant for Global Voices authors. This has several reasons. Perhaps most significant, the internet makes the need for a deadline obsolete. There is no rush to finalize a story before a particular time. Global Voices authors feel less pressure to be the first to report on a story, because unlike professional news organizations, it is fairly unique in what it does and has no strict direct competitors. Even if there were to be competitors, it might not matter as much, because Global Voices is not a commercial organization. Losing out on an exclusive news story does not carry a high cost in terms of loss of advertising (they don't have any) or loss of sales (their content is not-for-profit). That is not to say that Global Voices does not aim to be timely - there are exceptions. As one author commented:

sometimes i write posts for less than an hour. only during breaking news. and only when there are enough blog quotes, reactions. Then I will follow it up with a post with more content the following day (internal communication, April 1, 2009)

In other words, in cases of breaking news and major events, authors are asked to step up and get a post out quickly. But the day-in, day-out pressure of the deadline is certainly less of a factor, and more an exception than the norm with Global Voices.

In the previous section, I discussed the virtual news beat as a practice that offers the Global Voices authors the capacity to survey the landscape while remaining relatively inclusive. After monitoring but before actual publication, another process takes place: news selection, the practice where authors choose the stories they are going to write about. Schlesinger (1978) raised the question of technology in regard to news values and argued that certain media emphasize some values more than other types of media, a question worth raising again in the light of the internet. How do journalists, based on a combination of cultural, organizational and individual values, judge which events are newsworthy? How do new technologies affect this practice?

Talking to editors and volunteers of Global Voices, one might get the idea that there are no specific rules. People volunteer and write what they are interested in and want to write about. But as an organization and a community that is gathered together to achieve a common goal, there are underlying principles and values, born out of a philosophy of hospitality, that all participants share. On a pragmatic level, the philosophy of hospitality translates into specific

newsroom practices that influence and inform how Global Voices decides what stories and voices to pay attention to and write about. Critical to Global Voices culture is the belief in the individual or personal connection, leading to a predisposition towards blogs and other citizen media. Another important principle of Global Voices is its insistence on its role as being complementary to other media, an intervention to mitigate what it sees as "improper representation" in the mainstream media. The types of content can be broadly categorized into stories and voices.

Proper Stories: This is What Bloggers Care About

Global Voices writes stories that cover topics that are getting massive attention within a local or regional blogosphere, but that might not get much coverage elsewhere. Many have argued for the importance of understanding the role that the media play in bringing distant events to our attention (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone, 2007). Silverstone has argued that the media are a space of appearance, but the logic of professional journalism presents certain distortions in this space. I refer to this as the problem of "improper representation", which can be further distinguished in a lack of proper stories and proper voices.

The 2009 political struggles in Madagascar is an example of a story that suffers from improper representation. In January 2009, a power struggle between then-president Marc Ravalomanana and Andry Rajoelina started a

crisis. People mobilized and protested, escalating into violence. It was a messy and complex situation that displayed all of the typical elements that, according to professional news values, makes it hard to get coverage in the Western mainstream media. The struggle requires a high level of contextualization, it is an enduring and structural issue that is not event-oriented, and there are no clear bad or good protagonists (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) For the most part, the global public lacks the mental schemas to make sense of any news about Madagascar. In the past, it is unlikely that the Madagascar crisis would have gotten any timely coverage. However, bloggers and citizen journalists are now increasingly able to influence the agenda:

> *foreign mainstream media started reporting the Malagasy crisis only from January 25th with the first deadly protests (arson etc..) while the Foko bloggers were already buzzing with the suspicious series of prison breaks on January 9th (2 weeks before hand) (Lova Rakotomalala, internal discussion, October 7, 2009)*

Similarly, David Sasaki (2009), the outreach director of Global Voices, wrote:

> *Long before the mainstream media reported any political tension in Madagascar, Lova Rakotomalala linked to two Malagasy bloggers covering a rally protesting President Marc Ravalomanana's decision to close the national television and radio stations run by Andry Rajoelina, the opposition leader and mayor of Antananarivo*

Lova Rakotomalala is a contributor to Foko and Global Voices. Foko is a non-profit organization started by four bloggers from Madagascar. They are a grantee from Rising Voices, the outreach arm of Global Voices that through a micro-grant

competition aims to "help bring new voices from new communities and speaking new languages to the global conversation by providing resources and funding to local groups reaching out to underrepresented communities." Foko provided citizen journalism training and have played an important role in raising awareness for Madagascar, addressing issues of improper representation. According to the outreach director of Global Voices (Sasaki, 2009), the role of Foko reveals the importance of:

> *1.) citizen journalism training programs, 2.) the translation and contextualization of local content for a global audience, and 3.) networks of media groups so that local voices can be amplified and understood when breaking news hits.*

There are many stories Global Voices covers which are similar to this one. As Rakotomalala (2009) stresses:

> *All other 220 authors/translators at Global Voices Online are doing the exact same thing. The goal is to explain and shine a light on regions and issues that may be underexposed. That philosophy is what drives most of us to twitter and to other platforms.*

These are "proper stories", stories that aim to address issues of improper representation. They are often stories that get extensive attention in a particular region, but are otherwise ignored in other parts of the world. They are the kind of stories Global Voices author seek out, select and filter for, with the goal to improve representation.

Proper Voices: This is What Bloggers Have To Say About It

From the perspective of Global Voices, most global issues generally get enough attention, but often lack important voices. In other words, it not only matters that the right stories are told. It also matters how the stories are being told - who the voices are that tell the stories and on what terms they tell the stories.

Global Voices believes that local voices, the people themselves, are just as capable, if not better, in telling the story. A key example was the Danish Muhammed cartoons incident. In late 2005, a Danish newspaper published twelve editorial cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammed, arguing the publication was intended to start a debate on the Islam and self-censorship. Newspapers around the world soon reprinted the cartoons. Seen as a provocation, this led to an outrage of Muslims across the world and escalated into violence, including the setting of fires in Danish embassies in Syria, Lebanon and Iran.

The Danish Muhammed cartoons incident was a complex issue of global contention, polarizing to the point that the different parties were often unable to understand the perspectives of others, or recognize their legitimacy. Badran (2006), a Global Voices author, reported a Syrian blogger's belief that the conflict was in large part due to ignorance on both sides, a situation exacerbated by the inadequacy of the media:

> *We, the rational, should work together to show the world that there's more to Arabs than what they see on television. If I learned anything from the cartoon fiasco, it's that our views, beliefs and culture are not*

well known to the west. I think this whole situation could have been prevented if there wasn't much ignorance on both sides of the table.

He quoted another Syrian blogger who emphasized:

[..] it's necessary and very crucial for the rest of the world to understand that these actions do not, I repeat, do not in anyway reflect what the Syrian people really believe, or at least what the elite in here believe.

Naseem Tarawnah (2006), a colleague Global Voices author, added in another blog post:

[..] international media has focused primarily on the violent voices of a few Arab and Muslim mobs around the world, many Arab bloggers are indeed angry with the reactions of their countrymen and particularly the economic boycotts.

Regardless how valid the criticism that international media only focused on the violent voices of a few Muslim voices was, there was a strong belief and perception among Global Voices as a community that the media did not do justice to the complexity and diversity of viewpoints in this debate. To illustrate the complexity in perspectives on this issue, a Global Voices blog post (Al Assi, 2006) highlighted a warning from a blogger from Jordan:

A warning to my own people: this mentality of self-victimization and cultural sensitivity leads to dangerous places. Atrocities committed against ones own and others seem to always be preceded by such a conviction in victimhood.

Global Voices selects voices with the purpose to increase hospitality, to allow for a wider range of diversity and greater complexity of perspectives in the media. On the Danish Muhammed cartoons, other posts by Global Voices authors continued to show the wide range of perspectives among the bloggers in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Chechnya, Jordan, Syria, Morocco, Singapore, South Asia and other regions.

Perhaps a word of caution at this point. I have argued that Global Voices selects stories and voices based on what it thinks will make for a more proper representation. However, the distinction between what is proper and improper, what ought to be included and what not, is not always so clear, even within the Global Voices community. A recurring discussion is whether the original exclusion of the United States and Western-Europe (still) makes sense. The initial argument for excluding the US and Western-Europe was that these countries were already well-represented in global media and that they did not need more attention. Over time, this sentiment changed. When this discussion was brought up at the 2008 Summit in Budapest, a third of the room was vehemently against, another third was not sure and the last third was in favor of including more voices from the US and Western-Europe. Among those in favor, one member argued:

> *Just because certain bloggers from certain communities are based in Western countries does not mean they are represented in the media. (internal communication, July 20, 2008)*

She pointed out that so many topics are transnational and cross-border that exclusion based on geographic territoriality does not make sense:

> *There are so many issues that cut across borders (climate change, for example) that we should be linking voices that aren't being heard by mainstream media no matter where they exist. I don't think we can assume simply because there's a ton of media in North America or Western Europe that somehow they are doing a good job of reflecting voices of all communities within their own countries (internal communication, July 20, 2008)*

What followed from the discussion was a pragmatic conclusion that the principle of excluding the US and Western-Europe was not set in stone, and that perhaps it would make sense to start experimenting with their inclusion. As one member stated:

> *I do think, however, that allowing ourselves to be flexible is common sense, and that we should begin (or continue?) implementing this flexible approach on a case-by-case basis (internal communication, July 20, 2008)*

As I illustrated earlier, the contentious character of this principle was ultimately reflected in the change in the mission statement, from:

> *Global Voices seeks to amplify, curate and aggregate the global conversation online - with a focus on countries and communities outside the U.S. and Western Europe.*

to:

> *Global Voices aggregates, curates, and amplifies the global conversation online – shining light on places and people other media often ignore*

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Another case in which the distinction between proper and improper was not clear to begin with was the Voices Without Votes Project. Global Voices created Voices Without Votes in collaboration with Reuters, in order to "offer a voice of those who couldn't vote in the [2008] U.S. presidential election to those who could." Throughout history, the American press generally covers the US presidential elections in a "by Americans, for Americans" way. But times have changed: the US presidential election is becoming increasingly globally relevant, and people around the world have opinions about which candidate is best, although they are not eligible to vote. Yet, the project did not receive unequivocal support initially, as the following statement from Zuckerman (2008) on his blog indicates:

> *Sick of the US election dominating all media coverage? Dreaming of a future date, perhaps two weeks away, when it's possible that headlines won't feature Sarah Palin?*
>
> *You could always turn to international news, where the question seems to be, "What does the rest of the world think about the US election?"*
>
> *In other words, "Enough about me, what do you think of me?"*
>
> *That was more or less my response some months ago when some of the Global Voices team came to me and suggested we try to cover the US elections through the eyes of the developing world.*

However, despite Zuckerman's initial reservations about the project, moving forward and experimenting with it paid off, as he stated that "it's been one of our most successful projects and one that I'm now inordinately proud of" (Zuckerman, 2008).

Global Voices believes it is critical to show that there is a complex and wide range of opinions and perspectives on issues of global interest that are often left out in the mainstream media. These proper voices are seen as crucial to mitigate improper representation. Selecting and filtering for proper stories and proper voices are two tactics Global Voices authors employ to address issues of improper representation. Proper stories generally deal with local or national issues that have not reached the attention of the global audience yet. In contrast, proper voices relate to the practice of complementing stories, often global ones, that are already covered by other media, but which might lack perspectives deemed relevant or important by Global Voices.

Writing For More Than a Global Audience

Journalists write with particular audiences in mind. Assumptions about audiences shape news values and news selection (Golding & Elliott, 1979). Yet, little is known about how journalists imagine their audiences (Cottle, 2000b). The lack of understanding of audiences and readers, what Downing (2003) refers to as "the absent lure of the virtually known", is not just limited to professional journalists, but also includes alternative media. It is particularly striking in the case of alternative media since it insists on the importance of audience participation. What this section looks at is the audience as imagined by the Global Voices authors.

In principle, Global Voices intends to write for a global audience. In practice, a closer analysis reveals the existence of different imagined audiences. Each imagined audience presents its own set of challenges that influences which stories are told, and which frame and tone are used. It is important to adjust style and content to the person intended to read the text. The tone has to be appropriate, in terms of how much the reader knows about the topic and how much context is necessary. It also matters in the selection and filtering of stories, as some stories might be deemed too difficult, complex or too distant for the reader.

The challenge in writing for a global audience is to find a manageable way to write for the lowest common denominator. Audiences generally share a common cultural code, language or value system, but not necessarily so in the case of a global audience. Providing sufficient context becomes crucial, especially when the topic is foreign or international news. Context is necessary - although not always sufficient - when cultural discrepancies and gaps exist between the reader and the topic covered. In the words of Solana Larsen, the managing editor of Global Voices:

> *You need to imagine my grandmothers in Puerto Rico AND in Denmark are reading your posts and still understand everything that is going on. (internal communication, May 15, 2008)*

She continued:

We need to be better at explaining even the most obvious things and repeating them in all our posts [..] . Nothing is obvious when you are communicating with people all around the world. Make sure you've got the "When", "What", "Where", "Why" totally down in EVERY post. (internal communication, May 15, 2008)

Her comment clearly outlines the importance of context when writing for a global audience. Context is necessary, but unfortunately not sufficient, as one member suggested:

Absolutely, I do think about "international audience" when picking stuff to translate, and, unfortunately, there are stories that I choose not to cover on GV because of the assumption that our readers lack the knowledge and background necessary for understanding some of the issues (internal communication, November 3, 2009)

Facing the ambiguity of writing for a global audience, Global Voices authors have developed and employ different methods to deal with this challenge. One practical method is narrowing or specializing the imagined audience, to focus on topics people might be interested in or issues that are cross-border or transnational:

I don't believe that you can really write for a "global" audience, because there is no such thing really. It's probably better to think about who would be interested in particular stories/themes in particular places. [..] The topics which tended to work well were areas where there was a theme of common cross-border interest. [..] Toward the end I actually consciously started thinking in terms of an audience of people interested in [a specific topic], since that helped focus my selection and since I knew that audience actually *existed* (internal communication, November 3, 2009)

The difficulty of writing for a global audience is that there is little shared code, language or cultural cues to fall back on. Certain topics might simply not be of interest or hard to understand and journalists select their stories accordingly (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Gans, 1979). In addition, it is not always easy to gauge which topics gather the most interest. Comments are one way of measuring interest, but not entirely reliable or representative. Another way is through website traffic analysis: the managing editor posts so-called "traffic reports" on the internal mailing list to notify the community which posts got the most visits, which websites referred and linked to Global Voices the most, and which keywords were most frequently used by people who found Global Voices through search engines.

The mainstream media is an important audience of Global Voices. It is an indirect audience, because they do not directly write with them in mind. However, getting a story into the mainstream media is considered a reward for the hard work and an achievement of both the individual author and Global Voices. They are often celebrated on the internal mailing lists, where the community members congratulate the individual author for its achievement. One member was praised for getting mentioned in the Wall Street Journal: "Congrats, it pays to work hard and at a great site like GVO!!" (internal communication, March 15, 2009). Another member mentions again how the mainstream media attention itself is a pay-off:

My sincere congratulations for an excellent coverage and for well-deserved mainstream media attention. [..] Anyway, I am fundamenally (sic) happy that all the voluntary man- (or women-) hours put down on GV, every once in a while pays out somehow, in other ways than being part of you bunch (a reward in itself, though) (internal communication, November 27, 2008)

The Global Voices stories that make it into the mainstream media are publicly honored and remembered through the media archive, where each story is listed and linked to. As of February 14, 2010, there are over 245 articles listed in the media archive. The archive not only has the function of giving form to the public memory, but is a way of tracking to what extent Global Voices has influence. It serves as a useful metric to show funders and partners:

The reason we collect media mentions is to keep track of our influence worldwide. It's not only because we are curious and proud, but because it's something we always include in funding applications. [..] Funders and partners are very impressed when we can show mainstream media links to BBC, NY Times, etc. And it's also useful for us to track how our influence grows over time (internal communication, June 17, 2009)

Besides a global audience and the mainstream media, Global Voices authors also write for their peers and other community members, not unlike mainstream professional journalists (Darnton, 1975). It is hard to write if you cannot imagine the audience, yet most audiences are faceless. As Darnton (1975) points out, the advantage of writing for your peers is both knowing who you write for and having the certainty that they will be interested in reading it. Global Voices authors are no exception; they often find their articles translated by colleagues from Lingua, the translation arm of Global Voices. A direct compliment is one way to

encourage or reward an author, but getting a post translated is perhaps an even more valuable compliment: "We [..] are already preparing ourselves to translate your article on the issue!" (internal communication, March 3, 2009). The Author Guideline furthermore states: "Everyone loves seeing their posts translated and featured on the Today on GV Lingua daily newsletter". To highlight the importance of a translation, the Author Guideline provides suggestions on how to write a post appealing to translators; amongst other tips, it stresses the need to be succinct, provide context and minimize ambiguity.

In principle, Global Voices authors write for a global audience. In practice, there are several imagined audiences authors write for, including audiences based around topical interest or geographical region, but also colleagues, translators and, last but not least, the mainstream media. Each audience brings different challenges and imposes specific demands on the selection and filtering of stories as well as the framing and writing style. One challenge that is common across all audiences, however, is the demand for sufficient context and background information.

Conclusion

Inquiries into journalistic routines concluded that representation in the news is shaped by the social organization of news work. Routines of mainstream professional journalism inevitably led to a privileging of authoritative, institutional and resource rich bureaucracies over marginal, radical, minority or

citizen voices, or so the argument went. However, routines are neither timeless nor set in stone. Instead, they are created as a solution to a particular problem in a specific historical context. Technological constraints and institutional culture shape the logic of the solution. For example, the printing press and objectivity have been key elements that informed the production logic of mainstream professional journalism. Production logic often becomes institutionalized over time, suggesting that new technologies by themselves will not lead to a rethinking or renewal of the production logic. Thus, the routine of the deadline continues to persist even though there is no longer a strict technical need for it anymore. Studies continue to show how existing mainstream professional newsrooms feel captive in the face of new technologies. New technologies are necessary, but not sufficient to allow for improvements in production logic. What about changes in institutional culture? Findings indicate they alone do not necessarily lead to improvements in production logic either. Alternative media might have different objectives than professional mainstream journalism, but pragmatic constraints of time and labor similarly force them to rely on routines that end up reifying certain voices over others.

Newsrooms are transformative when they rethink production logic in the face of both new technologies and different institutional cultures. Production logic is embedded in and driven by both technologies and institutions that act as enabling constraints. Thus, it is necessary to take into account the philosophy embedded in the institutional culture to understand the technological changes of

transformative newsrooms. For example, Indymedia is a transformative newsroom that follows a philosophy of independence and openness, and as a result rejects many journalistic routines. In contrast, Global Voices is also a transformative newsroom, but one that follows a philosophy of hospitality, whose production logic includes an appropriation of news monitoring and selection routines, designed as an intervention to ameliorate the level of improper representation in the mainstream media.

Global Voices has designed and institutionalized newsroom routines of hospitality, including the virtual news beat that explicitly scans for and monitors new voices. Unlike the mainstream media, or even Indymedia, it listens for silences, and selects with two categories of content in mind, what I have referred to as proper stories and proper voices. A proper story is generally one that a local or regional blogosphere cares deeply about, but that has gotten little recognition elsewhere, whereas proper voices point towards stories that are already in the global imagination, but that lack a certain range of perspectives deemed important and relevant by Global Voices. Also unlike Indymedia, it explicitly seeks collaborations and partnerships with the mainstream media. This is not just an odd partnership, but I argue, it is consistent with its philosophy to build a larger media system of hospitality.

Though research indicates that journalistic routines inevitably lead to improper representation and the radical alternative solution has been to do away with monitoring and selection altogether, Global Voices represents a break of this

dichotomy. It re-appropriates and transforms journalistic practices by embracing specific features of the internet, allowing for fuller representation and more hospitality in the news.

	technology	cultural convention
professional journalism	printing press	objectivity
adaptive newsroom	internet	objectivity
transformative newsrooms	internet	Indymedia: openness Global Voices: hospitality

4.1 technology and cultural convention of newsrooms

The reconciliation of journalistic routines with a fuller representation is to a large extent made possible by the internet. Technological advances have made it cost-efficient to run and coordinate a large and global team of volunteers. Compared to the relatively more costly model of having a foreign bureau with paid staff, Global Voices is able to cover a wider area for less cost. The virtual nature of the Global Voices news beat ends up less restrictive than the regular news beat of mainstream journalism. The internet made it possible to transform the monitoring process by 1) lowering the barrier to inclusion, increasing the

quantity of voices one can monitor 2) developing tools that make it easier to track and monitor a large number of voices; more importantly, changing the restrictive consequences of the news beat through changes in 3) the nature and relevance of the deadline and 4) the nature of staff from paid to volunteers. There is less pressure to constantly produce content, allowing more time to craft a story properly and to explore sources that are less well-known.

Ultimately, there is not one production logic that is best for representation, and different ideas exist on what is the best way to achieve this goal. Mainstream professional journalism believes that a truthful representation of society is best achieved through the provision of accurate, impartial and objective information. In contrast, alternative media believe that the better solution is the inclusion of a wide array of perspectives, enabled through direct participation. For a long time, there was also a strong belief that the two were mutually exclusive. Instead, I suggest that both are necessary, but on their own, neither are sufficient. Instead of alternative or oppositional media, it is more appropriate to think of Global Voices as complementary media built around a philosophy of hospitality. It believes that good conversation is the foundation for truthful representation, which requires both objective information and inclusive participation.

5. New Technologies and the Culture of Journalism

Great citizen journalism is like the imagined Northwest Passage—it has to exist in order to prove that citizens can learn about public life without the mediation of professionals. But when one reads it, after having been exposed to the buildup, it is nearly impossible not to think, This is what all the fuss is about?

Nicholas Lemann (2006) wrote an essay titled "Amateur Hour" several years ago in *The New Yorker* where he assesses the impact of the internet on journalism, and judging from the title and the quote above, he was not very impressed. He argued how the internet is at best good for the contribution of "pure" opinion, but that this was nothing new because we had pamphleteers in the 17th century "and their influence was far greater .. than what anybody on the Internet has yet achieved". His advice for those who think bloggers can replace (professional) journalists? Well, think again.

Lemann's (2006) defensive stance suggests that the crisis in journalism is not only economic, but also cultural in nature. He holds new technologies responsible for opening the gates to waves of bloggers, who are supposed to replace professional journalists, but which he considers marginal and irrelevant at best. He makes a clear distinction between professional journalists and bloggers, defending the former, which he sees as able to produce factual "quality" reporting, while dismissing the latter, good only for "pure" opinion. In his (somewhat dismissive) words:

the content of most citizen journalism will be familiar to anybody who has ever read a church or community newsletter—it's heartwarming and it probably adds to the store of good things in the world, but it does not mount the collective challenge to power which the traditional media are supposedly too timid to take up.

Journalists are an interpretive community, and through discourse they legitimate their own existence (Zelizer, 1993). New technologies introduce to the community "immigrants" with different values, who not only refuse to assimilate, but even challenge and question the original values of the community, or so Lemann's argument goes. Lemann is, of course, the Dean of the Columbia Journalism School. In this role it is not surprising that, in the face of threats, he feels the need to defend and justify the worth of professional journalism. Lemann offers one particular perspective - that of professional journalism - to a story that has various sides, each offering a different answer to the question of how new technologies affect the cultural organization of journalism and why it matters.

This chapter compares three cases - the adaptive newsroom, Indymedia and Global Voices. It starts with a discussion of the culture of professional journalism. It then looks at the impact of new technologies on the cultural organization of journalism; first, through an examination of the culture of the adaptive newsroom, existing newsrooms that are making the transition to the digital world; second, through an analysis of the cultures of two transformative newsrooms, Indymedia and Global Voices. Following Zelizer (2005b), it analyzes culture through three questions: 1) What is the culture of journalism? 2) Who inhabits it? and 3) What is it for?

"Culture" has many definitions. According to Zelizer (Zelizer, 2005b, p. 200), the culture of journalism refers to "a complex and multidimensional lattice of meanings". Citing Swidler (1986, p. 274), Zelizer suggests it is a "tool kit of symbols stories, rituals and world views, which people use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems". A cultural analysis involves an examination of the myths, symbols and narratives that journalists invoke and rely on to make sense of themselves. As Schudson (2001) suggests, it is also distinctly moral. Zelizer (1993) has argued that journalists - as interpretive communities -   negotiate amongst themselves to define what qualifies as journalism. This act of collective interpretation seeks to establish authority regarding which practices are legitimate. To understand the potential of the internet to transform journalism, it is crucial to examine the cultural organization of professional journalism first.

5.1 The Culture of Professional Journalism

> *To live up to its billing, Internet journalism has to meet high standards both conceptually and practically: the medium has to be revolutionary, and the journalism has to be good. (Lemann, 2006)*

If the internet is to live up to its potential to improve journalism, according to Lemann (2006), it has "to meet high standards" and "the journalism has to be good". What, then, is good journalism? Perhaps more importantly, who gets to

decide what the standards are that define good journalism? And what is good journalism for? To Lemann, these are perhaps rhetorical questions; questions that do not need to be re-examined even in the face of new technologies. After all, he suggests that:

> *although the medium has great capabilities, especially the way it opens out and speeds up the discourse, it is not quite as different from what has gone before as its advocates are saying.*

Here I disagree with him. The internet is not only a "medium" that changes the way news "opens out" or that "speeds up the discourse". To understand the current crisis the culture of journalism is in, it is insufficient to see the internet as only a "medium" or "tool" that journalists use. Indeed, it is necessary to understand the internet as culture.

The internet is a symbolic system with its own narratives, myths and values - its own structures of authority that dictate how knowledge and information ought to be produced and distributed. As such, the internet challenges professional journalism not only because it alters the economic organization of production, or because it changes the routines and practices of the newsroom, but because it also confronts the cultural organization of professional journalism. Over the years, professional journalism has become the dominant paradigm of what constitutes "journalism". It is this paradigm that is now in need in repair because of new technologies.

What follows is a discussion of how new technologies impact the cultural organization of professional journalism, focusing on objectivity as its key organizing principle. That is not to say that all professional journalists necessarily believe in objectivity. However, the claim to objectivity in times of crisis when it functions as a form of paradigm repair remains important (Reese, 1990; Berkowitz, 2000). In other words, it is important because it is used normatively by the community of professional journalists to legitimize and contrast their work against others. Furthermore, this is not an attempt to discuss the role of objectivity in journalism in a comprehensive manner. Instead, it has to be seen as a part of a comparative study of the impact of new technologies on different practices of journalism, one that seeks to contrast objectivity against other organizing principles, notably intersubjectivity and hospitality. Admittedly, it is not possible to do justice to the rich complexities that constitute the world of professional journalism; one way I attempt to alleviate this is through the inclusion of foreign correspondence, to show that objectivity exists on a continuum even among professional journalists, rather than suggesting it is a universal belief equally adopted and strongly believed in by all journalists.

The Practices and Beliefs of Professional Journalism

Objectivity is the dominant cultural norm in professional journalism. As John Soloski (1989, p. 213) argued, "objectivity is the most important professional norm". I follow Schudson's (2001) definition of norms as obligations or "moral

prescriptions for social behavior". How did objectivity become the dominant norm in professional journalism? Schudson (2001) suggests that a technological or economic explanation for the rise of objectivity is not adequate, but that it instead demands a cultural analysis. The technological explanation argues that objectivity was the result of the invention of the telegraph, which itself demanded a terse, concise and factual writing style; the economic explanation suggests that objectivity was a business strategy for newspapers in the late nineteenth century to reach the broadest audience possible, which meant having to abandon political partisanship. Schudson believes neither the technological nor the economic explanation explains fully why objectivity became the dominant norm. Instead, he suggests that objectivity arose because there was a need for social cohesion and control.

Objectivity achieves social cohesion and control in two ways. Internally, it functions as a moral and symbolic code that is shared by all participants in the journalistic community. It encourages solidarity and functions as a ritual for celebration. Externally, it provides community members a way to identify and mark outsiders. Historically, the development of objectivity was critical for journalists to distinguish themselves from the rise of the PR (public relations) industry and the increasing number of PR specialists. In an attempt to gain respect and prestige, "nothing was more threatening .. than the work of public relations" (Schudson, 2001, p. 161). In addition, objectivity is useful for social control, both across space and over time. Across space, it serves to exercise

control over subordinates. As the ranks of journalists grew, it became necessary to develop an organizational culture that was capable of and responsible for governing what was considered acceptable behavior. In other words, objectivity was a critical element in the institutionalization of journalism. Over time, it had the pedagogical function of allowing the community to regenerate itself by articulating formal rules that had moral force - rules that were handed down from one generation to the next. In other words, the development of objectivity was a normalization process in order to disengage threatening values and reassert professional journalistic routines (Reese, 1990) .

Objectivity shapes the perspective of journalists such that they see themselves as neutral transmitters of information, living in a world where facts can be distinguished from opinions. It organizes journalism in categories, for example between hard and soft news. More importantly, these categories are normative: hard news is what "real" journalism is considered to be about, whereas soft news is peripheral and not at the heart of what defines journalism. Alex Jones (2009) refers to the "iron core" of journalism. "Real" journalism is supposed to be solid, it is reliable and substantial, it is hard work. It is the antithesis of "soft" opinion. It is also a distinction journalists invoke in times of crisis, to mark themselves against "others". And again, this distinction is not merely about difference, but it is normative in nature as well. Not only are we not like "them", because we are objective, we are also "better" than them.

However, the distinction between facts and opinions, between hard and soft news cannot always be made so neatly. For example, Tuchman (1973) shows that the distinctions between hard and soft news are not so much rooted in the actual content, but rather arises out of a set of routines that seeks to make the daily production of news manageable. Zelizer (2004a) illustrates the tensions that arise when the "God" terms for the journalistic community - facts, truth and reality - are no longer sacred and can be questioned by outsiders who do not have the same firm belief in objectivity but instead have adopted a more relativist and subjective worldview where facts and opinions can not so easily be divided. The social cohesion argument suggests that objectivity is shared as the foundation for a moral code within the journalistic community, and used to mark outsiders who don't share it. But it is also too easy to assume that journalists all buy into the universality of the norm equally: objectivity as a norm breaks not only with outsiders, but even within certain parts of the journalistic community.

Objectivity is hard to maintain and often breaks down in the case of foreign correspondence. There are at least two reasons, proximity and context (Schudson, 2001). Proximity is a critical factor for social cohesion and control. The foreign correspondent, located by definition in a far-away and distant destination, has more leeway and greater freedom to play with objectivity norms. Context is another important factor that is in tension with objectivity. Again, it is the foreign correspondent that defies the objectivity norm here. Foreign news demands context - without it, the reader has no way of understanding the "facts".

Neither do the editors have the expertise or knowledge to supervise and second-guess foreign correspondents. Foreign correspondents enjoy more autonomy and less supervision as a result (Hess, 1996; Hannerz, 2004; Hess, 2005).

The distinction between domestic and foreign news is normative as well. It suggests that domestic is more important than foreign news. According to Schudson (2001, p. 164), "All journalism is ethnocentric, giving more attention to national news than foreign news." Furthermore, research suggests the news slants in favor of the home team when foreign news takes on a "us versus them" angle. For example, Nossek (2004) suggests that the more an issue or event aligns with national interest, the less objective reporting will be. In other words, the slant in foreign news coverage is generally found to be consistent with the foreign policy of the government (Entman, 1991; Hallin, 1994; Lee, Chan, Pan, & So, 2005).

The tension that exists between foreign news and objectivity raises the question of journalistic authority. At first sight, it appears that journalists rely on objectivity in order to claim authority; in contrast, news that is partisan or biased is considered less authoritative. Foreign news suggests that context and proximity are alternative, or even contending strategies to claim authority. A cultural analysis reveals that journalists claim authority using a wide array of tools at their disposable other than objectivity. Zelizer (1992) suggests that authority 1) emanates from context; 2) depends on collective memory and 3) depends on narrative. Furthermore, not unlike the foreign correspondent,

journalists in general claim proximity as a way to establish authority. Last, but certainly not least, journalist claim authority on the basis of successful use of technology: "Tales of technological mastery are .. crucial for revealing journalists as willing and able to manipulate the technology at hand in the name of professionalism" (Zelizer, 1992, p. 194).

The People of Professional Journalism

Who are included and who are excluded in the culture of professional journalism? Why do certain types of journalists seem to count less than others? For example, why are "*A Current Affair,* MTV's *The Week in Rock,* internet listservs, Jon Stewart, www.nakednews.com, reporters for the Weather Channel, and rap music" not included? (Zelizer, 2004b, p. 6) Furthermore, what kinds of people become journalists? The demographic makeup of the American journalist has remained fairly stable and homogenous over the years. Research continues to show that women and minorities are underrepresented amongst the ranks of journalists (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1991; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996; Weaver, 2007) and that foreign correspondents are no exception to this rule (Hess, 2005). To understand the question of who counts as journalists matters if we are to understand properly how journalism works in all its complexity, revealing who takes part in the production and legitimization of public knowledge.

The question "who inhabits the culture of journalists?" touches upon the importance of representation: who get to represent journalists, and in turn, what

publics do journalists represent? The question of representation is particularly pronounced in the case of foreign correspondents, who come to speak for countries or sometimes even whole continents. Alcoff (1991) suggests that the problem of representation - of speaking for others - arises from two sources, location and privilege. According to Alcoff (1991, p. 7):

> *First, there is a growing recognition that where one speaks from affects the meaning and truth of what one says, and thus that one cannot assume an ability to transcend one's [social] location. .. [Second, it] involves a recognition that .. certain privileged locations are discursively dangerous. In particular, the practice of privileged persons speaking for or on behalf of less privileged persons has actually resulted .. in increasing or reinforcing the oppression of the group spoken for.*

The problems of location and privilege often lead to the conclusion that "one can only speak for oneself" or, at best, the groups one is a member of. But this too raises problems: how are groups themselves delimited? The criterion of group identity raises issues in particular with those in the margins, who have mixed memberships in multiple, and sometimes conflicting groups. Furthermore, the problem of group delimitation does not address the issue of responsibility:

> *if I don't speak for those less privileged than myself, am I abandoning my political responsibility to speak out against oppression, a responsibility incurred by the very fact of my privilege? If I should not speak for others, should I restrict myself to following their lead uncritically? Is my greatest contribution to move over and get out of the way?* (Alcoff, 1991, p. 8)

The issue of representation is at heart one about authority. The criterion of social location or proximity matters because it grants authority: one cannot speak for

others if one is not (considered) part of that location. The issue of privilege is concerned with the consequences of authority, of taking responsibility for speaking on behalf of others. Hartley (2000) argues that professional journalists represent the public, but asks, given new technologies in hand, whether the current modes of representation can be improved. Efforts to reform journalism in terms of representation are not new; prior to the internet, there have been two attempts, one from inside the ranks of professional journalism and one from the outside, to improve issues of representation. From inside the ranks of professional journalism, public journalism sought to improve how professional journalists came to represent the public by rethinking its methods and practices. From the outside, alternative media take issue with the whole idea of representation and advocate for direct participation instead. Public journalism and alternative media raise questions about how authority is established, in other words, how professional journalists justify that they are best equipped to represent the public. They also raise questions about what journalists and journalism are for.

The Purpose of Professional Journalism

> *Journalism is another name for democracy or, better, you cannot have journalism without democracy (Carey, 1996)*

What is the purpose of professional journalism? According to Carey (1996), it is clearly aligned with democracy. His thesis is perhaps hyperbolic, definitely

normative, clearly not descriptive, but ultimately best understood as aspirational. Professional journalism claims to serve democracy in its capacity to provide information. If one accepts this, objectivity is a useful indicator of how well journalism is doing its job. It is useful, but clearly not adequate, since "few disciplines have been so caught in a tension between normative and empirical as has journalism" (Josephi, 2005, p. 575).

Not surprisingly, there is disagreement about how journalism can best serve democracy. Although "the most prevalent view of journalism focuses on its capacity to convey information" (Zelizer, 2005b, p. 208), it is certainly not the only view. Disagreements about what journalism is for have been around a long time; one of the most famous was that between John Dewey and Walter Lippmann in the 1920s (Carey, 1995; Rosen, 2001; Whipple, 2005; Schudson, 2008). The debate between Dewey and Lippmann brought to bear two different functions of journalism; Dewey promoted journalism as critical to facilitate communication, whereas Lippmann saw it as primarily for the provision of information. Lippmann emphasized the role of experts, and argued that it was unfair and unreasonable to expect the public to be capable of participating in journalism and democracy. In contrast, Dewey saw an important role for the public.

However, an important concept that remains unarticulated in the debate between Dewey and Lippmann is the definition of "democracy". A typical understanding of democracy sees it as "a form of government"; in this definition,

democracy is implicitly tied to the nation-state. The assumed connection between democracy and the nation-state raises the question "what foreign news is for?" If the function of journalism is to inform the citizenry so that they can make good decisions, why is there a need to learn about the rest of the world at all? Scholars have argued and examined the influence of foreign news on foreign policies (Entman, 1991; Baum, 2003; Entman, 2004). However valuable, this research still takes the relevance of journalism for democracy for granted, understood in terms of the nation-state as its unit of analysis. Bluntly put, other countries are irrelevant, unless they somehow get involved in our foreign policy. A word of caution: This is not another argument that the nation-state is obsolete. Like others, I argue that the nation-state remains an important concept and construct in our understanding of the world (Curran & Park, 2006). However, the linkage of news to the nation-state ignores that 1) not everybody and everything within the nation-state is relevant and 2) not everybody and everything outside the nation-state is irrelevant.

What is needed is a fuller definition of democracy that is divorced from the nation-state and broader than its narrow definition as a "form of government". Dewey's contributions are helpful. First, he argues that any understanding of democracy has to be dynamic, not static, that it has to be enacted and defined again in every generation; that a constant regeneration of democracy is necessary (Campbell, 1995, p. 177). He proposes to understand democracy as a "mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience", in order to recognize

"the moral sense of democracy as a way of living together", as "the idea of community life itself" (Campbell, 1995, pp. 177-178). He also warns us that it "has not been adequately realized in any country at any time"; that it has to be understood as an aspiration (Dewey & Boydston, 1990, p. 299).

New technologies and globalization invite us to rethink the relationship between journalism and democracy, and what it is for. A long body of research examines the normative implications of democracy as freed from the nation-state (Archibugi & Held, 1995; Held, 1995; Held, 1997; Dryzek, 2002; Bohman, 2004; Bohman, 2007), which indirectly also has implications for the purpose of journalism (Siebert, 1956; Blumler, MacLeod, & Rosengren, 1992; Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009). Before we move on to an analysis of how new technologies affect the relationship between journalism an democracy, let us first look at how they affect the culture of professional journalism.

5.2 The Culture of the Adaptive Newsroom

New technologies are transformative - and disruptive - when they force a culture to reevaluate the justification of its own values, principles and norms. One of the most disruptive media technologies has been the printing press; it is seen as responsible for putting the monks out of work who copied Bibles by hand, for challenging the authority of priests to interpret the Bible that was up until then only in Latin, and for a massive societal transformation from the Romantic era to

the Enlightenment (Eisenstein, 1980; Ong, 1996; Eisenstein, 2005). Similarly, the introduction of the penny press is seen as important for making the newspapers affordable, for the democratization of the news, and for a switch to objectivity in order to reach broader audiences (Schudson, 1978; , but also see Nerone, 1987). In this section, I examine how new technologies, in particular the internet, is affecting 1) the practices and beliefs of professional journalism; 2) the people of professional journalism and 3) the purpose of professional journalism.

The Practices and Beliefs of the Adaptive Newsroom

> *Imagine a sphere of pitted iron, grey and imperfect like a large cannonball. Think of this dense, heavy ball as the total mass of each day's serious reported news, the iron core of information that is at the center of a functioning democracy. This iron core is big and unwieldy, reflecting each day's combined output of all the professional journalism done by news organizations— newspapers, radio and television news, news services such as the Associated Press and Reuters, and a few magazines (Jones, 2009).*

Alex Jones, the Director of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, fears that professional journalism - the iron core of democracy - is being hollowed out. He believes new technologies play a complex but important role in this crisis; first, economically and socially, but more importantly, also in a cultural way, because "it is a crisis of diminishing quantity and quality, of morale and sense of mission, of values and leadership" (Jones, 2009, p. xviii). New technologies also have yet to produce a culture that can replace professional journalism. According to Lemann (2006):

> *But none of that yet rises to the level of a journalistic culture rich enough to compete in a serious way with the old media—to function as a replacement rather than an addendum.*

In the face of new technologies, Lemann sees the need to defend the culture of professional journalism and argues it is "richer" and "more serious". Popkin (2007) suggests that the invocation of the importance of hard news as the iron core of democracy is a form of "cultural protectionism". Cultural protectionism is necessary when new entrants appear on the horizon and are perceived as a threat, especially when they appear in big numbers:

> *According to a study published last month by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, there are twelve million bloggers in the United States, and thirty-four per cent of them consider blogging to be a form of journalism. That would add up to more than four million newly minted journalists just among the ranks of American bloggers. If you add everyone abroad, and everyone who practices other forms of Web journalism, the profession must have increased in size a thousandfold over the last decade.* (Lemann, 2006)

The problems of professional journalism to deal with new technologies have been widely documented; its defensive stance suggests that it feels its journalistic authority is under threat (Singer, 2003; Deuze, 2005; Singer, 2005; Deuze et al., 2007; Singer, 2007; Deuze, 2009). Questions of "who is a journalist", "what is journalism" and "what is good journalism" become normative questions that function as boundaries to separate "us" from "them"; not unlike more than a hundred years ago, when the objectivity norm was instated to defend against the

rise of the public relations industry (Schudson, 2001). Similar attempts are undertaken now, as Jones (Jones, 2009, p. 81) asks:

> *But what is good journalism? What makes journalism good? Everyone would agree on accuracy. For most consumers of news, the next requirement would be lack of bias: journalism should be fair and balanced. More than two-thirds of us say we preferred getting news from sources without "a particular point of view," according to a 2007 poll by the Project for Excellence in Journalism.*

But are the differences that pronounced? Is it really that professional journalism is important because it provides the iron core, the hard news, whereas journalism on the internet is good only for "pure" opinion? How well does the dichotomy hold? Research on the cultures of journalism have shown that the practices of "other" types of journalism often are not so much unlike those of professional journalism. For example, Bird (1990) has shown how tabloid journalists employ similar techniques to establish authority and credibility for their stories.

An alternative way to think about the culture of professional journalism is not to ask what it is *for*, but instead to consider journalists as being *in* a culture. As Zelizer (2005b, p. 208) suggests, it is to see journalists not only as relayers of information but as producers of culture:

> *In this regard, journalists impart preference statements about what is good and bad, moral and amoral, and appropriate and inappropriate in the world, and their preference statements implicitly or explicitly shape the news.*

In other words, it is useful to see journalists as part of the culture to which they report, as well as in which they report. The two are not distinct but related, as journalists see the need to articulate a normative and moral code to justify their work, especially in times of crisis or to distinguish themselves from others (Zelizer, 1993; Schudson, 2001). Lemann's (2006) downplay of the internet, blogs and citizen journalism as a credible threat seeks to legitimate the culture of professional journalism and ultimately is an exercise in paradigm repair (Zelizer, 1993; Berkowitz, 2000). The tensions between the role of experts and a more inclusive democracy is a long-standing problem, a debate that goes back to Dewey and Lippmann. The internet makes this debate relevant again by introducing newcomers to the journalistic ranks. In the next section, I look at these newcomers and how they are changing he culture of professional journalism.

The People of the Adaptive Newsroom

One of the endless arguments now taking place in journalism circles is about how to define what a journalist is. Anyone can write something and send it into the world—indeed, send it around the world—via the Web. But is that journalism? Not to me. It is not journalism when someone uses a cell phone camera to capture a brutal crime or to catch a celebrity in an embarrassing moment. That's taking a picture. Nor is it journalism as I define it when people on the scene in natural disasters or war zones give first- hand accounts of what they see. It is valuable firsthand testimony, but it is not journalism. (Jones, 2009, p. 194)

And yet journalism is anything but universal: we need only recognize that Dan Rather, Matt Drudge, and Jon Stewart -- a professional

broadcast journalist, an Internet scoopster and columnist, and a popular television satirist -- all convey authentic news of contemporary affairs to a general public all convey authentic news of contemporary affairs to a general public, despite the questions raised about whether they are all journalist and do journalism." (Zelizer, 2005a, p. 67)

New technologies have made it radically easier for people other than professional journalists to practice what are called "random acts of journalism" (Lasica, 2003). The phrase "acts of journalism" acknowledges the idea that not everybody might be a "journalist", but that nevertheless others can perform journalistic acts as well. The internet has enabled a "long tail" of journalistic practices: acts that are small and in the large scale of democracy perhaps insignificant, but that nevertheless matter for the people themselves and their communities. These are acts that previously were not impossible, but have become much easier to accomplish. Just as the remote has radically changed the way television is being watched, so has the internet changed the way news is shared and created:

Some 37% of internet users have contributed to the creation of news, commentary about it, or dissemination of news via social media. They have done at least one of the following: commenting on a news story (25%); posting a link on a social networking site (17%); tagging content (11%), creating their own original news material or opinion piece (9%), or Tweeting about news (3%). (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2010, p. 4)

The report also suggests that more than 8 in 10 online news consumers get or share links in emails (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2010, p. 2). Or in the (somewhat disparaging) words of Lemann (2006): "On the Internet, everybody is a millenarian". What he ignores is that the internet brings in people who

previously did not have the same kind of access to participate in journalism. In other words, the internet has not only made it easier to participate in journalism, but the people who participate are also from different demographics compared to professional journalists:

> *The blogging population is young, evenly split between women and men, and racially diverse (Lenhart & Fox, 2006, p. ii).*

Findings suggest that in particular people who are otherwise marginalized in the mainstream find their way through the internet:

> *Another distinguishing characteristic is that bloggers are less likely to be white than the general internet population. Sixty percent of bloggers are white, 11% are African American, 19% are English-speaking Hispanic and 10% identify as some other race. By contrast, 74% of internet users are white, 9% are African American, 11% are English-speaking Hispanic and 6% identify as some other race. (Lenhart & Fox, 2006, p. ii).*

These 2006 findings are consistent four years later with 2010 findings, also compiled by Pew (2010, p. 62):

> *The typical online news participator is white, 36 years-old, politically moderate and Independent, employed full-time with a college degree and an annual income of $50,000 or more.*
>
> *Interestingly, while white adults make up the bulk of the online news participator population, black internet users are significantly more likely to be news participators than their white and Hispanic counterparts.*
>
> *Almost half of black internet users (47%) are news participators, compared with just 36% of white internet users and 33% of Hispanic internet users.*

What is interesting are two trends that seemingly might seem at odds with each other at first. One, the "typical" online news participator remains elitist: white, highly educated with an above-average income. But second, Black minorities continue to find the internet useful, more so than white or Hispanic users, supporting the hypothesis that groups marginalized by the mainstream media find an outlet on the internet.

A crucial difference that warrants attention is one between having a voice and being heard. It might be easier for minorities to have a voice but that does not necessarily mean that they are heard. As someone critical of the internet, Hindman (2009, p. 17) suggests that "on the Internet, the link between the two is weaker than it is in almost any other area of political life." He continues to argue that:

> *While it is true that citizens face few formal barriers to posting their views online, this is openness in the most trivial sense. From the perspective of mass politics, **we care most not about who posts but about who gets read**—and there are plenty of formal and informal barriers that hinder ordinary citizens' ability to reach an audience. Most online content receives no links, attracts no eyeballs, and has minimal political relevance. Again and again, this study finds powerful hierarchies shaping a medium that continues to be celebrated for its openness. This hierarchy is structural, woven into the hyperlinks that make up the Web; it is economic, in the dominance of companies like Google, Yahoo! and Microsoft; and it is social, in the small group of white, highly educated, male professionals who are vastly overrepresented in online opinion (Hindman, 2009, pp. 18-19, emphasis mine, LT)*

What Hindman (2009) suggests is that professional journalists - a small group of white, highly educated, male professionals - are battling with A-list bloggers -

also a small group of white, highly educated, male professionals. According to Hindman, the notion of the internet as a digital democracy is clearly a myth. Is he right? I argue his arguments are persuasive but that they nevertheless overlook a few critical issues.

First, what Hindman ignores is the rest of the world. His study looks at the impact of the internet on democracy in the United States. It ignores the vast impact the internet has on media systems around the world that might not be as free as in the United States. In countries where the mainstream media is tightly controlled, the internet allows for a vibrancy that is not found elsewhere (Yang, 2009). And even in the United States, findings support that the internet allows (Black) minorities to participate to a larger extent than before.

Second, what Hindman downplays or ignores is the relevancy of the long tail. He suggests it only matters if one is being listened to by the mainstream. What he forgets is that the point of speaking might not always be to seek contact with the mainstream. Squires (2002) suggests there is important value in the facilitation of satellite-, enclave- or counter public spheres for minorities, safe spaces that allow minorities to develop comfort and capacity to participate in public discourse before they enter the mainstream. Furthermore, these safe spaces are not only a means to an end, but can be useful in themselves. Baker (1989) makes the important argument that freedom of speech is not only to create a more diverse marketplace of ideas; more importantly, it is also to

develop and strengthen personal autonomy because speech is a critical component for what it means to lead a fuller life.

Of course, Hindman's (2009) main argument still holds; it remains important whether new voices are being brought into the mainstream. Previous attempts to broaden the range of voices and reform journalism have been two-fold: alternative media and public journalism. For various reasons, they have been unable to affect meaningful change in the cultural organization of professional journalism; alternative media have been branded as "other", or indeed, as "alternative", whereas the critique against public journalism was that it still insisted on editorial control and refused to bring in the public for more meaningful participation in the production process (Schudson, 1999). In the case of the internet, online studies have shown so far that user participation remains marginal. According to Domingo et al. (2008, pp. 339-340): "the core journalistic culture remains largely unchanged ... as professionals retain the decision-making power at each stage of the news production process". In other words, it is important to speak, but also important to be listened to in a democracy. Yet attempts so far seem to be inconclusive at best, if not simply unsuccessful, including the latest attempts to do so that include the internet.

Confronted with new voices brought in by the internet, professional journalism has shown two strategies so far: exclusion and appropriation. Exclusion is the strategy where professional journalism as a community distinguishes itself clearly from the challengers, as it has done from the public

relations industry and alternative media in the past. Typical boundary markers have been objectivity/subjectivity, professionalism/amateurism, and hard/soft news, amongst others (Schudson, 2001; Singer, 2003; Deuze, 2005). Nevertheless, a cultural analysis reveals that these boundaries are often problematic and artificial. For example, the distinction between hard and soft news has long proven to be problematic (Tuchman, 1973; Delli Carpini & Williams, 2001). It also creates a dichotomy where hard news is seen as substantial and good for democracy, whereas soft news is entertainment and not very nutritional. However, Baum (2003) argued that most citizens learn about foreign places through soft news and quite adequately so. The second strategy is to assimilate or appropriate the "other" subculture. Attempts of news organizations to include user-generated content can be seen in this light, but are not always successful. As one online respondent commented on the use of reader's contributions:

> *... cultural differences remain between journalists and users. [She recommended] developing ways of allowing users to add more value to debate, rather than giving them a space that interpolates them as 'inferior' (or junior) journalists (Singer & Ashman, 2009, p. 13)*

A third scenario is when the dominant culture is incapable of control in every aspect. Instead, it chooses strategically what areas it gives up and what domains it insists on maintaining control over. Faced with an economic crisis, mainstream journalism has not been in the most optimal state to confront outsiders and challengers; instead it chooses to leave particular areas that are now being filled

by new entrants (Lowrey, 2006), with foreign news as an example that comes to mind (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004).

The Purpose of the Adaptive Newsroom

Do new technologies change the purpose of the culture of professional journalism? Should they? According to many professional journalists, what it means to do good journalism remains the same, regardless of technology. What will never change, they say, is the importance of a good story. That is not untrue, of course. Some professional journalists even recognize that the internet might be a great medium for storytelling:

> *Good journalism on the Web is a wondrous thing. Using all the tools that the Web offers—words, sound, video, links, limitless data, search, graphics, interactivity—has produced an intoxicating ferment of creative journalistic thinking. If journalism is essentially storytelling, the potential is now comparable to a child being presented with a superdeluxe box of crayons that makes the old, limited array of colors look paltry. Good "new" journalism can take news to a level that none of the older forms of media can match. (Jones, 2009, p. 179)*

Lemann (2006) shares similar sentiments:

> *The Internet is not unfriendly to reporting; potentially, it is the best reporting medium ever invented.*

But he also adds:

> *To keep pushing in that direction, though, requires that we hold up original reporting as a virtue and use the Internet to find new ways of*

presenting fresh material—which, inescapably, will wind up being produced by people who do that full time, not "citizens" with day jobs.

In other words, "good" journalism exists, or should exist independent of technology, although it can be enhanced by new technologies, but nevertheless will remain in the exclusive domain of professional journalists. The view of the internet as a tool that can enhance journalistic form is one thing; the internet as an economic factor that is destroying the business foundations of journalism is another. These are perhaps the two common views professional journalists (and most others) have about the impact of the internet on journalism. However, equally critical is to consider the internet as culture, and as such, to examine its impact on the culture of professional journalism. Here, professional journalists are not so positive:

> *Without question, there is some dazzling work being done, but the culture of the Web favors news in small bites—increasingly, just enough news to fill the screen of a cell phone. By that standard, this was boringly long. It was also essentially objective in its approach, whereas the Web prefers attitude and edge and opinion. It was on a subject of importance, and the Web tends to favor novelty and entertainment value over substance that may take some effort to digest.* (Jones, 2009, p. 180)

To talk about "The Web" and "the culture of the Web" is problematic because it ascribes properties to a technology (a form of technological determinism) and because there is no singular Web or culture of the Web. There is certainly no "Web" that prefers attitude, and edge and opinion, and favors novelty and

entertainment over substance and serious news. Again, the distinction is artificial (Bird, 1990; Delli Carpini & Williams, 2001; Baum, 2003).

To talk about "the Web" as "the Other" is useful for professional journalism so that it can distance itself from it and distinguish itself on the merits of its professionalism. Nevertheless, it ignores that the idea of journalists as professionals has always been tenuous at best (Singer, 2003). The internet becomes an object of attack because it further complicates the notion of the journalist as a professional by altering the structures of authority that guide the identification of expertise. Consider the tensions between Wikipedia and the Britannica and the ways their knowledge is created, distributed, verified and legitimized (Lih, 2009).

However, the purpose and the practice of journalism has always been intertwined with questions of technology. To ignore or dismiss the transformative effects of technology on journalism is to miss an opportunity to revitalize and reform journalism. Good journalism is not independent from technology. According to Hartley (2000), the notion of journalists as experts can be tracked back historically to technological conditions. When it was expensive to speak, it made sense to allow only a few to speak: the professional journalists in that sense represent our right to speak. If only a few can speak, and multiple viewpoints are not possible, then it also makes sense that what they report on is done in an objective manner. But Hartley argues that new technologies have changed, and subsequently that the original historical conditions for the justification of a few to

speak have changed. New technologies have changed the constraints of speaking; henceforth, the original mission of professional journalism needs to be revisited. In other words, the internet not only enhances journalism, but it also challenges journalism to revisit its original mission, to rethink what it means to do "good" journalism, with the potential of new technologies in hand.

Disagreement about what constitutes "good" journalism will be inevitable, just as there will always be disagreements about what the best model of democracy is (Dahl, 1989; Shapiro, 2003; Held, 2006). Professional journalism justifies its own existence in terms of its importance for democracy, but it is only one particular form of (liberal) democracy, and forgets that other modes of democracy exist as well. Liberal democracy emphasizes the importance of information and expertise, but other modes might highlight different values. Before we can draw the conclusion that the internet does not add anything substantial to "journalism" or "democracy", it is necessary to distinguish between different conceptions of "journalism" and "democracy". Liberal democracy and professional journalism is one model, participatory democracy and alternative media is another. With regard to the latter, I examine the case of Indymedia in the next section so as to provide a fuller understanding of how new technologies affect the cultural organization of journalism.

5.3 The Culture of Indymedia

This section discusses alternative media as a response to the cultural organization of professional journalism. It examines Indymedia as a case to understand how new technologies change the cultural organization of journalism.

The Practices and Beliefs of Indymedia

What is the culture of alternative media? I suggest that if professional journalism is organized around objectivity as its central principle, then the culture of alternative media is concerned with intersubjectivity. In contrast to objectivity that sees a clear separation between facts and values, intersubjectivity argues that truth is not irrespective from human perspectives and judgments. Normatively, the notion of intersubjectivity is based on how it sees the ideal role of the media in a participatory democracy. It is a critique of and a response to professional mainstream journalism, which is considered problematic from a democratic perspective because it excludes ordinary citizens from participation. Raymond Williams (1980, pp. 50-63) argues that three structural developments hinder or interfere with democratic communication: professionalization, capitalization and institutionalization. In other words, professional mainstream journalism excludes citizens from participating in journalism through the boundary markers of skills, money and control. Subsequently, Atton (2002) suggests that alternative media can be understood as a movement to de-professionalize, de-capitalize and de-institutionalize in order to have a more inclusive and participatory media.

In the next section I situate the Indymedia model in a larger historical and theoretical context. Revisiting the historical arguments might shed light on our understanding of Indymedia, and relatedly on the battle between alternative media and professional journalism. But more importantly, it may reveal the way forward towards a future in which the potential of the internet to reform journalism is fully realized.

Intersubjectivity and Objectivity

Michael Schudson (1978) tells us about the historic battle between the journalism of stories and journalism of information in the 1890s. All papers believed in the importance of factuality; this battle instead meant that newspapers emphasized one ideal over the other. In Schudson's (1978) words , a journalism of stories: " serves primarily to create, for readers, satisfying aesthetic experiences which help them to interpret their own lives [..] In this view, the newspaper acts as a guide to living not so much by providing facts as by selecting them and framing them." In contrast, a journalism of information prefers news that is decontextualized and dispassionate. Its most famous proponent was perhaps Walter Lippmann (Lippmann, 1922). He argued for a news based on science. A news that could help the citizenry in becoming informed, one that is associated with journalistic values such as "fairness, objectivity, scrupulous dispassion" (Schudson, 1978, p. 90).

Objectivity, a concept previously unknown to journalists, had become a journalistic standard by the 1920s, but was soon found wanting, even by

journalists themselves. In the face of rising complexity, the news produced by the journalism of information was found to be inadequate. Context and interpretation are particularly necessary in foreign news, where facts do not speak for themselves. Global news wires described, but did not interpret or explain. It was not surprising that the foreign correspondents were first to stray from objectivity and experimented with interpretive reporting. They felt both the greatest need for interpretive reporting and also were in a position of (more) autonomy to practice it (Schudson, 1978, pp. 146-147). However, interpretive reporting had its own problems. Accusations of bias soon followed, accusations that ultimately led to more transparency. Schudson (1978, p. 146) tells us how bylines that were primarily used by foreign correspondents became widespread in the 1920s. A trend towards more specialization in journalism also translated to increased authority to interpret events.

If not objectivity, then what? Hannah Arendt (1994), in her critique of what she calls Archimedean impartiality, suggests it is not the impartiality of objectivity that she has issues with, but rather the abstraction it requires. Archimedean impartiality insists that only a "Godlike" view from above can reveal the truth and that subjective perspectives are flawed. This level of abstraction greatly bothered Arendt, who argued that it diminished plurality, the quintessential condition for political life (Arendt, 1998). Plurality is the recognition that we all share a world, that we are different, and that what we have in common are our differences, what she referred to as "sameness in difference".

Plurality materializes in speech, when we distinguish ourselves and acknowledge others as equal. Instead of Archimedean impartiality, she proposes as the way forward an impartiality that is situated, what she refers to as intersubjectivity.

The Promise of Intersubjectivity

In theory, intersubjectivity makes a compelling alternative to objectivity as an organizing principle in journalism. Intersubjectivity escapes the dilemma of subjectivity that implies we are always trapped within our subjective selves and it avoids the problem of objectivity that we cannot take an impartial position outside ourselves. It shows us a potential way out from the (false) choice between subjectivity or objectivity, a journalism of stories or a journalism of information. According to Arendt, intersubjectivity allows for the possibility of fostering an "enlarged mentality", one that takes into account the perspective of others. She continues that "to think with an enlarged mentality means to train one's imagination to go visiting" (Arendt, 1992, p43).

Decades later, channeling the spirit of Arendt, Herbert Gans (1979) calls for a multiperspectival journalism, one that promotes a broad range of viewpoints. He quotes the Commission on the Freedom of the Press from 1947, saying that the news should strive to be "the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in society" (Gans, 1979, p. 312). He sees his call for multiperspectival journalism as an intervention that is necessary if we are to move journalism beyond discussions of distortion and bias. Indymedia

demonstrates the potential of the internet for multiperspectival news, a news organized the principle of subjectivity. Bruns (2005) suggests that the ability of the internet to allow hyperlinks and foster interactivity is crucial to making multiperspectival news possible. In addition, it has significantly lowered the barriers to speech. Whereas a scarcity of voices existed in the past, the internet has allowed the flourishing of many more voices, dramatically lowering the cost and increasing the opportunities to produce multiperspectival news.

The Limitations of Intersubjectivity

In practice, the intersubjectivity that multiperspectival news demands might just be as elusive to achieve for alternative media as the ideal of objectivity is for professional journalism. There is certainly value in ensuring that a wide range of citizens can speak and form publics (Fraser, 1990; Squires, 2002). However, to elevate a journalism from subjectivity to intersubjectivity requires the capacity to build linkages across different publics (Habermas, 1998; Hartley, 2000; Castells, 2009). Two key questions are therefore central to the limitations of intersubjectivity: what are the limits of inclusion, and related, how is journalistic authority established? In other words, a critical issue for production models that are based on inclusion and self-identification is the accreditation of quality and the establishment of authority. Important for this discussion is the open and inclusive culture of Indymedia: to what extent can quality and authority be established with an open publishing model? Another problem alternative media

face are their relation to objectivity in particular, and how they establish authority to truth claims in general.

Benkler's (2006) findings on peer production provide hints to the question of how authority can be established in situations where people self-identify (as opposed to certification of experts) and where people can join if they are interested (as opposed to a closed system). For example, many critics take fault with Wikipedia because its entries are not assigned to experts, but instead are written by enthusiastic hobbyists. Benkler counters this claim and suggests that the process of accreditation itself can be peer produced. Consider, for example, how Slashdot uses a "karma" system to moderate posts and comments that are submitted to the site: it is a system where people can vote content up and down. However, peer production cannot magically produce quality. Benkler suggests that the work has to be modular (it has to be broken up in parts and reassembled) and granular (sufficiently small enough discrete units). Duguid (2006) has examined different cases where peer production is not always able to perform adequate quality control or accreditation. Findings suggest that Indymedia is another case that has been able to successfully rely on peer production for its news production process, but has been unsuccessful in leveraging it for quality accreditation. Inclusion has a privileged position in alternative media, and plays a crucial role in achieving intersubjectivity. In theory, Indymedia might support the idea that everyone deserves to be heard. However, in practice, it has trouble allowing every voice on its website, especially those that seek its destruction.

Indymedia was forced to implement an editorial model where voices considered harmful are hidden away from public view. The reluctant existence of an editorial model within Indymedia raises larger questions of journalistic authority: if content is edited, who gets to decide what content is worthy for publication?

The Failure of Indymedia To Redact

Hartley (2000) suggests that increased participation forces us to ask about the possibility of the fragmentation of publics. He argued that new technologies are able to overcome the limitations of speech, allowing everyone to be a journalist in theory. However, he is concerned with the implications for democracy: if everybody can write, who will read? In other words, how can we avoid fragmentation and encourage the formation of publics? (see also Habermas, 1998; Sunstein, 2007). Hartley's (2000, p. 44) answer is that we need a redactional society, which he sees as one where "where matter is reduced, revised, prepared, published, edited, adapted, shortened, abridged to produce, in turn, the new(s). ... [that] emphasizes the knowledge-processing skills of research, precis, editing, organizing, presenting." Redaction raises the issues: who gets to redact, using what criteria? At least two answers so far have been proposed. Professional journalism can be said to redact on the basis of objectivity, whereas Indymedia in principle refuses to redact except out of necessity for self-preservation and survival. Neither take advantage of the

potential of new technologies to avoid the fragmentation of publics in specific and to improve democracy in general.

A redactional model based on objectivity runs counter to the potential of the internet to expand the range of perspectives possible. For example, Bruns (2005) believes that traditional media are ill suited for the task of redaction, because they "almost inherently imply the presence of journalists or editors to select from the multitude of possible perspectives what fits the available airtime or column space, thus reducing the range of perspectives." An added difficulty in promoting a wider range of perspectives while preventing the fragmentation of publics is that mainstream audiences are likely to judge content on the basis of standards produced by mainstream professional journalism. Carpentier (2009) suggests that people normatively approve of and encourage citizen's participation in media, but that they also care about professional quality and social relevance. In other words, deeply rooted in the taste of audiences are the basic conventions of quality shaped by professional standards. What this suggests for Indymedia, and other participatory media outlets, is that they need to take into consideration how their work will be judged by standards set by professional journalism, if they want to connect with mainstream audiences.

To what extent is Indymedia a model of news production based on intersubjectivity, as opposed to subjectivity? Habermas suggests that this distinction is important: without the interlinkages, the public sphere remains fragmented. I suggest that Indymedia is best understood not in the deliberative

rational public sphere concept, but along the lines of Chantal Mouffe's (interview with Mouffe, cited in Carpentier & Cammaerts, 2006, pp. 973-974) concept of an agonistic public space, a space "for the expression of dissensus, for bringing to the floor what forces attempt to keep concealed."   Instead of a deliberative consensus between publics, she favors a position of radical pluralism with a multiplicity of voices, and instead sees conflict as productive to democratic development. At the same time, what Indymedia reveals is that while an agonistic space might be productive for its participants, it also has a potential destructive side for democracy, if connections between publics dissolve and fragment.

The People of Indymedia

Indymedia is a global network with a culture that is primarily inhabited by activists. Pike (2005) refers to Indymedia as "a gang of leftists with a website". As previously mentioned, it was born out of the anti-globalization protests of the WTO meeting in Seattle, 1999. As most anti-globalization movements, it was a coalition made of an eclectic group of people. What brought them together was the resistance against the corporate take-over of globalization; globalization not just in the sense of a world where we are increasingly living together, but on what terms this is happening: the concern about corporate influence and the concern for local cultures (Klein, 2000; Hertz, 2001). Similarly, what united Indymedia was a strong sense of resistance against the corporate, mainstream media.

Indymedia is an important case of transnational activism, and the internet plays a critical role in making it possible. New technologies have significantly changed the dynamics, pace and scale of activism (Castells, 1996; Melucci, 1996; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Tarrow, 2005; Shirky, 2008). Activists have a history of being transnational; Marx was famous for articulating the transnational nature of activism, arguing that workers of the world should unite on the basis of class, not on ethnicity or nationality. However, what is different about "activism beyond borders" in an internet age is its networked character as the primary form of organization (Castells, 1996). Similarly, Klein (2000) suggests that the internet is not just an organizing tool, but also an organizing model, enabling a mode of activism that is not just transnational, but also de-centralized, where the nodes might have individual differences but also common goals. Shirky (2008) sums this up most succinctly by referring to this ability of the internet as "organizing without organizations".

Tarrow (2005) suggests that the culture of transnational activism is inhabited by a particular group of people he refers to as "rooted cosmopolitans", whom he defines as "people and groups whose relations place them beyond their local or national settings without detaching them from locality" (2005, p. 42). He does not look at media activism in particular, but his thesis raises the question to what extent the culture of Indymedia is inhabited by so-called "rooted cosmopolitans". Decades ago, Merton (1968) looked at the relationship between media use and cosmopolitanism and found that cosmopolitans read content,

including magazines, newspapers and radio broadcasts, that was from outside the community more than locals did. Yet, to what extent the internet empowers cosmopolitans is a research question that remains little studied (Jeffres, Atkin, Bracken, & Neuendorf, 2004). Indymedia does not provide much evidence, as there have been few systematic studies of the demographics of those that participate and contribute to Indymedia. However, the sparse anecdotal evidence suggests that people able to volunteer in Indymedia tend to represent a small minority of young, white, male and college educated North Americans and Europeans (Beckerman, 2003). This is in line with Tarrow's (2005, p. 43) findings that suggest rooted cosmopolitans on average are

> *better educated, better connected, more languages, travel more. what makes them different from their domestic counterparts is their ability to shift their activities among levels, taking advantage of the expanded nodes of opportunity of a complex international society.*

To what extent the internet can be used by rooted cosmopolitans for media use and production remains an open question. Another open question is the identity and culture of Indymedia. In the previous section, I suggested that participation and inclusion are critical values to the Indymedia culture, but that it also raises the "problem of inclusion".

The problem of inclusion is a question of identity for Indymedia. As it grew, it struggled to develop a sense of identity that was not just built on what it is against, but to construct principles and values for what it stood for. As one member stated:

Ultimately, it's not enough for us to talk about what we are against. We have to articulate what we are for. It's not enough to slow the rate of destruction. We have to increase the rate of creation. (Beckerman, 2003)

As an alternative news organization, Indymedia defines itself against professional mainstream journalism. Instead of objectivity, it believes in advocacy and transparency. Instead of professionalism, it believes that all citizens can - and should - participate in the production of news and media. But as Indymedia matured, it had an increasingly difficult time to negotiate the terms of a collective identity that unites its members. Consider "openness" and "inclusion", for example. Negotiating the boundaries of inclusion and openness - or even whether to have boundaries at all - was a contentious issue that split the movement. The culture of inclusion made it critical for Indymedia to face the question "who are we not?" For example, to what extent is the content on our newswire reflective of us, rather than the process of the newswire? In other words, is it more important to insist on the openness and inclusiveness of the news production process, but allow neo-nazis to post on our website, or should Indymedia practice censorship and remove content it does not want to be associated with? Many felt that removing any form of content was a slippery slope. Others argued that Indymedia already descended on a slippery slope by "giving up the wire to the crackpots" (Beckerman, 2003).

A partial solution to resolve the disagreement was to take on a networked model that allowed the movement to be "united yet autonomous"(Pickard,

2006b). The internet played an important role to allow for an organizational model that was networked, and global in scope, that was "united yet autonomous". At the same time, this model also showed the limitations of an organization model build around principles of radical democracy, especially as it took on a global scale.

The limitations of new technologies are further underscored by Habermas, who raises an important issue to what extent they can lead to emancipation:

> *Whereas the growth of systems and networks multiplies possible contacts and exchanges of information, it does not lead per se to the expansion of an intersubjectively shared world and to the discursive interweaving of conceptions of relevance, themes, and contradictions from which political public spheres arise. The consciousness of planning, communicating and acting subjects seems to have simultaneously expanded and fragmented. **The publics produced by the internet remain closed off from one another like global villages.** (Habermas, 1998, pp. 120-121, emphasis mine, LT).*

Habermas has argued that solidarity at this level cannot simply be based on shared moral conceptions of human rights but needs to include a shared political culture (Habermas & Pensky, 2001, p. 126). Indeed, Indymedia's inability to articulate its own shared political culture seems to affect the extent to which it can have solidarity with other publics. If "united yet autonomous" is a form of solidarity, it is at best a very thin one. Despite the ease of publication and organization that the internet affords, there remain important bottlenecks towards a global public sphere (Sparks, 2000).

The Purpose of Indymedia

What is the culture of Indymedia for? Normatively, if professional journalism's function is the provision of information, that of alternative media is to encourage participation. To give weight to a journalism of intersubjectivity is to say that the voice of every individual counts, not just those of the elite. New technologies in this regard carry the potential and promise that it can transform an apathetic public and revitalize democracy. Communication in participatory democracy is not just seen as a means to an end - an informed citizenry, as it is in liberal democracy - but an end in itself. As Dewey argues, communication constitutes and is essential for community life.

Inclusion and participation are two key principles which alternative media as a participatory-democratic form of journalism pursue. Alternative media see journalism and democracy as tightly related - a more inclusive and participatory democracy demands a media system organized around similar principles. A passive and apathetic citizenry is considered undesirable, in contrast to professional journalism that follows liberal democracy and values expertise. In pointing out the problem of an apathetic citizenry, proponents of participatory democracy critique the disenfranchising effect of the elitist and exclusionary tendencies of liberal democracy. In the words of Benjamin Barber (1984, p. 272): "people are apathetic because they are powerless, not powerless because they are apathetic". Indeed, Atton (2002, p. 4) defines alternative media not only in terms of their content, but more importantly, ties it to their critical capacity to offer "the

means for democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from media production".

What is theoretically possible and what happens in practice is a question that is reflected in the contrast between liberal and participatory democracy, or what others have referred to as thin/minimalist and strong/maximalist democracy. Which democratic model is preferable is a question with an answer that has proven to be deliciously elusive: Participatory democracy is much preferred in theory by most, but finds little support in practice, whereas liberal democracy is considered passable at best in theory, but has extensive appeal in practice. The significance of Indymedia is that it represents a strong case for participatory media in practice, not just in theory. Participation raises many questions where Indymedia can function as a helpful data point. First of all, how do we define and delimit participation? As Carole Pateman (1976, p. 1) said, quite some time ago: "the widespread use of the term … has tended to mean that any precise, meaningful content has almost disappeared". What counts as participation? This question has different answers, and the goal here is not to provide a comprehensive definition, but instead raise the issues of participation and see how the case of Indymedia informs this question. Second, what are the problems of participation and third, what are the limitations of participation? Last, but not least, what is participation for?

The limitations of participation relate to feasibility and scaleability. First, the problem of feasibility is concerned with to what extent it is reasonable to

demand of citizens to participate, given many (cognitive, time) constraints. Findings suggest that citizens have trouble becoming and staying engaged, an issue even Dewey admits: (Dewey, Boydston, & Gouinlock, 1984, p. 321). Similarly, foreign news is no exception: "Foreign correspondents know ... how difficult it is under ordinary circumstances to make the public read foreign news" (Park, 1938, p. 198). Schudson has made the case that the informed citizen ideal is too demanding - imagine what he would say about the participatory citizen ideal - and instead proposes to consider a model based on "monitorial citizenship" where citizens are mostly passive but come into action when emergencies or crises demand their participation. Shapiro (2003) makes a similar case for a minimalist democracy that is based on the prevention of domination, rather than active participation. Second, the issue of scaleability is concerned with how many people can participate in a democracy before it breaks down under its own weight. The normative ideal of participatory democracy is often derived from the Greek agora, but many critics argue that it does not translate to today's modern large scale society with many more people than can fit in an agora, that therefore representation in a large scale society is a necessity (Schumpeter, 1942; Shapiro, 2003).

Negt and Kluge (1993) wrote in 1972 that alternative media were a response to the dominance of corporate and capitalist media organizations. More importantly, they also suggested that once a proper resistance is achieved and a

counter-public is established, the next step is the need to take advantage of opportunities that will appear in the mainstream media, to affect change in the dominant public sphere. In this regard, to take advantage of opportunities that arise in mainstream media, Indymedia has yet to live up to its potential. It is also why we turn to the culture of Global Voices next.

5.4 The Culture of Global Voices

Global Voices has its own cultural norms and values - I argue, best characterized in terms of hospitality - but also operates in a larger news ecology, one where the objectivity as a dominant paradigm continues to reign. Indymedia's response to objectivity was one of resistance, whereas Global Voices has a different approach. This chapter first tackles how Global Voices deals with being a media organization in an environment that is dominated by objectivity, and proceeds to discuss its proposal that builds on objectivity, what I refer to as hospitality.

Global Voices and Objectivity

The question of how objective one will be (or not) is key for every media organization. Objectivity continues to be a proxy for quality in the news for most people. Audiences, advertisers, and funders ask this question in order to be able to compare and categorize among other news organizations. In addition, it is a pragmatic question that arises for every author, especially in situations of heated conflicts where there is lots of disagreement and one has to make a choice in

describing the situation: do I use "terrorist" or "freedom fighter", "massacre" or "incident" and so on. Global Voices has a guide for authors that states the following:

> *Global Voices strives to keep a neutral tone, so we ask Authors to keep personal opinion restricted to their own blogs, and be fair in quoting multiple voices on a story.*

When it comes to covering conflicts, extra emphasis is added:

> *We have an especially great responsibility to be fair and accurate in times of conflict, where either side is looking to prove they have been wronged. Scrutiny of unknown sources is extremely important, and we want to avoid using sensational language, or repeating numbers of dead or wounded early on in a conflict.*

Principles are not only developed topdown from manifestos, mission statements, but also come into being when conflicts on-the-ground arise. The editorial values were developed and added to the author guideline in the wake of a heavy internal discussion concerned to what extent the word "massacre" should be used for what happened in Gaza 2008. The internal discussion about the word "massacre" started with an author expressing being troubled by its use. His fear was that

> *readers will get the impression GV has joined the multitude of other commentators, protesters and activists around the world criticizing Israel's actions. By doing so, I think GV becomes yet another voice in the media echo chamber. This cheapens the power and nuance of these posts, and worse -- their independence of voice (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008)*

Another author soon responded with the proposal that it is Global Voices' job to

reflect what the bloggers are saying:

> *I'm sure many authors as well as many of our readers have strong (and perhaps differing) opinions on the bombings. If we want to try and stay above the fray, one option would be to use direct quotes in the headlines. As in, use bloggers' own words...let them do the editorializing (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008)*

Others suggested to turn towards the standards set by international institutions,

such as the United Nations:

> *Of course, if the UN and most of the international media/community was to come out and use such phrases, then it's not a problem. If they're not, however, there most definitely is (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008)*

Yet others suggested to turn to reputable mainstream media outlets for guidance:

> *I'd suggest taking a look at the headlines of reputable media sources such as the BBC and follow their lead (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008)*

What did management have to say about this? There was no explicit editorial

policy authors could fall back on. However, it was stressed that:

> *we strive for impartiality in our coverage, and this necessarily extends to our headlines. [..] The most prudent thing to do in this case is what [another author earlier] recommended--be guided by what bloggers are saying. Even if you yourself believe that what's happening in Gaza is a "massacre", GV is not the place to express this judgment: (that's why you all have blogs!) leave that work to the bloggers you're quoting (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008)*

It became clear in the discussion that people soon converged towards a principle: "to reflect what bloggers are saying". It is not dissimilar to the objectivity ideal in professional journalism in that it emphasizes "reflection", although in this case it is not so much a reflection of reality in its entirety, but a reflection of a fraction of it, namely the different blogospheres around the world. Nevertheless, reflection is a useful stance for several reasons. It adds to the credibility of the organization by reserving distance:

> *Ultimately,how we cover this will reflect on the credibility of GV as an objective and neutral body that is meant to be observing and amplifying voices rather than joining them (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008).*

Another member of the management team argued it is also useful as a defense mechanism, much like Tuchman (1972) had suggested in her study of objectivity as a "strategic ritual":

> *Massacre, genocide, terrorist, slaughter; these words all invite charges of bias against us (Internal Communication, December 31, 2008).*

Schudson (1978) argues that objectivity functions as a pragmatic instrument journalists rely on, rather than an ideal they truly believe they can achieve. Decades of journalism research has shown over and over again that journalists fail short of objectivity as an outcome of their work. What I am interested in is the claim to objectivity, not so much whether objectivity in the news can really be achieved. The claim is important because it represents an ideal, a sacred value in

the community of professional journalists. Is this at odds with what Schudson argues? Not necessarily. Journalists have stopped believing in objectivity but continue to claim to believe in it and thus practice it. To what extent is objectivity an ideal Global Voices claims to believe in? A member of management reacted as follows:

> *I don't think it's accurate, however, to say that Global Voices is supposed to "reject "journalistic approaches and standards"'. While Global Voices can be considered "alternative media", we've never claimed to be an activist organisation. While we don't strive to be "fair and balanced" in the mainstream media sense, we do try to reflect accurately and fairly the diversity of opinion that exists in the blogospheres we cover, without introducing personal opinion, rather like mainstream media journalists do. (Internal Communication, January 1, 2009)*

The findings suggest that Global Voices is in a liminal space between alternative media and professional journalism. It claims to reflect the opinions of the bloggers, a claim that is important because it functions as an ideal of the community, and serves as a major guideline in deciding how to resolve conflicts. The claim is also to assert authority: Global Voices considers itself experts, natives if you will, when it comes to the cultures of the various blogospheres around the world. It sees itself as neither explicitly activist nor mainstream, but the question remains what exactly it is. These questions of identity continue to have resonance in the community. Yet, I also believe it is necessary to take Global Voices seriously on its own terms, and not to reduce Global Voices to either alternative media and professional journalism. To that end, I use hospitality as a framework to make sense of Global Voices.

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The Practices and Beliefs of Global Voices

> *Ethan Zuckerman: We're not Indymedia (Lucas, 2007)*

> *Global Voices author: We're not the New York Times. We're not Reuters. We're different. (internal communication, December 30, 2008)*

If Global Voices is neither alternative media, nor professional journalism, what is the best way to describe it? I suggest that if Indymedia is a response to the limitations of professional journalism, Global Voices can be seen as a response to the limitations of both Indymedia and professional journalism. I argue Global Voices is a culture of hospitality, a cosmopolitan culture that is best described as porous, where the practice of listening is central.

> *We believe in free speech: in protecting the right to speak — and the right to listen. We believe in universal access to the tools of speech.*

It believes technology both emphasizes a greater need for and has the potential to improve conversation.

> *Global Voices aggregates, curates, and amplifies the global conversation online – shining light on places and people other media often ignore.*

In the previous chapter, I established that Global Voices' core principles revolve around 1) listening 2) conversation 3) belief in potential of technology to affect change. Here, I am going to expand on these principles as critical components of the larger culture of Global Voices. I argue that if the culture of professional

journalism is organized around objectivity, alternative media and Indymedia around intersubjectivity, then Global Voices culture is best characterized as one of hospitality.

Hospitality

Hospitality is a concept that was first introduced by Kant (Kant, 2006) as a way of thinking about how to live together in a world. The idea of hospitality regained relevance with scholars that sought to find ethical and philosophical answers to the questions of globalization. Derrida (2000) in particular was responsible for the revitalization of the concept and offered it as a moral framework for thinking about the human condition in a global world. Other scholars took up the concept and imported it into various disciplines and fields; for example, Benhabib (2004) relied on hospitality to make sense of human rights and immigration, perhaps the most direct connection to the original intent of Kant, and argued for a "porous" immigration policy.

Roger Silverstone (2007) imported hospitality into media studies, making a case for hospitality as a form of justice that is critical to thinking about media's function as institutions of representations. He argued that media are machines of representation and as such they can be conceptualized as spaces where voices appear. He sees media as part of the public realm and builds on Arendt's notion of it as "the space of appearances", where one competes for recognition (Arendt, 1998; Saco, 2002; Silverstone, 2007). Thinking of media as a public space in

terms of hospitality allows us to ask - which voices are invited, allowed to speak, given attention? Which voices remain silent, not because they have nothing to say, but because they are unable to speak from the specific location they are in? Silverstone defines hospitality as "the ethical obligation to listen to the stranger". Hospitality in its mediated form is a normative prescription for the conditions of the public sphere in which the voice of the stranger is not only given form, but also listened to. Global Voices is a case exemplar for hospitality, because it explicitly claims to "foster a global conversation", by "listening", especially for silences, by "amplifying the voices" that are underrepresented. Traditionally, the media have structurally underrepresented or misrepresented a range of actors, either on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class etc. The level of hospitality in the media takes on political relevance especially if we consider the media to be a crucial component of the public sphere. The public sphere is that political realm or space where participants gather to discuss issues of mutual interest and where possible achieve consensus. The media often act as machines of boundary-making; to mark the other. This circumstance is exacerbated if media are the only source of representation – for example, if there is no day to day contact. This is particularly the case with those subjects, those people, who are the subject of foreign news: the geographically and/or culturally distant. To the degree Global Voices insists on a more hospitable public sphere, scholars need to critically examine its claim, and assess the level of its success.

Conditional and Unconditional Hospitality

Derrida (2000) and Silverstone (2007) distinguish between two kinds of hospitality: unconditional and conditional. Unconditional hospitality, both argue, is a challenge. A critical test case is, will you invite the terrorist in? Unconditional hospitality is one thin line removed from the radical openness in which Indymedia believes. In contrast, Global Voices resembles conditional hospitality. Benhabib (2004), for example, suggests that conditional hospitality allows the exclusion of visitors if self-preservation is in jeopardy. This opens what many might consider a slippery slope: what are the legitimate conditions upon which the transgressions of hospitality might warrant current or future exclusions?

Hospitality facilitates social capital - both bonding and bridging - but with a particular emphasis on the latter. Hospitality thus knows two kinds: between family and friends, that which bonds, and one that invites the stranger, that which bridges. Bickford (1996) goes at length to explain listening as "beyond friendship", that if listening is to mean anything, it means listening to strangers. Similar, the value of hospitality lies in its connection to strangers - not just family and friends. The protection of the domain states the case for the difficulty of insisting on hospitality. Hospitality is potentially dangerous; it is an invitation one extends and allows entry into one's domain. It is an imperfect obligation - conditional - because it stops when there are legitimate grounds for self-preservation. The conditionality of hospitality raises questions about what

specific conditions or circumstances legitimize self-preservation. For example, would it be morally permissible to deny asylum to large numbers of people if it would mean a decline in the standards of living? Or in the case of media, does hate speech provide legitimate grounds for regulation and censorship?

Hospitality and Power

What Silverstone (2007) eludes to but what I want to make explicit here is the tie of hospitality to power. Hospitality exists because of power asymmetries. In contrast to Habermas, who acknowledges power differentials, but wishes to ignore them [bracket out differences] because he sees them as a threat to rational discussion, I suggest that these power asymmetries have the potential to be the source and justification for a "good" conversation. Let me hasten to add that this does not mean I approve of political inequality; what I am suggesting instead is that structural power asymmetries do not and should not preclude the possibility of temporal equality.

Conditional hospitality acknowledges the responsibility that comes with the power to redact. Earlier I raised Hartley's suggestion for the need of a redactional society and argued that professional journalism nor alternative media are up to the task. Professional journalism refuses to acknowledge it has power and sees itself as a vessel with no particular influence in the construction of reality, but ends up redacting on behalf of the powerful and important; whereas alternative media are wary of any kind of power asymmetry, advocate for a wide

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dispersal of communication power, and end up refusing to redact. In contrast, hospitality acknowledges the necessity of redaction and the inevitability of communication power asymmetries.

Conditional hospitality is a proposal to improve on the current situation rather than an attempt to describe how an ideal situation would look like. Hospitality as a proposal to improve on actually existing conditions of media representation takes a similar approach to the work of Amartya Sen (2009) who argues that theories of justice should not only consider how an abstract ideal should look like, but more importantly, how they can address and improve actually existing conditions of justice. In a similar vein, Benkler (2006) argues that the impact of the internet should be measured against the performance of the mainstream media, rather than taking utopia as the baseline. In other words, normative theories should also illuminate in terms of how improvements on "actually existing" situations can be made.

Hospitality is the ethical obligation to listen. The obligation arises from asymmetries in power. Some command more power than others; in media, this power in the digital age is attention. Attention is the power to draw audiences. In other words, all people would do well to abide by hospitality to some extent, but those more privileged and powerful have more responsibility to be hospitable than others. As such, hospitality imposes more demands of listening on professional journalists, but also A-list bloggers, than those who command less

attention. This is not new - public journalism decades ago advocated for increased responsibilities of journalists to listen to silences (Haas & Steiner, 2001, p. 127).

> *... journalists need to listen for silences or near silences. To encourage citizens to explore the grounds for conflicting perspectives would commit journalists to serious "public listening", specifically listening for difference." This is not because participants are handicapped but because certain locations prevent or hinder the from speaking in public, from fully participating in citizen deliberation.*

But what does it mean to listen? And why is it relevant now?

Listening: Beyond Access and Inclusion

> *there is possibly a valid reason why we have two ears, but only one mouth. (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005, p. 9)*

> *the world is speaking. are you listening? (Global Voices motto)*

Much importance is placed on "freedom of speech"; in contrast, the politics of listening are often ignored, although scholars are increasingly paying attention (Bickford, 1996; Coleman, 2005; Couldry, 2006; Lloyd, 2009; O'Donnell, 2009; Dreher, 2010). This is curious to say the least, if we conceive communication in its basic form as a process that includes both speaking and listening. Some might argue that to speak is what matters; that to burden the individual with the obligation to listen is an unreasonable demand, especially in an age where more people than ever have the opportunity to speak, and certainly not all equally

worthwhile listening to. This is an argument professional journalists make when they are criticized for not listening to marginal voices: what the important people, e.g. the president, have to say matters because they have the power to affect the lives of us all. However, if professional journalists are representatives of the public's right to communicate, as Hartley argues, then one can consider to what extent the representatives ought to be familiar with those they represent, indeed, that they might need to listen to them. A reaction against the inadequacy of professional journalism to represent the public has been alternative media; they propose direct participation as a remedy and to abandon representation altogether. In other words, radical inclusion as the proposed solution to exclusion.

However, framing the debate in terms of inclusion and exclusion of speech, as an issue of news access, ignores that successful and democratic communication involves more than just enabling people to speak: it involves listening too. Moreover, listening emphasizes that attention should be paid to how people are allowed to speak, whether they are, to extend the metaphor of hospitality to a house, invited to speak in the living room where all the people are, or whether they are relegated to the cellar. In the words of Heikkila and Kunelius (1998):

> *journalism is not only an unfair doorman (problems of access), it also acts as a slightly elitist head-waiter who tells people where to sit. Some tables are better situated than others: near the window, the powerful big shots have their important debates, and beside the kitchen door, the less*

powerful grumble among themselves. A professional head-waiter protects the more distinguished guests from 'unnecessary disturbance' .

Hospitality allows us to ask questions about media representation in broader terms of justice, rather than just narrowly as a matter of accuracy. Instead of asking if the news is accurate or objective, it emphasizes also whether representation was just, or to continue the metaphor, whether guests were recognized as such and treated properly. That is to say, hospitality goes beyond accuracy or access, and forces us to consider recognition as a key variable for assessing the media's performance.

Listening and Recognition

Listening matters because of recognition. Theories of recognition trace back to Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser (Honneth, 1996; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) and their conceptualizations of justice. There are roughly two kinds of justice: distributive justice and justice on the grounds of identity and recognition. The demand of alternative media for a wide dispersal of power to speak can be seen as a form of distributive justice. In contrast, the politics of listening is a form of justification argued on the basis of recognition.

Honneth (1996) distinguishes three types of recognition: on the basis of love of friendship, legal rights, and solidarity. The first type of recognition is similar to bonding social capital, and recognizes the need for love, friendship and intimacy, with whom we develop our sense of identity and trust in ourselves. The

second is situated in the legal domain that undergirds a universal framework for the respect of the individual's autonomy. The third type of recognition is social - but not universal - and is given shape when others recognize the contributions to a specific community with shared values. Honneth argues that the three types of recognition - love, rights and solidarity - are necessary for personal development and autonomy, and that a failure of recognition will lead to an impairment to participate as a whole member of society.

Here I want to emphasize the last type of recognition, of solidarity. This is not to say that the other two types are not important; indeed, I consider them prerequisites - love and rights - for a minimalist form of hospitality. However, it seems to make sense to focus on the latter in the context of journalism because it allows us to ask who journalists accept contributions from, whom they find it worthwhile to listen to, and why it matters. One reason why it matters is fragmentation.

Listening and Fragmentation

If professional journalism and alternative media both are about speaking, Global Voices is concerned with the politics and norms of listening. The goal of Global Voices is to foster a conversation; it recognizes that new technologies have made it easier to speak (although not for everybody), but that there is a need to listen if we are not to fragment or succumb to balkanization.

Silverstone (2007) talks about how the internet is a much more hospitable place than the mainstream media, in theory and practice. The internet greatly increases the opportunities to foster hospitality. It is possible to come into contact with strangers and invite them in, especially if they signal a willingness to stay. As Kant (2006) said, there is a right to temporary sojourn. Translated to the internet, it might mean that a visitor to a website is not only allowed entry, but also welcomed with proper greeting and treatment. Seen through the lens of hospitality, the sections of user-generated content that many news organizations resemble a tribute system where a guest is free to leave a gift at the door, and should be thankful if the news organization decides to accept it. In contrast, Indymedia would be similar to a house where the door is removed or is constantly open; everybody is free to enter and leave, and even leave or take whatever is in the house. The comment section is the marginal space on a website - literally in the margins of the screen. In contrast, Global Voices invites the stranger onto its screen, and gives it presence in the "living room", the central space of the website, the main news article. Unlike Indymedia, however, it retains control to decide whom to invite and whom to leave out, to reserve the right to exclude, if necessary.

The grounds on which to exclude remain a constraint on hospitality that warrants care and attention. Who gets to negotiate the norms, what are considered reasonable or acceptable justifications? In this regard, Global Voices is not unlike professional journalism - they have differing degrees of hospitality.

However, an important contrast is that a focus on hospitality acknowledges the fact that there is an exclusion and treatment mechanism, and reserves space to challenge it, unlike professional journalism that in its claim to objectivity leaves no room for such challenge because it pretends to be mere vessels of information. Foreign correspondence is perhaps the best example of an attempt by professional journalism towards hospitality, but that fails because it is situated in a larger dominant culture of objectivity and, as such, fails at both hospitality and objectivity.

Carey (1995) once said that a public is what appears when strangers gather to discuss the news. Fast forward to an internet age, and the potential for strangers to gather has increased, but it does not appear to be obvious that much of this potential is realized in practice. Hartley attributes this to a fetishization of new technologies' capacity to allow everyone to speak and that in the process, it is forgotten that for a public to form, there is need to listen, to read. The more people speak, the bigger the challenge is to bridge and connect different voices, especially to those viewpoints that are from strangers and outside our comfort zone. Others have voiced similar concerns about fragmentation (Turow, 1997; Sunstein, 2007; Webster, 2008). The internet, like the city before it, allows for the opportunities, and sometimes threat, to come into contact with strangers more than ever. Global Voices consists of people who want to facilitate and mediate this contact with strangers and have fostered a culture of hospitality in

doing so. But who inhabits the culture of hospitality? In the next section, I look at the people of Global Voices to provide one data point to this question.

The People of Global Voices

Global Voices consists of both activists and (former) professional journalists, and as such, can be described as a hybrid organization. However, to reduce Global Voices to either or a combination of the two would ignore at least two aspects I believe are crucial to understanding how new technologies alter who can inhabit the cultural space of journalism: one is the notion of a recursive public, the other is rooted cosmopolitanism.

Recursive Publics

Global Voices cannot be understood outside the context of the internet – the internet as an infrastructure that enables it, but also the historical specificity in which it is conceived, and thus the internet as a particular cultural setting. This is in stark contrast to most studies that examine new technologies and journalism that only see technology as a tool but ignore *technology as culture*. Understanding technology as culture is particularly relevant for the internet that, compared to other media, is not only a distribution channel but also a particular space, a cyberspace, that is designed and coded, supported by an architecture with specific values and inhabited by diverse groups of people. Understanding technology as culture opens up an inquiry that examines the internet as a domain

of contestation where the conditions of its existence are constantly rewritten, reshaped and recoded (Lessig, 1999; Benkler, 2006; Kelty, 2008; Zittrain, 2008). One particular group, what Kelty (2008)refers to as recursive publics, is sensitive to the conditions upon which the internet comes to exist, because they as publics primarily and exclusively come to exist only by virtue of the internet. Kelty calls them as such recursive, which is a term from mathematics / computer science and according to the dictionary means

> *relating to or involving a program or routine of which a part requires the application of the whole, so that its explicit interpretation requires in general many successive executions.*

In other words, a recursive public is concerned with the internet because it only exists because of the internet; and not unlike a home, it constitutes the everyday practical life as well as an important part of the identities of the participants. Kelty (2008) defines a recursive public as

> *a public that is vitally concerned with the material and practical maintenance and modification of the technical, legal, practical, and conceptual means of its own existence as a public ...*

Not unlike other publics, recursive publics question the terms of debate, who holds the controls to the means of communication, and whether people are being properly heard. Not unlike other publics, recursive publics exist by sole virtue of imagination and are constituted by mere attention. However, what makes recursive publics different is that they are constituted through the internet, which

more so than other media, exhibit a "radical technological modifiability" (Kelty, 2008, p. 3). That is to say, the architecture of the internet is constituted by code that is malleable and modifiable, and as such, turns it into a site of contestation, par excellence.

To understand Global Voices as a recursive public is to give weight to its branches that have the specific function to guard the conditions upon which it comes to exist: Rising Voices, that aims to reach out to underserved groups and communities and train them to build capacity; Advocacy, that seeks to counter attempts by corporations and state to constrain and censor the internet; and Lingua, that seeks to bridge linguistic gaps through translation. Together, they protect, preserve but also build capacity for the layers of infrastructure of the internet that are necessary for them to exist.

Publics are constitutive of social imagineries (2004). Social imaginary is a concept to describe how "people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations." One such social imaginary is the cosmopolitan imaginary (Calhoun, 2002; Calhoun, 2008). I argue Global Voices is itself a public that is inhabited by "rooted cosmopolitans".

Rooted Cosmopolitans

Sociologist Robert Merton (1968) decades ago examined the relationship between media use and cosmopolitanism, and found that the media consumption patterns reflected their identities; cosmopolitans consumed more content from outside the community than locals did. The same patterns were found not only in media consumption but in media production as well: foreign correspondents have always been considered more cosmopolitan than their domestic counterpart. In Cohen's classic (1963, p. 17) on foreign correspondents, he describes them as "a cosmopolitan among cosmopolitans, a man in gray flannel who ranks very high in the hierarchy of reporters."

However, the explanation between media use and cosmopolitan identity is perhaps too clean. Problematic is that it oversimplifies and reduces the explanation to a simple cosmopolitan-local dichotomy, a dichotomy that continues to persist over the years. Consider how Curran and Park (2006) in their otherwise excellent book *De-Westernizing Media* argue that they remain insistent on the nation-state as an important category, instead of "the global", suggesting it is an either-or choice between the two. Consider also how Martha Nussbaum (1996) several years ago declared that as a cosmopolitan, she is "a citizen of the world". Her declaration was less taken-for-granted this time around and sparked several debates that, amongst others, questioned the cosmopolitan-local construct. Even Manuel Castells (2009, p. 37) does not get it quite right and falls prone to the trap, substituting cosmopolitan for an abstract and

homogenous "world": "in contrast to normative or ideological visions that propose the merger of all cultures in the cosmopolitan melting pot of the citizens of the world, the world is not flat." To be fair, he also suggests that "what characterizes the global network society is the contraposition between the logic of the global net and the affirmation of a multiplicity of local selves" (Castells, 2009, p. 37).

The cosmopolitan-local dichotomy is not only conceptually problematic, but has political implications that are troubling as well, since it implicitly leads to another distinction between patriotism and cosmopolitanism, suggesting that cosmopolitans know no solidarity. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Jewish people in the diaspora were one of the first who disparagingly were called "rootless cosmopolitans." As Appiah (2007) says: "The favorite slander of the narrow nationalist against us cosmopolitans is that we are rootless. What my father believed in, however, was a rooted cosmopolitanism, or, if you like, a cosmopolitan patriotism." The notion of a rooted cosmopolitanism was first proposed by Cohen (1992, pp. 480,483), who called for "the fashioning of a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground." In other words, instead of a contraposition as Castells (2009, p. 37) proposes, I suggest it is more fruitful, as Cohen does, to conceptualize it in a dialectical fashion. However, let me hasten to

add that Castells (2009, pp. 37, emphasis mine, LT) in his impressive book gets a

lot more right than he does wrong:

> *The key question that then arises is the capacity of these specific cultural*
> *identities ... to communicate with each other (Touraine, 1997). Otherwise,*
> *the sharing of an interdependent, global social structure, while not being*
> *able to speak a common language of values and beliefs, leads to systemic*
> *misunderstanding, at the root of destructive violence against the other.*
> ***Thus, protocols of communication between different cultures***
> ***are the critical issue for the network society, since without***
> ***them there is no society, just dominant networks and resisting***
> ***communes***.

Castells (2009, p. 38) argues that these protocols are cultural, and a critical part

of the global network society:

> *The culture of the network society is a culture of protocols of*
> *communication between all cultures in the world, developed on the basis*
> *of the common belief in the power of networking and of the synergy*
> *obtained by giving to others and receiving from others.*

Castells does not refer to Immanuel Kant (2006) nor Roger Silverstone (2007)

once in his book, but I suggest here that the protocols of communication between

different cultures he refers to has a name, and it is hospitality. Hospitality has

always been a critical protocol for nomads, who travelled to distant places.

Hospitality facilitates the "in-between" that constitutes the world, as Arendt

describes it. The culture of hospitality in the networked global world, I suggest, is

overwhelmingly inhabited by rooted cosmopolitans, because they have the

capacity to translate cultural protocols back-and-forth. In the words of Global

Voices, they have the ability to "bridge cultures". Many of the Global Voices

community are rooted cosmopolitans. Consider the following comment by Portnoy Zheng, the member who started Global Voices Lingua, the translation branch:

> *It's interesting since the internet has made me much more of a nationalist than I otherwise would have been. A nationalist that tries to be tolerant, open-minded and cosmopolitan, but a nationalist nevertheless. Accidents of birth put me of three potentially conflicting nationalisms, that of the United States, the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of China. But the internet has allowed me to integrate those different nationalisms, and I'm actually much more emotional about the US, the PRC, and the ROC than I would be without the internet.*
>
> *As far as what nationalism means to me. With the internet you realize how large the world is, and that there are millions of issues and millions of different groups of people that you could care about. You don't have time to care about everyone and everything, so you have to choose. What being nationalistic means to me is to say I care about these people and these issues. (Zheng, cited in MacKinnon, 2008)*

Rebecca MacKinnon (2008) sees Portnoy Zheng as the norm, not an exception for the Global Voices community:

> *One thing that's clear from the GV experience so far is that people have multiple identities: many bloggers chafe at being pigeonholed in accordance with one accident of birth above all others.*

Rooted cosmopolitans have many individual differences, but share a common perspective, what Robins referred to as "intimate detachment" and Roger Silverstone as "proper distance". Allow me to remind you that the Silverstone's (2003) idea of proper distance, borrows from Hannah Arendt (1994, p. 323):

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to put that which is too close at a certain distance so that we can see and understand without bias and to bridge abysses of remoteness until we can see and understand everything that is too far away from us as though it were our own affair.

I have argued that the proper distance perspective of a rooted cosmopolitan affects how events and voices are represented in the news, what I referred to as proper representation. Park once said that a public is what happens when strangers come to discuss the news, while Warner (Warner, 2002) argued that publics are constituted by virtue of imagination. What kind of public can we expect from news written from a perspective of proper distance, rather than intersubjectivity or objectivity? Will it lead to the kinds of protocols of communication Castells (2009) finds necessary for the constitution of a global network society? Will it lead to more hospitality? In other words, what is the culture of hospitality in journalism for?

The Purpose of Global Voices

If the purpose of professional journalism is the provision of information, and alternative media is to facilitate participation, then Global Voices is to encourage conversation. If the idea of an ideal democracy for professional journalism is liberal democracy, and for Indymedia participatory democracy, then for Global Voices it is communicative democracy. The notion of conversation in journalism has a rich history; perhaps most famously, James Carey (1987) critiqued professional journalism for being a "journalism of information", instead

challenging it to think of itself as a "journalism of conversation". The public journalism movement was an ambitious attempt to implement in practice what it means to practice a journalism of conversation.

What is conversation? There are many different types of conversation. Most definitions note its informal, easy-going character and contrast conversation against discussion or deliberation, that are more structured and goal-oriented. In a powerful critique, Schudson (1997) took great efforts to argue that conversation is not "the soul of democracy", suggesting that the romantic notion of conversation obscures the fact that much of the communication that a democracy needs is not so much informal, social or easy-going, but is rather the kind that is oriented towards solving problems rather than being social, that is governed by protocol and rules rather than informal and that it is "in some ways always uncomfortable discussion" (Kunelius, 2001, p. 41). In turn, Kunelius (2001) argues that Schudson is to some extent right, but that there are different types of conversations and that it is necessary to be clear about them, before we argue it is not "the soul of democracy". Kunelius goes on to offer a typology of conversation, captured in a matrix that consists of conversation that is either problem-solving or social, and that is constituted by either homogenous or heterogenous groups.

	homogenous	heterogenous
social	identity, performing yourself	role play, chat, learning to know others
problem solving	reproducing hierarchies	genuinely democratic

5.1 Types of Conversation

In other words, Kunelius and Schudson both agree the kind of conversation that is problem-solving and heterogenous is critical to a democracy. However, unlike Schudson, Kunelius believes that the other types of conversation are critical as well for democracy, because they allow the problem-solving, heterogenous kind of conversation to take place. It is not an either-or choice: the social conversation is needed if we are to have any problem-solving conversation at all. In this light, one can make the argument that the function of hospitality in the news is to bond first, and bridge later; to solve problems together, one needs to learn to know the other first and build a relationship.

To this typology I would like to add another distinction; one can have internal or external conversations. An internal conversation is one that takes place in one's own mind, whereas an external conversation happens between individuals or groups. Arendt has referred to this kind of internal conversation as

"selbstdenken" (self-thinking, roughly translated) and suggests it is critical for judgment and decision-making, because it facilitates an enlarged mentality. Such an internal conversation can be facilitated by allowing one's imagination "to go visiting", so that an issue is seen from different perspectives. Arendt goes to length to distinguish this from empathy, which she sees as adapting the perspective of the other without the kind of "selbstdenken" she sees as necessary for critical thinking. Goodin (2003) has argued that such an internal conversation where one contemplates about different kinds of perspectives can foster what he calls a "reflexive democracy". He suggests that to some extent this solves the scaleability problem of a deliberative democracy that requires citizens to come together and discuss issues. The types of conversation are of course ideal types, as Kunelius (2001) hastens to say. Nevertheless, they offer useful analytical distinctions that allows us to discuss the potential of the internet to foster a journalism of "conversation".

Some have argued that the internet is a harbinger for the "second phase" of public journalism (Nip, 2006); that blogs carry and uphold the legacy of the journalism of conversation (Carey, 1987). However, there is little empirical research to back up this claim, if we are to understand conversation as the heterogenous kind. Time and time again, findings are that, for the most part, ideological groups link to each other rather than across the political divide (Adamic & Glance, 2005; Hargittai, Gallo, & Kane, 2008; Benkler, Shaw, & Stodden, 2010). Blogs are better understood as the second wave of alternative

media, or as a democratization of alternative media. The value of alternative media is in encouraging participation - what matters with blogging might not be so much to partake in a conversation than the act of blogging itself that is valuable. Arendt (1990, p. 131) suggests that it contributes to a kind of "public happiness" that comes from active participation in public life, which she describes as providing "the joys of discourse, of legislation, of transacting business, of persuading and being persuaded"; in other words communication in public as an end in itself. Baker (1989) makes a similar claim when he argues that the value of speech lies in its importance for personal autonomy. Blogs have the potential to foster conversation, but will not do so by themselves. What is required are efforts to bring blogs in conversation with each other, efforts not unlike those undertaken by Global Voices.

A Public of Publics

A journalism of hospitality might not lead to the formation of a (global) public, nor should we aspire towards it. Warner (2002) suggests that a public is a relationship between strangers, and that it demands circulation, because it needs to be open-ended and addressed to a potentially infinite audience. A public comes into existence when people recognize that their actions have indirect consequences beyond the immediate scope of the actors themselves, calling for wider discussion and action. The internet meets both conditions, and at least in theory should facilitate the formation of a public or publics. However, the role of

the internet in facilitating a virtual or global public sphere has been critiqued as utopian or unrealistic (Sparks, 2000; Papacharissi, 2002; Dean, 2003).

In contrast, I argue it is more fruitful to consider the potential of the internet to enhance a journalism of hospitality towards the formation of a "public of publics" (Bohman, 2007). Rooted cosmopolitans are in particular well positioned to be the pillars of such a structure. Fraser (1990, p. 70) once argued that "the unbounded character and publicist orientation of publics allows for the fact that people participate in more than one public, and that the memberships of different publics may partially overlap"; with the internet this is more than ever the case. Global Voices members are rooted cosmopolitans who have memberships in different publics, including in subaltern counter-publics, but through Global Voices also have a foot in the mainstream public sphere.

Conclusion

At the heart of the cultural re-organization of journalism, spurred by the internet, is a reorientation of power that challenges existing institutional structures built to legitimize the production of knowledge. The stakes of what counts as "journalism or who counts as a "journalist" are not only important economically for funding, or legally for protection and rights, but also normatively for what we demand of democracy, broadly understood in the Deweyan sense as a aspirational way of living together, a mode of associated living that requires to be enacted and defined again in every generation.

New technologies in this sense invite us to rethink and challenge existing normative models of journalism and democracy, because they alter the conditions of the problems and change the capacity to solve them. An analysis of different models of journalism and democracy - organized around objectivity, intersubjectivity and hospitality - allows us to make finer distinctions regarding the impact of new technologies on "journalism" and "democracy".

What I have argued here is that the internet increases both the need for and the potential of a journalism of hospitality. Journalism as an institution of media representation has the important task of redaction - to include and give prominence to certain voices, while excluding or diminishing others. Hartley asked whether in a "redactional society" it is "possible to tell a society by how it edits ... how it reduces '(a person or thing) to a certain state, condition or action'" (Hartley, 2000, p. 44). I have suggested that objectivity as such a protocol of redaction is important yet inadequate on its own; that intersubjectivity as practiced by Indymedia is equally insufficient because of its inability or unwillingness to judge others; but that hospitality encompasses both objectivity and intersubjectivity and, as such, is a productive start for thinking about how a cultural re-organization of journalism that exploits the potential of the internet might look like.

Allow me to close with a few words of caution. The different models of journalism I have laid out in this chapter - those organized around objectivity,

intersubjectivity and hospitality - are of course ideal types. The models are designed to draw out analytical distinction that allows us to discuss with more nuance and detail the specific potential of the internet to improve journalism.

However, they do not suggest that journalistic work in practice can nor should be exclusively categorized as either following objectivity, or intersubjectivity or hospitality. As most things, in real life, the boundaries of these distinctions blur. It certainly does not mean that Global Voices never touches objectivity, as the intense internal discussion surrounding the use of the word "massacre" demonstrated. Similarly, what perhaps best illustrates the fertile and productive tensions between objectivity and hospitality is the desire of Global Voices to work closely with the mainstream media, suggesting that these notions are best understood as values on a continuum, rather than being an either/or proposition. The many collaborations of the mainstream media with Global Voices certainly indicate that mainstream media are not unwilling to practice hospitality. As Silverstone suggested, there is a long history of hospitality in the mainstream media, whether it is in the form of a "vox pop" or a section "letter to the editor".

Furthermore, a journalism of hospitality is not necessarily "better" than professional journalism that is organized around objectivity, or alternative media that is centered around intersubjectivity. Analogous, a hospitable conversation is not more critical to democracy than objective information or engaged participation. As a matter of fact, information and participation are crucial

ingredients for a good conversation. However, whereas objectivity only invites the elite and the important, hospitality recognizes that not everybody is able to speak under equal terms, despite how well intentions to bracket out individual differences might be, and instead makes an effort to include those who are silent, making conversation "that is always uncomfortable" somewhat less uncomfortable for those most in need of it. In particular, new technologies have changed the conditions upon which hospitality can and need to be practiced have changed, an insight which Global Voices has recognized and responded better to than the mainstream media.

6. Conclusion

every generation has to accomplish democracy over again for itself; that its very nature, its essence, is something that cannot be handed on from one person or one generation to another, but has to be worked out in terms of needs, problems and conditions of the social life of which, as the years go by, we are a part" (Campbell, 1995, p. 177)

John Dewey argued that democracy needs to be renewed and regenerated, that it is not something that can be taken for granted, that as it becomes outdated it needs to be reconstructed. He not only offers a critique but also suggests a plan for how to approach such a reconstruction. A term like "democracy" can be analyzed on three levels that differ in degree of specificity: the ideal, the conceptual and the institutional. On the ideal level, terms such as "democracy", "justice" - and I include "journalism" in here as well - are never fully specifiable. The closest we can come are their various conceptions and instantiations, which are always subject to dispute. This is a good thing, because "fixed conceptions do not assist inquiry, they close it" (Campbell, 1995, p. 156). However, there is a danger that the concept becomes the stand-in for the ideal, that the concept is no longer a tool for opening up thought, but that it becomes loaded with words associated with the past, that "instead of being tools for thoughts, our thoughts become subservient tools of words" (Campbell, 1995, p. 155).

That is to say, to avoid conceptual confusion, it is necessary to ask what "journalism" is, be open to the possibility of multiple interpretations, and accept it as an "essentially contested concept" (Bryce Gallie, 1963). The alternative is

Dewey's fear of conceptual confusion, where inquiry becomes rigid and closed because the concept becomes the stand-in for the ideal. It is unfortunately an accurate diagnosis of the current situation that has confused and conflated the ideal of journalism with the concept of professional journalism. Lamentations that (professional) "journalism" once worked, but now no longer does is a failure to see that professional journalism is only one of multiple responses to a particular problem. Dewey suggests that to untangle the ideal from the conceptual, ideal terms need to be clarified, sharpened and deepened in order to avoid conceptual confusion. In addition, it is not sufficient to just think differently, but it is also necessary to act differently. That is to say, a conceptual reconstruction needs to be followed by an institutional reconstruction.

I have addressed the need for a renewal of democracy through a critique of one of its key institutions, journalism. In previous chapters, I have argued that existing models of journalism are worn out and require regeneration. I have clarified, deepened, and problematized the notion of "journalism" by distinguishing between different models of journalism, including professional journalism, alternative media and a new type of journalism that Global Voices represents, a journalism of hospitality. I have analyzed the impact of new technologies on these different models of journalism through a political economic, sociological and cultural lens. I have argued that in order to secure a comprehensive understanding of the potential of new technologies to reform

journalism, it is necessary to move beyond an adaptive view, and instead consider the transformative potential of new technologies.

Moreover, I have not only critiqued and clarified existing models of journalism but also proposed how to remake and transform the institution by offering an alternative model as an potential candidate for regeneration, a journalism of hospitality. This is necessarily an exercise that is normative and not neutral. As Dewey suggested, "to foresee consequences of existing conditions is to surrender neutrality and drift; it is to take sides on behalf of the consequences that are preferred" (Campbell, 1995, pp. 146-147). Nevertheless, this does not mean that this exercise cannot be done in a balanced manner, a path I tried to take through a comparative analysis of various normative theories of journalism in different models of democracies. To inquire about the impact of new technologies on journalism, it is necessary to unearth implicit normative assumptions about the relationship between journalism and democracy. In other words, to ask what "journalism" is for, is to ask for what kind of "democracy"?

Subsequently, a regeneration of journalism implicitly demands a renewal of democracy. As Dewey suggested, "solutions come only by getting away from the meaning of terms that is already fixed upon and coming to see the conditions from another point of view, and hence in a fresh light" (Campbell, 1995, p. 150). Journalism itself is in need of a fresh perspective. But more crucially, the fate of democracy depends on a well-functioning journalism, in order "to see conditions from another point of view", to generate solutions. That is to say, the stakes of

renewal are larger than journalism itself, and concern democracy directly. New technologies play an important role, emphasizing both the need and potential for renewal. A failure of renewal will close down the imagination, instead of emphasizing the deleterious impact of new technologies, while turning into a blind spot the potential that new technologies offer for reform and renewal of both journalism and democracy.

A call for renewal is a proposal for reform that demands a transformative change, that asks us to reconsider the conceptual values of journalism, and challenges us to imagine how the journalistic institution would look if it were built from the bottom up, current technologies in hand. To judge to what extent the internet can democratize journalism, it is insufficient to assess its development exclusively on standards that are set by professional journalism. It is necessary to recognize that professional journalism and its standards are the product of a particular historical-technological context, and that the different constraints of new technologies warrant a reconsideration of what journalism is, and what it is for. That is not to ignore the current crisis in professional journalism. But to focus exclusively on the threats is to miss the manifold opportunities that are already in front of us, that nevertheless are still fledgling and marginal, and that are perhaps in need of protection, funding, understanding and encouragement.

To put it differently: It is a particular potent, pointed and pertinent time for a renewal of journalism. Robert McChesney (2007) suggests we are in the

midst of a critical juncture. Clay Shirky (2009) adds that journalism is undergoing a revolution, that we are currently in the middle of it, and that there is no way we can predict how it will look like, only that it will be vastly different. I agree, but would like to add a footnote and quote William Gibson who said that "the future is already here, it is just unevenly distributed". That is to say, journalism in all its facets - as an institution, a profession, a cultural practice - is no longer set in stone, but fluid, malleable and open for change. The embryos of different potential futures are in front of us. Understanding them will help us guide and shape journalism for a global and digital age.

What follows are two sections. The first section of this concluding chapter will recapitulate and refine the findings of the previous chapters. It critiques and clarifies existing models of journalism, and examines the impact of new technologies on journalism through a political economy, sociological and cultural lens. Through a comparative analysis that contrasts the adaptive newsroom with two transformative newsrooms (Indymedia and Global Voices), it suggests a path of reconstruction that highlights the potential and need for a journalism of hospitality as a critical resource for democracy. The second section asks, given a journalism of hospitality, what implications does this have for democracy? What kinds of reconstructions of democracy need to be considered? I offer a conceptual and institutional reconstruction of two terms I see as gaining in importance for democracy: to go beyond speaking and representation, towards listening and

redaction; and to go beyond the nation-state, towards cosmopolitanism. Both raise larger questions about justice, including who the "we" is that should do the listening and redaction, to whom we owe an obligation of listening, and what implications this has for a remaking of our institutions.

6.1 Transformative Potential of New Technologies for Journalism

> *These are bad days for the American daily newspaper. On every front it imagines itself under assault. One daily after another closes its doors. Readership declines as new competitors, from free suburban weeklies and the yellow pages to CNN and computer billboards, rise up to claim their share of the marketplace. Once-astonishing profit margins dwindle. Public disaffection with the press grows more vocal. (Foreword by John Pauly, in Anderson, Dardenne, & Killenberg, 1994, p. vii).*

At first sight, new technologies only seem to exacerbate the crisis in journalism. However, I have argued that this is only a partial view at best. What the quote illustrates is that long before the internet, journalism already found itself in crisis. Pauly's quote citing the myriad of problems facing journalism was published in 1994, a time when the web was still in embryonic stage and had to be accessed through a browser called Mosaic, when the *New York Times* had yet to go online (1996), Craigslist did not exist yet (1996), nor did Google (1998), Facebook (2004) or YouTube (2005). New technologies might accentuate and accelerate the problems facing journalism, and even introduce several others, but the crisis predates the internet. Outdated models prevent us from understanding the potential of new technologies in rethinking and reforming journalism. The

models of journalism were worn out in 1994 and haven't been improved or updated much despite the myriad of changes since then.

In chapters 3, 4 and 5 I offered a comparative analysis of how new technologies affect different models of journalism. I have done so through the empirical findings of Global Voices, contrasting them with the newsrooms of alternative media and professional journalism, examining their production from a political economy, sociological and cultural point of view. The empirical findings are framed around a theory of innovation that distinguishes between adaptive and transformative change. I have argued that the institutional culture of mainstream professional newsrooms is responsible for a reactive and protective attitude that aims to protect the existing status quo, rather than a proactive or innovative one that seeks out the distinct advantages of new technologies. I compared the adaptive newsroom of mainstream professional journalism with two transformative newsrooms, Indymedia and Global Voices. Through the comparison of Indymedia and Global Voices, two transformative newsrooms with drastically different approaches towards the implementation of technology in the newsroom, I have suggested that new technologies offer a wide range of possibilities and potential to reform journalism.

The Adaptive Newsroom

A critical task of journalism is to represent society. As a large body of literature shows, the task of representation has not always been carried out successfully or

even adequately by professional journalism, as exclusions in the news continue to persist. Unfortunately, exclusions have become accepted as almost inevitable, whether because of economic, social or cultural reasons. Economically, the argument goes that a news production logic that is advertising-based will crowd out minority voices. In addition, an increasing media ownership concentration further compounds the problem of exclusion, both nationally and globally, for offline as well as online media. Socially, it is said that the routines of the newsroom, such as the news beat, the deadline and the search for objectivity, lead to a preference of institutional and elite sources at the detriment of marginal and minority voices. Culturally, professional journalists act as an interpretive community, judge what is "real" journalism, and practice a form of cultural protectionism. That is not to say that citizens are always and completely excluded, but even in the cases where they are included, their input remains marginal to the process, instead relegated to the "letter to the editor" section of the newspaper or the "have your say" part of a website. If the news is said to be a house, the powerful and privileged occupy the living room, whereas most citizens are relegated to the equivalent of the cellar. It is hard not to see a connection between the production logic of professional journalism that discourages participation and the general disengagement and apathy of the citizenry.

New technologies carry the promise of a more inclusive and democratic journalism. Yet, professional journalism seems to struggle with new technologies. The most devastating impact of new technologies on professional journalism is

perhaps on the streams of revenue, although Pauly (Foreword in Anderson et al., 1994, p. vii) reminds us that the financial troubles of journalism are neither new nor necessarily exclusively attributable to new technologies. Nevertheless, new technologies continue to make it difficult for newsrooms to remain sustainable, let alone profitable, in particular because it wreaks havoc on advertising revenues that are dwindling fast. Even a significant rise in online advertising is a stopgap at best, because the price charged for online advertising is only a fraction of print advertising. Moreover, new technologies negatively affect the routines of the newsroom; for example, the obliteration of the deadline leaves professional journalists little to no time for rigorous fact-checking because everyone is in a rush to be the first. In other words, the adaptive newsroom reveals that exclusions are tied to and intertwined with the institutional culture of journalism, to the extent that new technologies not only are unable to help, but might even further aggravate the exclusionary tensions and tendencies within professional journalism. To understand how new technologies can reform journalism, it is necessary to look beyond the adaptive newsroom with all its institutional legacies, and examine transformative newsrooms: Indymedia and Global Voices.

A Transformative Newsroom: Indymedia

New technologies promise to solve the problem of exclusion by lowering the barriers of entry. They have allowed Indymedia to adopt a publishing model with a production logic that is radically open and inclusive, where anybody can submit

a news story with the click of a button. Furthermore, they have allowed Indymedia to operate at significant lower cost without being burdened by the prohibitive cost of a printing press, and instead rely on the internet for production and distribution. They allow Indymedia to operate on a budget that is sustainable without having to rely on advertising. In addition, they have allowed Indymedia to become a network that is global in scope, that is still run by volunteers, yet at the same time overcome the problem of scale that alternative media previously faced.

Nevertheless, a newsroom with a production logic built around radical inclusion is not without its own problems. For example, should one continue to insist on inclusion when confronted with hostility? In theory, Indymedia is against any form of censorship and has adopted a policy based on inclusiveness and openness. In practice, Indymedia often was forced to revert to an editorial model that hid undesirable posts from public view. Furthermore, new technologies make two additional problems salient: fragmentation and the failure of filtering. Fragmentation refers to the problem when everybody gets to speak and write, but it is no longer clear how people listen to each other. The failure of filtering refers to the problem when everybody gets to speak and write, but the information is overwhelming, and it is unclear what should be shared or who should be listened to. In other words, the case of Indymedia suggests that radical inclusion is not a sufficient answer to the problem of exclusion. Instead, I turned

to the Global Voices newsroom to look for a different answer, using new technologies, to address the problem of exclusion.

A Transformative Newsroom: Global Voices

This examination of the Global Voices newsroom has revealed several findings about new technologies and exclusion that are useful as a contrast to the adaptive newsroom and Indymedia. First, Global Voices suggests that new technologies significantly alter the political economy of the news, but that it also requires a footnote. Seen through the lens of professional journalism the emancipatory effect of new technologies are understated because the adaptive newsroom is largely incapable of opening up its production process; seen through the lens of Indymedia, the impact of new technologies is perhaps overstated and celebrated too much. In contrast, the political economy of Global Voices suggests that news production remains capital intensive, albeit on a much lower scale than before. This is in part because it is hard to run a newsroom exclusively with volunteers, where certain critical tasks, such as day-to-day maintenance and management and long-term planning and coordination, still benefit from having a small and (partially) paid staff.

Second, Global Voices suggests that new technologies allow for ways of coordination and collaboration that are less restrictive than previously thought. The journalistic routine has been much maligned (unintentionally) for excluding voices in the news, to the point where many alternative media outlets decided to

abandon routines altogether, as exemplified by Indymedia. Global Voices indicates that the exclusionary impact of the journalistic routine is perhaps overloaded and overdetermined; instead, Global Voices suggests that new technologies significantly change the dynamics of journalistic routines and practices. For example, the practices of the Global Voices newsroom suggest that the insistence on the deadline is cultural or institutional in nature, and is no longer born of technical necessity. Where the obliteration of the deadline means that professional journalists feel forced to rush out the news, Global Voices authors instead take it as an opportunity for more time to do research and craft a story. In addition, the obliteration of the deadline allows for the existence of a latent network of volunteers that might not contribute on a daily or even regular basis, but that can be potentially activated when an important event happens.

Third, new technologies have broadened the cultural ranks of journalism. Neither wholly professional journalist, nor completely activist, Global Voices suggests that new technologies invite us to consider what happens to journalism when it is opened up to new entrants that offer different ideas and perspectives on what journalism is and what it is for. More specifically, I have suggested that Global Voices indicates the capacity of new technologies to gather and empower a critical mass of "rooted cosmopolitans". The ability of the internet to overcome geographic boundaries might perhaps have been overstated in general, but it has empowered this particular group of rooted cosmopolitans, individuals who otherwise would be only found on the margins of their respective society, but who

are now able to gather and organize themselves in communities and publics as not possible before. These are the people who effectively function as bridges between cultures - and who by definition are marginal in their own respective societies - but who are now able to gather much strength by amplifying their voice collectively. They are the people the sociologist Mark Granovetter (1973) would think of as being rich in weak ties - those unique ties which provide information and resources one would not get from your closest friends and peers. They are rich in what Robert Putnam (1995) has described as 'bridging capital' and who now by virtue of the internet are also able to develop the 'bonding capital' amongst themselves to empower themselves. Global Voices invites us to ask what the possibilities of journalism are when its culture is inhabited with a critical mass of rooted cosmopolitans, adept at the practice of bridging cultures, and which can help us learn about the world by offering a perspective that is neither too close nor too far, but established from a proper distance (Silverstone, 2003).

Analytical Insights

A comparative analysis of the three newsrooms has revealed the following analytical insights. First, traditional explanations for exclusion, whether they are political, economic, sociological or cultural in nature, can no longer be considered valid or legitimate. That is not the same as saying that concerns about exclusion are no longer necessary. Indeed, an analysis of the adaptive newsroom reveals

that the impact of new technologies in addressing issues of exclusion is marginal at best, and sometimes even makes things worse. However, a comparative examination of the transformative newsrooms of Indymedia and Global Voices suggests that new technologies allow for a wide range of possibilities available to address issues of exclusion in the news. It is this promise and potential offered by new technologies that traditional explanations for exclusion, including factors such as economic barriers to entry or the social determinacy of journalistic routines, are no longer satisfactory or tenable. New technologies make traditional concerns for exclusion invalid or illegitimate, although not obsolete, especially if the conceptual confusion of journalism as an ideal with professional journalism as its instantiation is not cleared up and we continue to confuse and conflate the two.

Given the promise and potential of new technologies, what is necessary are new conceptual frameworks that rethink and renew journalism. Yet, what Global Voices reveals is that we continue to fail at this. First, we lack the language to talk about journalism beyond the dichotomy of professional journalism and alternative media. What Global Voices reveals is that new technologies open up the ecology of journalism to a wide range of players, including civil society organizations such as NGOs and human rights organizations that slowly but surely enter the journalistic field. These new developments can no longer be categorized as either mainstream or oppositional. Instead, Global Voices suggests it might be valuable to think of them in degrees of complementarity. This has

practical implications for research: new technologies force us to shift the analytical lenses of political economy from an exclusive focus on the market to a broader scope that includes the state and civil society as well. Such a scope has to consider the impact of volunteerism, and funding from foundations on the political economy of news. That does not mean volunteerism or foundation money will be adequate for replacing the decline in revenues that news organizations are facing. It does mean that a more comprehensive understanding is needed as to how the three different domains - state, market and civil society - interact with each other and how their interactions affect the overall state of the news.

Second, we also lack the language to talk about exclusion in terms other than access. That is to say, inclusion is not necessarily a sufficient answer to exclusion. A focus on access sensitizes us to the absence of voices, but ignores that marginalization is possible even when minorities are given presence in the news. Young's distinction between external and internal exclusion suggests that it is necessary to pay more attention to the ways people are marginalized even when they are "included". Instead of considering the issue of exclusion in terms of access, it might be more useful to consider it in terms of a conversation. Turning to the metaphor of a conversation makes a different constraint, an alternative form of exclusion other than access visible; that is to say, instead of speaking, exclusion increasingly happens on the level of listening, rather than speaking.

Related is the tendency to think about exclusion in the news in terms of journalism's task of representation. The task to project a representative picture of society, whether achieved through objectivity or intersubjectivity, leads to the judgment of journalism in terms of accuracy. As a result, journalism's failures are talked about in unproductive terms of distortion and bias. This is not a new critique, as Herbert Gans (1992, 1979) warned us against the pitfalls of objectivity as a journalistic ideal a long time ago; instead he advocated for a multiperspectival news. The notion of a multiperspectival news is valuable, but the trouble is that even Gans seems ambivalent about what this means in practice. His ambivalence can be seen in his "ideal" notion of omniperspectival news, that is, a news that captures all perspectives of society. He quickly notes that an omniperspectival news is of course never realizable, yet implicitly suggests it is desirable. In its desirability lies the problem, because in the end it brings us back to a judgment of journalism in terms of distortions, inaccuracies and biases. Instead, I have suggested that a better way forward is Hartley's proposal to consider the task of journalism in terms of redaction, and to judge it in terms of hospitality.

A journalism of hospitality is by definition one that reflects an incomplete "truth", that moderates, filters and selects, where "distortion" and "bias" are better thought of as "recommendation filters" or "perspectives", and are a function, rather than a failure of journalistic work. Seen through the lens of redaction, professional journalism redacts in a manner that is overly exclusive,

whereas Indymedia fails or refuses to redact except on the basis of self-preservation. A journalism of redaction is still interested in truth, although perhaps not so much truth in the epistemological sense, but instead what Robert White has called "public cultural truth", a truth that takes into consideration social justice (Christians et al., 2009). Indeed, it reminds us that exclusion is a matter that not only concerns truth, but that it also matters in terms of justice.

6.2 A Theory of Journalism as Hospitality

I have clarified, deepened and critiqued the term "journalism" to avoid the kind of conceptual confusion Dewey warned us about and that seems to be happening in the debate about the crisis in journalism, where the ideal of journalism is confused and conflated with professional journalism. I have argued that a conceptual clarification reveals that we lack the language to talk about journalism that goes beyond professional journalism or alternative media, mainstream or oppositional. Similarly, there is a need to broaden the language in order to discuss the problem of exclusion in terms that goes beyond "access", and instead frames it around "conversation", where exclusion does not only take place at the level of speaking, but also listening. Last, but not least, I have argued that we need to move beyond thinking of journalism as representing society, and in addition consider its task as redacting for society. I have not only critiqued the existing terms, but also propose a conceptual reconstruction of journalism that addresses the lacunas in the current discourse on journalism.

What journalism theory needs to do is not so much consider how to preserve journalism, but rather how to construct different models of journalism. I propose to turn towards a journalism of hospitality, as a way of thinking about redaction, as a production logic of journalism that goes beyond thinking of exclusion in terms of access but instead as conversation, as a type of journalism that is neither mainstream nor oppositional but aims to be complementary. Hospitality is not only an aspiration or abstract ideal, but already actually exists and lives in the efforts of groups, organizations, social movements and communities that seek to improve journalism, such as Global Voices. The findings of my research might not be wholly generalizable, nor may the cases I look at be widely representative, but that does not mean they have no implications for our future. Global Voices is thus best understood as an exemplar, not in the sense that everything it does is perfect or without flaws, but in the sense that it shows us a way forward, suggesting how a journalism of hospitality might look like. In particular, it reveals how new technologies offer the resources that allow us to expand our vision of the world, to change the way we see, hear and imagine the other.

New technologies make it both necessary and possible to move towards a journalism of hospitality. Hospitality is a framework proposed and developed by Immanuel Kant and imported into media studies by Roger Silverstone (2007) that examines the conditions of how we can live together in one world. Kant

(2006) argued that we all share this world, and as such, that there is an obligation to give the stranger temporary, but not permanent, rights to visit, as long as it does not affect the capacity for self-preservation. Silverstone suggests that hospitality in the media means the ethical obligation to listen to the stranger. He argues that the media are institutions of representation, that we therefore need to ask whether voices are given presence at all, and if so, whether they are given prominence or relegated to the margins.

A journalism of hospitality can help us see the world through the eyes of the other. It can change the ways in which people imagine their own lives, how they relate to others, how they interact with each other and what expectations and norms should guide these interactions. This is not new, as journalism has always played a critical role in the faculty of imagination. Benedict Anderson (1991) famously argued that the print media facilitated the rise of the nation-state as an imagined community. However, what is different is how the internet might affect a different kind of imagined community, one that is cosmopolitan in nature. Cosmopolitanism carries two strands of thoughts: the first is that we have an obligation to others and that these obligations are based on a shared humanity; and second, to take the other seriously means that its value is in the particularity of people's lives, and that consequently we give credence to the significance of their practices and beliefs (2007).

Hospitality might connote feelings of warmth, friendliness and comfort, but critical and often overlooked is the fact that it also insists on the invitation of

the stranger. I have suggested that hospitality can facilitate two kinds of social capital. It can foster bonding capital when it brings friends and family together. But more importantly, it can also develop bridging capital when it allows us to connect to foreigners and strangers. Inviting the stranger into one's home is not without risk or danger, but necessary if we are to co-exist peacefully in the global "communities of fate" that bind us (Held, 1995). Silverstone (2007, p. vi) goes as far as to say that " [..] it is only by attending to the realities of global communication, but also and even more so to its possibilities, that we will be able to reverse what otherwise will be a downward spiral towards increasing global incomprehension and inhumanity".

New technologies raise the stakes of hospitality. The internet allows anyone with a computer and an online connection to have a voice, to have a presence in the "space of appearance" (Arendt, 1998). The opportunities to connect with strangers have perhaps never been so many, nor so easy. But to take others seriously means listening to them, yet it is impossible to listen to all, just as it is unimaginable to invite the entire world into one's home. But just as nobody has to invite the entire world to their home, an obligation to hospitality in the media should not be mistaken for having to listen to everything and everybody. Nevertheless, while all have an obligation to hospitality to a certain extent, the powerful and privileged have a stronger obligation than others, because not all locations in the space of appearance are equal. Journalism has a particular important role to play in this regard; more so than others, I argue, they

have a responsibility to listen and be hospitable. They are the institution of representation; they have disproportionate communicative power, they command attention, and people listen to them. In a world with information that is potentially overwhelming, the value of journalism is in redaction. In a world that is potentially fragmented into multiple publics, the value of journalism is in offering a protocol of communication that bridges the publics. In other words, the more people speak, the more necessary it becomes to move towards a journalism of hospitality.

Hospitality and Democracy

The potential of new technologies to reform journalism has broader implications for how we understand what democracy is, and what it is for. Janet Wasko (1993, p. 164) once said that "a democratization of communication always implicates a democratization of society." What is often glossed over and implicitly understood to be clear is what we mean by "democracy". But as I and many others have suggested, the meaning of the word "democracy" is anything but simple or clear, with many sides that claim their definition is definitive.

To understand the potential of new technologies to reform journalism, it is not sufficient to ask what journalism is, but it is also necessary to ask what democracy is, and consequently what this means for the relationship between journalism and democracy. In this dissertation, I have distinguished between

three types of journalism and associated them with three models of democracy (See also Siebert, 1956; Van Dijk, 2000; Baker, 2002; Hallin & Mancini, 2004)

liberal democracy	participatory democracy	deliberative democracy	communicative democracy
professional journalism	alternative media	public journalism	global voices
information	participation	deliberation	conversation
objectivity	intersubjectivity	rationality	hospitality

6.1 types of democracy and journalism

In its most classic form, the purpose of professional journalism is the provision of information. It is strongly tied to an understanding of democracy as liberal democracy. Liberal democracy takes as its starting point the practical constraints that citizens face to be able to participate fully and effectively in democracy. However, it does require them to be informed and to vote, to aspire towards the informed-citizen ideal. It is a relatively undemanding ideal, although some argue that even the informed-citizen ideal is asking too much of citizens, because they question that citizens have time or the capacity to read and follow all the

information or that it is all relevant and necessary for the citizen (Schudson, 1998; Delli Carpini, 2000; Bennett, 2003b; Zaller, 2003).

In contrast, alternative media believe that citizens can and should participate in the production of media. They are tied to participatory democracy and believe citizens can and should be a critical part of the decision-making in everyday life. It is even more demanding than the informed-citizen ideal. Furthermore, critics argue that too much inclusion can raise problems, such as the issue of filtering and accreditation (how do we know what is good or what we need to pay attention to) and further fragmentation of publics into echo chambers that might lead to group polarization.

A model of democracy I have not mentioned much but that is important nevertheless is deliberative democracy. It believes that the best collective decision-making arrives not through information or participation, but from deliberation. The role of journalism here is to foster deliberation between citizens; compare this to the role of professional journalism in a liberal democracy, where citizens are provided information, but they are not asked to deliberate with each other before voting. The most famous scholar associated with deliberative democracy is Jurgen Habermas. It is perhaps easy to critique his proposal for a public sphere based around rational deliberations that take place in "ideal speech situations", but there is no doubt that his contribution has been critical in advancing our thinking about how a better society would look like,

what role the media have to play in such a society and what the factors are that constrain the media in fulfilling that role.

Nevertheless, the most powerful critique against Habermas came from scholars who argued that the requirement of equality of access and participation robs the notion of the public sphere of much power, suggesting that social and cultural inequalities can influence deliberation, even in the absence of any formal exclusions (Fraser, 1992; Young, 1996; Young, 2002). Young distinguishes between external exclusion, that precludes people from participating at all, and internal exclusion, the kind of exclusion that takes place even when you are formally admitted and given a seat at the table. For example she suggests that the normative distinction that privileges rational and logical speech over narrative and story-telling is problematic from the standpoint of minorities. She argues that narrative and story-telling are important and valuable forms of speech that in particular empower minorities, who often can only speak powerfully from a position of experience. Instead of deliberative democracy, she proposes communicative democracy that is more inclusive and appreciative of alternative modes of communication. She makes an important case for understanding difference as a resource, rather than a problem that needs to be overcome. Instead of restrictive deliberation, it is more fruitful to consider the role of journalism so as to foster the more inclusive notion of conversation.

In addition, I argue that the inclusion of difference can sometimes be too much, that a minimal form of common ground for conversation is needed. This

can be similar to the cosmopolitan notion that we have an obligation to others and that these obligations are based on a shared humanity. In addition, to take the other seriously means that its value is in the particularity of people's lives, and that consequently, we give credence to the significance of their practices and beliefs. In other words, hospitality not only recognizes that inclusion is important, but that there are legitimate limitations to the extent of inclusion, that sometimes exclusion is necessary, especially when faced with hostility.

Hospitality, Democracy and Justice

Given a journalism of hospitality, how can we have a just democracy? What are the larger implications of a journalism of hospitality for democracy? I discuss two trends here that need to be considered in relation to justice: listening and redaction, and cosmopolitanism. A journalism of hospitality considers listening central to the practice of journalism. And because it is impossible to listen to everything and everybody, especially in a world where everybody can speak, a journalism of hospitality implicitly demands the practice of redaction. What follows is the need to consider how listening and redaction can be implemented and practiced in a just manner. It is necessary to ask under what conditions a journalism of hospitality can be considered just or unjust. In other words, who should listen? Whom and to what should "they" listen to? And related, who or what, under what circumstances, should not be listened to?

Who should listen?

Earlier I suggested that everybody has a responsibility to listen, but that this responsibility is stronger for those who are in a position of power to command and redirect attention. I argued that mainstream professional journalism has an important role to play in this regard, although it does not mean the responsibility of listening falls squarely and solely on the shoulders of professional journalists. The case of Global Voices suggests a distributive and networked model where professional journalists do not necessarily have to listen to everybody or even every blogger, but that instead they are in conversation with strategic players such as Global Voices, who might inform them of stories and voices that would otherwise go unnoticed. In turn, Global Voices listens to a wider array of people and is well positioned to do so because of its familiarity and expertise with the particularities of different blogospheres, which allows them to make sense of and contextualize stories. This is all not new - half a century ago, Katz and Lazarsfeld (2006) suggested news diffuses in a two-step flow. That is, the news does not reach audiences directly - rather, most people get their news through what Katz and Lazarsfeld have referred to as Opinion Leaders. These opinion leaders act as an important filter for the rest of the population. However, what is different is the direction of the flow: opinion leaders such as Global Voices now not only influence the general public, but also filter for mainstream professional journalists, who work for news organizations such as the BBC, Reuters and the *New York Times*.

Listen to whom?

The task of journalism to redact for society invites us to pay attention to the specific conditions that govern the conversation. I made the argument that a conversation should be neither too open nor too closed, that we should start thinking of the news in terms of hospitality. However, this does not sensitize us to exactly what the news should be hospitable.

Several answers have been proposed in the past conditions that should guide journalism: objectivity, intersubjectivity, and rationality. Professional journalism follows objectivity as a principle in determining the conditions of their work, which in practice means that it listens to the powerful and the elite, to the detriment of marginal and minority voices. This has been rightfully criticized as being overly exclusive. In contrast, alternative media have followed intersubjectivity as a principle that is also problematic because it is in-discriminatory, to the detriment of the quality of their news. Finally, Habermas (1985) argued that policies guiding the conditions of conversation should be made on the basis of rationality. That is to say, irrational speech should not get a seat at the table. However sensible this might sound, scholars such as Fraser (1992) and Young (1996, 2002) have argued that this condition is overly restrictive; in particular, it robs minorities of the power to speak from experience. All of these proposals suggest that it is neither easy nor obvious to formulate journalistic conditions that are universally just. My aim here is modest and is not

to formulate a policy that can find universal acceptance or recognition. Instead, hospitality is best understood as a proposal to formulate the conditions for a democratic minimum (Bohman, 2007) that seeks to prevent domination (Shapiro, 2003) and improve actual existing conditions, but that also recognizes that the specificities of hospitality are deeply cultural. That is to say, the ideal of hospitality is universal, but its instantiations are always culturally and locally interpreted. To discuss the range of instantiations in further detail is outside the scope of this dissertation and requires further empirical research, but the hope is that this will ignite a larger conversation that delves deeper into what it means to take the freedom to "speech" seriously, to also consider listening as a central component of that freedom.

Nevertheless, a transformation of journalism not only demands a remaking of its institutional rules, but also needs to reconsider what its political subject is. That is to say, what public should journalism serve, answer to, and indeed, listen to? In other words, what are the boundaries of obligation? Traditionally, the scope of justice has been located within the sovereignty of the nation-state. The sovereignty of the nation-state is reflected in the categorization of news. Domestic news covers news that is relevant for the nation-state, while foreign news covers news about "other" countries, that is to say countries that are politically irrelevant, except when it affects foreign policy or trade. "International" news might be more politically correct than "foreign" news, but retains the nation-state as its dominant organizing principle. There is a large

body of literature that finds the nation-state as the exclusive way of thinking about "society" highly problematic (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002; Chernilo, 2006; Beck, 2007). Others build on this argument and make the case for extending justice beyond the borders of the nation-state (O'Neill, 2001; Bohman, 2003).

Instead, the approach I have argued for is to listen on the basis of cosmopolitanism. That is not the same as the obligation to offer hospitality to everybody who belongs to this planet, nor am I advocating for a global public sphere. It is also not an abandonment of the nation-state as an organizing principle for listening. Instead, it argues against the idea that the obligation of hospitality only extends to members of the same nation-state. Especially under globalization where we increasingly live in communities of fate, the scope of journalism as an institution should extend beyond the nation-state. I argue for a model of listening and conversation that takes into account a differentiated solidarity, by considering a more relational interpretation of what it means to be hospitable. That is to say, the obligation to listen extends beyond borders, and includes outsiders who claim to be affected by actions and decisions. It includes the resolution of conflict through procedures that have been negotiated and agreed upon in a democratic manner. It refuses the exclusivity and sovereignty of borders, but recognizes the value of group affinities and differences in conversation.

Final Thoughts

What impact does the internet have on journalism? What does it mean for democracy? The distinctions between different models of democracy, and corresponding roles of the media, suggest that it is necessary to ask "what kind of journalism?" and "what model of democracy?" The distinctions allow us to analyze whether the internet might be beneficial for journalism in one model of democracy, but not another.

The internet poses challenges to certain fundamental principles that constitute professional journalism. Objectivity as a concept has always been elusive and troublesome, but even more so in an age of the internet where every fact is contested in some corner of cyberspace. The internet also problematizes the business model that professional journalism is built on, further complicating the funding of expensive, but valuable journalistic practices, such as investigative reporting and foreign correspondence. In contrast, the internet has proven to have a positive impact on the level of participation in society. More people than ever contribute comments, blog, twitter, or share news articles with friends and relatives. The internet not only empowers individuals, but also groups. Alternative media have always been constrained in the past in terms of scale, but Indymedia proves that it is possible to have an alternative media organization that is produced and distributed globally. However, the challenge participatory democracy poses is how to overcome fragmentation of publics, whether it is possible to have a common ground that is "sufficiently" large enough for a

democracy to function, while acknowledging that what constitutes "sufficient" common ground is likely to be prone to disagreement itself.

The news has, can and needs to continue to act as a common ground that brings strangers together. The provision of factual information, a task that professional journalism in particular has considered important, is critical in connecting people. It does so not because facts are undisputed and agreed upon, or at least not necessarily always so, but because they are a good starting point for disputes. It's the table that allows people to gather and become a public rather than resemble a spiritualistic seance, as Arendt (Arendt, 1998, p. 53) suggests:

> *The public realm, as the common world, gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other, so to speak. What makes mass society so difficult to bear is not the number of people involved, or at least not primarily, but the fact that the world be tween them has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them. The weirdness of this situation resembles a spiritualistic séance where a number of people gathered around a table might suddenly, through some magic trick, see the table vanish from their midst, so that two persons sitting opposite each other were no longer separated but also would be entirely unrelated to each other by anything tangible.*

With the internet, it is both possible and necessary to do better than before, to rethink, renew and re-imagine journalism, one that can and has to play an important function in the construction of the public realm, in the facilitation of a common world. A rethinking of journalism also implies a renewal of journalism, and reminds us of Dewey, who argued that democracy is a process and that it requires constant regeneration, as conditions, constraints and circumstances change. Hartley (2000) specifically proposes that it is necessary for journalism to

transform itself from a "violent" profession to a "smiling" profession. He argues that for the longest time, the occupational ideology of (professional) journalism is founded on violence; "[i]ts basic thesis is that truth is violence, reality is war, news is conflict. It's not just a theory either – it's a desire. The demand of the reading public, the need for democratic accountability and the ideal type of the journalist all converge in a passion for conflict. If journalism is a 'profession' at all then it is the profession of violence" (Hartley, 2000, p. 40). Instead, he sees the need for journalism to transform itself as a "smiling" profession, one that redacts rather than represents. Similarly, I have argued for the need to understand and transform journalism through the lens of hospitality. Hospitality as a form of redaction broadens the idea of journalists beyond a frame of thinking that their task is primarily about reduction or gatekeeping, and instead allow us to consider in addition how they can also be seen as responsible for facilitating connections and building bridges between publics. To understand the journalist as a host, who recognizes the "gaps of communications" (Peters, 1994), listens for the silences and brings them to our attention. In the words of Seyla Benhabib (cited in Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008, p. 970, emphasis mine, LT):

> *We extend the boundaries of our sympathy by understanding the conditions of others who may be radically different than us. **At its best journalism does this; it extends your vision of the world by making you see the world through the eyes of the others.** It informs you, as well as stretching your empathy across time and space. The best kind of journalism has this capacity of uniting the dignity of the generalized other with empathy for the concrete other.*

To conclude, Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 2007, p. 189) once said that "a society can neither create itself nor recreate itself without at the same time creating an ideal." That is to say, there is no change without ideals. This dissertation reveals an aspirational impulse in the Global Voices community that is alive and spirited. Global Voices not only attempts to come up with new values but also puts them in practice; as such, it is both the product and the vehicle for cultural regeneration. It recognizes that the internet has allowed for more freedom, that it has made possible a democratization of tools. But this freedom comes with new forms of anxiety, that concern attention, recognition and justice. As long as these tensions remain in place, people will gather, collaborate and come together in organizations like Global Voices to seek hospitality, solidarity and justice.

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