The Paradoxes of Media Globalization: On the Banal "World" of New Zealand Journalism

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Although the New Zealand media system has sometimes been characterized as one of the most globalized in the world, this article explores the paradoxes and limitations of a simplified globalization thesis from the perspective of the banal production and representation of New Zealand news. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of the journalistic field, our analysis is grounded in an empirical description of the relationship between transnational and national news coverage in a three-day sample of content from across the respective sub-fields of print, television, and radio. Our results broadly affirm the paradoxical view that so-called globalization processes seem to be producing more parochial forms of media content, though we balk at concluding that globalization is a "virtually useless" concept. Instead, we demonstrate how global, national, and institutional logics are being rearticulated as part of an ongoing political-economic and discursive reconfiguration of the New Zealand journalistic field.

Introduction1

The New Zealand media system has sometimes been represented as one of the most globalized in the world (Herman & McChesney, 1997; Hope, 2005). The version of the globalization thesis that underpins the relevant literature may often assume a "weak" form (Corcoran, 2007; Sparks, 2007), but the rationale behind the characterization seems clear nonetheless. The nominally "national" media system offers no media-specific restrictions on transnational corporate ownership in the print market or the privately-owned radio and television markets, and its general structural character is marked by clear duopolistic and cartellike tendencies (Norris, 2002; Rosenberg, 2008). The New Zealand case, therefore, seems to exemplify a more general truth about the fate of mainstream media under neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005) — that what is officially done in the name of the free market and consumer choice can lead to concentrations of corporate

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power that not only homogenize the media sphere, but also systematically eliminate the level of quality content and constrain the capacity of media institutions to deviate from market-based formulas. Research suggests that international reporting is one form of news that is typically marginalized under neoliberalized media regimes (Curran, Iyengar, Brink Lind, & Salovaara-Moring, 2009; Iyengar, Hahn, Bonfadelli, & Marr, 2009). Hence, the relationship between media and globalized "logics" (Glynos & Howarth, 2007) is marked by a certain paradox, with the globalization of a particular economic model seemingly producing more nation-centric and domesticated forms of media content (Hafez, 2007).

Focusing specifically on the coverage of international news, this article seeks to empirically map the relationship between news media content and the political economy logics structuring the New Zealand media industry. We consider, in particular, the paradoxes and messiness (Sreberny, 2005) of a simplistic globalization thesis (Hay & Marsh, 2000) as it relates to the banal production and representation of news. The proposition that international news coverage is marginalized under a neoliberalized regime will hardly surprise readers of this journal. Yet, it is nonetheless a propositional claim that needs to be given some empirical weight. Two ways of empirically assessing the proposition would be through either a comparative historical analysis (what has been the case in the past?) or a comparative cross-country analysis (what is the case elsewhere?). While we recognize the value of these empirical approaches, we think that neither one negates the contextual importance of the normative question (what *should* be the case?), and especially not in a discursive context (Berglez, 2008; Cottle, 2009b; Silverstone, 2007) where signifiers like "global journalism," "global public sphere," and global "mediapolis" have become commonplace of critical communications discourse. The broader conceptual argument that shapes the concerns of this paper, therefore, considers to what extent those signifiers, however admirable they might be in some respects, are conceptual fantasies of how news media content is banally reproduced in New Zealand.

Following Hafez (2007), we want to explore the extent to which the discourse of globalization, especially its "strong" version (Giddens, 2002), offers an obfuscatory account of how the world is banally "mediatized" in New Zealand's news media. The distinction between weak and strong versions of the globalization thesis follows Sparks (2007). Although he can subscribe to a "weak" thesis that understands globalization in terms of a process of capitalist imperialism, Sparks rejects the "strong" assumptions of globalization theorists like Giddens and Beck, who, as summarised by Corcoran (2007, p. 91), assume "the supposed absence of a global centre of media production, the argument that the Westfalian state system is in terminal decline, the notion that globally popular cultural artefacts are no longer rooted in particular national (American) cultural taste patterns, etc". Contrary to those discourses that can, a priori, romanticize and essentialize the "local" and the "national" as bulwarks against an oppressive "global" (Murdock, 2004), we agree with Rantanen's (2004, p. 75) observation that the local can be just "as oppressive . . . as the global," and "that national media can be just as homogenizing as global media." In this respect, it is important to stress that, although the two terms are sometimes justifiably conflated, neoliberalism is not a synonym for globalization. Although international research indicates the ascent of neoliberalized, or "glocalized," media forms (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2004; Thussu, 2007), the content of these forms may be far from globalizing, in the sense of nurturing a subjectivity that is engaged with a world beyond the imaginary horizon of the nation-state.

Although we do not have space for an elaborate discussion of normative questions, our analysis is concerned with how over-identification with a "reified" and "fetishized" national (Berglez, 2006) can reproduce a systematic journalistic field logic that precludes satisfactory mediated engagement with the wider world. As everyday media consumers, we often lament the dearth of international news in New Zealand media. One of the key objectives of this paper is to give those intuitions, which are likely shared by many viewers, readers, and media workers (Hollings, Lealand, Samson, & Tilley, 2007), a solid empirical footing. We endeavor to do this by formulating our analysis around one key research question:

By systematically investigating the choice of news stories, their geographical focus, authorship/agency source, ordering, and placement, what relational dynamics governing the production and representation of transnational news can we observe in a three-day sample of content from some of the most highest-profile media outlets in the New Zealand journalistic field?

Our study is backgrounded by the extensive research on the patterned nature of international news-flows (Choi, 2009; Chang, 1998; Wu, 2003). This literature documents how national coverage of international news is typically determined by a number of key indicators — geographical proximity, trade links, colonial associations, and relative economic and political power, among others — that generally correspond to dominant news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). While the news-flow literature is not the central theoretical plank of our analysis, it underlines the fact that many of the key patterns identified in our study are not unique to New Zealand.

Cleveland's earlier New Zealand study (1971) is also worth mentioning, because the patterns it identified still endure. Based on a systematic content analysis of a year-long sample of news in (what were then) eight metropolitan newspapers, his study noted how "the daily newspapers of New Zealand have homogenizing tendencies [also see Phelan, 2009] which are apparent in their lack of variety and in their uniformity of content" (ibid., p. 12). Cleveland's specific findings about foreign news coverage were broadly in keeping with the international news-flow literature, noting how "the United Kingdom was the most substantial source [of international news], followed by the American region, Australia, Europe (excluding UK), the Far East and South East Asia, and other regions in that order" (p. 19).

Our analysis is developed in five key steps. First, we situate our analysis theoretically, drawing summarily on Bourdieu's concept of the journalistic field, and on Billig's account of "the banal." Second, we discuss the rationale behind our empirical approach and media sample. Third, we describe our key empirical findings. Fourth, we discuss our findings in terms of the paradoxes of media globalization. Fifth, we conclude that, despite the meagre evidence of globalized tendencies (Hay & Marsh, 2000) in our sample, the concept of globalization should not be completely renounced, because of the important "mythical" (Hafez, 2007) and constitutive role it plays in contemporary media discourses.

Finally, though our own theorization of globalization is only cursorily discussed, our methodology is informed by the "logics" approach to social scientific explanation, which has been articulated by the post-Marxist discourse theorists Glynos and Howarth (2007). They conceive of logics — in the most general

sense² — as the often messy combination of rules, tendencies, and drives that give an incomplete and contingent structural shape to any hegemonic discourse (ibid., p. 136). This emphasis is suggestive, partly because it follows observations that have already been made in the media and globalization literature (Hafez, 2007). For instance, Cottle (2009a) emphasizes the importance of conceptualizing globalization as a site of pluralized logics, which "cannot be conceived in terms of a singular logic or telos unfolding inexorably, deterministically, through time and space or different crises" (p. 509).

Because of the empirical scope of our study, we do not have space to satisfactorily illuminate this logics-based account of globalization here. Nonetheless, it informs our attempt to explicate the different "levels" (Hafez, 2007, p. 26) of media globalization as they relate to the dynamics of the New Zealand case.

The Journalistic Field and Banal (Re)production

Although a nuanced understanding of the category of "field" cannot be separated from his wider theoretical corpus, field theory follows Bourdieu's conception of "the social" as a plurality of fields. The concept of field can be understood as a helpful heuristic for mapping the regulation of social space in terms of a network of interconnected sub-spaces, each with its own particular logics and codes (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As Benson and Neveu (2005) observe, quoting Bourdieu, perhaps the key shorthand concept for understanding the merits of a field theory perspective is "relationality":

To think in terms of field is to think relationally . . . in analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. (p. 3)

Field theory summarily informs our analysis in three key respects. First, although our approach follows a broad tradition of political economy research, the "meso-level" disposition of field theory offers a quite distinct conceptual "toolkit" (Neveu, 2005, p. 208). Benson and Neveu (2005, pp. 9-10) contrast it with Habermas's account of the public sphere and "Chomsky-style" political economy, both of which, in their assessment, tend to treat the commercial environment as the determining factor, and to downplay the capacity for some journalistic autonomy within mainstream media spaces. Bourdieu's sociology (1998) is hardly indifferent to the structuring and colonizing effects of economic field logics, especially given the importance of his heuristic distinction (1991) between fields and sub-fields that are relatively independent from (autonomy) or dependent on (heteronomy) the "meta-field" of power. Nonetheless, we think that field theory offers a conceptual framework that also foregrounds the need for a "specification of structures and processes" (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 9) that is more specific to the journalistic field.

Second, field theory is not bound to a particular method. Benson and Neveu's (2005) collection, Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field, includes a diversity of methods, including content analysis, source analysis, newsroom ethnographies, and audience interviews. Moreover, the empirical horizon of field theory analysis is often limited to one of the sub-fields of print, radio, television, or digital media. We do not purport to analyze the totality of the New Zealand journalistic field over a three-day period. However, the

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² Glynos and Howarth's (2007) methodological framework is organized around an heuristic distinction between social, political, and fantasmatic logics.

fact that we are interested in summarily mapping the relational dynamics between distinct sub-fields is, we suggest, a relative strength of our approach. The most obvious comparative weakness of our methodology is our empirical over-reliance on analyzing media content. By limiting our focus in this way, we are not suggesting that the logic of the New Zealand journalistic field can simply be "read off" what is publicly visible in the media. Nonetheless, we believe that our approach offers some solid empirical insights that are usefully conceptualized in terms of the field metaphor.

Third, our approach straddles the distinction between production-based and text-based analysis. The main production-related question that interests us is whether a particular text has been constructed inhouse or outsourced, since that will enable us to say something concrete about the interaction of transnational and national logics at the level of textual production. This is supplemented by our interest in the geographical focus of stories, though our approach does not involve a close internal analysis of texts. Rather, we seek to balance an "internal and external analysis" (Neveu, 2005, p. 203) by treating our sample as an index of both production-related (how has this text been produced?) and more specifically textual logics (what — or, more like, where — is this text about?).

Our interest in banality follows the work of Billig (1995, 1999), who conceptualizes it as a form of ideological identification that works through mundane discursive repetition and patterning. Our methodology operationalizes this account of the banal by exploring the relational dynamics governing the coverage of transnational and national news in a three-day sample. The approach can, therefore, be loosely understood as a kind of discourse analysis, since the logic of discourse is inherently "relational" (Laclau, 2005). It then follows that we could hardly give a clear account of how the New Zealand media cover the world without simultaneously giving some relational index of how they cover the nation (Sreberny, 2005). However, in contrast to discourse analysis approaches that focus on explicating the internal meaning of a text (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008), our analysis is less interested in how particular texts are constructed, and more interested in how the constructed totality — the New Zealand journalistic field — is constituted through certain news choices and priorities. Hence, to quote Couldry (2003, p. 143), our study is less concerned with "representation in this or that text, but representation in the overall social process of making representations."

Method and Sample

Our empirical analysis is organized around a three-day sample, from June 26 to June 28, 2007. We chose consecutive days because, consistent with the relational logic of our methodology, we wanted to get some indicative sense of how "the entire universe of journalists and media organizations" (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 11) are visibly interacting over a three-day period. We recognize the limitations of our sample, particularly from the perspective of international news-flow studies that seek to build theoretical assumptions from empirical generalizations. A sample period of more than three days, organized on a "constructed weeks" basis, would have been ideal, though we did not have the resources for such a sample.

Consistent with our interest in the banal, the choice of sample days was quite arbitrary. The decision to sample June 26 to June 28 was made a week beforehand and not taken on the basis of stories then in the news. That said, our sample does contain stories that potentially problematize the assumption of

"routine" news days. For example, one of the major stories is the ongoing coverage of Team New Zealand's participation in the America's Cup yacht race. We believe that any sample involves the risk of including stories that distort what a strict empiricist perspective might assume to be the regular order of things. Therefore, rather than seeing this as a limitation, we think the distortion can be put to productive use, since the New Zealand media's treatment of the America's Cup story is an exemplary case of mediatized nationalism (Gajevic, 2007). Indeed, one could even argue that in a New Zealand context (and perhaps the point applies to small countries more generally), this distortion is actually part of the regular order of things, because of the tendency toward hype-driven and fantasmatic representations of national success on a global stage.³

Our analysis had to be parsimonious in operationalizing the category of the New Zealand journalistic field, because trying to record the total activity in what is a strongly regionalized field — where, for example, most of the metropolitan newspapers largely function as local monopolies — would be impractical. We operationalized our definition by structuring our sample around some of the most high-profile spaces within major media outlets. Our sample includes a mix of directly competing public and private media, which is an important consideration from the perspective of the distinction between relatively autonomous (i.e., more "public service" focused) and heteronomous (i.e., more market-driven or politically dominated) journalistic field spaces (Benson & Neveu, 2005). However, our study does not offer a detailed comparative analysis of how different media outlets cover the same stories; to repeat, our key object of analysis is the journalistic field as a totality.

Our sample included the five main metropolitan newspapers in New Zealand: New Zealand Herald (NZH), The Dominion Post (DP), The Press (Press), Otago Daily Times (ODT), and Waikato Times (WKT). Our television sample included the main 6:00 P.M. news bulletins and flagship current affairs programs — Close-Up and Campbell Live — of the two largest television networks, the publicly-owned TVNZ and the privately-owned TV3, as well as the main news bulletins of the privately-owned Prime and publicly-funded Maori TV. Our radio sample was based around directly competing programs from three stations: the publicly-owned National Radio and the commercial networks, Newstalk ZB and Radio Live.

Each story was coded according to a number of generic and medium-specific categories. We did not record every item that was published or broadcast in each medium, though we did try to be relatively comprehensive. For example, taking *The Dominion Post* as our newspaper template, we looked at all pages in the main "news" section; all pages specifically billed as "world news," the two-page spread of op-ed articles published in the "world section," and the business section. In each case, our sample excluded (for practical coding reasons) the images, teasers, and small side-column stories that are published on many of the pages.

Our radio sample was organized around the concrete stories and hourly news bulletins embedded in each program. Eclectic presenter chit-chat, which was particularly common in the more personality-driven formats of commercial radio, was not coded. Nor were sports bulletins, weather reports, or in the case of

³ Thanks to Slavko Gajevic for making this point.

National Radio, routine slots for stories about farming news or Maori news, among others. Similarly, our television sample also excluded sports bulletins and weather reports.

Our quantitative coding of the material followed conventional content analysis protocols (Neuendorf, 2002). The sample was coded by two people, and our results attained a very acceptable measure of inter-coder agreement.⁴ Our coding schema was operationalized in terms of four categories: national, international, global, and New Zealand (NZ) & the World. These were defined as follows:

National = Stories with an exclusive focus on news and events occurring in Aotearoa New Zealand.

International = Stories with an exclusive focus on news and events occurring outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, and with no mention of, nor reference to, Aotearoa New Zealand.

Global = Stories covering events, issues and institutions of a world-wide nature with no dominant connection to any one specific nation.

NZ & the World = Stories covering Aotearoa New Zealand and its designated nationals; their participation in events and issues occurring in foreign countries; and transnational events, issues, and institutions in which Aotearoa New Zealand is cited as participating.

Overview of Empirical Findings

This section presents our key empirical findings. Much of the data is quantitative and constructed around basic percentages. Although we concede that our quantitative method lacks statistical sophistication, we think that a dense statistical analysis would be inappropriate, given the relatively small size of our sample and its incongruity with a more positivistic conception of representativity. Presenting a quantitative overview strengthens the systematic character of our study, though clearly the numbers can only tell us so much. Our wariness of relying too much on bald quantitative data is partly informed by our methodological approach, since documenting that, for example, 30% of a particular newspaper's output is international news does not tell us anything about the nature of the news or its placement within the wider logic of the field. Although the scope of the data precludes us from examining specific stories or comparing media outlets in any kind of detail, our use of quantitative indicators is supplemented by a qualitative assessment of the data, which offers a summary account of how the kinds of stories, their placement, and their authorship are, or are not, indicative of globalized logics.

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⁴ For newspapers, there was a 91% level of agreement after the first round of coding, and for radio and television, the figure was 94%. Most of the discrepancies were subsequently reconciled by both coders.

The reader should be mindful of our conceptual interest in the banal, since the section that follows is a basic descriptive overview of how globalized logics are (not) evident in a mundane media sample. Nonetheless, it is important that we comprehensively review our sample before we bring the analysis back to a more substantive discussion of the relationship between media and globalization.

An Overview of the Field

Although most of our findings are presented in terms of the three sub-fields, an overview of the geographical focus of the full sample is presented in Table 1. It shows how the proportion of national, international, NZ & the World, and global stories was broadly convergent across the three media. With the highest proportion of stories published in newspapers, Table 1 shows that the sample was dominated, unsurprisingly, by national stories.

Geo-focus	Newspapers (n=902)	Television (n=192)	Radio (n=646)	Overall (n=1740)
National	63.4%	61.5%	59.9%	61.9%
International	25.6%	21.9%	19.3%	22.9%
NZ & the World	8.2%	15.6%	17.8%	12.6%
Global	2.8%	1.0%	2.9%	2.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 1. Comparative geographical focus of the overall sample.⁵

The 2.6% of stories that were coded as "Global" represent stories that were not bound to any one specific nation. Examples included market-related stories that transcend particular national contexts, climate change stories, or stories related to global political institutions, such as the World Bank. Although we would like to examine these stories more closely, because of the low number, they are only cursorily noted in this paper.

Table 2 shows how the focus of the stories that were coded as "International" was broadly consistent with Cleveland's (1971) analysis of foreign news coverage in New Zealand, with culturally proximate (the United Kingdom, 22.1%), élite (United States of America, 21.6%), and geographically proximate countries (Australia, 15.8%) dominating the sample. The strongly regionalized character of the sample was also evident in the dearth of stories from some continents, most obviously from Latin America and Africa.

⁵ In each case, the overall figures in the tables have been rounded to 100%.

⁶ See Berglez (2008) and Cottle (2009a) for useful methodological frameworks.

Table 2. Country breakdown for specifically international stories.

Country/Region ⁷	Number of stories (n=398)
United Kingdom	22.1%
United States	21.6%
Australia	15.8%
Israel/Palestine	3.8%
China	3.3%
Other Middle East	9.0%
Other Europe	8.8%
Pacific Islands	6.0%
Other Asia	6.3%
Latin America	2.0%
Africa	1.3%
Overall	100%

The Table 3 data for stories coded "NZ & the World" shows some clear differences from the specifically international coverage. The news importance of the Valencia-hosted America's Cup is signalled by the 34.2% of stories linked to Spain. 29.7% of the NZ & the World stories are also coded as global, which, as a coding sub-category, indexes stories that link New Zealand to the world, but do not cite any particular country as the exclusive player (as, for example, routine business stories about the performance of the New Zealand Dollar on international financial markets). The ranking of the UK, U.S., and Australian stories is superseded by stories linked to Fiji (where New Zealand is a significant geopolitical actor) and Pakistan (whose high ranking is explained by the fact that the story of a kidnapped New Zealander received ongoing coverage during our sample).

⁷ The table entries have been organized as countries first, followed by regions, and then by continents.

Table 3. Country breakdown for stories coded NZ & the World.

Country/Region	Number of stories (n=219)
Spain	34.2%
Global	29.7%
Fiji	8.2%
Pakistan	6.8%
Australia	5.0%
United Kingdom	4.6%
United States	3.7%
France	4.1%
China	0.9%
Dubai	0.9%
India	0.9%
Vanuatu	0.5%
Nuie	0.5%
Overall	100%

Newspaper Sub-Field

The relationship between international and national coverage in each newspaper is prefabricated by a routinized packaging formula that demarcates the news by supplement or section (i.e., national news, world news, sports news, and business news). Table 4 presents an overview of the geographical focus of stories across the five newspapers.

Table 4. Comparative geographical focus of the newspaper sample.

	DP	NZH	Press	ODT	WKT	Overall
Geo-Focus	(n=235)	(n=228)	(n=184)	(n=128)	(n=127)	(n=902)
National	62.1%	52.6%	68.5%	69.5%	71.7%	63.4%
International	26.8%	35.1%	19.6%	21.1%	19.7%	25.6%
NZ & the World	8.1%	7.5%	10.9%	7.0%	7.1%	8.2%
Global	3.0%	4.8%	1.1%	2.3%	1.6%	2.8%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%

Although the patterns across the five papers in Table 4 are broadly homologous, the *NZH* stands out for its relatively high percentage (35.1%) of international stories. This can partly be explained by the paper's Auckland-centric identity, since Auckland is the largest, most multicultural and globally-networked city in New Zealand (though it can also be more prosaically explained by the fact that, compared to the other papers, the *NZH* included a large number of very short articles). Of the three Fairfax papers, The Wellington-based *DP* had a higher proportion of non-national stories than its two Fairfax stablemates, which, we surmise, relates to its capital city location. The differences between the Fairfax-owned *The Press* and *WKT* and the independently-owned *ODT* are marginal (Rosenberg, 2008).

Table 5 shows that, though there are some comparative differences, the pattern of Australian, UK, and U.S. stories dominating the news specifically coded as international is evident across all the newspapers.

Table 5. Newspaper coverage of specifically international stories.

						Overall
Country/Region	DP (n=63)	Press (n=36)	NZH (n=80)	ODT (n=28)	WKT (n=24)	(n=231)
Australia	28.6%	11.1%	18.8%	17.9%	12.5%	19.5%
United Kingdom	11.1%	25%	16.3%	21.4%	37.5%	19.0%
United States	17.5%	25%	16.3%	21.4%	8.3%	17.7%
Israel/Palestine	1.6%	2.8%	2.5%	10.7%	4.2%	3.5%
China	3.2%	0	5%	7.1%	0	3.5%
Japan	4.8%	5.6%	3.8%	0	0	3.5%
France	4.8%	2.8%	3.8%	0	4.2%	3.5%
Other Middle East	7.9%	11.1%	11.3%	7.1%	8.3%	9.5%
Other Europe	3.2%	11.1%	8.8%	10.7%	8.3%	7.8%
Other Asia	11.1%	0	7.5%	0	4.2%	6.1%
Africa	1.6%	2.8%	3.8%	0	8.3%	3.0%
Pacific Islands	3.2%	2.8%	1.3%	3.6%	4.2%	2.6%
Latin America	1.6%	0	1.2%	0	0	0.9%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6 shows the high ranking of Global, Spanish, and Fijian stories in the 74 newspaper stories that were coded as "NZ & the World."

						Overall
Country/Region	DP (n=19)	Press (n=20)	NZH (n=17)	ODT (n=9)	WKT (n=9)	(n=74)
Global	36.8%	35%	17.6%	22.2%	22.2%	28.4%
Spain	15.8%	15%	29.4%	0	22.2%	17.6%
Fiji	15.8%	10%	11.8%	11.1%	11.1%	12.2%
Australia	5.3%	5%	5.9%	33.3%	11.1%	9.5%
Pakistan	0	10%	11.8%	11.1%	11.1%	8.1%
Britain	5.3%	5%	5.9%	11.1%	0	5.4%
United States	5.3%	5%	11.8%	0	0	5.4%
France	5.3%	5%	5.9%	0	11.1%	5.4%
Dubai	5.3%	5%	0	0	0	2.7%
India	5.3%	5%	0	0	0	2.7%
China	0	0	0	11.1%	0	1.4%
Vanuatu	0	0	0	0	11.1%	1.4%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6. Newspaper breakdown for NZ & the World stories.

Given the prefabricated packaging of the newspapers, it would be quite tautologous to observe that the news section is dominated by national news, and that the world section is dominated by international news. Nonetheless, the front page of the newspaper is still an important hierarchical marker of news values, and, in the case of major international news events, normal packaging conventions are sometimes breached. The relative absence of international front-page stories in our sample points to the enduring predominance of the national and local as sites of news interest. Of the 60 front-page stories in our three-day newspaper sample, 48 were coded as national, nine were NZ and the world, three were international, and none were global. Of the nine NZ & the World stories, eight covered the America's Cup, while the other was an *NZH* story about the New Zealander kidnapped in Pakistan. The three international stories — all personality driven — were about the appointment of Gordon Brown as the new British Prime Minister, the birth of Tiger Wood's child, and the release of Paris Hilton from prison. While the Brown story can be justified as substantive news, the foregrounding of stories about two "globalized" celebrities suggests the normalization of tabloidized news values (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) in the coverage of international news.

As a further index of field priorities and newspapers' mundane articulation of a mode of subjectivity that looks beyond the nation-state, we also examined the focus of op-ed sections. Each of the papers publishes a single in-house editorial each day. The leader column of the *NZH* is structured around two distinct editorials that are organized under the sub-headings of "Our View" and "Their View." As the binary framing suggests, the abridged editorials, under the latter heading, are all outsourced, with "their" functioning as a signifier for perspectives articulated in papers outside New Zealand. Of the 19 editorials published in our sample, 13 were coded as national, four as international, one as global, and one as NZ & the World. Of the four international editorials, three were published in the *NZH* "Their View" section, thereby indicating that, even when a world outside New Zealand is considered, the editorial text is most likely to be

authored from a perspective that is outside New Zealand. The circumscribed geography of that world is evident in the fact that two of the editorials were from the Australian papers, *The Australian* and *The Age*, while the other was sourced from *Chicago Tribune*. The only specifically international editorial that was authored in-house was published by the *DP*, which also editorialized on the Australian government's policy toward indigenous communities.

This trend was replicated in the op-ed pages more generally, with evidence of a patterned reliance on material sourced from outside New Zealand. Of the 45 additional op-ed articles, 22 were coded as national, 14 as international, six as global, and three as NZ & the World. Of the 14 international stories, six were explicitly identified as syndicated articles from international sources. The remaining eight stories were written by five freelance journalists, only one of whom, Colin James, seems to be based in New Zealand. James wrote two articles, and Gwynne Dyer, a London-based freelancer, wrote three, including a piece on Chinese greenhouse gas emissions that was published in both the *NZH* the *ODT*. Of the six stories coded as global, three were out-sourced, while regular columnists or freelancers wrote the other three. Of the three stories coded as NZ & the World, one was a *DP* column on Fiji, while the other two were syndications of the same America's Cup article in the Fairfax-owned *DP* and *The Press*.

The structural reliance on outsourced copy for coverage of world events is most apparent when we examine the agency authorship of stories published in sections or supplements specifically billed as world news. Of the 164 articles published in specifically "world" sections, at least 95.1% (156 stories) were sourced from news agencies located outside New Zealand. These were sourced from a number of mainly Anglo-American agencies, the most significant being Reuters (28.6% of all stories published in the world section) and the Associated Press (16.5% of stories). Of the other eight articles, three do not specify either a byline or agency-source, suggesting they were most likely outsourced as well. These results indicate the extent to which international news has been commodified in New Zealand newspapers (Rosenberg, 2008). In addition, it also suggests a news culture where New Zealand-based journalists are governed by working conditions that largely limit their horizons to national concerns and issues.

Television Sub-Field

Based on a total output of 192 stories, Table 7 gives an overview of the geographical focus of stories across the four television networks.

	TV1 (n=65)	TV3 (n=68)	Prime (n=32)	Maori TV (n=27)	Overall (n=192)
National	66.2%	52.9%	40.6%	96.3%	61.5%
International	16.9%	30.9%	31.3%	0	21.9%
NZ & the World	15.4%	16.2%	25.0%	3.7%	15.6%
Global	1.5%	0	3.1%	0	1.0%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 7. Geographical focus of the television sample.

Table 7 shows the dominance of national stories across the TV networks, though the overall figure of 61.5% is skewed by Maori TV's particularly strong national focus. The other network that deviated from the general picture was the Sky-owned Prime, which, because its main news bulletin is a comparatively short 30 minutes, has a low number of national stories juxtaposed with a high number of NZ & the world stories. The privately-owned TV3 also had a comparatively high number of international stories, most of which were American.

In terms of the international focus of the coverage, Table 8 gives an overview of the 42 television stories specifically coded as international. It shows how the general pattern of the newspaper coverage was replicated on television, with — in order of rank — American, British, and Australian stories dominating. However, the relative prominence of the three countries differed considerably across channels, with the predominance of the U.S. largely explained by the high number of TV3 stories. The other salient feature of Table 8 is the dearth of other countries that were featured in international news, especially when contrasted with the newspaper sample.

⁸ Maori TV commenced broadcasting in 2004. Its strong national focus can be explained by the fact that, since Maori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, Maori TV has a specific legislative mandate to report on Maori tikanga (customs) and reo (language). Hence, its main news program, *Te Kaea*, is dedicated to covering Maori news from a specifically "Maori perspective" (see Archie, 2007).

Country TV1 (n=11) TV3 (n=21) Prime (n=10)Overall (n=42) USA 18.2% 66.7% 40.0% 47.6% Britain 45.5% 9.5% 30.0% 23.8% 9.5% 10.0% Australia 18.2% 11.9% 4.8% 4.8% Egypt 9.1% 0 Iran 0 4.8% 10.0% 4.8% China 0 4.8% 2.4% 0 Ireland9 0 0 10% 2.4% 2.4% Norway 9.1% 0 0 Overall 100% 100% 100% 100.0%

Table 8. Television coverage of international stories.

Table 9 shows that, of the 30 television stories coded as NZ & the World, Spanish (i.e. the America's Cup coverage) and global stories again dominate.

Country	TV1 (n=10)	TV3 (n=11)	Prime (n=8)	Maori (n=1)	Overall (n=30)
Spain	40.0%	45.5%	50.0%	0	43.3%
Global	30.0%	27.3%	25.0%	100.0%	30.0%
Fiji	10.0%	9.1%	12.5%	0	10.0%
Pakistan	0	9.1%	12.5%	0	6.7%
USA	10.0%	0	0	0	3.3%
France	0	9.1%	0	0	3.3%
Australia	10.0%	0	0	0	3.3%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100 %

Table 9: Television coverage of NZ & the World stories.

The relative placement of stories within television news bulletins gives us some indication of the relationship between dominant news values and the geographical focus of news headlines. If we excuse television coverage of the America's Cup, which was the lead story on the TV1, TV3, and Prime bulletins on June 27, none of the three English-language channels led with another international or NZ & the World story. The only other non-national stories with high bulletin placements (i.e., broadcast before the first series of advertisements) are the NZ & the World stories about Fijian sanctions and the Pakistani kidnapping. Hence, none of the channels feature a non-New Zealand story before the first advertising break, suggesting a pattern that is broadly consistent with the nation-centric structuring of the newspaper front pages.

⁹ The story coded here as Irish (about an air show crash) is located in Norway by another report.

Of the other stories coded as NZ & the World, 43.3% reported (mainly using in-house correspondents) on the America's Cup, and 30% were routine stories (sub-coded as global) about the performance of the national and international markets. Maori TV's sole non-national story was about Maori intellectual property rights within a transnational context. The focus on the United Kingdom and Australia is evident in the specifically international news, where the two most prominent stories were Tony Blair's resignation and the Howard Government's indigenous people's policy. A recurring theme across the other stories was weather and natural disasters, with reports about British floods, Californian forest fires, Chinese storms, and floods in Victoria. Although we don't have space to consider these latter stories, we recognize how such coverage could perhaps be indicative of a more globalized news consciousness about climate change issues.

The influence of tabloidized news values on the specific coverage of international news is evident on TVNZ, TV3, and Prime. This is exemplified by the Paris Hilton story, which was covered by all three channels and featured in both the TV3 news bulletin and the directly-linked current affairs show, *Campbell Live*, on all three days. Other clear examples of sensationalist international news included stories about a Denver Police Pursuit, an air-show crash, a "wrestling murder-suicide," Australian wedding dancing, and a U.S. judge's lawsuit over pants.

The clear reliance on outsourcing non-New Zealand news, which we documented in the newspaper sample, was equally evident in the television coverage. Of the 42 specifically international television stories, 20 were short, anchor-only stories that relied on generic, agency-sourced video copy. Of the 18 stories that included a supplementary report, 10 were explicitly attributed to international broadcasters, though others seemed to be outsourced without attribution. This practice occurred across TVNZ, TV3, and Prime, and was again marked by a clear Australian, British, and American bias, with stories syndicated from Channel 10, BBC, ITV, Sky News, CBS, and ABC.

Radio Sub-Field

Table 10 shows how the ratio of national, international, NZ & the World, and global stories is broadly consistent across the three radio networks and six regular programs, with the most noticeable exceptions being the comparatively low number of international stories on the commercially-run *Henry Show* and the comparatively high number on the publicly-owned *Morning Report*.

			<u> </u>				
Geo-Focus	National R	adio	Newstalk ZB		Radio Live		Overall
	Morn Rpt	Checkpoint	Holmes	Williams	Lush	Henry	Total
	(n=168)	(n=105)	(n=106)	(n=107)	(n=86)	(n=74)	(n=646)
National	56.0%	62.9%	56.6%	59.8%	58.1%	71.6%	59.9%
International	25.0%	18.1%	19.8%	15.9%	23.3%	10.8%	19.3%
NZ & the world	16.7%	14.3%	18.9%	22.4%	17.4%	14.9%	17.8%
Global	2.4%	4.8%	4.7%	1.9%	1.2%	2.7%	2.9%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 10. Geographical focus of radio stories.

In terms of the 125 radio stories specifically coded as international, Table 11 shows that, though the triad of the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia again dominate, there are some important differences between the individual programs. The most noticeable divergence is the comparatively high number of international stories, especially Pacific Islands' stories, on Morning Report. These figures are explained by the program's daily broadcast of a specific Pacific Islands' news bulletin, which is supplied by National Radio's affiliate public service network, Radio New Zealand International. Compared to commercial radio, there is also a greater diversity of international stories on the two National Radio programs.

Table 11. Radio coverage of specifically international stories.

	National Radio		Newstalk	Newstalk ZB		Radio Live	
	Morn Rpt	Checkpoint	Holmes	Williams	Lush	Henry	Total
Country/Region	(n=40)	(n=19)	(n=21)	(n=17)	(n=20)	(n=8)	(n=125)
United Kingdom	22.5%	15.8%	47.6%	17.6%	30.0%	25.0%	26.4%
United States	7.5%	26.3%	14.3%	41.2%	25.0%	37.5%	20.8%
Australia	5.0%	15.8%	14.3%	17.6%	5.0%	12.5%	10.4%
Israel/Palestine	7.5%	5.3%	0	0	15.0%	0	5.6%
Fiji	7.5%	0	0	0	5.0%	0	3.2%
Iraq	7.5%	0	4.8%	0	5.0%	0	4.0%
East Timor	2.5%	15.8%	0	0	0	0	3.2%
Solomon Islands	5.0%	0	0	5.9%	0	12.5%	3.2%
Pakistan	10.0%	0	0	0	0	0	3.2%
Other Pacific Islands	17.5%	0	0	0	0	0	5.6%
Other Europe	2.5%	5.3%	9.6%	5.9%	5.0%	12.5%	5.6%
Other Asia	0	0	9.5%	11.8%	5.0%	0	4.0%
Latin America	0	10.5%	0	0	5.0%	0	2.4%
Other M. East	2.5%	5.3%	0	0	0	0	1.6%
Zimbabwe	2.5%	0	0	0	0	0	0.8%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The ordering of stories in the hourly news bulletins gives some indicative sense of the sub-field's preoccupations. Of the 47 news bulletins coded in our sample, none led with an international story. The international story with the highest placement (second) was a Newstalk story about the Australian government's indigenous people's policy, while a story about Tony Blair's new diplomatic job (coded here as global) also featured as a second story. Consistent with the overall sample, most of the stories were national, and international stories — when they were featured — were typically placed in the second half of the bulletin.

As a representative index of the types of stories recorded in Table 11, it is worth examining the kind of stories that are broadcast about the two highest scoring countries, the United Kingdom and the United States. Of the 33 British stories (26.4%), 19 cited the major story of the resignation of Tony Blair and the appointment of Gordon Brown, six mentioned the British floods, and the others were soft focus

stories about Wimbledon, the Royal family, a car auction, the retirement of a television presenter, and the reforming of a rock group. Of the 26 American stories (20.8%), six specifically focused on the release of Paris Hilton, though the story was also discussed as part of generic U.S. news roundups. The California fires were discussed three times, while news items about a judge suing a dry cleaning business and the freakish shooting of a Miami man (who had a bullet lodged in his ear) got two reports each. Of the rest, it is worth noting the clear distinction between hard news and tabloid news underpinning the differences between the public and private networks, juxtaposing National Radio's stories about Dick Cheney, CIA revelations, a perceived terrorism threat, World War II reparations, and Iraq with commercial radio's stories about the death of a professional wrestler, a bottled water ban, a pet restraining order, and a disability dating Web site.

Of the 125 international stories, 52 were broadcast in on-the-hour bulletins. Of these 52, 29 were short, anchor-only stories, while the others were combinations of anchor introductions with reports or interview clips that were typically outsourced from international radio and television networks. It is difficult to identify which reports are outsourced, because many are used without any clear attribution. However, in the case of National Radio, which is more explicit about its use of outsourced material, the results followed the general geographical pattern of our sample, with nine stories sourced from the BBC, six from CNN, and four from the Australian ABC. Reports explicitly attributed to CNN correspondents were also used on Radio Live, while there were interviews with an ABC correspondent on Radio Live and a BBC correspondent on Newstalk ZB.

Table 12 again shows the extensive news interest in the America's Cup, which accounted for 42.6% of the stories coded as NZ & the World. The 30.4% of stories sub-coded as global were mainly formulaic market update stories, while the Fijian and Pakistani figures illustrate the established news interest in the sanctions and kidnapping stories.

Radio Station	National F	Radio	Newstalk ZB	Newstalk ZB		Radio Live	
	Morn Rpt	Checkpoint	Holmes	Williams	Lush	Henry	Total
Country/Region	(n=30)	(n=15)	(n=20)	(n=24)	(n=15)	(n=11)	(n=115)
Spain	46.7%	26.7%	50.0%	37.5%	73.3%	9.1%	42.6%
Global	23.3%	40.0%	20.0%	37.5%	20.0%	54.5%	30.4%
Fiji	3.3%	6.7%	0	8.3%	6.7%	9.1%	5.2%
Pakistan	3.3%	20.0%	5.0%	4.2%	0	9.1%	6.1%
Australia	0	0	0	12.5%	0	0	2.6%
Britain	6.7%	0	10.0%	0	0	18.2%	5.2%
United States	6.7%	0	5.0%	0	0	0	2.6%
France	6.7%	0	10.0%	0	0	0	3.5%
China	0	6.7%	0	0	0	0	0.9%
Niue	3.3%	0	0	0	0	0	0.9%
Overall	100%	100%	100%	100.0	100%	100%	100%

Table 12. Radio coverage of NZ & the World stories.

The Paradoxes of Media Globalization

So, what substantive conclusions about the relationship between New Zealand news media and globalization can be reached on the basis of our sample? We should first note the limitations of our data and methodology. We are not asserting that a study constructed around a three-day sample of a limited number of media spaces offers a comprehensive account. The issues examined in this paper would clearly gain from further quantitative, qualitative, and comparative investigation; indeed, we recognize how our empirical approach has under-utilized the resources of field theory. In addition, the fact that our analysis focuses on mainstream media should not obscure the role of digital media spaces in reconstituting the relationship between media and globalized logics. Nonetheless, we think that our focus on the importance of banal media representations is justified by Garton Ash's (2009) perhaps nostalgic lament about the dearth of foreign news reporting in contemporary media: "What is under threat is the broad, serendipitous daily exposure to news of the world that comes from turning the pages of a newspaper over your morning tea."

Since our analysis is keen to avoid a reified discussion of globalization (Hay, 2002), we find Hafez's (2007, p. 26) emphasis on the "globalization of media as a process occurring on several levels" to be quite useful. Our analysis is obviously most revealing at the level of content, though based on our review of sourcing patterns, we can also cast light on the transnational logics governing media production.

The most salient observation we can make from a production perspective is that, consistent with wider international evidence, the task of representing the world is predominantly outsourced. This is most evident in our newspaper sample, where at least 95% of the stories published in specific world sections were sourced from international agencies. The trend is replicated in the television sub-field, which is overdependent on a combination of generic agency footage and outsourced reports from British, Australian, and American sources. The force of the general trend is countered somewhat in the radio sub-field. This is mainly a consequence of the more widespread use of international correspondents and stringers, though, with the notable exception of National Radio's Pacific news service, these also overly rely on direct links to Anglo-American broadcasters.

While it would be foolish to deny that international media outlets will often be in a position to provide better quality international news coverage than their New Zealand counterparts, the field's structural dependency on outsourcing suggests three key points. First, it affirms the importance of international news agencies as institutional "agents of globalization" (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998, p. 15), though, as our data suggests, the representation of the global that emerges — after local appropriation of agency copy — is marked by a clear, Western-centric bias. The consequences of agencies' globalized power has been examined by Paterson (1998, p. 82), who notes how, as part of "their desire to please all of their clients all of the time," they typically fetishize the notions of the "objective," "meaning –free" journalistic product that can potentially be sold everywhere. It does not follow from this that outsourced stories published in New Zealand newspapers will always strive for a posture of bland objectivity, especially when stories are sometimes sourced from ideologically distinct papers like the *Daily Telegraph*. However, it does suggest that coverage of international events will often be quite generic in character: globalized in the sense of being disembedded from a specific place, yet simultaneously reproducing an imaginative space that is Western and devoid of a personalized local accent (Bennett, 2009; Comrie & Fountaine, 2005).

A second structural feature of the New Zealand journalistic field follows from this over-reliance on outsourcing, which perhaps partly contradicts the point we have just made, and also resonates with Cleveland's (1971) earlier observations about the field's homogenizing tendencies. Much of the reporting may follow a generic Western line, but terminating the analysis with that bald observation occludes how the category of "the West" is the site of significant internal journalistic differences, which are difficult to discern in a context where the daily news about Iraq may come from Reuters, *The Independent*, or *The New York Times*. Consequently, Hafez's (2007, p. 25) indictment of international reporting for "giving rise to fragmentary world-views that are nothing less than grotesque" seems especially apt in a New Zealand context. It is conceivable that patterned appropriations of agency copy could be the basis of some editorial identity. Yet, in the absence of a local foreign news infrastructure, it is hard to see how this identity could be anything but weak. The generic nature (Phelan, 2009) of New Zealand journalistic field identities is exemplified by the fact that all the *NZH* editorial leaders on international affairs are outsourced. The homogenization of local field identities is further compounded by the increased citation of the corporation — for example, Fairfax — as the institutional marker of newspaper identities.

Third, the dearth of genuinely national reporting about the world suggests that the structuring of the New Zealand journalistic habitus is especially insular and cultivates a disposition — among editorial and industry élites in particular — that is skeptical about the relevance of much international news to New Zealand audiences (Stephenson, 2009). This retreat to the national seems to be part of wider international trends; as Hafez puts it ironically, "the only thing universal or global about the world-view of different media systems is that they all suffer from the same problem: the domestication of the world" (2007, p. 25). There is also the obvious fact of the country's geographical isolation, which can foster a subjectivity that can both affect an indifference to the world, and yet be simultaneously preoccupied with, and anxious about, one's place in it. Nonetheless, we think it would be interesting to see some qualitative exploration of the links between international news coverage and a wider cultural political economy of media work in New Zealand.

At the level of content, the most salient pattern in our findings is the privileging of the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia as sites of international news. The focus on the United Kingdom and the United States is indicative of news-flow patterns within Western societies more generally, though, contrary to Wu's (2003) findings, one cannot help but read the high number of British stories as indicative of an enduring colonial bond. These patterns must, as we have already suggested, be contextualized in terms of the field's over-dependency on outsourcing news from Anglo-American agencies and media outlets (though, interestingly, the same three countries dominated Cleveland's (1971) earlier study of New Zealand newspapers, when the coverage was exclusively provided by the New Zealand Press Association). While we understand the usefulness of theorizations that bundle the terms "globalization," "Westernization," and "modernization" (Taylor, 2000), the fact that more than 60% of international news was about the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia can hardly be read as indicative of logics and "tendencies" (Hay, 2002) that are genuinely global in character.

The regional nature of "the news" is exemplified further by the meager coverage of particular regions. A combination of China and other Asian countries made up a modest 9.6% of international stories, while Latin America and Africa (of the six African stories, five focused on Zimbabwe) were barely featured in

our sample. One exception to the general pattern of regional neglect was the coverage of Middle Eastern news, which, if we combine Israeli and Palestinian news with other Middle Eastern/Central Asian stories, accounted for 12.6% of the stories coded as international. This pattern tallies with wider research findings (Hafez, 2007, p. 30) and obviously needs to be contextualized in terms of Western, particularly American, military and diplomatic interests in the region.

The most obvious feature of NZ & the World stories is their embeddedness in mythical or formulaic modes of national identification. The mythical dimension was exemplified by the headline coverage given to the America's Cup across the three sub-fields. The formulaic element was evident in the regular market update stories, which, by default, situate the position of the national economy in terms of wider global developments. Of the other NZ & the World stories, the next most-referenced country was Fiji, which is part of a regional geo-political context where New Zealand's engagement with the world is, through the offices of the Pacific Islands Forum, institutional in character. This regional interest in the Pacific is evident in the National Radio content, which, consistent with its public service remit, covered stories from a number of countries that were featured nowhere else in the sample.

While our findings highlight the lack of international stories in headline news spaces, the mode of mediatized identification with the wider world is vividly illustrated by the kinds of tabloidized and "infotainment" (Thussu, 2007) stories that garner sustained attention. This tendency was epitomized by the coverage given to the Paris Hilton story across the sub-fields. Along with the news about Tiger Woods' child, it was one of only three international stories that made it to the front page of a newspaper. It was also featured on three successive broadcasts of TV3's primetime current affairs show, *Campbell Live*. The latter's treatment of the story may be one of (doubly) ironic detachment from the media spectacle. Yet the knowingness does not negate the fact that, aside from a story about a sauce manufacturer, no other specifically international stories were featured in this award-winning journalistic space. To compound the picture of systematic neglect, *Campbell Live's* public service competitor, TVNZ's *Close-Up*, featured no specifically international stories.

Our criticisms should be tempered by the recognition that most newspapers offer supplements that are specifically categorized as world news. These spaces are important in terms of the general functioning of the journalistic field, since they cover a range of stories that go unmentioned in other sub-field spaces. Nonetheless, the banal absence of international stories in newspaper front pages, editorial and op-ed spaces, and prominent bulletin placements is indicative of telling relational logics; and in this respect we cannot resist comparing these patterns to the media absorption in the America's Cup. The yacht race may have an obvious news value in New Zealand that is difficult to translate to an international audience; and, indeed, some of that value is paradoxically bound up with the fantasmatic perception that the race confers global recognition on "Team New Zealand" — which is both the name of the local sailing team, and also indicative of the mode of mediatized identification with the race (Gajevic, 2007). Nonetheless, the fact that what is, strictly speaking, a corporate-dominated sports story can absorb so much media attention and resources seems to be an apt comparative metaphor for how "the world," as an object of substantive news, struggles for attention.

Our analysis offers further evidence of the strongly heteronomous — that is, market dominated character of the New Zealand journalistic field. The general absence of a local journalistic infrastructure for reporting the world and the over-absorption in tabloidized forms of transnational news illustrate how the journalistic field, as a totality, has been naturalized by the assumption that news is "just another" commodity. This is perhaps most clearly exemplified in the case of the nominally public service broadcaster, TVNZ. Although, at the time of the sample, TVNZ was still committed to implementing a public service broadcasting charter, 10 there is little in our data that points to a committed public service culture. National television broadcasters all over the world may exhibit a similar insularity, yet the New Zealand situation seems especially regressive. 11 In a context of such diminished journalistic agency, the more committed public service identity of National Radio plays an important cultural role, though, not surprisingly, its own coverage is often consistent with the general character of the field. The situation, across the field, is only likely to deteriorate in the immediate future. The starkness of the structural "crisis" (Gitlin, 2009) facing television was highlighted recently by Bennett (2009), one of TVNZ's senior foreign correspondents, who noted how the network's foreign spending had been "virtually cut to nil." If the infrastructural conditions governing the supply of international news play a key role in constituting its demand (Iyengar et al., 2009), it is difficult to envision any future study offering a significantly different empirical picture.

Finally, from a normative perspective that values the importance of a global public sphere, we would like to make some cursory observations as they specifically relate to the New Zealand context. Although the technological infrastructure of contemporary mass media may facilitate the emergence of a more globalized subjectivity in mainstream news coverage, our analysis suggests that the possibility of a "global staging" (Cottle, 2009a) of political and social problems — especially at a banal discursive level — is being directly undermined by the ongoing neoliberalization of national media systems. It may be increasingly easy for affluent news audiences to engage with the wider world through international television networks and the Internet, and the implications of this shift for our enduring conception of journalistic fields, as national spaces and imaginaries, have perhaps yet to be satisfactorily explored. However, if the pillars of "high modernist journalism" (Hallin, 1992), the newspaper and the main evening television news, continue to act as important barometers of national news priorities (and, contrary to Blondheim and Liebes's (2009) analysis, we believe they do, at least in New Zealand), the idea of a global public sphere is certainly a far remove from the empirical realities of the New Zealand context.

¹⁰ The National party, which returned to power in 2008, announced its intention to scrap the charter early in 2009.

¹¹ To be fair, this assessment of TVNZ overlooks how the broadcaster did launch a new digital news and current affairs channel in 2008. This has enabled greater coverage of world events. However, most of the additional news output is still "bought in" (Bennett, 2009) from international broadcasters.

Conclusion

Despite the clear structural dependence on outsourcing news from international agencies and media outlets, our analysis has shown why the term globalization offers a problematic blanket description of banal news media processes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed, to quote Hafez, it seems so "riddled with perceptual errors, ideological projections and political interests" (2007, p. 168) that one could be tempted to follow Sparks (2007, p. 152) in suggesting that, in its "strong" form, globalization is a "virtually useless" concept. However, despite our empirical findings, we think that would be a step too far for two key reasons, which we can only cursorily note here.

First, although he is centrally committed to exposing the "mythical" nature of the dominant globalization discourse, we agree with Hafez's (2007, p. 167) assertion that myths are nonetheless constitutive of social practice, and that globalization is, in some sense, an appropriate myth for our time. This recognition of the constitutive role of the fantasmatic (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Žižek , 1989) is important because we think it would be a mistake to deny the place of the globalization myth in the brand identities articulated by media outlets in New Zealand and elsewhere. In addition, it would be wrongheaded to deny its affective power in constituting media rituals (Cottle, 2009a; Couldry, 2003) that can "really feel" like globalized events. While it is the responsibility of critical communications scholars to interrogate the simplistic nature of the globalization myth, researchers should also recognize how it can "become a crucial determinant of political and economic outcomes, whether or not it is grounded in well informed analysis" (Hay & Marsh, 2000, p. 8). Hence, however paradoxical it might sound, we are suggesting that globalization needs to be regarded as a problematic description of banal news media processes, yet, at the same time, as a useful concept for understanding particular phenomenological moments of our mediatized reality (because the problem with an outright dismissal of the concept is that its rests on a strict demarcation of the real and the fantasmatic that is ultimately unsustainable).

Second, despite its conceptual muddiness, we think that the myth of globalization can usefully inform empirical work. In this respect, we find Glynos and Howarth's (2007) articulation of a logics approach to social scientific explanation helpful, because, in this specific instance, it emphasizes how the global is always articulated as part of a complex assemblage of different logics, which cannot be reduced to the essentialist couplet of the global-local. For example, while a pattern of structural dependency on outsourcing international news from Anglo-American news agencies could conceivably be described as an example of a "globalization," if we had to choose an "ization" (Taylor, 2000), we think it would be more accurate to describe it as indicative of a "Westernization" that is consistent with Spark's (2007, 152) preferred encoding of globalization as an "imperialist phase of capitalist development". Whatever the case, neither of these grand narrative labels can satisfactorily illuminate why the general patterns discernible in our data need to be explained in terms of a messy assemblage of logics (social, political, economic, media, cultural and fantasmatic) that are both transnational in character, yet contextually articulated in ways that are particular

¹² The paradoxical nature of globalization processes is exemplified by the fact that, while one of its senior foreign correspondents acknowledges the "unprecedented cutbacks in foreign spends" (Bennett, 2009), TVNZ is simultaneously running a branding campaign under the slogan of "New Zealand's News. Anywhere. Anytime."

to Aotearoa New Zealand. Formulating a satisfactory explanation is clearly beyond the scope of this article. But hopefully we have at least elucidated the normative failings of the New Zealand journalistic field from a progressive globalist perspective.

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