

# Go local or keep the international desk? The evolving role of local reporting in international coverage

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*The Lobby Monitor, Ottawa (Canada)*

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## ARTICLE INFO

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*Article Type:*  
Editorial

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*Article History:*  
Received: 2012-12-10  
Revised: 2013-05-23  
Accepted: 2013-05-26

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*Keywords:*  
International journalism  
Foreign bureaus  
Perspectivism  
Journalism  
Canadian journalism

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## ABSTRACT

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The question of who should report on local news stories in international locations is one that weighs heavily in a world of diminishing resources for newspapers in the West. Should Canadian newspapers employ local reporters in countries where the action is, or should they fly in a Canadian working at an international bureau? Using the philosophy of perspectivism as a guide, the author explores whether it is possible for a non-local reporter to become familiar with the cultural, social and economic context quickly enough to provide accurate and representative reporting to the audience in the home country of the newspaper. These questions are examined through interviews with prominent Canadian journalists and editors who provide candid and often surprising opinions on the question.

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*All language is a set of symbols whose use among its speakers assumes a shared past. How, then, can I translate into words the limitless Aleph, which my floundering mind can scarcely encompass? ... Really, what I want to do is impossible, for any listing of an endless series is doomed to be infinitesimal. In that single gigantic instant I saw millions of acts both delightful and awful... What my eyes beheld was simultaneous, but what I shall now write down will be successive, because language is successive (Borges, 1971, p. 13).*

In the introduction to his anthology of centuries of reportage, John Carey wrote that good reporting “combats [the] inevitable and planned retreat of language from the real” (Carey, 1987, xxxii) by isolating the singularities and uniqueness of experience. The reporter “must cultivate the innocent eye, but he

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must not be innocent”; rather, he “must be Experience simulating Innocence” (Carey, 1987, xxxiv).

The theme of experience, and its relation to perspective, can be put to evaluating the practice of foreign reporting in a globalized world, a practice in flux in the face of technological, demographic and economic change. As news agencies struggle with new production, delivery and revenue models that have, for the most part, led to cuts to foreign bureaus, the question of who does the reporting should also be reconsidered to reflect a more global perspective. Does it still make sense to send Western reporters to tell us about places that are foreign to them? Who is best positioned to access and represent a given place? How much does understanding depend on the audience – can a local reporter frame a story for a foreign audience?

This paper will unfold in two sections. The first will take a broad view of the global news landscape and consider some of the business cases publications are making for the models they have adopted to suit the changing times. The second section will consider three approaches to foreign newsgathering – parachute reporting, foreign bureaus, and local national reporting. It will examine the idea of perspectivism, used here as an umbrella for various theories that assert, to varying degrees, that access to reality is always mediated by a perspective – be it political, ideological, cultural, linguistic, colonial or other manifestations of power – and that representing reality is also fraught. It will consider the three models through this theoretical lens, while keeping in mind the business considerations outlined in the first section. Both sections will also include commentary from several current practitioners – foreign reporters and editors from major Canadian publications and beyond – about how to best represent the foreign today. Seven interviews, lasting 30 minutes to one hour, were conducted from May to July of 2012 with reporters and editors. The subjects were chosen from major Canadian media outlets but one freelance reporter and one editor for American publications were also interviewed. Some questions regarding reporters’ perspectives were the same for reporters and editors, but interviews with the former dealt with that issue more thoroughly while interviews with editors also dealt with the business of foreign news.

This paper takes the view that perspective is important in accessing foreign situations and that globalization has presented new opportunities to provide a fuller picture of the world. It also takes seriously the limitations outlined by current practitioners and seeks a nuanced, workable model of foreign reporting. It will conclude with proposals for who is best placed to meet those requirements and what role news organizations should play in cultivating perspectives.

## The global news context

The combination of communications technology and the ease of modern travel have led to dramatic changes in foreign reporting in the past 20 years. With the internet, satellites and mobile phones, most points on the planet can be reached instantaneously, making travel seem unnecessary. Cell phone video is ubiquitous in reporting and social media allows for the global sharing of views. Reporters can drop into far-flung places at a moment's notice, and leave just as quickly. The internet has also changed how news is produced and consumed—local perspectives are easily accessible from anywhere, and news agencies' revenue models have been upturned, leading to a decline in traditional foreign bureaus. This section will examine these trends and how they have affected the practice of foreign reporting.

Sambrook (2010) traces the era of globalized news to the late 1980s, when the Cold War's end, the corporatization of news media with a new emphasis on profits, and the introduction of instantaneous news through satellite television and later the internet collided in a major shake-up of the industry (Sambrook, 2010, p. 6). Global migration has made the idea of 'foreign' more complex, since foreign reporting is now news from home for significant segments of 'local' populations (Sambrook, 2010, p. 6). *Toronto Star* foreign editor Lynn McAuley said the multicultural "composition of the city" led to the creation in 2011 of a special *Saturday World Weekly* insert delivered only to subscribers (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012). A globalized economy means business developments in China, for example, have local effects in any number of places, as do global issues like climate change, so the meaning of 'local' news has also changed. In response to global instantaneity, news priorities shifted to what has become known as the dumbbell model: breaking news and analysis—neither of which requires expensive overseas bureaus—are treasured, while what lies in between is of diminishing value. News organizations that had been their audience's principal source of global news for decades started losing out and began to cut bureaus (Sambrook, 2010, p. 8).

The cuts are due partly to declining revenues and partly to opportunities from new technology. Allan Thompson, a former foreign correspondent for the *Toronto Star* who now teaches Journalism at Carleton University, wrote about how business decisions affect coverage and encourage parachuting into crises like Rwanda to witness atrocities rather than following the story as it slowly unfolds:

The economics of the news business is a key factor here. Although it would seem to make sense to go where the news is about to happen, to get ahead of the story, we are more likely to go where the news is happening, where conflict has broken out. It is a sure bet; you're not going to buy a plane ticket and end up with no story (Thompson, 2007, p. 439).

American newspapers cut 10 to 30 per cent of their bureaus between 2000 and 2006 – before the financial crisis forced greater retrenchment (Sambrook, 2010, p. 13). Foreign coverage doesn't drive profits and was usually subsidized by classifieds and other ads that have moved online (Sambrook, 2010, p. 13). U.S. television networks have fewer than half as many bureaus today as they did in the 1980s, and their coverage of foreign news has halved since 1989 (Sambrook, 2010, p. 14). The CBC recently announced the closure of pocket bureaus – one-to-two-person bureaus without production and editing capabilities, which have only become possible with technological developments in the last decade – in Latin America and Africa. It maintains six foreign bureaus and shares two with Radio-Canada. Jonathan Whitten, CBC's Executive Director of News Content, said the number of full bureaus has remained fairly constant over the years with the pocket bureaus fluctuating and migrating (J. McGuire & J. Whitten, personal communication, July 2012).

The *Toronto Star* – which used to have London, Middle East, Latin America and Africa bureaus – closed its last two non-American bureaus, in South Asia and China, in December 2011. McAuley said the paper invested the money formerly spent on those bureaus (which are estimated to cost approximately \$250,000 each per year [Vasil, 2003]) into a mobile team of foreign correspondents. She said the team of six reporters made 42 visits to 30 countries between October 2011 and April 2012, and that the *Star's* foreign coverage is expanding. The approach reflects a smaller world where “global issues are what bind interests” (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012). *The Globe and Mail* has bureaus in Johannesburg, Beijing, Delhi, London, Washington, and the Middle East – as well as business desks in New York, Rome and the Far East – and two parachute reporters based in Toronto who travel to report on crises (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012). The paper plans to reopen its Latin America bureau in Rio de Janeiro, closed in 1995 (De la Fuente, 2008), in 2013, Deputy Foreign Editor Susan Sachs said. The *Globe* never had any major retrenchment of foreign bureaus like U.S. papers and Sachs considers foreign coverage to be a draw, with well-known correspondents who gear their coverage to a Canadian audience. She said organizations are experimenting, “trying to reach audiences that are getting their news in a different way and understanding who the audience is – especially when it

may be an international audience—and then trying to monetize that, I suppose” (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012). But original reporting from mainstream media is valuable in a digital world of raw information and aggregators where reporters can produce a “literate kind of news”:

In order to distinguish from recycled content... where it's somebody who is just blogging or commenting on something that appeared in a mainstream paper somewhere, you have to get your people's voices standing out. And so I think it's—business-wise, for the sustainability of newspapers and media—it's really important to have your person out there. It of course gives more authority, gives more weight, gives more credibility (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012).

Sachs said correspondents are mostly expected to file value-added stories rather than duplicating the breaking news from wire services. McAuley said providing unique foreign stories readers won't find elsewhere is also the *Star's* strategy. Neither could answer how much foreign news their readers are getting from international news sources, or how much readers depend on the *Star* and the *Globe*, respectively, for news outside of Canada.

New media is also changing the possibilities for accessing information and the need to 'be there,' the traditional hallmark of foreign reporting. Whitten said new media has “changed the game”:

It certainly means that... you don't always have to have people there. Much of the material we're getting from social media, I'm not sure we would have got even if foreign reporters were actually on the scene. It's stuff that happens and we were not able to capture years ago. Anyone with a cellphone, which is pretty well everyone in many of these countries, can take video, so it's changed (J. McGuire & J. Whitten, personal communication, July 2012).

The audience has also changed, although just how fundamentally is open for debate. A reader interested in Ghana, for example, doesn't have to rely on his local or national paper for coverage—he can access Ghanaian newspapers and radio stations online (Sambrook, 2010, p. 31). Websites like *Global Voices* and *WorldCrunch* pride themselves on distributing 'local' news from news organizations and bloggers around the world, translating articles to English. Major news agencies are attracting an increasingly global readership: 77 per cent of the *Financial Times'* readers are outside the United Kingdom; 30 per cent of the *Wall Street Journal's* readers are outside the U.S.; the international share of the *New York Times'* readership is 12 per cent (Doctor, 2012).

All three have now launched Chinese-language websites (Ellis, 2012). "U.S. papers are trying to write for local markets, trying to cover news in a more granular way," said the Asia editor of a major U.S. magazine who spoke on condition of anonymity. "And in a lot of cases hiring people from those countries to do the reporting" (Asia editor, personal communication, May 2012). The *New York Times'* new China site, for example, will get one-third of its content from Chinese reporters based there, with the rest translated from the main publication (Ellis, 2012). Local national reporters are increasingly prevalent, particularly with wire services—69 per cent of foreign correspondents used by American news organizations were non-American in 2000, including three-quarters of Associated Press reporters (Hamilton, 2009, p. 465).

Whether most news consumers are actually reaching beyond their preferred national media outlets is debatable. Zuckerman (2010) referred to "imaginary cosmopolitanism" in describing how 95 per cent of online news readership in the top 10 internet-using countries is on domestic sites: "We look at the internet, we think we're getting this wide view of the globe... and we forget that most of the time we're just checking Boston Red Sox scores" (Zuckerman, 2010). Another study found "the dangerous illusion of multiple perspectives which actually emanate from very few sources" (Paterson, 2006, p. 21): 50 per cent of the content of major news sites comes from wire services, principally Reuters and the Associated Press. Recent bureau cutting has increased dependence on the wires. The report urged news organizations to "invest in more original reporting as an alternative to the few genuinely international news organizations now on offer" and to buy more original, non-English reporting to translate and publish (Paterson, 2006, p. 21).

News agendas have also changed, as audiences are no longer geographically bound to media organizations. "Different audiences in different countries have always perceived events in different ways"; globalization has allowed them to "see across the fence to how others were reporting the news" (Sambrook, 2010, p. 8). This has challenged major news organizations' cultural consensus in news priorities that limits the range of discourse (Sambrook, 2010, p. 56). Access to multiple perspectives has challenged the journalistic ideal of objectivity, which is "proving less robust in a heavily interconnected and diverse public space" (Sambrook, 2010, p. 56).

The challenge of new perspectives in foreign news is a salutary development but organizations now have to decide how those perspectives are integrated into their reporting. The situation matches elements of Lyotard's (1994) "postmodern condition" where metanarratives can no longer be legitimated (Lyotard, 1994, p. xxv). Legitimacy can't be found in consensus through

discussion because that “consensus does violence to the heterogeneity of language games” (Lyotard, 1994, p. xxv), so we are left more sensitive to difference and more tolerant of the incommensurable. Said (1989) and Morley and Robins (1995) argued that postmodernism originated in the colonies. Following Massey (1992), Morley and Robins wrote that the postmodern characteristics of dislocation, hybridity and displacement were felt long ago by the colonized who, in the words of Salman Rushdie, were “forced by cultural displacement to accept the provisional nature of all truths, all certainties” (Rushdie quoted in Morley & Robbins, 1995, p. 218). Grand narratives for the colonized ended with colonization, and the colonizers are only feeling the effects now that migration and communications are sending ideas back the other way. The local and the global melded long ago in the periphery, creating the dislocation the West now feels as it encounters an idea of the global that’s not its own.

The consequences of competing narratives can be seen in reporting, as described by the *Independent’s* Robert Fisk:

There’s no justice, no injustice, just a couple of people who tell different history stories. ‘Competing narratives’ now regularly pop up in the British press. The phrase is a species – or sub-species – of the false language of anthropology. It deletes the possibility that one group of people – in the Middle East, for example – are occupied, while another group of people are doing the occupying. Again, no justice, no injustice, no oppression or oppressing, just some friendly ‘competing narratives’... And two sides have to be given equal time in every story (Fisk, 2011).

The proliferation of sources spawned by migration, new communications technology and their global reach has contributed to a postmodern global media environment long on diverse opinions and short on truth claims. The next sections will describe how this and other elements of perspectivism affect reporting by parachute, bureau and local reporters.

## The parachute reporter

The combination of declining revenue and new technology has led news agencies to trade in bureaus for mobile parachute teams. Parachute reporting has economic benefits, with the ease and affordability of flights from major Western centres as well as multi-platform journalists who can do all kinds of reporting with a laptop and handheld camera saving on bureau costs. It offers

current knowledge of the home audience, the perspectival benefit of freshness – of seeing without the dullness of custom – and of reporting on places that might otherwise be overlooked. It also lacks context and clings to an idea of objective reality – that reporters can land anywhere and neutrally observe and report the facts on the ground without any specialized knowledge or access to a local perspective – which this section will contest.

The CBC's Jonathan Whitten said it is now easy to deploy reporters who work across all platforms anywhere in the world. "In not much more time than it would take to move someone from Rio to Chile, for example, we can move someone from New York to Chile," he said, commenting on the recent elimination of the CBC's Latin America bureau (J. McGuire & J. Whitten, personal communication, July 2012). Jennifer McGuire, Editor-in-Chief of CBC news, said "there's no denying" that reporters "get a different view of the country if you are living in the country and watching events unfold year over year over year," but "the reality of resource" is the deciding factor (J. McGuire & J. Whitten, personal communication, July 2012).

*Globe and Mail* reporters Graham Smith and Stephanie Nolan have noted the benefits of parachuting to places where local reporters simply can't get a story out due to repressive regimes. Smith went to the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border to talk to refugees fleeing violence. "Suddenly I saw the value of just being there – and the value of being a Westerner, because otherwise those stories wouldn't have been told. It's not, if you don't get it someone else will. It's, if you don't get it nobody's going to get it" (quoted in Voth, 2008). Nolan described receiving a visa to Zimbabwe to cover the 2008 elections. Many Western news agencies had been banned from the country. She was able to report immediately on the vast election fraud and the story was disseminated worldwide within hours of being on the *Globe's* website. State-controlled media would have prevented a local reporter from using the same information, she said (Nolan, 2010). Parachute reporters are less burdened by local repression than reporters at bureaus, too. The U.S. magazine's Asia editor described "a feeling of entitlement and fearlessness" that goes with knowing you can leave a country quickly, that being expelled is no big deal, "whereas someone whose family and friends live there needs to weigh the life risks of reporting on that story" (Interview with the author, May 2012).

Smith's comment on "the value of just being there" is of greater importance with new media's potential for what Baudrillard called "hyperreality" (Baudrillard, 1981, 1991). While cell phone video and commentary on Twitter emerge from conflict zones such as Syria, witnesses an audience considers authoritative are still needed to validate competing claims so the commentary



does not degrade the event's reality. Baudrillard (1991) criticized the method of reporting in the Gulf War, where there were no front-line sources to test the evidence in the real time and space of the battlefield. He described a real-time "utopia" that created global simultaneity of the event, but all that came through was the spectacle of the event's degradation through commentary rather than images (Baudrillard, 1991, pp. 46-7). He also discussed the effect of speed in creating "a kind of total innocence" (Baudrillard, 1991, p. 51) where one expert's falsehoods were replaced the next day by another's, amnestied by the speed of false discourse. Instantaneous coverage can also cause a form of historical amnesia. Morley and Robins (1995) wrote that satellite television in the Gulf War "had the curious effect of denying the viewer any historical perspective on events, submerging the 'real' in a fictionalized narrative..." (Morley & Robins, 1995, p. 228). This is a general critique levied against parachute journalism, which Seib (2007) wrote can create a stunted narrative and be "intrinsically misleading":

The war or other humanitarian emergency appears to news consumers to have suddenly exploded, a distortion that occurs because journalists have not been on the scene to cover the situation while the fuse was burning (Seib, 2007, p. 161).

Parachute journalism and the demand for real-time news – the hunger for which is driven by the false equation of "most recent" with "most important," and the mere fact of its possibility with new technology – compromises journalists' professional responsibility for substantiation (Seib, 2007, p. 152):

News organizations are reluctant to say, 'Let's wait a bit to see how this is developing,' because the increasingly prevalent standard is immediacy rather than accuracy. Individual journalists have to give up 'think time' because they are expected to deliver live reports as events unfold around them (Seib, 2007, p. 152).

A Project for Excellence in Journalism content analysis found that, during the first week of the Iraq War in 2003, 60 per cent of American television news broadcasts were live and unedited, and in 80 per cent the reporter was the only source (Seib, 2007, p. 163). Unlike Baudrillard's Gulf War, reporters were embedded and reporting from the battlefield, but the reporting failed to get beyond that specific context, and failed to include competing perspectives.

*Toronto Star* foreign editor Lynn McAuley said there's a tradeoff to the paper's new approach of relying on a six-person team of parachute

correspondents:

Fresh eyes can bring more excitement. Experienced eyes can understand that perhaps something that looks black and white is actually grey. That is the danger of going into something without really knowing what you're doing (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012).

But there are bureau chiefs who are completely bored by things in their own cities that outsiders take to be remarkable, she said. "I know there will be lots of people who will say you need to be on the ground to [report]," but she views it as more of "a flip of coin" with tradeoffs either way (L. McAuley, personal communication June 2012).

Most of those interviewed recognized pros and cons of parachuting. The U.S. magazine editor in Asia said, "It definitely cuts both ways":

If it's your first time writing about something, your first time covering a story or being in a new place, everything seems a lot more interesting and I think you see more stories and don't have the same set of assumptions. It can be really positive. It's also easy to zoom in on the wrong things. Fresh eyes can only take you so far without enough reporting and thinking and interviews to give you context (Asia editor, personal communication, May 2012).

In describing coverage of violence against religious minorities in Indonesia, the editor talked about "emotional fresh eyes" where an outsider is less jaded and still able to be moved by something that a reporter who had seen similar acts over years might not. Gauging the reaction of locals could lead to the editor wondering whether what seems like a story actually merits attention, but the audience dictated the decision:

The audience I'm typically writing for might know that Indonesia is in Southeast Asia, they might know that it's a Muslim-majority country, but beyond that you can't assume a lot of knowledge. So if a case looks and feels illustrative to me as an outsider, it's probably going to look and feel interesting and illustrative to my audience. It's just my job to do enough reporting and talking to people who are familiar with the context to make sure that I'm not blowing it out of proportion (Interview with the author, May 2012).

One risk is that relying on the audience to determine newsworthiness could skew reporting to covering crises rather than subtler but equally

important developments. Carleton University professor Allan Thompson, who reported from Rwanda and other crises for the *Toronto Star*, said that while he wrote compelling day-to-day stories, he missed the bigger picture. He thinks that's inevitable with parachuting, regardless of the quality of reporter. It also leads to chasing crises rather than getting ahead of stories. Parachute reporters, he said, won't be sent,

to Mali to explore a burgeoning Islamist movement. You're not going to send them to Niger to see the beginnings of a food crisis. You're not going to send them to eastern Congo to explore the continued use of child soldiers by Rwandan-backed militias – the kinds of stories that correspondents who are based in the region would pursue over months (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012).

Still, identification with the home audience was an advantage for parachute reporters repeated in several interviews. Patrick Graham, a former *National Post* reporter who freelanced in Iraq for *Harper's* and other publications, said parachuting can be a "paradoxical and complicated business" when reporting from places where no one really knows what's going on.

Putting together a story is obviously a much more important thing than just understanding what's going on. It's reducing it to a series of points that you think other people should know that you think is coherent, often about a place where you don't know everything, that isn't coherent (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

For this reason, Graham said it can be easier to report on places where a correspondent has just arrived, in terms of translating it to an audience. "Once you go through the looking glass of your little world, it's very hard to come out and explain it to anybody," he said, pointing to how articles about Canada in *The New York Times* or *The Economist* are "atonal" because they're trying to explain the country to a wider audience. "But to us, it's insider baseball and they've missed the point. It's inevitable that you're going to get that lost-in-translation quality because you're trying to explain it to an audience that doesn't know anything about it." Simply arriving and reporting, the kind of "colour pieces" that magazines often run, will have a smaller divide between writer and audience (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

The Asia editor said there's always a question of which details are most important to readers, especially since they're often coming into a story without much prior knowledge:

You go and write on a story that's super complex, and it's extra complex because you're new to a place and you don't speak the language, and you have to translate those ideas to people who know even less about the place than you do. Sometimes that doesn't necessarily translate into stories that are as complex as possible (Asia editor, personal communication, May 2012).

These descriptions of imposing coherence on the incoherent at complexity's expense echo Chakrabarty's critique of historicism (Chakrabarty, 2000). Journalism's narrative demand for coherence means ignoring or simplifying elements that don't fit. This applies to any kind of reporting. But reporters thrown into a crisis without proper time to get to know a culture through their own experience will rely on historical and anthropological information, perpetuating a Western perspective of other cultures (Said, 1989, p. 215) and risking the imposition of expectations and values on a place. For a reporter with a fuller understanding, there will be fewer elements to ignore than for the parachute reporter. While the descriptive magazine pieces Graham described, or the imbedded television reporting without sources from Iraq in 2003 described by Seib, make for a smaller knowledge gap between reporter and audience, it also means the information being passed on is limited. In this sense the parachute reporter subscribes to the idea of an objective reality ready to be captured by an enterprising and unbiased observer. It is worth considering whether such an observer can exist.

Nietzsche (1994) wrote that such "disinterested contemplation is inconceivable nonsense." There can be no will-less subject of cognition, no pure reason, no knowledge in itself, no eye whose "active and interpretive forces are supposed to stop or be absent":

The *only* seeing we have is seeing from a perspective; the *only* knowledge we have is knowledge from a perspective; and *the more* emotions we allow to be expressed in words concerning something, *the more* eyes, different eyes, we know how to train on the same thing, the more complete our 'idea' of this thing, our 'objectivity' will be. But to eliminate the will in general, to suspend all our emotions without exception—even if we were capable of that—what would that be? Wouldn't we call that castrating the intellect? (Nietzsche, 1994, Part 3, Section 12).

Nietzsche wrote of "the *will* to see things differently" and of objectivity as the power to make the variety of available perspectives useful for knowledge. A perspective can be aware that it is a perspective, and assemble others to enhance it (Nietzsche, 1994).

Detmer (2003) agreed that seeing is always interpretive and always occurring within a conceptual background; therefore a knowledgeable observer is needed to understand what he's seeing (Detmer, 2003, p. 199). Value judgments are a dimension of experience present during observation rather than something added on to pure observation (Detmer, 2003, p. 201). Journalism involves value judgments of inclusion and exclusion in everything from which stories to cover, to which details to include, to the prominence given to particular stories. Facts aren't presented as random but rather as ordered in a story. One of Detmer's solutions is, like Nietzsche, for journalists to expand the list of authorities from which information is drawn. But this is more difficult for a foreign correspondent and particularly for one parachuted in to cover a crisis. Without local knowledge or contacts, a reporter is left to depend more on official sources or on pure observation, as Seib noted in the reporting from Iraq in 2003.

## The bureau reporter

Foreign bureaus have the advantage of cultivating expertise, context and contacts while maintaining something of an outsider perspective attuned to a particular home audience. Reporters have more tools at their disposal now to gauge the moods of foreign places—they can make themselves accessible on social media and read local blogs—so the insider perspective of a local porter is easier to mimic. In contrast to parachute reporters, bureau-based correspondents have time to overcome their preconceptions of a place, to acquire experience upon which they can rely. Bureaus also provide the possibility of acquiring a new perspective and representing the culture in a more nuanced way than would a parachute reporter. There are institutional drawbacks to bureaus too, as they can play a role in perpetuating a home-country narrative that doesn't match what's happening on the ground.

*Globe* deputy foreign editor Susan Sachs, who was a bureau chief for *The New York Times* and *Newsday* in the Middle East, said journalists typically stay for three or four years at a posting before moving on. She said reporters can sometimes get stale or exhausted from the amount of travel required, and there's also a psychological effect to arriving somewhere and knowing you have four years to get certain things done:

In general what you want to have is someone who develops the historical context so they can make the judgments that people on the desk

can't often make about whether this is an important development, not an important development, how it relates to regional developments. That's the reason to have people in the field. They develop that knowledge and you can trust them. I think it's better for the reader (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012).

Having your own reporter in the field also adds credibility, part of which comes from knowing what's important to a Canadian audience. *Globe* correspondents report "through a prism of what's understandable, what's interesting, what's going to be relevant for a Canadian reader" (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012).

Defending the *Star's* bureau cuts, McAuley said she isn't convinced that posting one reporter on a continent constitutes covering it, especially when it can be cheaper to fly a reporter from Toronto than from within some continents, an argument the CBC's Whitten also used. "Africa is a very good example because it's hugely expensive to be inside Africa and you sometimes tend to be stuck covering Malawi from Johannesburg," McAuley said. "So are you really doing Africa? I don't know how to answer that" (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012). Allan Thompson said that in some ways it's an "absurdity" to have one correspondent for an entire continent, but that it's still much better than relying on parachute reporting:

... At least by having someone based there, clearly in living in a place for three, four, five years, you acquire a lot of local knowledge and just a long-term sense of trends and patterns and currents that you should be covering. Over the course of time, you cover stories that aren't crises. That, I think, is the single biggest problem with not having journalists based on the ground on a long-term basis. It's just inevitable that all you're going to do is cover the crises (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012).

A correspondent at a bureau has the opportunity to develop local sources, creating the possibility – through acquisition of knowledge and through reasoning – to arrive at a perspective outside of his own culture's. For Lakoff and Johnson (2003), the news would necessarily look very different depending on the experiences and the conceptual system of the person doing the reporting, since the perceptions and conceptualizations that make up most of our experience vary across cultures (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 146). The authors also allow for the possibility of new metaphors entering conceptual systems and thus altering perceptions and actions:

Much of cultural change arises from the introduction of new metaphorical concepts and the loss of old ones. For example, the Westernization of cultures throughout the world is partly a matter of introducing the TIME IS MONEY metaphor into those cultures.... (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 146)

A reporter posted to a foreign bureau for an extended period could alter his perspective through his experience.

A bureau reporter also has some benefits noted in the parachute section, including fresh eyes. Compared to a local reporter, it may be easier for a foreign correspondent to deflate the prevailing myths of a place and reveal aspects that an outsider is better placed to perceive. BBC correspondent James Reynolds used de Tocqueville's example to make the point that "often, outsiders tell us things about ourselves that we don't know or fail to notice" (Reynolds, 2010).

*The Canadian Press* used something of an in-between method between parachuting and a bureau for its Afghanistan coverage. Defence correspondent Murray Brewster said his organization developed a rotation in order to maintain a continuous presence without burning out reporters, who often worked 16-hour days, seven days per week while living in Kandahar airfield. Brewster said his reporting improved steadily in subsequent trips from 2006 to 2011, as he learned about the local issues driving the conflict:

Reporting on the military was very straightforward. Reporting on the root causes of the conflict was much more difficult and it took multiple trips to actually kind of break through the enigma. I mean, the Afghan people are an enigma, especially the Pashtun. You can be told and read some things, but until you experience it you don't necessarily have a full appreciation of it (M. Brewster, personal communication, July 2012).

For this reason, Allan Thompson said he was frustrated with Canadian war coverage for focusing almost exclusively on what Canadian soldiers were doing—an important story, but probably not the most important one. He thought Canadian news organizations should have been using Afghan journalists outside the wire as well their own reporters inside (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012).

Patrick Graham, who wasn't bound to a bureau while freelancing in Iraq, said editors can wield excessive influence. He wouldn't have been allowed to report from Iraq if he had stayed with the *National Post*, he said, because they pulled everyone out when the bombing started in Baghdad. He also talked

about how bureaus get locked into a home-country narrative that taints their perception of what's actually happening on the ground:

Obviously the resources of a bureau are tremendous and they can really dig stuff up. But so long as it's in a context where it's not radically different from the narrative of that newspaper... I mean, I couldn't get anything published on the insurgency for about a year—you know, 'Iraq's falling apart, tribal insurgency.' The British papers were covering it but it was very hard to get anyone in America to take it seriously, because that wasn't the narrative of the big papers. The narrative of the big papers was that some ungrateful people who aren't happy with us are causing some problems but it's all going to work out in the end. Clearly that wasn't true. It was astonishing to read about it day after day when it was so manifestly not true but you couldn't get anything published on it. Then I went back, during the surge, and I bumped into a freelancer who couldn't get anything published saying the surge was working... I've never really worked in a foreign bureau. I imagine it's a bit like working for the Vatican. There's a party line, there's the people that go against it—it's a very complicated kind of doctrinal dispute and lots of egos and craziness (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

This may be more institutional than a matter of perspective on the ground, but it was only when the insurgency was overwhelmingly obvious—and dangerous—and U.S. organizations had to rely on Iraqi reporters, Graham said, that reporting improved. Would local national reporters be any better at interrupting a news agency's narrative and reporting the realities on the ground? They would be better placed to observe it independently of the outside narrative but it doesn't mean they would necessarily be any more successful in challenging the organizational hierarchy. Of course that is looking only at the way things are. If we imagine a world where more local reporters are used, it follows that eventually more of them would become bureau chiefs and editors, at which point the institutional blindness Graham described could be challenged and overcome.

## The local national reporter

Perspectivism would suggest that a local national reporter is best positioned to capture a local situation. Local reporters can rely on experience rather than outside narratives and have more sources to multiply



perspectives. However, they lack knowledge of a foreign audience and may not be as well equipped to frame stories in a way that's understandable to foreign readers. Local reporters also interact differently with local power in ways that, in some cases, foreigners are immune to, creating different outcomes in reporting.

In his book on Afghanistan, *The Savage War*, Murray Brewster described an early conversation he had with his fixer, Manilay:

'If you are going to tell stories of the Afghan people you must understand how important Islam is to their lives and you must understand what that means,' [Manilay] said with an unflinching gaze. 'And you must understand that this is not Canada. Afghanistan is a broken place after thirty years of war, but there are many parts where people have not changed for centuries. They do not believe in the same things as you and do not see things as you do' (Brewster, 2011, p. 8).

After going in and out of the country regularly for six years, Brewster was not certain he had met Manilay's guidelines:

I don't know that I fully understand the Afghan people. I am able to tell these stories with a certain degree of sophistication that most people can't, but I really don't know if I understand them... On an empirical level, I understand that [Afghan] society is so fragmented, so shredded, that people just think of their own survival first. The sense of community, the sense of altruism that we take for granted here is such a rare commodity there. That's why I say I don't know if I can fully understand or fully appreciate the Afghan people or what they have been through (M. Brewster, personal communication, July 2012).

Brewster demonstrates both an understanding of the difference between his society and the one he is covering, and humility about what he couldn't access, but his comments suggest that only the lived experience of a local could penetrate a local situation. His fixer's comments relate to Lakoff and Johnson's assertion that meaning "is never disembodied or objective and is always grounded in the acquisition and use of a conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 196). Adopting the metaphors to access another conceptual system and another culture would be a way to see things as the Afghans do, but Brewster said he had not fully accomplished that.

Searle (2000) maintained that institutional and social reality work through the assignment of function, which is always observer-relative: "Causation is observer-independent; what function adds to causation is normativity or

teleology. More precisely, the attribution of function to causal relations situates the causal relations within a presupposed teleology" (Searle, 2000, p. 122). This is relevant for foreign reporting in that intentional states operate within a background based on experience (Searle, 2000, p. 79), so the functions assigned to the external world by a relative observer will vary from culture to culture. Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson don't contest the existence of truths, but they write that there is no "absolute standpoint from which to obtain absolute objective truths" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 193). The only objectivity is relative to a culture's conceptual system, whereas meaning is more often negotiated:

Truth is always given relative to a conceptual system and the metaphors that structure it. Truth is therefore not absolute or objective but is based on understanding. Thus sentences do not have inherent, objectively given meanings, and communication cannot be merely the transmission of such meanings (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 197).

Lakoff and Johnson deny that absolute truth is necessary for fairness and impartiality (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 226). Objectivity just takes on a new meaning – it rises above individual bias regarding both knowledge and value, but it doesn't require "an absolute, universally valid point of view" since objectivity is tied to a conceptual system and cultural values (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 227). Because of this, "reasonable objectivity" may be impossible and reporters must be able to recognize this (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 227).

Local reporters meet most of the advantages of perspective, from being better positioned to multiply perspectives to post-colonial arguments about narrative. BBC correspondent James Reynolds said many see the use of local reporters as "a welcome step toward a post-colonial reporting world" (Reynolds, 2010) that allows people to tell their own history and stories. *Global Voices* tries "to bring perspectives to the fore that aren't heard anywhere else" because its editor believes that "events don't look the same when they are told from the inside out" (Larsen, 2010). She thinks using local reporters would change not only how stories are reported and the audience's response to them, but also which stories get told at all.

"One of the amazing things about Iraq is that the reporting improved radically when Western journalists couldn't leave their hotels anymore and they were forced to rely on their translators," Patrick Graham said. "And their translators were just better." He pointed to how *The New York Times* now has Arab bylines for many Middle East stories, something that never would have happened in 2003:

That was the great thing about Iraq, is that it really showed that someone who speaks the language and is from the culture can do a better job reporting. The problem, to some extent, is that you're also translating for another audience and part of your job is to translate that culture, and they can't do that as well (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

Graham said the rise of local reporters hasn't "killed foreign reporting" but it has challenged, in a positive way, what he calls "the bozo quality of journalists" because "you just can't get away with stuff the way you could" (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

Foreign reporting may always be at risk of being perceived as an extension of the colonial legacy. Morley and Robins (1995) linked historiography to sovereignty and identity, and then applied it to contemporary communications in the form of cultural imperialism. The power over the telling of history is inseparable from the power "to tell the story of contemporary events – in the form of the flow of world news – or the power to control the dominant fictions of our age" (Morley & Robins, 1995, p. 210). The new range of easily accessible perspectives that characterizes the globalization of news reflects postmodernism and postcolonialism's critique of metanarratives, where the dominance of the narrative from an authoritative source is no longer unquestioned. It's a positive development, in Nietzsche's sense of accumulating perspectives for "objectivity." The danger is that a multiplicity of views can become a distraction where accounts can be compared but not measured against any objective criteria.

McAuley said stringers sometimes write for the *Star*, and she accepts pitches, but that it often doesn't represent the most compelling news of the day. "The one thing I do know for sure is the world is not a boring place, so if you're just filing a story because someone in Liberia keeps filing stories because they're your stringer in Liberia... it becomes tail wagging dog kind of thing" (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012). Sachs said the *Globe* operates on a similar basis – no formal network of stringers but some who make pitches and who are used to help *Globe* reporters before they arrive in a place and sometimes while they're reporting (S. Sachs, personal communication, July 2012).

McCauley said the local perspective can be a disadvantage:

I follow a lot of the local Arab-world journalists on Twitter and they have a very specific way of looking at things, possibly a little bit biased and coloured by their experience. God knows in most of those countries that

being a journalist by definition is a dangerous occupation. That would be an important distinction. Our reporters would go in and write from a perspective that we think reflects the perspective that our readers might take on something. Sometimes it's as simple as writing forms and structures and language. That has nothing to do with being judgmental. It's just simple to say in some countries — say the European press — they may have a more florid, sometimes even more purple, prose style than we do in North America. That kind of thing. Sometimes the local correspondent is writing so far inside the game that they're not distinction. Our reporters would go in and write from a perspective that we think reflects the perspective that our readers might take on something. Sometimes it's as simple as writing forms and structures and language. That has nothing to do with being judgmental. It's just simple to say in some countries — say the European press — they may have a more florid, sometimes even more purple, prose style than we do in North America. That kind of thing. Sometimes the local correspondent is writing so far inside the game that they're not bringing the full context and high-level view to it that you might need (L. McAuley, personal communication, June 2012).

Whitten said roughly half of the CBC's network of stringers is comprised of local nationals, and that fixers are often used to help reporters navigate a foreign country. He said foreign correspondents' reporting isn't very different from local nationals', who are most often used to report on disasters and other breaking news:

In terms of stringers, I honestly can't think of a lot of examples where people that we've used that are local nationals are giving us an entirely different view of what we're getting from... Canadians who are resident there... I haven't seen a huge difference in terms of even the words that they use and the language that they use. They may have more insight, they may have more context, but in the end, we're not generally looking for opinion and if we are we'll place that in a different kind of frame. We're looking for facts and explanations of what's happening on the ground, the background, the context. And our hope is always that we get people who can provide that as objectively as possible (J. McGuire & J. Whitten, personal communication, July 2012).

Whitten's comments reflect the belief that facts can be objectively observed and reported by anyone with reporting skills. According to this journalistic understanding of objectivity, criticized by Detmer (2003), observation can be passive and observers don't need any special knowledge in order to competently observe, which only involves taking in what there is to be seen (Detmer,

2003, p. 198). But the idea of passively “looking for facts” isn’t possible if value judgments are a dimension of experience present during observation rather than something added on to pure observation.

Allan Thompson said neither the “patchwork” of parachute reporting nor the bureau model of sending a Canadian to Africa for five years meets the ideal in an age when mobile phones and the internet allow anyone to file photos, articles, audio and video from practically anywhere, instantaneously. “Why aren’t we cultivating a vast network of African journalists to tell us about their own continent?” he asked (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012). Thompson didn’t put much stock in the typical counter-arguments: that local reporters wouldn’t understand what interests a Canadian audience; that their work would be biased, which he equated to Canadian publications disqualifying a Quebecker from writing about separatism:

That’s the logic that we apply to the developing world, and I think that’s flawed... I think any news organization with some resources could cultivate scores of stringers across the world and try and deploy them very effectively to give audiences a pretty comprehensive picture of what’s happening outside of Canada (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012).

Thompson said fresh eyes are valid and outsiders can see story angles that a local, who takes certain things for granted, might miss. There is “enormous value” in having Canadian correspondents in the field, he said. “But I just think we’ve always been missing out on the local context, local understanding. Very often the errors that emerge in foreign coverage come from a lack of local context and understanding” (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012).

Associated Press (AP) Executive Director Kathleen Carroll prefers a mix of local and foreign correspondents that “provides coverage that is authoritative but also open to the curiosity that a non-local may have” (quoted in Sambrook, 2010, p. 49). The AP, like Reuters and business services such as Bloomberg, are unique in that they serve a global audience rather than a specific national one and therefore can’t reflect a national point of view. This might be an easier audience for a local reporter (Sambrook, 2010, p. 49). While globalization may continue to blur distinctions between home and foreign news, this hasn’t happened yet and “the role of cultural bridge is of growing not lessening importance and cannot always be achieved by indigenous reporters” (Sambrook, 2010, p. 52).

Brewster said this is especially true of “a very parochial nation” like

Canada that is “only interested [in foreign news] when it affects us...” (M. Brewster, personal communication, July 2012). He said he was in an ongoing battle with editors to write stories without an obvious Canadian angle that still broadly affected the Canadian mission in Afghanistan. The response too often was that it wasn’t worth the resources without a direct Canadian link. While this was frustrating, he said it is also the reason foreign correspondents are still necessary:

If we end up with just local reporters and stringers staffing these various points in the world, as much as they bring perhaps a degree of depth that a Western correspondent may or may not have, we also become hostages to their point of view. It’s like the fresh eyes aspect... We bring a certain degree of novelty to a story. By having a Western correspondent or a Canadian correspondent based around the world, we can actually provide and tell stories that Canadians can relate to (M. Brewster, personal communication, July 2012).

With diminishing resources for foreign desks, Brewster predicted a model emerging where local reporters provide the situation on the ground via Skype and correspondents are parachuted in for big stories. But he warned of becoming “hostage to the person you’re relying on the ground who may be lost in the weeds” (M. Brewster, personal communication, July 2012). It is also possible, however much we don’t want to admit it, that—whether the result of a tribal holdover in the age of globalization or simply a symptom of the “imagined cosmopolitanism” Zuckerman described above—parochial nations also still prefer to hear about the world from one of their own.

A study from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford University raised quantifiable doubt about depending exclusively on local reporters. The study focused on reporting from Sudan, where *AP* and *Agence France Press (AFP)* had only local nationals for their coverage. Their reports were “disseminated around the world to the thousands of news outlets that have cut back their foreign correspondents (or never had them) and rely exclusively on the newswires for their foreign news coverage” (Bunce, 2011, p. 30). Through a content analysis and interviews with the reporters, the author found that local journalists “worked in greater fear of the government of Sudan” and “produced news that was significantly less critical in tone, presented fewer competing viewpoints, and privileged the government of Sudan’s position” (Bunce, 2011, p. 3). The results question the quality of stringer networks and the perils of relying solely on local voices in repressive countries.

In August 2007, all the bylines out of Sudan came from only nine individuals so single reports had the power to drastically skew the world's perception (Bunce, 2011, p. 30). The consequences for "watchdog journalism" were significant and pointed to something beyond perspective:

...it is clear that organization theories alone cannot account for foreign news practices – today's FCs [foreign correspondents] no longer emerge straight from Western news-rooms, with internalised news values. The factors that influence contemporary FCs are difficult to locate – emerging in the field, and through processes of glocalisation, as international news values interacted with local news values. The space between the local and the foreign is today smaller and yet more complex than ever before (Bunce, 2011, p. 31).

If it were a question solely of perspective, local nationals – attuned to the local situation and equipped with the conceptual system to accurately observe and interpret – would be best placed to report on their home territory. In addition to the question of audience, though, other practical circumstances such as security and political dynamics can complicate an argument grounded solely in theory by adding a relevant variable – how local power responds differently to locals and foreigners. Graham said that even in Iraq, in certain cases, he was safer as a foreigner – and one who didn't speak Arabic, since that way he wasn't mistaken by the Iraqi insurgency as a spy. While he said he would have been "in a whole pile of shit" had he been stopped by American soldiers while imbedded with Iraqi insurgents, "I probably would have gotten away with it," whereas there were local reporters who were thrown into Abu Ghraib with no protection at all (P. Graham, personal communication, May 2012).

There are still instances where a Western correspondent is safer and freer to report than his local counterparts. The Reuters Institute study quantified that and highlighted the risks of relying solely on local nationals.

## Conclusions

From perspectivism's various claims, we see that a local reporter, or at least someone who has been able to spend a significant period of time learning a culture and language, and multiplying perspectives, will be better placed to understand a local situation. We can accept Pinker's (2002) view that differences among human cultures are smaller than the postmodernists believe.

“Universal mental mechanisms can underlie superficial variation across cultures” (Pinker, 2002, p. 37) and a human nature from innate cognitive modules provides some universal grounding between cultures (Pinker, 2002, p. 39). But understanding and representing another culture still requires much time and effort. The parachute model would fit a world where all that was required to access a local situation is observation—simply being there and recording—which the theory of perspectivism refutes. A local reporter would not rely on Western historical and anthropological knowledge to learn about his subjects before turning to his own experience. He wouldn’t have to detach himself from the circumstances of his life, which Said (Said, 2001, p. 76) said was impossible, in order to understand a different culture. A local reporter would be less likely to suffer the historical amnesia of one who arrives just in time for a crisis, ignorant of the long story that brought us there. He wouldn’t overlook a culture’s complexity, and be stuck within a conceptual framework that assumes a society is following a global trajectory whose terms were determined elsewhere. A local reporter might even be less drawn to the facile comparison of competing narratives—of simply portraying opposing interests without assigning value to the merits of any.

From the interviews with professionals, we have seen that theories of perspectivism don’t tell the whole story. Fresh eyes are a real, professional phenomenon that can enhance a reporter’s perception, even if it is at the cost of deeper understanding. Being stationed in a bureau allows for the accumulation of experience through day-to-day contact but it can also dull perception through routine. The main concern with using local reporters repeated in the interviews was the audience. While some organizations such as Reuters and Bloomberg have global audiences—perhaps making it easier for local reporters—Canadian media are still writing for a home audience, and practitioners believe knowledge of that audience is essential for proper reporting. Even in a city as multicultural as Toronto, a home audience doesn’t include the world. This belief in different information for different audiences goes against ideas of objective reality—that a reality exists on the ground that can be perceived and represented regardless of who’s doing the reporting and the receiving. It is true that, as Larsen from *Global Voices* said, events don’t look the same when told from the inside out. But is it always better to be inside? As Lakoff and Johnson wrote, the meaning of a sentence arrives within a conceptual structure that is metaphorical in nature. Sentences don’t have absolute objective meanings, so their meanings can’t be simply transmitted (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 196). A local situation may need to be translated by someone with knowledge of the audience, the meaning negotiated.



There is a problem with accepting the conclusion of different facts for different audiences too eagerly, though, one that could lead to stasis and aversion to uncomfortable truths in a manner similar to Golding and Murdock's political economy critique of media advertising creating an environment of "comparative inoffensiveness" (Golding & Murdock, 1979, p. 215). While news organizations are probably adept at determining what their readers want – through monitoring sales and subscriptions, conducting focus groups, etc. – this method assumes the readers themselves know. Allan Thompson said readers would be interested in compelling international stories when presented with them. "It's not just what people think they want to read. I think we have a responsibility to use the airwaves and our ability to make money by printing and packaging information to give people a comprehensive picture of the world," he said. Less foreign reporting becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy – scarce coverage loses the narrative thread, readers become intimidated by the content because it becomes harder to absorb, and lose interest (A. Thompson, personal communication, July 2012). More than just giving readers what they want, it's worth considering the version of events they get. If news organizations are choosing Canadian reporters because they can relate to the local audience, are they also systematically eliminating an alternative perspective that may not be as easily relatable? Or are they assuming that their reporters understand the local situation and simply translate it in terms more easily understood? The latter is the intention, but the theory of perspectivism suggests that nuances will be missed if local voices are not actively included.

The Reuters Institute study on reporting from Sudan raised another important concern. Reporting isn't only about understanding and representing a situation – it's doing so within a set of institutional and professional guidelines, a normative ethic that aspires to lofty goals such as speaking truth to power and giving voice to the voiceless. The study raised the question of whether such values are universal within the profession, or whether they are evolving within a process of "glocalisation" where Western news values meet local ones when local reporters are employed by Western organizations (Bunce, 2011, p. 31). It could be that the problem was just one of circumstance rather than values – local reporters might know that challenging authority and using multiple sources would create a fuller picture, but they are (reasonably) wary of the consequences from repressive regimes. Detmer is right to insist that "fundamental and universal" (Detmer, 2003, p. 207) values guide reporting. Reporting methods that strive for objectivity – such as multiplying sources and making an effort to be aware of one's own bias – need not be compromised. This would align with Lakoff and Johnson's objectivity that rises

above individual bias but doesn't require "an absolute, universally valid point of view" in its conclusions (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 227).

Still, the study – and several comments from practitioners – shows that a one-size-fits-all solution of using locals isn't appropriate yet and may never be. Even if one believes that all reality is accessible, it doesn't follow that local cultural and political circumstances – the varying institutional realities – don't play a role in affecting access to it, and that their effect does not vary depending on the reporter's relationship to power, such as nationality and the news organization's prestige. These variations must be taken into account when determining who is best suited to report from a given place.

The interviews show that journalism operates within various real-world constraints, the most obvious being budgetary restrictions that have become more acute in a changing news environment of competing sources and declining revenue from traditional advertising models. Allan Thompson recognize there was no ideal scenario for reporting but he also criticized those, like his former paper the *Toronto Star*, who by closing bureaus are "just not attempting the ideal" (Interview with Thompson, July 2012). With some of the restrictions in mind, an ideal worth attempting would be to maintain bureaus in various hubs around the world – ideally on every continent, at least – and to nurture a network of stringers in various points who could do some reporting and assist the correspondent on major stories. The objective of bureaus is to develop knowledge of local situations – the ability to recognize patterns, to evaluate the significance of developments, to nurture in-person contacts – in a reporter who also knows the home audience. The foreign correspondent at the bureau would be the bridge between the local reporters/stringers and the home audience, and could be parachuted across the continent for major events. He could also be a set of eyes nearby to protect against some of the negative possibilities of employing local reporters seen in the Reuters Institute study.

## List of interviewees:

**Patrick Graham**, Freelancer – *The National Post*, *Harper's*, *The New York Times Magazine*. Telephone interview conducted May 2012.

**Asia editor** for major U.S. magazine (name and publication withheld at subject's quest). Skype interview conducted May 2012.

**Lynn McAuley**, Associate Editor, Foreign – *Toronto Star*. Telephone interview

conducted June 2012.

**Murray Brewster**, Defence Correspondent – *Canadian Press*. Telephone interview conducted July 2012.

**Allan Thompson**, Associate Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University. Former reporter and foreign correspondent for the *Toronto Star*. Telephone interview conducted July 2012.

**Susan Sachs**, Deputy Foreign Editor, *The Globe and Mail*. Former bureau chief for *The New York Times* in Cairo and Baghdad, and for *Newsday's* Middle East bureau; former professor at the Graduate School of Journalism at Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences Po); taught course on media and globalization at Bogacizi University in Istanbul. Telephone interview conducted July 2012.

**Jennifer McGuire**, Editor-in-Chief of *CBC News* and **Jonathan Whitten**, Executive Director of News Content, CBC. Telephone conference call interview conducted July 2012.

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