

The geography of foreign news on television: A comparative study of 17 countries

the International
Communication Gazette
74(4) 301–322
© The Author(s) 2012
Reprints and permission:
sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/1748048512439812
gaz.sagepub.com



Jürgen Wilke and Christine Heimprecht

Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany

Akiba Cohen

Tel Aviv University, Israel

Abstract

Since the advent of television in the middle of the 20th century, news has been an essential ingredient in TV programming. Often these newscasts are the most heavily viewed programmes, and by and large they are the main source of information for many people. This is particularly true for news from other countries and regions in the world. This immense significance of TV news has made it an important field in communication research. The article presents a new study that is formed from a multinational project. The project investigated foreign TV news in 17 countries from five regions in the world: Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Egypt, Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Switzerland, Taiwan and the United States of America. The data of the content analysis in all these countries in 2008 contain over 17,500 news items. The analysis concentrates on 'news geography', a term that is used to describe the extent to which the countries of the planet are represented in TV news. The results show a complex, multifaceted picture of foreign news reporting in the world. This multifaceted picture demands multi-causal interpretation. Several factors are discussed, i.e. the types of countries, their political order and integration into the international system, trade, different degrees in political power, but also historical connections, cultural ties, etc. Principally, the foreign news outlet depends on the selection criteria of

Corresponding author:

Jürgen Wilke, Institut für Publizistik, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Colonel-Kleinmann-Weg 2, 55099 Mainz, Germany

Email: wilke@uni-mainz.de

journalists. On the whole the findings seem to question the world's globalization, which is often taken for granted.

Keywords

Content analysis, foreign news, international communication, news geography, news selection

Introduction

Since the advent of television in the middle of the 20th century, news has been an essential ingredient in TV programming. Wherever someone in the world tunes into a TV set, he or she will sooner or later encounter a TV newscast. Often, these newscasts are the most heavily viewed programmes, and by and large they are the main source of information for many people, even with the growing use of the Internet (Leckner and Facht, 2010; www.worldstats.com). This is particularly true for news from other countries and regions in the world.

The immense significance of TV news has made it an important field in communication research. Since the 1970s, many studies have been conducted, focusing either on the production and content of TV newscasts or on their reception by the viewers (Schaap, 1998). A great deal of research has been specifically dedicated to journalists' selection of (foreign) news and the question of which criteria they apply during this process. Although our knowledge of this matter has increased, supplementary studies have been conducted, advancing in terms of theoretical perspectives, extending the current research to different kinds of media and news and including and comparing different countries. As television news can only shape the images of countries which are part of the news coverage, a central question of national and international studies was: which countries are not represented in foreign news, which are covered and to what extent and what are the criteria of the selection?

There are several reasons to follow up earlier analyses. On one hand, the world has become more and more globalized in recent years. The political power system in the world changed in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Moreover, TV has undergone changes in many parts of the world through innovations in technology and deregulation. This has forced researchers to re-examine their earlier understanding of how the media operate (Golan et al., 2010). Therefore there is no doubt that there is a growing need to understand the nature and impact of foreign news in the current complex world media ecosystem, including the problems and limitations which are inherent when crossing cultural and political boundaries (Cohen, 2002).

Theoretical background

Studies of foreign news are conceptualized in order to describe and explain the selection processes in the mass media. The first authors, dealing with newspapers in the 17th century, raised the question of which events were selected by journalists for publication and which were not (Wilke, 1987). In the 20th century, this became a topic for systematic

research. Walter Lippmann first discussed this question in his theory of public opinion (1922). He coined the term ‘news value’, and specified some examples to demonstrate its meaning. Östgaard (1965) distinguished between external and internal factors influencing the flow of news. The former result from the political system (i.e. censorship) or from economic pressures (i.e. the cost of acquisition), while the latter are inherent in the news flow itself. According to Östgaard, the internal factors can be subdivided into three sections: simplification, identification and sensationalism.

Based on this approach, Galtung and Ruge (1965) developed a list of 12 factors with regard to news, believing that eight were culture-free and four were culture-bound. Their list of criteria has been used in many content studies, although it has sometimes been modified or other criteria have been added (Harcup and O’Neill, 2001; Staab, 1990). Galtung and Ruge’s causal model (according to which news is published because of the particular qualities of specific events) has been criticized from two angles. On one hand, it has received criticism because it neglects the journalist’s political intentions. This criticism has led to a functional model of news selection (Staab, 1990). On the other hand, the psychological basis of Galtung and Ruge’s theory was questioned, as researchers have suggested that there are systemic determinants that influence the flow of news (Rosengren, 1974). Nevertheless, the theory of newsworthiness provides many interesting approaches and thereby the basis of many studies in foreign news research, including the present survey.

Foreign news as a research topic

Foreign news has been studied as a research topic for a long time. Initial studies date from the 1920s and 1930s (Woodward, 1930). In the beginning, researchers primarily analysed newspapers, as they were the first medium which enabled mass communication. Foreign news reporting goes back to the origins of the printed press. Wilke’s (1987) historical, long-term study of foreign news in German, French, English and American newspapers shows that there was a steady growth in the amount of foreign news coverage from the early 17th to early 20th century. In the course of this growth, the world view and the cognitive maps which all the newspapers in these countries conveyed were extended. The world view of these four countries was at first heavily ‘Euro-centric’, and only later did it grow to take into account other parts of the world.

From the 1940s and 1950s onwards, these studies were not only driven by scientific motives, but also by political incentives (Wilke, 2011). This is true for studies that have been conducted during and after the Second World War. The conflict between East and West and the gap between industrial and developing nations raised the question of how TV stations in these parts of the world covered other countries, and whether and how the coverage contributed to the conflicts or could help to solve them. International institutions stimulated such studies. Two studies which became key works were both conducted in 1953, one on behalf of the International Press Institute (IPI, 1953) and the other on behalf of UNESCO (Kayser, 1953).

Since the 1960s, the topic of international news has been closely related to the debate over the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Whereas most studies have included only a couple of countries, the ‘Foreign images’ study, conducted

under the supervision of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR), involved 29 countries (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984; Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985; Stevenson and Shaw, 1984). Once again, newspapers were at the centre of the study, although radio and TV stations were also included. Unfortunately, the analysis of the data was only preliminary. One main result was, however, that foreign news across the world 'devoted most attention to events happening within and to actors belonging to [the broadcasting country's] immediate geographical region' (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984: 121). In general, a certain pattern was confirmed: after the immediate geographical region, the world's superpowers were covered, followed by regions with ongoing crises. Finally, a small amount of space (if any) was dedicated to smaller and less important countries.

Scholars who have studied international news have typically looked to global factors to explain the variability in the coverage. A great deal of this research has focused on explaining the variability in the ways in which specific nations or regions are covered. This global-level research generally assumes that international news coverage reflects the power structure among nations. However, the crafting of media messages, including those focused on international events, is also subject to local influences. Such influences include organizational factors, the local community's power structure and corporate characteristics.

Today, with the increasing level of globalization of news organizations (Chalaby, 2005) in the context of greater political and economic interdependence among nations, one could assume that the role of foreign news would increase in terms of its importance. Many studies that have been conducted since the 1990s, however, have reached the conclusion that there is a shrinking foreign 'newshole' (see Moisy, 1997; Norris, 1995; Riffe et al., 1994). Some other studies have begun to focus on TV news and to encompass a larger number of nations. Heinderyckx (1993) included eight European countries (including Belgium, with two linguistically different channels), while Straubhaar et al. (1992) studied eight countries on four continents (Asia, Europe and North and South America). Lozano et al. (2000) referred to newspapers from six Latin American countries, plus Spain. The 'Foreign news study', conducted in the mid-1990s, unfortunately produced only a limited output despite having originally included 46 countries (Ito, 2009; Wu, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004). When analysing data from the foreign news study of 38 countries, Wu (2000) found that coverage was primarily determined by economics and the availability of news sources. Ito (2009) used the same data set for 46 countries, grouping them into seven regions of the world. Hagen et al. (1998) attempted to test this hypothesis using the coverage which Germany received in 28 countries. Wu (1998), as well as Robinson and Sparkes (1976), discovered that trade played a key role in shaping foreign news broadcasting in some countries, but was not a significant determinant in the USA. Rössler (2004) covered TV news in eight European countries and the USA. He concludes that 'significant differences exist with regard to issues and actors represented' but 'news centres play a dominant role' (2004: 288). The broadest and most ambitious attempt was made recently by Tiele (2010) in a study including newspapers (with some online substitutes) from 126 countries.

Our study was inspired in different respects by the theories of newsworthiness. In this article, this can be shown only to a limited extent. In particular, we present findings

regarding the geography of news. This term was coined in the 1980s (Schulz, 1983; see also Kamps, 1998) in order to describe which countries or regions of the world are represented in the news. Others have used the terms 'map' or 'mapping', suggesting that people construct mental maps on the basis of the news they receive (Atwood and Buillon, 1982). In this respect, the study by Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977) was very impressive, as they compared, based on 60 newspapers from nine countries, a 'real' map of the world with the maps (the 'worlds') created by the news coverage in newspapers in the USA, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and in some third world countries. This study was based on the 'necessarily arbitrary assumption that each region has an equal chance of newsworthiness' (Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977: 57), which obviously is not the case.

The 'Foreign TV news' project: Methodology and data

Therefore, the aim of the study at hand was to include broadcasts from a range of countries: large and small, east and west, developed and developing, rich and poor, etc. Researchers from 17 countries participated in the multinational research project 'Foreign TV news':¹ Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Egypt, Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Switzerland, Taiwan and the United States of America (USA). Unfortunately, we failed to extend the study to some further countries, and particularly to Africa and Australia. Nevertheless, there have hardly been any studies comparing as many countries in terms of how they report foreign news. By recruiting these countries, we were able to follow a 'most different systems design' an approach that Przeworski and Teune (1970) have set in contrast to a 'most similar systems design'. While the latter is based on the 'belief that systems as similar as possible with respect to as many features as possible constitute the optimal samples for comparative inquiry' (Przeworski and Teune, 1970: 32), the 'alternative strategy takes as the starting point the variation of the observed behaviour' (1970: 34).

This project investigated foreign TV news as portrayed by public, state and commercial broadcasters in 17 countries in five regions of the world. The overall project had three specific and interrelated objectives: (1) to analyse, compare and contrast the content of TV news aired on selected TV channels; (2) to determine the attitudes and perceptions of the audience members regarding the perceived function, utility value and sufficiency of TV news in general, and foreign news in particular; (3) to determine the criteria used by television journalists and editors regarding the broadcast of foreign news, as well as to learn to what extent these gatekeepers have a veridical sense of how the public they presumably serve views such content.

The researchers participating in our study conducted a content analysis of the main evening newscasts aired on TV channels in their country. In order to examine the possible distinctions between the news as presented in different TV formats, public or state-owned and the most heavily viewed commercial TV news was intended to be included in the analysis as far as possible.²

The content analysis covered four separate weeks between January and April 2008: 20–26 January, 10–16 February, 2–8 March and 23–29 March. This comprised up to 28 newscasts per channel. The rationale for this sampling procedure was that, on the one

hand, the content analysis needed to cover an extensive time period, as most previous international comparative content analyses have covered a shorter time span of a maximum of two weeks (Wilke, 2011). On the other hand, sampling natural weeks instead of constructed weeks enabled us to follow important international news events that unfolded over several days.

All content analyses are based on a common and extensive codebook. The news story was identified by the criteria of content and format. News stories were categorized as being different from each other when the topic or the location of the story changed. This identification was usually aided by formal breaking points. The 28 newscasts per channel were recorded and the content was analysed in its entirety (excluding weather forecasts and lottery results). The data set contains over 17,500 news items. In 13 of the 17 countries intercoder reliability was formally tested, which generally produced satisfactory results.³

In the following we present only a small part of the findings of the content analysis of the whole study. To measure the dispersion of foreign countries in the coverage we created a country concentration index (CCI), including the share of the 10 most covered countries.

Research questions and hypotheses

The research questions which the current analysis addresses are: How similar or different is the amount of foreign news in the newscasts of the 17 countries? Which countries appear in the foreign news of the 17 countries? Which regions of the world are covered, and to what extent?

Based on the results of former studies in foreign news research (Hagen et al., 1998; Scherer et al., 2005; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984; Wu, 2000, 2003, 2004), we hypothesize that the amount of foreign news is quite different in the countries of our study (H1). This may have a couple of reasons which can be ascribed to their role in world politics or to traditions in culture and journalism, but nevertheless to current events. Research findings indicate for instance that small countries with a 'big' neighbour (in terms of geographic size or financial and military power) cover the big bordering countries more than the other way round (H2). Another assumption derived from studies quoted above is connected with regionalism. We hypothesize that the 17 countries predominantly report on countries in their geographical region (H3). Besides that we expect that powerful states (economically, politically and militarily) are covered more than states in the periphery (H4) and that regions where political or military crises are occurring should get specific attention (H5). In general, the coverage of foreign countries by the news is primarily determined by geographical proximity and the status of the covered country. According to earlier studies (Hagen et al., 1998; Scherer et al., 2005) exceptions within this pattern can be hypothesized, particularly in the foreign news of US TV (H6). On the whole, the number and variance of countries covered in foreign news depends on the time dedicated to this type of news in the newscasts (H7). And while news coverage of foreign countries seems to be dependent primarily on structural factors, current events may interfere with them (H8).

Results

Number of countries

The term 'news geography' is used here to describe the extent to which the foreign news coverage from the countries which participated in the present study featured content relating to other countries and territories in the world. In no country on the planet are the mass media able to comprehensibly report news from all over the world, nor would that be in their recipients' interest. Moreover, the basic task of journalists is to decide which countries they want to cover, and thus determine the 'world view' which the media conveys.

In order to capture this view in a differentiated manner, 244 countries and territories were added to the codebook for the content analysis. This number is larger than, for example, the number of members states of the United Nations (188). This can be attributed to the fact that our list contained a number of territories whose independence has not yet been acknowledged by all other UN member states. In other cases, territories were involved which are attached to or embodied in other countries, but have governing bodies of their own. For example Tibet, which is claimed by the People's Republic of China as part of its territory. This, however, is not only disputed by parts of the population, but also by several other nations.

News geography can basically be captured in terms of two characteristics. One obvious choice is the country or countries of location in which the event being covered has taken place.⁴ Within one TV news item, more than one place may be mentioned as the location of the event(s). The codebook prescribed coding three locations at most. The result of this coding procedure was that in around 90% of the TV news items, the event(s) were located in only one country, in 7.4% they were located in two and in only 2.6% were they located in three countries. Therefore, the proportion of 'cross-locational' news is rather limited.

When looking at all 17 countries included in the present study, we found that during four weeks in early 2008, over 132 sovereign and internationally acknowledged states were covered at least once. In addition, two states were covered whose independence has not yet been acknowledged by all of the UN states (Abkhazia and Kosovo). In six cases, independent governing bodies were involved to a certain degree, which were affiliated to other states (Hong Kong, Macao and the Dutch Antilles). This means that, altogether, more than half of the potential countries and territories (56%) were covered by the media, while nearly one-half (46%) were not covered even once during this four-week period. The latter finding does not only apply to small and peripheral countries or territories. Among the countries not covered at all were Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Slovenia in Europe; Burkina Faso, Eritrea, Gambia, Liberia and Zambia in Africa; Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Laos in Asia; and Belize, El Salvador and Paraguay in Central and South America. Another 22 countries or territories appeared in only one news story, and 17 appeared in only two stories in the four-week period. The countries in sub-Saharan Africa in particular were not represented at all in the foreign coverage in early 2008. Our study thus points out once more that Africa is almost completely ignored in foreign (TV) news coverage (at least if no crisis attracts attention).

Table 1. Number of countries covered in foreign news broadcasts and number of foreign news items.

Country of TV broadcast	No. of countries covered	No. of foreign news items	Share of foreign news (%)	Average no. of foreign news items per country covered
Egypt	70	465	65	6.6
Switzerland	70	591	43	8.4
Belgium	67	508	36	7.6
Germany	63	341	46	5.4
Israel	63	371	33	5.9
China	58	215	27	3.7
Italy	52	292	21	5.6
Chile	49	450	30	9.2
Canada	49	326	44	6.7
Portugal	48	449	26	9.4
Brazil	45	252	32	5.6
Taiwan	43	185	14	4.3
Singapore	40	447	45	11.2
Poland	39	187	35	4.8
Hong Kong	37	165	21	4.5
USA	36	179	27	5.0
Japan	28	192	22	6.9
Average	50	330	33	6.5

None of the individually analysed countries featured as many countries and territories in their TV news broadcasts as all of the countries taken as a group. However, the number of countries which were covered in the TV newscasts varied tremendously and so did the relative amount of foreign news in the news programmes (H1 supported).

The highest number of countries featured in foreign news coverage during the period of analysis was found in Egypt and Switzerland (70 each), with the lowest in the USA (36) and Japan (28) (see Table 1). Basically, three groups emerged: one in which the number of countries covered in TV news broadcasts is rather high (Belgium, Germany, Israel and China, in addition to Egypt and Switzerland). The countries in the second group covered a smaller number of countries in their broadcasts (Italy, Chile, Canada, Portugal, Brazil and Taiwan) and finally a third group emerged of nations which covered a low number of countries (Singapore, Poland, Hong Kong, the USA and Japan). When relating the number of countries covered to the total amount of foreign news coverage, a distinct dispersion in the average number of newscasts emerged. The 40 countries featured in the foreign news coverage on TV in Singapore appear quite often, on average in 11 newscasts each. On the other hand, in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Poland, where the number of foreign TV broadcasts is generally low (and the number of countries covered is similar to that of Singapore), all countries appear quite rarely (in four to five news reports each). A great deal of foreign news about many different countries can also be found in Switzerland and Belgium, two small European states, in which television casts a far glance at the outside world.

Continental regions

Countries from five continental regions are represented in our study: five from Asia, six from Europe, two from North America, two from South America and two from the Middle East. This enables us in the next step of our analysis to describe to which degree countries within these regions are covered in foreign news.

Table 2. The proportion of continental regions and countries in foreign news coverage on TV (in percent).

Coverage in:	Coverage of:							Total ^a
	Europe	North America	Asia	Middle East	South America	Australia/Oceania	Africa	
Asia (%)								
	24	28	49	5	2	4	2	114
China	57	13	28	5	4	3	13	123
Hong Kong	25	45	22	9	3	3	0	107
Japan	16	45	37	5	0	3	1	107
Singapore	19	16	67	3	0	5	0	110
Taiwan	22	35	52	5	6	4	1	125
Europe (%)								
	58	18	11	14	4	4	4	113
Belgium	58	16	9	15	2	6	4	110
Germany	53	18	11	20	5	2	5	114
Italy	53	27	16	15	2	1	1	115
Poland	75	20	6	7	3	2	0	113
Portugal	51	15	15	10	9	2	6	108
Switzerland	63	17	9	16	3	5	2	115
North America (%)								
	19	44	18	34	9	1	6	131
Canada	21	62	17	20	6	1	5	132
USA	13	6	21	64	17	2	8	131
South America (%)								
	27	23	7	5	49	1	1	113
Brazil	33	33	12	7	31	1	2	119
Chile	24	18	5	4	60	2	0	113
Middle East (%)								
	28	17	9	48	3	2	6	113
Egypt	31	11	11	46	3	1	7	110
Israel	24	26	5	51	4	4	4	118

^aFor each news item, up to three countries could be coded. The news reports are measured by their length in relation to the duration of the newscast.

The most covered continent in our study is Europe (40%), followed by North America (23%), Asia (19%), the Middle East (18%), South America (9%) and Australia/Oceania and Africa (3% each). However, the most remarkable observation is that news programmes on TV in every country (with the exception of North America) prefer to primarily cover their own continent. This confirms that regionalism is the most universal feature in news selection and supports hypothesis H3.

However, this is true to different degrees. As Table 2 shows, TV journalists in European countries seem to prefer their home continent the most (58%) (Wilke and Heimprecht, 2011). The home continent's bias is weaker in the other regions: Asia was covered in 49% of Asian foreign TV news, South America in 49% and the Middle East in 48% of their respective TV foreign news broadcasts. The lowest margin of the home continent, if there is one, can be seen in North America (44%). This region comprises only two countries, Canada and the USA. Both are very different in their orientation. While in Canada, more than half of the stories were located in the USA, only one-twentieth of the American TV news stories were located in Canada. This is again an indicator of a one-way flow in which the USA predominates and in this case supports the second hypothesis (H2).

Europe is the second most covered continent in South America and the Middle East, and the same is true of North America in Asia and Europe. However, the proportion of Asian broadcasts dedicated to Europe and North America is almost equal (one-quarter). The same is true for Europe and Asia in the USA (18% each). In TV news in the Middle East, North America is the third most covered continent. The other three continents are more or less underrepresented in the foreign TV news of the 17 countries. The low percentage of news from Africa and Australia does of course result from the fact that no TV newscasts from these continents were included in the study, and that the Australian continent represents only one country. However, an examination of South America shows that Chilean TV news broadcasts have a stronger preference for stories from South America (60%) than Brazil (31%), which seems to focus more on Europe and North America than Chile does. If one looks to the individual countries from each continent (see below), we can see that Singapore is the most Asian-centric country (67%), Poland is the most Euro-centric (75%) and the USA is the most Middle Eastern-centric (64%).

The most covered countries

We now shift our focus to the presence of individual countries and territories in TV newscasts. Few countries, on the other hand, tend to make up the bulk of foreign news coverage. In order to determine their geographic (and political) concentration, we must analyse which portion of this coverage can be attributed to as many as 10 (or as few as five) (most important) countries.

The concentration index (CCI) shows that the proportion of the number of foreign news broadcasts from the 17 countries which were analysed in the study varied significantly (see Table 3). The highest concentration (i.e. the lowest dispersion rate) can be found in foreign news broadcasts in Japan. In this country, 96% of the news items cover 10 countries or territories, whereas 83% cover no more than five. The lowest concentration can be found in Germany, where only half of the foreign news broadcasts focused on 10 countries, and only about one-third on five countries. In other words, a considerable amount of the foreign news reports from the two German TV stations which were analysed did cover other countries. Without considering China, Egypt and Switzerland, the dispersion rate for the CCI (10) moves within a rather narrow corridor.

How can these differences in the proportion of foreign news be explained? On the one hand, in several countries, foreign news as a whole is of little importance, and when it is

Table 3. Country concentration indices (CCI) for the 10 most covered countries in the foreign TV news from 17 countries (in percent).

Country of broadcast	CCI (10)
Germany	54
China	58
Egypt	59
Switzerland	62
Belgium	64
Italy	66
Portugal	67
Poland	68
Brazil	71
Chile	71
Taiwan	72
Canada	72
Singapore	74
Israel	74
Hong Kong	74
USA	76
Japan	96

reported, it is considerably limited to a few central countries (Japan, the USA, Hong Kong and Singapore). In other cases, the amount of foreign news is not exactly low, but only a few countries are ever the centre of attention. For example, this can be said to apply to Israel. Among the countries with a comparably low concentration, there are those with many (Egypt and Switzerland) and relatively few foreign news reports (China). Nevertheless there is a negative correlation between the proportion of foreign news reported and the CCI(10) ($r = -.378$). This implies that the more items of the newscast dedicated to foreign news, the greater the variety of countries covered by them (H7 is supported).

In addition to these findings, we move on to limiting our scope to the 10 most important countries and territories in TV newscasts (see Table 4).

The state which featured most in TV news around the globe was the USA. More than one-fifth of all of the foreign news broadcasts from the 17 countries which were analysed were located in this country. Four of the other 10 most covered countries were European, with the UK at the top, followed by France, Spain, Russia and Germany. These European countries together occupied 21.5% of the coverage. The crises and the military actions in the Middle East may be the reason why three countries from this region – Palestine, Israel and Iraq – were among the 10 most covered. The fact that China was the only Asian country among the 10 most covered may reflect its growing political and economic significance in the world.

If we divide these data for the individual countries, we get an even more impressive picture of the outstanding position which the USA takes in the foreign news of the world. In 10 out of the 16 countries analysed (not including the USA), the USA was the most covered country on the TV news (Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Hong Kong,

Table 4. The proportion of the TV news of 17 countries featuring the 10 most covered individual countries.

Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items	Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items
Belgium	USA	15	Brazil	USA	32
	France	13		Columbia	10
	UK	7		France	8
	Netherlands	6		Ecuador	7
	Australia	6		Venezuela	5
	EUROPE	5		UK	5
	Spain	5		Spain	5
	Italy	4		East Timor	4
	Israel	4		China	4
	Palestine	4		Germany	3
	Others	39		Others	34
	CCI (10)	64		CCI (10)	71
	No. countries	67		No. countries	45
	N (foreign news)	508		N (foreign news)	252
Canada	USA	49	Chile	Argentina	21
	UK	8		USA	16
	Israel	7		Brazil	9
	Afghanistan	4		Spain	8
	Cuba	4		Columbia	7
	Pakistan	3		Ecuador	4
	China	3		Italy	4
	Palestine	3		UK	3
	Italy	3		Israel	3
	France	3		Venezuela	3
	Others	35		Others	32
	CCI (10)	72		CCI (10)	71
	No. countries	49		No. countries	49
	N (foreign news)	326		N (foreign news)	450
China	Greece	14	Egypt	Palestine	16
	USA	12		USA	10
	UK	11		Syria	8
	Japan	7		Iraq	7
	Russia	6		Lebanon	5
	South Korea	6		Kosovo	4
	Algeria	5		Pakistan	4
	Germany	4		UK	3
	Belgium	4		Russia	3
	Mauritania	4		Israel	3
	Others	51		Others	44
	CCI (10)	58		CCI (10)	59
	No. countries	58		No. countries	70
	N (foreign news)	215		N (foreign news)	465

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items	Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items
Germany	USA	17	Hong Kong	USA	44
	UK	7		Russia	7
	Italy	6		UK	5
	Palestine	5		South Korea	4
	Russia	5		Japan	4
	Israel	5		Palestine	4
	Norway	4		France	3
	Egypt	4		Iraq	3
	Sweden	4		Malaysia	2
	Spain	4		Pakistan	2
	Others	52		Others	27
	CCI (10)	54		CCI (10)	74
	No. countries	63		No. countries	37
	N (foreign news)	341		N (foreign news)	165
Israel	USA	25	Italy	USA	24
	Palestine	19		Vatican City	8
	Egypt	8		UK	7
	Lebanon	7		France	7
	Syria	7		Palestine	6
	UK	7		Spain	6
	France	4		EUROPE	6
	Germany	3		Germany	4
	Australia	3		ASIA	4
	Russia	2		Israel	3
	Others	30		Others	39
	CCI (10)	74		CCI (10)	66
	No. countries	63		No. countries	52
	N (foreign news)	371		N (foreign news)	292
Japan	USA	40	Poland	Russia	23
	China	21		USA	18
	South Korea	5		Germany	7
	Germany	4		UK	7
	Bahrain	3		Ukraine	7
	ANTARCTIC	3		France	4
	OUTER SPACE	3		Switzerland	3
	Russia	2		Serbia	3
	UK	2		Italy	3
	Guam	1		OUTER SPACE	3
	Others	16		Others	37
	CCI (10)	96		CCI (10)	68
	No. countries	28		No. countries	39
	N (foreign news)	192		N (foreign news)	187

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items	Country of broadcast	Country of location	% of all foreign news items
Portugal	Spain	21	Singapore	Malaysia	20
	USA	14		USA	15
	East Timor	11		China	11
	UK	5		Japan	7
	Kosovo	5		Taiwan	7
	Iraq	4		UK	6
	Brazil	4		Australia	5
	Italy	3		Hong Kong	4
	Mozambique	3		Thailand	3
	France	3		ASIA	3
	Others	36		Others	28
	CCI (10)	67		CCI (10)	74
	No. countries	48		No. countries	40
N (foreign news)	449	N (foreign news)	447		
Switzerland	USA	16	Taiwan	USA	35
	France	12		China	19
	Germany	7		Hong Kong	8
	UK	7		South Korea	5
	Italy	6		EUROPE	4
	Israel	5		Australia	4
	Palestine	5		UK	3
	Australia	5		ASIA	3
	Kosovo	4		Germany	3
	Serbia	4		Japan	3
	Others	43		Others	34
	CCI (10)	62		CCI (10)	72
	No. countries	70		No. countries	43
N (foreign news)	591	N (foreign news)	185		
USA	Iraq	37	Average of all 17 countries	USA	21
	Palestine	10		UK	6
	China	9		France	5
	Israel	8		Palestine	5
	Columbia	7		Spain	5
	Venezuela	6		China	4
	Ecuador	6		Russia	3
	Bangladesh	5		Israel	3
	Afghanistan	5		Germany	3
	Kenya	5		Iraq	3
	Others	31		Others	57
	CCI (10)	76		CCI (10)	50
	No. countries	36		No. countries	137
N (foreign news)	179	N (foreign news)	5615		

Israel, Italy, Switzerland, Taiwan and Japan). In the six remaining countries, the USA was the second most covered country. This dominance, which can be found in all continents and has been established in previous studies, can be attributed to the fact that the USA is the only remaining superpower in the world (supports H4). The intensive coverage in early 2008 mainly focused on the primary elections in the presidential campaign. However, as well as the country's political and military power and geopolitical position, its economic strength, its trading volume and social and cultural life (including sports) also help to make up its news value.

There are different reasons behind the fact that, in six of the countries analysed, states other than the USA featured more frequently in foreign news broadcasts. Generally speaking, neighbouring countries were covered more intensively: Argentina in Chile, Russia in Poland, Spain in Portugal, Malaysia in Singapore and Palestine in Egypt. Here, the predominance of regionalism, which has been observed before (as in previous studies), is established once more (H3) (Schenk, 1987; Schulz, 1983; Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1985; Wilke, 2011). The only deviation in this pattern can be seen in news broadcasts on Chinese TV. In China, Greece was the most covered country in the early part of 2008 (14%). This can be explained by the fact that the Olympic flame was lit in Greece at the time of analysis, and brought on its way to Beijing where the Olympic summer games took place in the same year. Thus, the Chinese interest in Greece at this point in time (and probably only at this time) was clearly triggered by ethnocentric motives. Greece did not manage to occupy a position among the 10 most covered countries in the foreign news in any of the other countries which were analysed.

Our study indicated that after the USA, the UK is the second most important state when it comes to foreign news broadcasts. This seems perhaps to be more of a consequence of the reverberation of its former importance than a result of its political and economic weight today. In 15 of the 17 countries analysed, the UK was among the most covered countries. This rank is a result not only of the fact that the country plays an important role in the European context, but also can be explained by the country's colonial ties and linguistic commonalities with North America (Canada and the USA) and Asia (Hong Kong, China and Singapore). France was another European country found among the 10 most covered countries in TV news in roughly half of the countries analysed. It was followed by Germany in seven countries, as well as Italy and Spain in six. Russia also was among the 10 most covered countries in six instances in early 2008.

Other countries and territories were covered in foreign TV news even more than those mentioned above: Palestine ranked among the top 10 most covered countries in nine of the 17 countries in question, Israel in eight. This indicates that in the process of news selection, there is another criterion apart from whether a country is a superpower and regionalism, and that is the news value of the long-smouldering crisis in the Middle East (H5 supported). Other trouble spots were deemed to be less important, such as the war in Afghanistan or the precarious situation in Iraq.

Let us take another, closer, look at the individual countries which have been the focus of our analysis. Every single European country shows the general pattern which has emerged so far. For example, the countries covered in German foreign news can be put into three groups: (1) the result of regionalism (Italy, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Spain

and the UK); (2) superpower (the USA); and (3) conflict regions (Israel, Egypt and Palestine). Thereby the results for the German news support H3, H4 and H5.

The three countries which border Switzerland – France, Germany and Italy – are always the centre of attention in the Swiss foreign news. They are the so-called ‘next door giant neighbours’ (H2 supported). In addition, the UK was also covered a great deal. Only in Switzerland did the conflict between Serbia and Kosovo arouse a great deal of interest, and occupy a similar portion of the foreign news reports. One reason for this is probably the high number of Albanian refugees and migrants from that region, who form one of the biggest groups of foreigners in Switzerland.

Belgium’s foreign newscasts are very similar in this respect. The coverage is not exclusively dominated by the USA, but also by European states, which can be identified as Belgium’s ‘giant neighbours’. This coverage of European news is, of course, also due to the fact that the Belgian capital Brussels is an administrative centre of the European Union (EU), and is used as a site for the meetings or summits of other organizations. What happens there is foreign news for the other European member states. Accordingly, the TV news in Belgium seems to be interested in what happens in the EU’s individual states. Interestingly, the other European countries in our sample did not cover Belgian events very often. Another area of importance in Belgian news is the crisis in the Middle East.

Apart from similarities in the basic pattern, the other European countries which were analysed had specific features of their foreign news broadcasts which can be explained by their geographic location, political history and culture. For example, this can be said about Poland, where their TV news is unequivocally dominated by Russia. Not only the vicinity and the shared border come into play here, but possibly also the fears which are caused by the former dependency on the Soviet Union (supports H2). Therefore, the presidential elections in Russia were, at the time, well covered by the Polish newsmakers. The US missile base which was planned on Polish territory resulted in the addition of ‘outer space’ to the list of locations for foreign news.

As far as Portugal is concerned, Spain, its neighbouring country, is clearly the dominant force in Portuguese foreign news (25%). East Timor, Brazil and Mozambique, as former Portuguese colonies, still have a certain news value today. The news factor in such cases is proximity in a geographic, historical and cultural sense.

When looking at North America, a contrasting picture emerges. The foreign news broadcasts in Canada are dominated by its ‘giant neighbour’, the USA. As we have already seen and previous studies have demonstrated, the flow of news between the two countries is rather unbalanced and unilateral (Hart, 1963) (which supports in this case H2). This has not changed. In none of our 17 countries did the USA play such an important role in foreign news as in Canada. Half of the foreign news reports in Canada covered events or people in the USA. The UK took second place (8%), being the mother country of the Commonwealth of Nations to which Canada still belongs. The space for other countries was rather limited. It was, however, reserved for crisis regions (Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Palestine) or European countries (Italy and France). The fact that, despite the cultural and linguistic similarities, France ranks only tenth in terms of foreign news coverage in Canadian TV newscasts may seem surprising at first glance. However, this is likely to be

linked to the fact that the content analysis was limited to two Anglophone channels (CBC, CTV).

Foreign news broadcasts in the USA present a unique case. Not only, as already pointed out, is the amount of foreign news which is broadcast rather low, its composition is also quite different from anywhere else in the world. Regionalism, for example, is virtually not a factor in the USA. News selection is primarily dominated by the country's own international standing, especially by conflicts and crises in which it is directly or indirectly involved as a 'global player' (thereby H6 is supported). Iraq was the location of the events in more than a third of foreign news TV reports from the USA, because of the military intervention. The conflict in the Middle East ranked second (Palestine and Israel), while conflicts in South America were in third place (tensions between Columbia, Venezuela and Ecuador). Compared to Iraq, Afghanistan received much less attention on US TV news in spring 2008. The fact that China occupied third place among the most covered countries (with reports about the Tibet conflict) points to the growing significance of this country in the USA. The previous state of alienation has transformed into competition. Bangladesh and Kenya, two countries which ranked among the top 10 in American television news, could nowhere else attain such a position. The reasons for this were social protests and a plane crash in the first case and post-election sprees of violence in the second. One might also note that Barack Obama, who was in the middle of the American primaries at that time, has Kenyan roots as his father was Kenyan.

In both South American countries, our basic pattern re-emerges: their foreign news is dominated by reports on the USA (even though it ranked in only second place in Chile). Regionalism is indicated by the presence of numerous other countries located on the sub-continent (in Brazil: Columbia, Ecuador and Venezuela; in Chile: Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Ecuador and Venezuela). The proportion of foreign news devoted to South America is considerably higher in Chile (44%) than in Brazil (22%). TV news in Brazil, however, tends to focus more on Europe (21%) than its Chilean counterparts (15%). The UK and Spain are among the most covered countries in both states. In Brazil, France and Germany are also in the top 10, as is Italy in Chile. Remarkably enough, in both countries, none of the conflict regions in the Middle East or East Asia are among the 10 most covered countries. These regions seem to be too far away and lacking in cultural ties. On the other hand, the newscasts of both countries reported a boundary dispute between Columbia, Venezuela and Ecuador.

Turning to the Middle East, Israel and Egypt are not currently engaged in a military confrontation with each other, but they are basically on opposing sides in the Middle East conflict. In TV news, six countries appeared in both countries, namely the USA and several other countries in the region (Egypt or Israel respectively, and Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq). In Israel, European countries made up the third biggest group of countries covered (the UK, France and Germany, together making up 14%). In Egypt, only the UK was among the 10 most covered countries. Russia occupied the tenth place in Israel and the ninth place in Egypt among the most covered countries. Considering the high number of Russian immigrants in Israel, one would have perhaps expected more news from their earlier home country.

The five Asian countries included in our study also show similarities and differences in foreign news. As already pointed out, foreign news in Asia only comprises a small

proportion of TV news as a whole (with the exception of Singapore). In three of these five countries, the USA was the most covered country, with a considerable proportion of the overall share (Hong Kong: 44%; Japan: 40%; Taiwan: 35%). The individual reasons for this may vary. The USA's political and economic supremacy also radiates into Asia. In China (after Greece) and in Singapore (after Malaysia), the USA occupies second place in the ranking, with considerably lower percentages (12% and 15% respectively). In Taiwan, the maintenance of the status quo is much more dependent upon the USA, while the same does not apply to the People's Republic on the mainland.

In the Asian countries in our study, regionalism varied in its significance in terms of foreign news TV broadcasts. It is most distinctive in Singapore: its neighbour Malaysia, where elections took place early in 2008, was in the top spot (20%), followed by five other Asian countries (with Asia as a non-specific location). Altogether, these countries make up 55% of the foreign news coverage in Singapore. This may be due to its multi-Asian population. In the case of Taiwan, five Asian countries were also among the 10 most covered, making up about a third of foreign news reports, with China as the most prominent country (19%). Mainland China is Taiwan's 'big giant neighbour', as Liu and Gunaratne (1972) have already noted decades ago. Nevertheless, this results in a limited amount of foreign reporting (Table 4). The proportion of 19% translates to only 10 stories in four weeks. On the opposing side, in mainland China's TV news, there were only two stories concerning Taiwan.

The foreign news in the three remaining countries is less 'Asian-dominated'. This is true for China, where European countries appeared fairly often because of long-term and current political-economic reasons, as well as other news in response to current events (Algeria and Mauritania) (H8). After the USA, the countries which were covered most frequently in the TV news were Russia (7%) and the former colonial ruler, the UK (5%), followed by other Asian countries (South Korea, Japan and Malaysia), France and conflict regions (Palestine, Iraq and Pakistan). Also, in Taiwan, the UK and Germany, two European countries, as well as Europe as a non-specific location, can be found among the 10 most covered countries.

Finally, Japan seems to represent a special case. Within a limited amount of foreign news, the USA and China account for three-fifths of the coverage. These two countries seem to represent the main objects of political, economic and technological interest in Japan. They are followed by South Korea and Germany, the Antarctic (because of whaling protests) and outer space (because of satellite launches). A very few stories cover Russia, the UK and the West Pacific island of Guam, the latter being the location of a criminal affair in which Japanese and American actors were involved.

Apart from these basic structures, other individual observations can be made. Australia ranked five times among the top 10 countries in the TV news, namely in Belgium, Israel, Singapore, Switzerland and Taiwan. Three events can be discerned as the causes for this: the death of the internationally famous actor Heath Ledger, the Australian tennis tournament and the Australian government's apology to the Aborigines. Looking back at past decades, it becomes obvious that Russia in particular has lost its former news value. As long as the Soviet Union existed and dominated Eastern Europe (and tentatively other regions in the world), it was a superpower next to the USA and thus had a considerable impact on many countries' foreign news. China, on the other hand, has gained a lot of

news value in recent years. Furthermore, the data illustrate the still subordinate role of sub-Saharan Africa (at least for countries outside the African continent). Only very rarely could African countries be found among the most covered countries: Kenya in the USA and Mozambique in Portugal (for the reasons already explained). Ghana received a limited amount of attention because of a soccer tournament (0.4%), more than Zimbabwe (0.3%) or South Africa (0.2%).

The previous findings show that there are countries and territories which are featured quite regularly in foreign news. In addition, their appearance in newscasts depends on current events as well (H8). The fact that Algeria as well as Mauritania occupied the seventh and tenth places in China's TV news ranking during the period of analysis can be explained by the occurrence of diplomatic visits. Singular events can also be a reason for the revitalization of former relations in TV news. The coverage of East Timor in Brazil and Portugal's TV news was the result of a special event: on 11 February 2008, Jose Ramos-Horta, East Timor's president, was shot and wounded by rebel soldiers.

Conclusions

The results of our study show a complex, multifaceted picture of foreign news reporting on television across the world. They confirm results of earlier research, particularly concerning factors which seem to remain relatively stable over time, i.e. regionalism, the role of superpowers and troublemakers. But although there are some similarities, we have found many differences, too. The differences begin with the sheer amount of foreign news (H1 supported). The differences continue when we look at the geography of news. In some countries of broadcast many countries are covered; in others only a few. The results support the assumed correlation between the variance in news geography and the total size of the foreign news (H7). Considering the world as a whole, Europe seems to be the most covered continent, followed by North America and the Middle East. There is hardly any indication that the news geography has become less 'Euro-centric', i.e. by a shift to the East. But this does not mean that there are no differences between the individual countries. Among all 17 countries the USA and UK are the most covered with various other countries following in the rank order.

The picture looks particularly multifaceted if we consider each country by itself. But even then the four main areas of foreign coverage that earlier studies found as the most basic pattern is confirmed throughout the world: the significance of regionalism (H3), the dominance of (meanwhile seemingly only one) superpower (H4), the attention for regions where crises are virulent (H5); and only then are other countries noticed. Sometimes this order may change or be affected by actual events. The picture of the world is still uneven, particularly with respect to regions of the world that are totally underrepresented. This may be criticized as in earlier decades. But to change this is difficult because neither has the world itself become more uneven nor is journalism a pure mirror of reality.

The multifaceted picture of foreign news on TV demands multi-causal interpretation. Several factors have been mentioned without being able to explain everything. The types of countries, their political order and their role in international politics and trade have to be taken into consideration. So the geopolitical structure of the world is of course reflected. Neighbouring countries usually get much attention, especially if there is a

different degree in political power (H2 was supported by our data). Another set of factors that exercise an influence on foreign news coverage are historical connections, common traditions, cultural ties, etc. Finally, the foreign news outlet may depend on the selection criteria and preferences of the journalists and from the mental orientations and interests of the people or TV audiences in each country, at least where programming is market driven. This may be one explanation for the overall different US American news, which does not fit the observed pattern at all (H6 supported). But this opens questions which must be dealt with somewhere else.

Funding

This research received grants from the public and not-for-profit sector in some of the countries participating in the project.

Notes

1. This project was initiated and administered by Akiba Cohen, Tel Aviv University. Members of the research team (and insomuch the co-authors of this article) are Knut De Swert (Belgium), Paolo Mancini and Marco Mazzoni (Italy), Agnieszka Stepińska (Poland), Thomas Hanitzsch and Angie Vu (Switzerland), Joseph Chan and Baohua Zhou (China), Christine Heimprecht, Thorsten Quandt, Thilo von Pape, Jürgen Wilke (Germany), Francis Lee (Hong Kong), Eddie Kuo and Xiaoge Xu (Singapore), Ven-hwei Lo and Tai-Li Wang (Taiwan), Jacques Alkalai Wainberg (Brazil), Constanza Mujica and William Porath (Chile), Abby Goodrum and Elizabeth Godo (Canada), Lars Willnat and David Weaver (USA), Akiba Cohen (Israel) and Youichi Ito (Japan).
2. This condition was generally met, with a few exceptions. In Hong Kong and Singapore, two commercial TV channels were selected as public media do not exist in these two countries. Furthermore, China and Egypt only have state-owned TV channels, and so the most popular TV channel for each country was included in the study. Switzerland was a special case, because of the distinctiveness of its four linguistic regions (German, French, Italian and Romanch), from which two main languages can be identified (German and French). Taking these circumstances into account, one commercial station (in German) and two public stations (one in German and one in French) were analysed. In the Belgian sample only two Flemish channels were included.
3. The intercoder reliability tests were calculated for all countries except Canada (with only one coder), Italy, Singapore and Taiwan. The average Holsti value for the categories of countries of location is: Egypt .93; Belgium .99, Brazil .95, Chile .88, China 1.0, Germany .91, Hong Kong .94, Israel .90, Japan .92, Poland .87, Portugal 1.0, Switzerland .92, USA .98. These values can be accepted as strongly sufficient.
4. A second possibility, which was indeed done in our study, is to include countries which are somehow involved in the event being covered by the media. In this article, however, we only present findings concerning the countries of location.

References

- Atwood L and Buillon SJ (1982) New maps of the world: A view from Asia. In: Atwood L, Buillon SJ and Murphy SM (eds) *International Perspectives on News*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, pp. 102–130.
- Chalaby JK (2005) Towards an understanding of media transnationalism. In: Chalaby JK (ed.) *Transnational Television Worldwide: Towards a New Media Order*. London: IB Tauris, pp. 1–13.

- Cohen AA (2002) Globalization Ltd.: Domestication at the boundaries of television news. In: Chan JM and McIntyre BT (eds) *In Search of Boundaries: Communication, Nation-states and Cultural Identities*. Westport, CT: Ablex, pp. 167–180.
- Galtung J and Ruge M (1965) The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 64–91.
- Gerbner G and Marvani G (1977) The many worlds of the world's press. *Journal of Communication* 27(1): 52–66.
- Golan GY Johnson TJ and Wanta W (eds) (2010) *International Media Communication in a Global Age*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Hagen L, Berens H, Zeh R and Leidner D (1998) Ländermerkmale als Nachrichtenfaktoren. Der Nachrichtenwert von Ländern und seine Determinanten in den Auslandsnachrichten von Zeitungen und Fernsehen in 28 Ländern. In: Holtz-Bacha C, Scherer H and Waldmann N (eds) *Wie die Medien die Welt erschaffen und wie die Menschen darin leben*. Opladen and Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, pp. 59–81.
- Harcup T and O'Neill D (2001) What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies* 2(2): 261–280.
- Hart J (1963) The flow of news between the US and Canada. *Journalism Quarterly* 40(1): 70–74.
- Heinderyckx F (1993) Television news programmes in Western Europe: A comparative study. *European Journal of Communication* 8(4): 425–450.
- IPI (International Press Institute) (1953) *The Flow of News*. Zürich: IPI.
- Ito Y (2009) What sustains the trade winds? The pattern and determinant factors of international news flow. *Keio Communication Review* 31: 65–87.
- Kamps K (1998) Nachrichtengeographie. Themen, Strukturen, Darstellung: ein Vergleich. In: Kamps K and Meckel M (eds) *Fernsehnachrichten. Prozesse, Strukturen, Funktionen*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, pp. 275–294.
- Kayser J (1953) *One Week's News: Comparative Study of 17 Major Dailies for a Seven-Day Period*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Leckner S and Facht U (2010) *A Sampler of International Media and Communication Statistics*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Lippmann W (1922) *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.
- Liu HD and Gunaratne SA (1972) Foreign news in two Asian dailies. *Gazette* 18(1): 37–41.
- Lozano J-C, Gomez E, Matiasich A et al. (2000) International news in the Latin American press. In: Malek A and Kavoori AP (eds) *The Global Dynamics of News: Studies in International News Coverage and News Agendas*. Stamford, CT: Ablex, pp. 76–93.
- Moisy C (1997) Myths of the global information village. *Foreign Policy* 107(summer): 78–87.
- Norris P (1995) The restless searchlight: Network news framing of the post-Cold War world. *Political Communication* 12(4): 357–370.
- Östgaard E (1965) Factors influencing the flow of news. *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 39–63.
- Przeworski A and Teune H (1970) *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Riffe D, Aust CF, Jones TC et al. (1994) The shrinking foreign newshole of the New York Times. *Newspaper Research Journal* 15(3): 74–88.
- Robinson GJ and Sparkes VM (1976) International news in the Canadian and American press: A comparative news flow study. *Gazette* 22(4): 203–218.

- Rosengren KE (1974) International news: Methods, data and theory. *Journal of Peace Research* 11(2): 145–156.
- Rössler P (2004) Political communication messages. Pictures of our world on television news. In: Esser F and Pfetsch B (eds) *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 271–292.
- Schaap G (1998) Research bibliography: Three decades of television news research. *Communication* 23(3): 331–350.
- Schenk B (1987) Die Struktur des internationalen Nachrichtenflusses: Analyse der empirischen Studien. *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* 35(1): 36–54.
- Scherer H, Tiele A, Haase A et al. (2005) So nah und doch so fern? Zur Rolle des Nachrichtenfaktors 'Nähe' in der internationalen Tagespresse. *Publizistik* 51(2): 201–224.
- Schulz W (1983) Nachrichtengeographie. Untersuchungen über die Struktur der internationalen Berichterstattung. In: Rühl M and Stüber HW (eds) *Kommunikationspolitik in Forschung und Anwendung. Festschrift für Franz Ronneberger*. Düsseldorf: Droste, pp. 281–291.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi A (1984) The 'world of the news' study. *Journal of Communication* 34(1): 120–143.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi A, Nordenstreng K, Stevenson R and Ugboajah F (1985) *Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Staab JF (1990) The role of news factors in news selection: A theoretical reconsideration. *European Journal of Communication* 5(4): 423–443.
- Staubhaar JD, Heeter C, Greenberg BS et al. (1992) What makes news: Western, socialist, and third world television newscasts compared in eight countries. In: Korzeny F, Ting-Toomey S and Schiff E (eds) *Mass Media across Cultures*. Newbury Park, CA, London and New Delhi: Sage, pp. 89–109.
- Stevenson RL and Shaw DL (eds) (1984) *Foreign News and the New World Information Order*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press.
- Tiele A (2010) *Nachrichtengeographien der Tagespresse. Eine internationale vergleichende Nachrichtenwertstudie*. Berlin: Logos.
- Wilke J (1987) Foreign news coverage and international news flow over three centuries. *Gazette* 39(3): 147–180.
- Wilke J (2011) Comparing news flow studies: What do we learn from earlier research? In: Stepińska A (ed.) *News in Europe, Europe on News*. Berlin: Logos, pp. 12–25.
- Wilke J and Heimprecht C (2011) Europe in Europe and Europe in the world. In: Stepińska A (ed.) *News in Europe, Europe on News*. Berlin: Logos, pp. 85–98.
- Woodward JL (1930) *Foreign News in American Morning Newspapers: A Study in Public Opinion*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wu HD (1998) Investigating the determinants of international news flow: A meta-analysis. *Gazette* 60(6): 493–512.
- Wu HD (2000) Systemic determinants of international news coverage: A comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication* 50(2): 110–130.
- Wu HD (2003) Homogeneity around the world? Comparing the systemic determinants of international news flow between developed and developing countries. *Gazette* 65(1): 9–24.
- Wu HD (2004) The world's windows to the world: An overview of 44 nations' international news coverage. In: Paterson C and Sreberny A (eds) *International News in the Twenty-first Century*. Eastleigh: Luton University Press, pp. 95–108.