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Consumption and Effects of Music in the Media

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Consumption and Effects of Music in the Media

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translated by Gudrun Tabbert-Jones

1. Introduction

Music surrounds us; we listen to it in the most varied forms and contexts. Whether heard on sound recordings or through sources like the radio, television, or the Internet; in supermarkets, waiting rooms, restaurants, at the hairdresser's, religious services, concert-halls, the opera, the work place, or sporting events; or during meals or while listening devotedly to music at home, music forms an important part in every day life (DeNora, 2000). We listen to it in varying quantities and qualities: transmitted through loudspeakers and distributed through the media, as live performances, and as music people make on their own. However, the overwhelming quantity of music reaches us through the media. Interestingly, though, subjective appraisal stands inversely proportionate to quantity. Quite frequently people rate music they make themselves higher than a concert or music presented by the media (Rösing, 1993, p. 114). People experience music they

produce themselves or in live performances more intensely, leaving a longer lasting impression on them.

Most research findings, however, pertain to music distributed through the media. Media distribution determines the largest part of daily music consumption and, because of its significance, remains the focus of scientists. Knowledge about the reception, consumption, and impact of music transmitted through the media is generated by quite different scholarly disciplines. First of all stand the humanities which, most of the time, investigate the use and effect of music by analyzing the musical subject; then come the social sciences, which contribute the bulk of theory and empirical findings but quite frequently neglect the musical subject. This review, then, not only follows the media studies and communication studies approach, but also looks to disciplines that contain both paradigms: music psychology and music sociology as well as empirical music pedagogy.

2. Music listening under cultural, technical, situational, and individual influences

The consumption and effects of music occur in an "area of tension" between different factors that Palmgreen, Wenner and Rosengren (1985) examined in their "general media gratification model." First of all, one should not consider music consumption independently from the respective society and cultural system (Adorno, 1962; Heister, 1993; Rösing & Oerter, 1993). For example, the Western music culture of central Europe differs considerably from that of Asia or Africa. Not only do different cultures use dissimilar tone scales, rhythms, and beats; they attach differing significance to music parameters—in Africa rhythm is the highest priority. The function of music is also determined to a large extent by the general behavior and attitude of a society (Brandl & Rösing, 1993; Heister, 1993).

Secondly, the society in which people live shapes media structure and technology. Even among the Western industrial nations there are noticeable differences. The German media system differs in structure from American media (for example, its dual broadcast system vs. a private broadcast system) and it received or adopted certain technologies later than the U.S. Only with the introduction of digital TV are Germans able to select from more than 50 TV channels, a choice Americans have had since the '80s (Zillmann & Bryant, 1998). The number and type of musical offerings are influenced by these structures and technologies (which, in turn, are influenced by social and cultural systems, i.e., the demand for specific types of music). For example, MTV appeared in the United States in 1981; howev-

er, MTV started broadcasting in Germany only after the introduction of the binary broadcast system, in 1987 (Schmidt, 1999).

Even more significant for inter- and intra-individual differences in music consumption are individual habits in the use of music, general and situational expectations of music, and the person's situational needs and general attitudes and dispositions (Schramm, 2005a). Ross (1983) developed a hierarchy of conditions for music consumption, a system which does justice to all different kinds of consumption, as well as cultural, geographic, and historical conditions and encompasses all aspects of musical phenomena (See Figure 1). Ross proceeds from a hierarchical model, which classifies conditions of consumption at the top level as "product," "person," and "situation," in order to name the conditions of more specific determinants. The three upper categories are derived from the three questions:

Who consumes music? Which music is consumed? And where and when does music consumption occur? Thus the musical perception process is contained in a triadic system of conditions: Someone consumes the product in a situation or context. (Ross, 1983, p. 400)

The subcategories are not obvious at a first glance because Ross intentionally uses terms which carry little specificity so that they do not limit the applica-

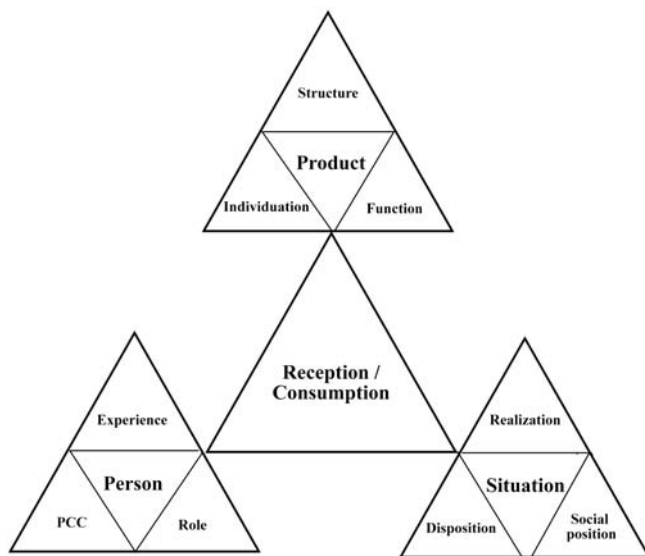


Figure 1. System of conditions of music reception/consumption (Ross, 1983, p. 401).

tion of the model. By "structure" he means the characteristics of music on the level of the work/composition—thus in a broader sense musical parameters such as harmony, melody, rhythm, and dynamics. The term, "individuation," concerns the dependence of the music on its producer; this could also be described as "personal style." The "function" results from the presentation framework and the active listening context in which the music is heard. For example, music at a religious service has a different function as compared to music you hear in a doctor's office.

Ross divides the determinant "person" into three subcategories: personality and constitution criteria (PCC), which cover individual characteristics such as age, sex, and physiological predisposition as well as personality characteristics, education, and intellectual and musical abilities. A second subcategory is personal experience. This includes experience and familiarity with specific music as well as musical training and socialization with music. The third subcategory is the role of the music listener in a particular situation, which matters in the process of music consumption: "With the role change from music critic to the pure enjoyment of a concert visitor, a shift from attention to and an interest in the reception of the performance to those characteristics immanent in the music may be expected" (Ross, 1983, p. 403). Determinant "situation" can be divided into social position, realization, and disposition. The latter refers to the situationally determined mood, that is, the psychological condition of the listener. Realization refers to the technical aspects of music production, for example the question of whether the listener hears the music live or by means of a recording as well as the manner in which artistic production takes place, i.e. the interpretation—for example the question whether "I can't get no satisfaction" is played by a local cover band or by the Rolling Stones. Social position implies that music consumption is determined by social factors as well (see Adorno, 1962).

Altogether, according to Palmgreen, Wenner, and Rosengren (1985) all factors of the media gratification model can be found in the model of musical reception proposed by Ross (1983). Both models can contribute to sharpen the view of factors that determine the process of music consumption.

3. Relevance and changes in music consumption

To listen to music, at least in Western societies, is one of the most popular leisure activities—in particular for young people (Fitzgerald, Joseph, Hayes, & O'Regan, 1995; Wicke, 1985; Zillmann & Gan, 1997). In addition, the increasing influence of American and English rock music changed music preferences, attitudes, and consumption patterns in the '50s and '60s (Hansen & Hansen, 2000). Overall, English language music contributed to the increasing “Americanization” of European youth (Englis, Solomon, & Olofsson, 1993; Roe, 1985; Wicke, 1985). A second important shift in music use behavior—in particular of young people—occurred with the start of MTV (1981 in the USA; 1987 in Europe) (Englis et al., 1993; Schmidt, 1999). That changed the use of music from a purely auditory use to an audio-visual perception and use. Now, approximately 20 to 25 years later we are experiencing similar serious changes in music use and attitudes thanks to the digital music revolution, music downloads from the Internet, Internet radio, podcasting, and the increased availability of music on mobile media, such as, for example, MP3-players and mobile phones (Schramm & Högler, in press).

Let's take a few numbers from Germany as an example of current developments. In 2005, 41.6% of the German population (14 years of age and up) listened several times per week to traditional audio devices like CDs, cassettes, and records (not including new devices like MP3-players) and, in addition, 81.3% listened several times a week to radio programs (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der ARD-Werbegesellschaften, 2005, p. 69). The music portion, on average, amounts to 70% of all radio programs (Gushurst, 2000). Altogether, a German adult hears—whether consciously or unconsciously—approximately four to five hours of music per day (Schramm, 2004), including three hours of radio music (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der ARD-Werbegesellschaften, 2005, p. 68). The majority of music merely serves as accompaniment, because 90% of radio use occurs while people pursue other activities at the same time (p. 69). Considering the time spent listening to music, the radio is the most important musical source. However, considering the simultaneous use of music by as many people as possible, television comes out on top: Among the top 10

German TV programs with the highest ratings in any given year there are regularly several music programs—among them the biggest and oldest music spectacle in Europe, the Eurovision Song Contest (Wolther, 2006).

Overall listening to music has changed significantly in recent years—particularly among the young. Now 70% of German youth use an MP3-player/iPod daily or, at least, several times per week; 61% of the girls and 71% of the boys own an MP3-player/iPod. The music repertoire on the MP3-player/iPod covers approximately 800 titles, on average (with girls approximately 300 titles, with boys approximately 1300 titles). One can assume an average high daily use of MP3-player/iPods—at least for young people. However, the use of radio by young people has declined. And only 18% of the 12-19 year-old Germans make their own music (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der ARD-Werbegesellschaften, 2005, p. 68; Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, 2005).

The changed music use behavior is reflected also in the sales figures of traditional audio recordings. In Denmark CD sales declined by 43% between 1998 and 2003; in Canada, Japan, and the Czech Republic by approximately 30% (OECD, 2005, p. 106). In 1998, almost 250 million CDs were sold in Germany (long play and singles together), as compared to only 140 million CDs in 2005. In Germany alone that means a loss of more than 40%. Particularly big were the losses in the sales of singles, which declined during the same time span by more than 70% (Bundesverband der Phonographischen Wirtschaft, 2006, p. 24). In the meantime commercial download portals have been established with 20 million paid downloads last year alone, which compensates for some of the losses from the last years; however, illegal exchanges still dominate this segment with 415 million downloads per year. While the numbers are not quite as high as in previous years—in 2002 there were 622 million—illegal downloads still are an attractive alternative to purchasing a CD (Bundesverband der Phonographischen Wirtschaft, 2006, p. 21). Various scientific studies try to explain whether illegal downloads are responsible for the losses in sales in the music market (Wiedemann,

Criteria	M _{MP3}	M _{CD}	Difference	SD _{diff}	t
Control (fast access to desired music)	4.39	2.84	1.55	1.70	-30.95**
Variety of the music offered	4.32	3.82	0.50	1.38	-12.43**
Discover new music	4.29	2.76	1.53	1.71	-30.34**
Testing music	4.25	2.99	1.26	1.81	-23.78**
Purchase/costs	4.21	1.73	2.48	1.46	-57.60**
Possibilities for circulating music among friends	4.21	3.87	0.34	1.44	-7.98**
Possibilities of adapting music to one's mood	4.18	3.38	0.80	1.48	-18.47**
Options of uses of music	4.11	3.51	0.60	1.42	-14.33**
... are hip	3.88	3.08	0.79	1.46	-18.44**
Clearly arranged personal music collection	3.83	3.66	0.16	1.96	-2.85**
Comfort of home listening	3.64	4.07	-0.43	1.77	8.29**
Discover the music taste of others	3.57	2.88	0.69	1.54	-15.19**
Exclusivity of the music	3.56	3.30	0.25	1.86	-4.63**
Stability/durability of recording	3.51	3.89	-0.38	1.73	7.50**
Sound quality	3.37	4.52	-1.16	1.19	33.09**
Contact with other music lovers	3.29	2.71	0.58	1.73	-11.40**
Duration, until one is in the possession of the music	3.22	2.85	0.37	1.86	-6.71**
... are stylish	2.57	3.89	-1.33	1.81	25.06**
Information about artists/band/producer	2.41	4.00	-1.59	1.72	31.46**
Regard/value of the music collection	2.35	4.31	-1.95	1.58	42.02**
Support of artist/volume	2.08	4.34	-2.27	1.66	46.60**

Basis: N = 1160; ** = p < .01, * = p < .05; Scale: 1-5

Source: Hägler, 2005, p. 77

Table 1. Advantages and disadvantages of the use of MP3 vs. CD recordings

Frenzel & Walsh, 2001a, 2001b; Tanaka, 2004; Liebowitz, 2004).

However, in most cases, the studies cannot prove a direct connection, which according to Liebowitz (2004, p. 32), may also be attributed to flawed methodologies. Looking at non-European music markets like the U.S. (Jones & Lenhart, 2004; Oberholzer & Strumpf, 2004; Latonero, 2000), or Japan (Tanaka, 2004) where the discussion of illegal music exchanges started earlier shows that the studies arrive at similar conclusions: a connection between increasing music downloads and declining audio recording sales are obvious, but cannot be proven directly.

New music media also bring along aspects of new uses, which lead to a differentiation and fragmentation of music use behavior. The music downloads and the use of MP3-data files now make listening tests (Wiedmann et al., 2001a, 2001b; Friedrichsen, Gerloff, Grusche, & van Damm, 2004) possible as well as the discovery of new music or rare songs (Trepte,

Reinecke, Richter-Matthies, Adelberger, & Fittkau, 2004). The relative advantages of the new music media as compared to classical CD-use are shown in Table 1.

Considering the connections between the extent of music downloads and the use of MP3 players with the changes users notice while listening to music, many new positive effects surface (See Table 2 on page 7). Approximately 50% of the people questioned said that their knowledge of music improved since they downloaded music or used MP3 players. The more MP3-files they downloaded, the more their knowledge increased. Also, conscious music listening as well as their standards increased with increasing MP3-use. However, there was a correlation between the aforementioned negative changes and MP3 player use, i.e., the more MP3s someone downloads and uses the less s/he is inclined to buy CD singles, CD long play [longer, disco-type recordings of individual songs —Ed.], the less s/he listens to radio, and the less s/he discovers new music through the CD-business.

4. Motives for music listening

The motives for turning to music procured through the media cover a vast spectrum which have proved difficult to classify. A first mostly inductive summary of the main motives for music listening (based on diverse findings in music and media psychology) has been made by Schramm (2004) (See Table 3). Starting with this summary, the present review article aims to provide a systematic overview in accordance with the chief functions listed.

When asked why they like to listen to music, people will primarily name motives which aim at regulating their own energy and emotional situation (see Sloboda & O'Neill, 2001; table 4). These include enhancing, decreasing, compensating for, or maintaining moods which—depending on the person and situation—they perceive as more pleasant/positive or unpleasant/negative (Behne, 1984, 1986a; Gembris, 1990; Knobloch, 2003; Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002; North & Hargreaves, 1996b; Schaub, 1981; Schramm,

2005a; Sloboda, O'Neill, & Ivaldi, 2001; Vorderer & Schramm, 2004; Wunsch, 2001). Furthermore, adjusting states of excitation belongs in this category. People use music as a stimulus to excitation or relaxation or as a damper for excitation, i.e., to help work off frustration or to relax (Gembris, 1985; Flath-Becker, 1987; Flath-Becker & Koneni, 1984; Hafen, 1997; Karrer, 1999; Litle & Zuckerman, 1986). Particularly for young people and in the context of parties and discos, music plays a big role activating individuals (Ebbecke & Lüscher, 1987).

Further motives, which arise from individual psychological needs, result from the function of music during particular activities: "Participants found it natu-

Since I have been downloading music or using MP3s . . .	<i>rho</i>
My knowledge of music has improved	0.370**
I spend more time listening to music	0.285**
I have . . . expectations (standards) of music	0.237**
I listen to music more conscientiously	0.219**
I listen to music . . .	0.211**
I buy CDs more conscientiously / I select CDs with greater care	0.191**
I listen to all the songs on a CD	0.112**
Music has become more fast moving	0.111**
I listen more to single songs than to the entire album	-0.012
I discover new music in the CD business	-0.079**
I listen to the radio	-0.091**
I buy singles	-0.125**
I buy CD long plays	-0.145**

Spearman's *rho*; n=999; **= p < .05
 Within the items, three points stand for "much less," "less," "the same," "more," or "much more"
 Source: Hägler, 2005, p. 89

Table 2. Connection between MP3 acquisition and changes in music use.

Motives	Reception of music	Reception of radio programs
Emotional involvement	▲	▼
Associative involvement	▲	▼
Cognitive involvement	▲	▼
Mood regulation	▲	▼
Relaxation	▲	▲
Activation	▲	▲
To accompany other activities	▲	▲
Compensation for boredom	▲	▲
Life assistance	▼	▲
Social comparison, distinction	▲	▼
Impression-management	▲	
Self-identity	▲	
Information needs		▲
Integration needs	▼	▲
Para-social interaction/relationship	▼	▲

▲ = Motive usually strongly pronounced
 ▼ = Motive usually weakly pronounced
 Source: Schramm, 2004, p. 451, with small modifications

Table 3. Motives for music and radio consumption.

ral to link functions to activities, often mentioning both in the same sentence (e.g., ‘on arrival home from work, music lifts the stress of work: it has an immediate healing effect’)” (Sloboda & O’Neill, 2001, p. 419). For example, music serves as a companion during housework or as a distraction from work, thereby making work easier and shortening the time. People particularly like to use the radio for this purpose, because it requires a minimum of selection time even though it provides a varied but not too demanding “wallpaper” of sound.

A further set of motives results from socio-psychological or social needs: Thus, the presence of music serves to create a romantic atmosphere at a romantic dinner for two and it helps to bridge embarrassing silences. Also, listening to music may lead to making various social comparisons: music offers social information at different levels (genre, composition and instrumentation, text, interpretation, and so on) which I can compare to or put into a relationship with myself and my self image. In this manner, people can place their everyday problems in musical texts, get advice for living, feel confirmed in their views, and seek problem solving strategies or dissociate themselves from everything (Gibson, Aust, & Zillmann, 2000; Rösing, 1992). To a large extent, music can be used to strengthen one’s social ties and affiliations as well as highlight social distinctions (Bourdieu, 1982; Diaz-Bone, 2002; Knobloch, Vorderer, & Zillmann, 2000; Schulze,

1992). The formation of one’s own identity through listening to music does not only occur in “silence,” i.e., in a particular person’s head and heart; it also occurs in public presentations and communication in the presence of others (“impression management”). Thus the classical music lover likes to make his affiliation with the high culture scheme public (see Schulze, 1992), for example by going to the opera, which then will be the subject of discussion at the next family gathering. In this sense, music contributes to self discovery, presentation, and realization.

A further set of socio-psychological motives involves compensation for “voids” in one’s own life. At a very trite level music can bridge free time, provide diversion, and prevent boredom. In an escapist sense, music can, at least during the time one listens, contribute to an escape from the “gray” monotony of daily life into the world of fantasy. Music can take the listener on an intellectual and emotional trip, of sorts, which remains hidden in the real world or which is not accessible (compare this to the description of the daydream by Bonfadelli, 1980). Music interpreters, as well as, for example, radio DJs, often function as social substitutes through para-social relationships (Horton & Wohl, 1956; regarding this phenomenon in the context of radio listening, see Rubin & Step, 2000). Music not only is able to take you into alien worlds, it also can contribute to calling attention to one’s own world, to help remember “old times,” persons, past events, and

Rank	Functions	Respondents (in %)
1	Reminder of valued past event	50
2	To put in a good mood	16
3	Moves to tears / catharsis/ release	14
4	Tingles/ goose pimples / shivers	10
5	Mood enhancement	8
6	Calms / soothes / relaxes / relieves stress	8
7	To match current mood	6
8	Source of pleasure / enjoyment	6
9	Spiritual experience	6
10	Source of comfort/ healing	4
11	Motivates	2
12	Excites	2
13	Evokes visual images	2

Sloboda & O’Neill, 2001, p. 420

Table 4. Functions of music in daily life.

situations (Sloboda, 1999). This applies particularly to the use of music at special occasions or situations (birthdays, weddings, confirmations, the first kiss, etc.). As far as this is concerned, music functions as a kind of “time witness”—like a good friend with whom you remember past days and experiences (see “memory emotions,” Oatley & Kerr, 1999).

Lastly, we should emphasize that people listen to music not only as a means to an end but also for its own sake. If, for example, listeners surrender completely to music, wanting to experience the music and emotions

immanent in the text, they do not necessarily try to compensate for their own emotional “voids.” That listening also may be interpreted as a conscious search for stimuli/excitement (cf. Dollinger, 1993). We are dealing with similar motives when music listeners concentrate on analyzing compositional structure and the meaning of music. In this case we are dealing with a particular form of cognitive involvement. This involvement often goes hand in hand with a structurally distanced listening (see Section 5 for more on this); however, that does not exclude other forms of involvement.

5. Modes of music listening

Media psychology provides us with some valuable differentiations of modes of media consumption (See, for example, Suckfüll, 2004; Vorderer, 1992), which, because of its focus on audio-visual reception (TV, film) may have only a limited application to music listening. But in the last 35 years, music psychology has developed appropriate typologies for music reception. In general, listening to music is composed of cognitive, affective, and connotative elements; in other words it is determined by mental/intellectual elements (music structure, composition idea, and construction), psychological-emotional elements (sound, sensual stimulation) and physical elements (rhythmic components) (Gushurst, 2000, p. 100).

One of the first typologies—developed not empirically but on the basis of theoretical considerations—results from Adorno’s deliberations on music listening (1962). He distinguishes between eight types of listener—in decreasing quality of music listening:

1. The analytical-structural listening expert
2. The good listener (expert)
3. The cultural (scholarly) expert
4. The emotional listener
5. The resentment listener
6. The jazz fan
7. The entertainment listener
8. The indifferent or anti-musical listener

According to Adorno only the first three types of listeners can listen to music appropriately (that is, searching for the truth content). The other groups are not in a position to do so. This culture critical view of various ways of dealing with music has not been adhered to for decades. Rauhe (1975) submitted a

less culture critical but nonetheless empirical introduction to modes of music consumption. (See Figure 2, next page.)

Rauhe distinguishes between subconscious and conscious listening. Instead of subconscious and conscious listening, Rösing (1985) differentiates between attentive and unintentional listening—respectively concentrated or distracted listening—because, for example, the main focus during distracted listening certainly is not on the music even though the listener may be aware of the form of music listening. In other words, if I am listening to music while I am cooking then I am aware of that even though I am not turning my attention to the music. In a comprehensive empirical study, Behne (1986b) discovered, in addition to more specific verbal and tonal music preferences, general music forms of behavior, that is modes of music listening. The results from an analysis of data gathered from a 31-item questionnaire showed eight different music listening modes among youth. These appear in the order of their importance for music listening:

- Motor or kinetic listening (listening associated with bodily movements)
- Compensatory listening (listening associated with repression of unpleasant moods)
- Physiological listening (listening associated with physical reactions such as goose-bumps)
- Diffuse or vague listening (listening associated with other activities)
- Emotional listening (listening associated with emotional abandonment to music)
- Sentimental listening (listening associated with memories of past experiences)

- Associative listening (listening associated with visual concepts or images)
- Distanced listening (listening associated with analytical, evaluating attitudes)

Even though not its primary goal, the Behne study did confirm large parts of Rauhe’s empirically derived typology; in the process of doing so, Behne was also able to make statements about the correlation or complementarity of music listening modes. According to him, music listening can be composed of several parallel modes which not only complement but also influence each other. Analytical listening does not exclude emotional listening, it can have a positive influence on emotional listening to music (Rötter, 1987). Rauhe (1975) calls simultaneous application of several modes “integrating” listening. Only integrating listening—for example, the combination of analytic and emotional listening—would, according to Rauhe, do justice to the range of musical meaning or significance and therefore should be classified as more valuable than a single listening mode. Rösing (1993), on the other hand, speaks of a person- or situation-specific mixture of these modes. Every person has a specific repertoire of modes which s/he can use in different situations (for example, for regulating unpleasant

moods). The greater the repertoire of modes the more the person will be able to experience different facets of music and the more differentiated and flexible his/her listening experience will be (Schramm, 2005b). This corresponds to findings by Lehmann (1994) according to which there is a correlation between habitual and situational listening patterns; as a rule, intensive listeners deviate more strongly from their habitual listening pattern, according to the situation of their listening. Schramm (2005a, 2005b) has shown that the music taste, that is, the preference for certain music genres, may be explained by people’s habitual listening patterns (See Table 5). The values may be interpreted in the sense that certain music genres are always indicative of certain listening patterns. Not only are these influenced by the music itself but also by situational and individual factors (Müller, 1990; Ross, 1983). The music category or music genre does not determine in every instance the listening mode (Behne, 1986b; Schramm, 2001); however, due to the constellation of certain music parameters, it very likely enhances a certain listening mode. This implies that the majority of people will listen to music in a very similar manner, however, overall music will be perceived and processed differently by different people.

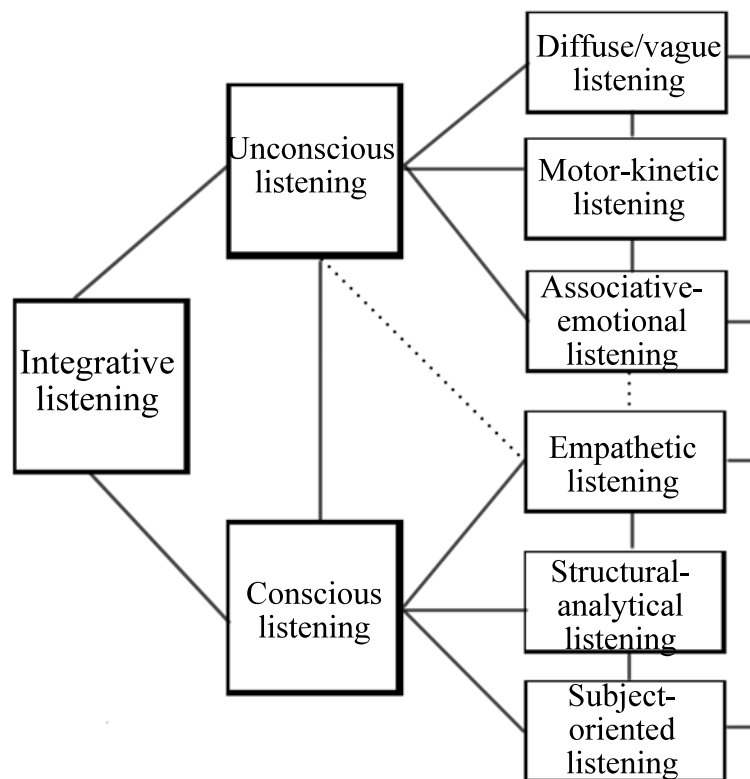


Figure 2. Modes of music listening and their connections

Source: Rauhe, 1975, p. 142

Music genre preference	Analytical listening	Emotional / organic listening	Diffuse/vague listening	Associative listening	Motor listening	corr. R ²	F value
Classical music / new classical music	.18*	.24**	-.26**			.20	15.21**
HipHop / Rap	-.28**		.19*		.23**	.18	13.24**
Pop / Soundtracks	-.32**		.19**	.24**		.15	11.19**
Jazz / Blues / Soul / R&B / Funk	.21**	.25**				.14	14.90**
House / Trance / Techno	-.22**		.23**			.10	10.28**
Folk / World Music		.32**				.10	16.99**
Rock / Alternative / Punk / Heavy Metal			.16*			.02	4.24*
Beat-Music of the 60s	.16*					.02	4.08*

** : p<.01; * : p<.05; Beta weights; Order of rank after variance explanation. Source: Schramm, 2005a, p. 215

Table 5. Regression of modes of music listening on music genres preferences

Modes of music listening not only depend on specific individual, situational, and music-immanent components (Ross, 1983; for situational listening modes, see Lehmann, 1994; Müller, 1990) but are also subject to temporary influences. A rather shorter time unit, which is also relevant for the planning of radio programs, is defined by the day. The course of the day determines how a person will perceive the radio—if for example the radio awakens them, they will perceive it differently from their perceptions during breakfast, on the way to work, during work, or on the way home from work. In the morning the radio acts as an alarm, while during work it will bring relief, and after work, relaxation. Therefore, in the morning stations will play relatively faster music titles compared to those played in the afternoon (cf. MacFarland, 1997).

In addition, music programs reflect the course of the week and especially the weekend. Another important time unit for radio planning purposes is the year. In the fall, and especially during the Christmas season, sentimental or associative-emotional listening is more pronounced than, for example, in the summer. Music editorial offices go along with this in playing music titles that are appropriate for the season (Haas, Frigge, & Zimmer, 1991). For planning purposes music editorial offices use computer programs that contain a num-

ber of parameters and characteristics of music titles (Neu & Buchholz, 1991). With the help of program clocks and rotation cycles, the computer assembles a suitable music program that may be corrected and, if necessary, controlled by experienced music editors (Münch, 1998).

Even from each individual's life-span perspective the manner and extent of music listening changes. Regarding music listening Dollase writes:

With regard to the quantity of music consumption there is a growth phase from approximately 10 to 13 years of age, which runs into a plateau phase at 20 years of age, and beyond 25, it decreases significantly (the decrease phase). . . . The three phases also correspond qualitatively to the different manners of experiencing music and the functions of music [for the individual]. (1997, p. 356)

Dollase (1997) points out that individual characteristics in forming one's life may shift the aforementioned age ranges. The "decrease phase," in most cases, goes along with starting a family and beginning a career. Cognitive capacities and time, which was used earlier for music listening, are now needed for other more central life tasks. However, if a person remains in school till age 30 and then turns to dealing with these

life tasks only after that, the decrease phase may start at this later period. In a longitudinal section study Behne (1997, 2001) found that the music consumption phases described above do not allow for making statements about the development of modes of music listening among the young: In the '90s diffuse listening among young people increased in the second decade of life, even though the opposite seemed to be the case in the 80s, and there was an increase of music consumption among the young people in both the '80s and '90s.

In addition, Lissa (1975) and Gembris (1999) point out that, over periods of decades and centuries, modes of music listening are also subject to historical

and social-structural changes. Therefore the listening research needs to include a historical perspective. An example: The opera "The Marriage of Figaro" is classified as "opera buffa," that is something to fill an evening; bourgeois and light opera is the opposite of the "serious opera" and was composed by Mozart to entertain audiences. At the end of the 18th century, audiences listened in a manner that was involved, empathetic, and emotional and not analytical and distanced. Nowadays that is different, particularly since most people consider operas as serious artistic music and not as entertainment music; because of this classification they listen to it "seriously" (Schramm, 2001).

6. Tastes and preferences in music listening

Abeles (1980) suggests classifying actual music selection decisions as "music preferences" and long term music orientation as "music taste." Beyond that, situation preferences have a particular significance: Here it is not only of interest which music genres in which situations are preferred by which groups of persons, but more particularly what function the music has in a particular situation. In general, differences in music preferences depend on personal factors such as sex, age, social status, education, or individual personality: men tend to prefer "harder" music genres such as Rock and Heavy Metal, while women prefer "softer" genres such as "hits," Pop songs, and Evergreens (Bonfadelli, 1986). Also, as a rule, women tend to judge classical music more positively—which has the effect that men view them as more attractive, while, on the other hand, the attraction of men to women increases if they pretend to like Heavy Metal (Zillmann & Bhatia, 1989).

The influence a person's music taste has on how attractive he or she is to other people is already noticeable at a young age: Knobloch, Vorderer, and Zillmann (2000) were able to show that music preferences influence the desire for friendship among young people. However, at that age, gender stereotypes are not strongly developed yet, even though differences between girls and boys are already evident. With regard to young people Behne (1986b) showed that girls have more adjusted music preferences with a more main stream orientation; boys, on the other hand, tend to prefer what is unusual and non-conformist. In

this regard, Finnäs (1987) pointed out that male eccentric, non-conformist music preferences often have been overrated and that adolescents often use them as an orientation model.

Christenson and Peterson (1988) demonstrated that although for women and men music preferences are only barely distinguishable, nevertheless music often serves different functions for them. For example, women, to a larger extent than men, use music to regulate their moods.

With regard to age it can be said that music tastes may change, in individual cases, up to an advanced age. However, according to Holbrook and Schindler (1989) it is the music we listened to at age 23 and a half, which stays with us all through life (Behne, 1993, p. 346). What is certainly decisive for music taste is the period—the decade—in which music socialization occurred. Preference differences are noticeable not only among people of different ages, with so-called age effects—with increasing age the preference for classical music increases, and the openness to new types of music decreases—but most importantly, with so-called generation effects, which can be traced to the historical developments of music styles and to developmental-psychological phases in the individual's relationship with music (Dollase, 1997). Generation- and age-effects, to a large extent, shaped the preference of entire population segments for certain music genres. These preferences are reflected listening to particular types of music (shown, for example, in radio ratings) as well as in sales numbers for particular music for-

mats. Other significant elements in the development of music preferences arise from social and educational status, which, to a large extent, is determined by the social and educational status of the parents. If the parents had had a musical education, the children will mostly be introduced to an instrument (Bastian, 1991). In these cases preference for classical music increases as compared to children who will not be introduced to an instrument. Students who attended an extended elementary school have a weaker preference for classical music and a stronger preference for pop music as compared to students who attended a college prep high school (Bonfadelli, 1986). The development of these connections and preferences rests on social factors and are subject to economic and socio-cultural influences (Bourdieu, 1982). The preference for certain genres serves to create social boundaries and results in assignment to particular milieus (Bourdieu, 1982; Diaz-Bone, 2002; Schulze, 1992) and goes hand in hand with certain cognitive schemata that have taken root in individuals (Schulze, 1992). The “harmony milieu” distinguishes itself through increased preference for hits and popular music, while the “standard milieu” stands out with its preferences for jazz and classical music. The latter also fits the pattern of high culture, while the hit parade is situated in the “trivial schema” and rock music in the “tension schema” (Schulze, 1992).

In terms of the functions of music, situational music preferences hold particular importance. Thus, for example, a pop and rock lover will not always listen to the same music, but will vary it according to each particular situation, depending, for example, on his or her actual mood (cf. Knobloch, 2003; Knobloch & Mundorf, 2003; Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002; Schramm, 2005a). If a person is sad and desires to hear sad, melancholy music that fits that mood, one would—in reference to the concept of music therapy—refer to it as situational music preference in accordance with the “similarity principle” (Schwabe, 1986, pp. 161-162). A “compensation principle,” on the other hand, is hardly ever mentioned in the literature. One should expect, in accordance with the similarity principle, a preference for mood defying music. Strictly speaking, the two principles (“similarity” and “compensation”), which refer only to music selection, must be distinguished from the effect of music. It is certainly not always the case that the music listener wants to compensate for a negative mood. According to Behne (1984) the conclusive factor is whether people are satisfied with their current mood or not. Compensation

will follow only in the latter case. Accordingly, one could also judge music choices with regard to whether a mood should be maintained in the sense of the “similarity effect” or whether the mood should change in the sense of the “compensation effect” (Behne, 1984). The important research question here is the effect of the music and not how it matches the initial mood.

Konecni (1979, 1982) was the first to examine the influence of moods on aesthetic selection behavior under the paradigm of experimental aesthetics described by Berlyne (1974). He was able to show that angry persons who had had the opportunity to alleviate tensions subsequently were able to prefer more complex music. Schaub (1981) was able to prove that persons who felt sad preferred a lesser demanding light music as compared to persons who were in a happy mood. In this study he was able to establish the similarity principle relatively but not absolutely since sad as well as happy persons preferred happy to sad music. The absolute similarity principle could not be confirmed for any of the four examined mood dimensions:

- those who felt tense wanted calming music rather than exciting music;
- those who felt aggressive wanted peaceful-soft music rather than aggressive music;
- those who felt exhausted wanted primarily vivacious music and light-hearted music; and
- those who felt sad preferred happy music.

Behne (1984) also asked for the individual satisfaction of his subjects with their actual state of mind—their meta-emotion (Mayer & Gaschke, 1988; Mayer & Stevens, 1994). He was able to show that only those who were satisfied with their emotional state chose music in accordance with the similarity principle. In a second study Behne (1986a) was able to show that individual music preferences differed widely but in particular relation to moods like sorrow and anger. The reason for this not only may be the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a particular mood but also the specific motive for music listening. The attempt of seeking to compensate for sorrow or mourning without any cognitive processing may, on the other hand, stand in direct opposition to the attempt to maintain a sorrowful mood. Other studies (Schramm, 2005a; Schubert, 1996) have shown that, in some cases, sad and otherwise melancholy individuals may experience their mood as something positive and therefore increase it by listening to sad and melancholy music. According to Schramm (2005a), in 50% of the cases individuals while feeling sad, want sad not happy

music preferences	Aggressiveness	Emotionality	Physical disorders	Life satisfaction	Social orientation	Health worries	Inhibition / lack of self-consciousness
aggressive-peaceful	-.29 ~	-.29 ~					
arousing-soothing	-.27 ~	-.27 ~					
fast-slow			-.30 *				
bright-dreary		.32 *		-.42 **	-.31 *	.35 *	
sad-happy		-.35 *		.44 **	.29 ~	-.29 ~	
agile-weary			-.28 ~				.36 *
Pearson's r **: p<.01 * : p<.05 ~:p<.10.				Source: Gembris, 1990, pp. 92-93			

Table 6. Relationships between personal characteristics and mood specific music preferences

music. This connection—also with regard to preferences for sad films (Oliver, 1993)—is stronger in women than in men.

Gembris (1990) examined relationships between mood specific music preferences and personal characteristics. Accordingly, in situations of relief and joy, persons with a predisposition to irritability, aggression, and emotionalism tend to express their feelings with light and joyful music. In situations of fury and anger, inhibited persons tend to tone down their anger through calming music, rather than express it. Depending on the particular situation, the various personal characteristics may contribute to explaining the variance in observed behaviors. Furthermore, Gembris (1990) was able to establish that personal traits also help explain preferences for music that are independent from specific situations. Accordingly, more emotionally

charged persons are the more likely to prefer aggressive, upsetting, gloomy, and sad music. (See Table 6.)

However, the subjects in the studies by Schaub, Behne, and Gembris were only able to make assumptions about their situational music preferences and the music they would like to hear in particular moods; in fact, they never actually selected or intentionally heard the music. Here we see a deficit of many psychologically based music studies: Most of the available results only apply to the assumed situational music preferences of the persons who were interviewed. The results may have been distorted to a large extent by mental constructs of the interviewees because—as Behne (1984) also admits—they were based on their stereotypical music preferences and naïve theories about the effectiveness of music (Clemens, 1985).

7. Effectiveness or non-effectiveness of music

In terms of the effectiveness of music, generally it is more likely that positive effects will appear if the listeners know the music, if it is not too fast or too slow, if it corresponds to the heart beat, and if the music's complexity corresponds to the habits and listening capacity of the listener—in other words, that it does not challenge him or her too little or too much.

Maximal or minimal pleasure is experienced in a moderate state of excitation and therefore moderate complexity [of the music]; if activation increases along with too complex perception processes, pleasure decreases. However, if something is so boring that it does not activate [the mind], pleasure is at a zero level. (Motte-Haber, 1996, pp. 166-167; regarding this issue see also flow-theory by Csikszentmihalyi, 1975)

According to Gembris (1977), beginning at a loudness level of approximately 65 phon, people experience a physiological reaction—contractions of the small blood vessels and a change in heartbeat rate occurs without necessarily triggering conscious psychic reactions. [The phon is a standardized measure of loudness of a pure tone, correcting the decibel scale for differences in perception of different sound frequencies. —Ed.] If the sound level increases there will be an increase in *ergotropic reactions* [functions of the nervous system that favor expending energy], which contribute to develop strength and tension in a person and will activate the organism. *Trophotropic reactions* [those functions that favor rest or the conservation of energy], on the other hand, are more likely to appear with low sound levels and have a restful, relaxing effect on the organism. The appearance of *ergo- and trophotropic* effects go hand in hand with other specific constellations of parameters.

There are a number of myths about the effects of music because from time to time one notices and generalizes from really strong, impressive effects of music. One example is the death penalty with music in old China (Behne, 1995). In order to de-emotionalize the extent of music effects, Behne (1999) did a meta-analysis of 153 music studies from 1911 to 1997. He concentrated on those studies which had examined the effects of background music because—Behne reasoned—in highly civilized countries people listen to background music while doing other things and therefore

these studies have more relevance in our cultural context (see Section 2). One third of the studies covering the entire period from 1911 to 1997 did not give a clear demonstration of music effectiveness and in 23% of the cases the results of the studies indicated weak or, as the case may be, complex interaction effects. Still, in 44% of the studies clear effects could be shown. Also, in terms of percentage, the number of studies that showed some effectiveness decreased across time, that is from one period to another. (See Table 7). The explanation for this could be that in the past century the increased availability and omnipresence of music has desensitized people or made them less responsive to music and its effects. Another reason could be the practice of scientific publications. Only in the latter part of the 20th century did journals typically publish studies that did not show significant effects. However, if one takes into consideration that at all times such studies tended not to be published the “real” share of studies which were not able to demonstrate effects may be somewhat higher than the one third mentioned earlier.

Based on this meta-analysis one might argue that music listened to with partial attention or subconsciously while doing other things or in the background, will have a weak or no effect on people. The fact that nonetheless many studies are able to show strong effects (see Brown & Volgsten, 2006; Tauchnitz, 2005) indicates that people hear background music in specific situations or social settings not as background but as foreground music, so that—

		1911-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1997	Total
intended effects clearly found	N	17	19	18	13	67
	%	45.9	51.4	43.9	34.2	43.8
complex / or weak effects found	N	10	7	11	7	35
	%	27.0	18.9	26.8	18.4	22.9
no (intended) effects found	N	10	11	12	18	51
	%	27.0	29.7	29.3	47.4	33.3
Total studies	N	37	37	41	38	153
	%	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Behne, 1999

Table 7. Results from 153 studies on the effects of background music.

this is the more prominent interpretation—many of the strong effects occur subconsciously. A number of such effects of music are noticeable in department stores, supermarkets, and restaurants (See the surveys in North & Hargreaves, 1997b; Vanecek, 1991). However, Smith and Curnow (1966) as well as Rötter and Plößner (1995) arrived at contradictory conclusions about the influence of music on how long people remain in stores. North and Hargreaves (1996a) had some indications that music with moderate complexity (in contrast to music with low or high complexity) led to a better evaluation of a restaurant and the meals, and that pop music as well as classical music can improve the atmosphere and make customers more tolerant of prices (North & Hargreaves, 1998). Moreover, positive effects of background music in the workplace could be documented, at least in the case of monotonous work (Kunz, 1991). In 1937, Wyatt and Langdon observed a 5-10% performance improvement among factory workers if music was playing during working hours. On the surface, this result argues for the correctness of the activation hypothesis, but it also can be explained by a Hawthorne effect.

8. Effects of music on mood changes

Although moods influence the manner people experience and hear music (a line of thought not often taken into research considerations: Pekrun & Bruhn, 1986), here we shall examine the alleged effect of music on moods. On the basis of their experiences, all persons spontaneously confirmed this effect. If people did not experience these effects in form of mood changes and mood improvements, “mood management” as a motive for listening to music would certainly not be mentioned as frequently as it is (see Section 3). In their experiments on mood-management theory, Zillmann and his colleagues follow up on this idea (Zillmann, 1988a; 1988b, 2000) by deducing the effect from the selected stimuli. Measurements of mood changes were only undertaken in a few instances. According to Knobloch and Zillmann “the initial differentiation in mood had apparently dissipated during the 10-minute period in which the respondents could listen to the music where they liked most of the accessible selections” (2002, p. 261). What fur-

In the context of the so-called Hawthorne-studies . . . it could be shown that supposedly any kind of change at the workplace (even a worsening of lighting, for example) could lead to a performance increase to the extent that such measures may be viewed as positive, for example as a demonstration of interest that company management has in their employees. Therefore, many alleged music effects may be informally taken as Hawthorne effects. (Behne, 1995, p. 339).

In most of his studies, Kunz (1991) discovered in the categories “Improvement of work climate,” “Motivation,” and “Performance improvement” positive effects, which in turn was based on the activation hypothesis.

Finally, the effect of background music on learning is often discussed—in particular with regard to children and youth in view of the alleged harmful effects of listening during homework. Music has a rather positive effect on concentrated working and learning if it is soft, with little complexity (that is, not very cognitively challenging), and corresponding to the music preferences of the listener (Drewes & Schemion, 1992; for specific studies in this area, see Savan, 1999; Wallace, 1994).

ther proofs for the effects of music on mood could be stated? Förster, Jarmus, and Wünsch (1998) as well as Wünsch (1999, 2001) used diary entries to empirically trace mood changes, with initial moods, amount of attention paid to music, and personal characteristics as influential variables. According to that line of study, emotionally unstable, introverted persons are particularly successful in improving negative moods and, for this purpose, they listen longer to music than other groups of people. A number of studies about music effects on moods are available (for example, DeNora, 2000; North & Hargreaves, 2000; Rigg, 1983; Sloboda, O’Neill, & Ivaldi, 2001; Stratton & Zalanowski, 1989, 1991). Schoen and Gatewood (1927) presented the first big, systematic study of the influence of music on moods. Mood changes were not identified through before-after measurements of corresponding mood inventories, but were retrospectively recorded on questionnaires after music consumption (see Figure 3). Because of the open-ended questions or,

MOOD CHANGE CHART

Date of Test

<p>1. Place (Home or Where)</p> <p>2. Time (Mark x in square) Morning <input type="checkbox"/> Afternoon <input type="checkbox"/> Evening <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Weather (Mark x in square) Dull <input type="checkbox"/> Cold <input type="checkbox"/> Bright <input type="checkbox"/> Warm <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>4. What kind of music did you feel like hearing? (Mark all words which describe such music with x)</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>Tender <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Vivacious <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Joyous <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Majestic <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Solemn <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Soothing <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Weird <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Exciting <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Martial <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Dreamy <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gay <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Simple <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sad <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Tender <input type="checkbox"/>	Vivacious <input type="checkbox"/>	Joyous <input type="checkbox"/>	Majestic <input type="checkbox"/>	Solemn <input type="checkbox"/>	Soothing <input type="checkbox"/>	Weird <input type="checkbox"/>	Exciting <input type="checkbox"/>	Martial <input type="checkbox"/>	Dreamy <input type="checkbox"/>	Gay <input type="checkbox"/>	Simple <input type="checkbox"/>	Sad <input type="checkbox"/>		<p>5. What was your mood immediately preceding test? (Mark x in square)</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>Serious or <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Worried or <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gay <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Care-free <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Depressed or <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Nervous or <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Exhilarated <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Composed <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fatigued or <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Sad or <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Unfatigued <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Joyful <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Discouraged <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>or Optimistic <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	Serious or <input type="checkbox"/>	Worried or <input type="checkbox"/>	Gay <input type="checkbox"/>	Care-free <input type="checkbox"/>	Depressed or <input type="checkbox"/>	Nervous or <input type="checkbox"/>	Exhilarated <input type="checkbox"/>	Composed <input type="checkbox"/>	Fatigued or <input type="checkbox"/>	Sad or <input type="checkbox"/>	Unfatigued <input type="checkbox"/>	Joyful <input type="checkbox"/>		Discouraged <input type="checkbox"/>		or Optimistic <input type="checkbox"/>
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	Discouraged <input type="checkbox"/>																														
	or Optimistic <input type="checkbox"/>																														

6. As a result of the test, what were your most noticeable mood changes?
(Serious to gay, gay to serious, worried to care-free, nervous to composed, etc.)

Mood Change	Selection causing such change
.....to.....
.....to.....
.....to.....

7. Please comment on manner in which mood changes occurred :
.....
.....
.....

Signed

Figure 3. Questionnaire about mood changes through music
Source: Schoen & Gatewood, 1927 (reprint, 1999, p. 132)

as the case may be, of marking mood categories as yes/no, evaluation possibilities were limited, of course. The field phase of the study yielded the enormous number of 20,000 mood reports. The results showed that in most cases music changes moods—positively, to be precise. And, as a rule, the same music could have the same effect on different persons at different locations and at different times of the day. Considering the first result, we have to concede that the design of the study, that is, the questionnaire, almost forced the test subjects to document potential mood changes. And, in most cases, it is very likely that they did exactly that—even if music had little or no effect on them.

Because we cannot consider all the studies that deal with the effect of music on moods or emotions here, we shall focus on two recent studies which claimed to have recorded daily usage of music. In interviews and observations of women in everyday life, DeNora (1999) identifies mood-management, as well as mood-adjustment-processes, which have been investigated experimentally by Knobloch and Zillmann (2002), and Knobloch (2003). Women gave a detailed description of how they succeeded in maintaining and even improving their moods and positive energies with the help of music (experimentally confirmed by North & Hargreaves, 2000). They also described how they

Mood dimension	Number of music episodes with ...		
	positive effects	no effects	negative effects
positivity	71	71	11
present mindedness	90	9	48
arousal	63	82	5

Table 8. Number and direction of mood changes in episodes with music

Source: Sloboda, O'Neill, & Ivaldi, 2001, p. 20

successfully adjusted to activities such as housework and meeting other people. By means of "experience sampling," Sloboda, O'Neill, and Ivaldi (2001) collected data about the use and effects of music in daily life. They measured music's effects on the dimensions of "positivity," "present mindedness," and "arousal." For example, in the category "positivity" their subjects reported changes from "sad" to "happy," from "insecure" to "secure," or from "tense" to "relaxed." In the

category "present-mindedness" they reported changes from "bored" to "interested," from "detached" to "involved," or from "nostalgic" to "in the present"; in the category "arousal," from "tired" to "energetic" or from "drowsy" to "alert." Table 8 shows how often positive and negative changes of moods were reported in each of the three dimensions. Overall positive changes prevail. Most negative changes occur in the subcategory present mindedness, which may be attributed to the fact that many people listen to music for nostalgic reasons and this was interpreted as a negative effect.

In addition Sloboda, O'Neill, and Ivaldi (2001) showed that mood changes were greater when people freely choose the music and, accordingly, regulated their moods in the desired direction.

Undoubtedly, music enables people to alter and change their moods. According to previous research this occurs particularly when the initial mood showed a negative valence; when, at the meta-level, it was experienced as negative; when the music listeners are introverted, neurotic, or emotionally unstable; and when they selected and decided upon the music by themselves. Moods in any particular context can be adjusted to an optimal level that is appropriate for the social situation and its activities but which seldom reaches extreme valences (Knobloch, 2003).

9. Effects of music in radio

Because of individual differences in abilities and capacities in the reception and perception of music, it is very difficult to develop radio programs which will be favorably evaluated and used regularly by a large group of people (Münch, 1994). In order to create music programs compatible with large groups of people, the degree of complexity of radio music must remain rather low (Rösing & Münch, 1993); consequently, music research conducted by radio stations remains rather simple (Schramm, Petersen, Rütter, & Vorderer, 2002). We can read how and why music tests were carried out (for an overview: Balon, 1990; for more detailed information: Fletcher, 1987). MacFarland (1997) provides less information about specific music tests and more about the connection between moods and characteristics of the listeners and as well the implications for programming radio music. Sources about the importance of music research for

American radio stations as well as the influence of various factors on the music programming of these stations are few and far between.

Within the music research of commercial stations two kinds of music studies stand out: telephone polls/"call outs" and audience/auditorium tests. Telephone polls are faster and more favorable and are preferred by most radio stations. Every week or at least every two weeks 30 to 50 music titles in form of *hooks* (salient excerpts from a title with a length of approximately eight to 12 seconds and with the highest presumed recognition value, most often from the refrain) are played over the phone to approximately 100 to 200 people randomly selected from the target group (Schramm et al., 2002). The people judge every title along several criteria. As a rule, these involve three aspects: *familiarity* ("Have you heard this title before?"), *pleasure* ("How do you like this title?"),

and saturation (“Would you like to hear this music title in your favorite radio program more often?”). In the case of saturation (or burn out), listeners are being asked whether they hear these titles too often. In telephone polls in particular, the test titles are those which receive very frequent radio play, and therefore have a high rotation rate—in other words, where saturation tendencies are more likely to occur. According to Haas, Frigge, and Zimmer (1991, p. 323), telephone polls have the advantages of quickly gauging the mood changes of listeners and of continuously observing music title developments over short intervals. Accordingly, programmers can include or exclude titles with certain characteristic values of current interest from their play lists. Off and on, radio researchers ask additional questions that go beyond the three above-mentioned criteria; for example, they inquire about station affinity (to which radio station does the title fit?), emotional expression of the music, or the desired time of the day during which the music should be played. Afterwards, the researchers compile the results from the three criteria—familiarity, pleasure, and saturation—in a so-called *Power-Score* and, through combination with socio-demographic media use data, use them to create target-group-specific title indexes that indicate which title is preferred by which people (Schramm et al., 2002). Enriched with additional information about various music parameters such as music genre, tempo, instrumentation, gender of the performer, lead-in time to the beginning of singing, title length, the way the title ends (*cold* = abrupt end, *cold fade/quick* = quick fade-out, *fade* = slow fade-out), and the desired rotation, the data are fed into the data banks; using these, special computer programs such as *Selector* compute music programming lists targeting a specific group of listeners (Linnenbach, 1987; Münch, 1998). Subsequently a music editor has to revise these lists in ways that guarantee a harmonious music program reflecting the philosophy of the radio station.

Audience or auditorium tests cost more and, for this reason, radio stations fund them only once or twice a year. For these, they recruit a group of up to 300 persons—in most cases reflecting the socio-demographic composition of the target group—and invite them to a large auditorium like a movie theater or hotel hall. There they listen to hundreds of music titles in the form of hooks and evaluate them according to the criteria mentioned above (Schramm et al., 2002). The group hears the title either together on a stereo set—here

mutual distractions and possible group behavior limit the validity of the data—or they listen to the titles in an individual random sequence through head phones. In the first phase sequence effects are neutralized by playing the titles in reverse order (the mirror image method) to a second group of the same size). Such audience tests work well in testing large parts of the play list as well as those titles which do not appear on the highest rotation. According to Haas, Frigge, and Zimmer (1991, p. 323-324) these tests also have the advantage of generating a great amount of data in a short time and improving the sound quality of the hooks, or, if head phones are used, to optimize that sound quality, as compared to telephone interviews.

Besides these two main methods, individual radio stations use alternative music tests from time to time (Hofmann, 1993). These include qualitative methods (for example, discussions with focus groups), call-in surveys (listeners can call in to listen to and evaluate a selection of hooks), written questionnaires (listeners receive questionnaires with a listing of titles and artists, which s/he must categorize and evaluate without actually hearing the music), and the Walkman-test (listeners are invited to an audience test where they repeatedly listen to a Walkman with 20 hooks before evaluating the title). With regard to differences between private versus public radio stations, Neuwöhner (1998) points out that both use similar methods but that private stations can limit themselves to the so-called “acceptance research” (what the listeners like), while public stations must keep track of other variables as well. The public stations need these data in order to provide decision making information to those responsible for the programs on culture and information; these instances require a more differentiated spectrum of methods.

To recapitulate, one can assume that most radio stations would rather offer music programs at the lowest common complexity level and risk boring the audience rather than overtax them and possibly lose them (Schramm, 2004). Because of the fact that “activation” diminishes while people listen to a series of titles with a similar complexity level, radio programmers take certain tonal-structural contrasts between the titles, namely changes between fast, more activating, and slow, more calming titles into account while putting together radio programs (MacFarland, 1997). The question concerning over- or under-involvement in radio music takes on particular importance when considering the effects music has while driving, because in this situation radio is

still the most commonly used music medium. However, research has made hardly any discoveries in this area. Motte-Haber and Rötter (1990) were able to show that music can positively affect reaction time during simple routine driving (for example, monotonous driving on a highway) and negatively

during difficult, demanding driving (for example, in heavy city traffic). In addition, loud music can lead to driving faster while slower music can lead to improving reaction time in dangerous situations. If a driver experiences music as pleasant, the number of driving mistakes is reduced.

10. Effects of music in audio-visual media

A. Responses to music videos

We would expect specific effects of music (as well as specific uses) if the visual sense channel is added to the audio channel, that is, if the music is conveyed audio visually (Behne, 1990). TV-music channels (like MTV or VH1 in the United States) hold particular significance in this regard: they are mostly used at home by young people and function as a “visual radio” to accompany numerous activities at home (Behne & Müller, 1996; for an overview, see Neumann-Braun & Mikos, 2006). Various studies (Greeson & Williams, 1986; Hansen & Hansen, 1990; Johnson, Jackson, & Gatto, 1995; Peterson & Pfost, 1989) have shown that contents and manner of presentation in music videos can influence the cognitive schemata, knowledge, opinions, evaluations, and social behavior patterns of young people. According to Hansen and Hansen (2000) frequent activation of these schemata through music videos can even result in stable attitudes and behavior patterns.

On average, young people like music videos better than music without visuals. Music with visuals gets higher evaluation scores than the same music without the visuals. The reason for this may be that the music artists can be seen on the video and that this increases the physiological excitement, which viewers experience positively. In addition, young people feel that the visual elements convey interpretations and the meaning of the songs which remain inaccessible when they are only listened to (Hansen & Hansen, 2000; North & Hargreaves, 1997a). Narrative videos that present a song’s content in the form of an action plot, as a rule, also get the highest evaluations (Neumann-Braun & Mikos, 2006). Altrogge (1994) points out that, for those listening to clips, the music fades into the background and the

statement of the music is almost exclusively conveyed through the images.

In an experiment, Behne (1990) demonstrated that even in the case of classical music a music video can, under certain circumstances and specific aspects, sharpen the senses. However, the combination of images and music can be counter-productive if the complexity level and effective stimuli are such that the listeners no longer experience the music as pleasant (Jauk, 1995).

B. Responses to music in film

While in music videos music is enhanced with images, in the case of film music it is quite the opposite: images form the starting point of the complete work and the music provides the background. Music supports the film and has a variety of functions. We distinguish between dramaturgic, epic, structural, and persuasive functions (Bullerjahn, 2001). By dramaturgic functions we understand for example the representation of moods and the enhancement or strengthening (mimicking) the expressions of the film characters. Music has an epic function if it supports the course and tempo of the narrative or takes the lead. It takes a structural role if it conceals or enhances cuts, and calls attention to single shots and movements. We talk about persuasive effects if music heightens the emotional impact of images in effects independent of the above-mentioned dramaturgic elements, in order to promote the spectator’s identification with the protagonists. Even though music is only an accessory, it can profoundly influence the meaning of the plot. Not only does the music background make it possible to interpret the individual film sequence in different ways (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1991); it may alter the interpretation of the entire subsequent film plot (Vitouch, 2001).

C. Responses to music in audio-visual advertising

Music also appears in widely varying forms and takes on similarly varying functions in advertising (Tauchnitz, 1990, 2005; Zander & Kapp, in press): as musical audio logos, as sung slogan (jingle), as an advertising song, or as background music. The use of music in advertising has risen significantly in the last 10-20 years. According to a study from the '80s, 42.3% of American advertising spots contained music (Stewart & Furse, 1986); that share had almost doubled to 84% in 1996 (Murray & Murray, 1996). Also, the function of music in advertising has changed over the past decades (Zander & Kapp, in press): whereas in the '70s music served primarily as a sound cue for advertising and the advertised product (Riethmüller, 1973), today, music is used more holistically to present the product brand and its identity in the sense of "audio branding" in order to attain an optimal fit between music, product, and consumer (Langeslag & Hirsch, 2003; Simmons, 2003; Bronner & Hirt, in press). Using music in advertising has several goals: an increased alertness, the activation of

hearing, a better evaluation of the advertised product, a better recollection of the advertised product, and the promotion of an intention to purchase the product. These positive effects do not automatically start with the music, they depend on, for an example, an initial phase of activation (Kafitz, 1977); personal involvement; the evaluation of the music (Gorn, 1982); the musical components, for example, the variety of keys (Stout & Leckenby, 1988); and the frequency of contact with the advertising (Anand & Sternthal, 1984). In some instances the music functions only in particular dimensions of the chain of effects mentioned above. For example, according to Kafitz (1977), ads underlaid with music resulted in increasing the activation level but in reducing the ability to remember the advertising slogans. Overall researchers have applied a variety of theories and paradigms to understand the effects of music in advertising; these evolved from classical conditioning, the involvement concept, and the Elaboration Likelihood model into newer concepts like "Musical Fit" (Zander & Kapp, in press).

11. Conclusion

Music psychology, music sociology, and empirical music pedagogy have generated a significant amount of base knowledge about consumption of broadcast music in general, but very little knowledge about consumption of different mediated forms of music. At this point, media and communication studies could come to the fore, which, up to now, has not been the case. There are still many gaps in the research on audio-visual music consumption. If we look, for example, at the research on music videos, the number of content analysis studies exceeds the number of reception studies and effects studies by far. This may result from the fact that quite often studies influenced by the humanities and the cultural sciences derive their findings on post-reception effects and presumed consumption processes based on the content analysis of music videos (Neumann-Braun & Mikos, 2006). To that extent, many of these studies are labeled as reception and effects studies, which methodologically—if at all—they only can be in a restricted sense ("predictive" content analysis: Früh, 2001). We need this kind of analysis, firstly, in order to be able to describe and cat-

egorize music video contents. But, secondly, we also need studies which explore, in a methodologically appropriate manner, and present empirically the processing procedures during reception, as well as the short- and long-term effects of these processes. The research on long-term effects in particular is not an easy undertaking and requires longitudinal studies, which in the best case scenario are designed as representative panel studies. This kind of research is tedious and costly; that is probably the reason why it has not been undertaken in the past. Nevertheless these types of studies are needed because they can validate the findings of the research on short-term effects already established through experiments in the laboratory. This kind of research would aim for greater external validity, and seek a socially more comprehensive level, taking long-term effects into consideration. One of the few examples for this is the panel study by Klaus-Ernst Behne (2001) on the changes in listening to music among youths in their teens. The findings which could be gained from these studies should be incentive enough, as well as an obligation on our part.

Afterword

“Consumption and Effects of Music in the Media” offers a thorough overview of social scientific approaches to music scholarship. The approach was not uncommon in the formative days of popular music research. One need look no further than the early works of Riesman (1950) or Horton (1956-57) to see the first attempts to understand music production and consumption through the prism of early media effects research. Even the work of Adorno (1941), which approaches music and media from a decidedly different (Marxist) perspective, embraces a set of then-common media effects assumptions.

The value in such approaches to music research rests largely on the strengths of their methodologies. Seeking to understand large aggregates of data as they affect very large portions of particular societies, the approach seeks to reach generalizable findings about the population as a whole. The approach grows out of important social scientific traditions rooted in sociology and psychology. The approach tackles large, thorny questions such as: How much media exposure is too much? What types of effects might particular types of media have on a population? Such generalized findings invariably grab headlines and fan vaguely defined social concerns about media effects. Such findings also inform policy makers seeking to control or protect public mores or cultural norms.

Professor Schramm is especially thorough in summarizing much of the psychological research around popular music consumption. Scholars in this area have sought to understand the effect of a variety of factors on music consumption, what Professor Schramm broadly terms “tastes and preferences to music listening.” Scholars in this area have also sought to understand the effects of music on mood, viewing practice, and buying strategies. This approach to music scholarship also suggests several uneasy alliances between intellectual interests and corporate marketing interests that characterize such studies.

Ultimately Professor Schramm may have attempted to cover too much ground in this survey article. The sections on music and film and advertising are relatively cursory and deserving of their own thorough overviews in *Communication Research Trends*.

Given its orientation to more empirical studies, the review essay does not survey several areas of music scholarship that deserve at least brief mention here. By focusing on the psychological and social scientific approaches to media and music, Professor Schramm’s article does not address several threads of music scholarship that have proved extremely influential over the past 30 years. Attempts to understand the process of music consumption at a cultural level, an approach largely informed by British and American cultural studies, has grown in prominence and influence since the 1970s. Growing out of radical sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and Marxist critical theory, cultural studies scholars such as Hall (1990), Nelson and Grossberg (1988), Hebdige (1979), and Peterson (1982) suggested pointedly different questions concerning popular music production and consumption. But perhaps most radically the cultural studies scholars moved away from viewing mass media as a problem to be solved and toward the perspective of popular culture as an important signifier of changing social practices.

This critical shift in perspective made frequent use of symbolic and interpretive methods such as semiotics. Another influential branch of this alternative paradigm involved addressing questions about media and music production from political economy perspectives. The strength of the cultural studies approach may emerge most clearly from the multiple ways that music questions could be posed: Questions of political power, interpretation, music use and function, and the evolving social practices involved in music were all open to discussion and examination. The more recent works of Shank (1994), Negus (1999), and especially Frith (1981, 1988, 2004) demonstrate how these multiple approaches can effectively be brought together to offer detailed, historically grounded, and theoretically informed scholarship.

As Professor Schramm’s article demonstrates, the social science perspective to popular music certainly still has its advocates and influences. But the fundamental nature of the questions this approach poses, its bedrock assumptions about media (including media effects and the role of popular culture in society) and nature of the popular music experience differ radically from the basic tenets of cultural studies scholarship.

The impact of this schism on popular music studies is significant, ranging from polite disagreement (in essence an attitude of “I’ll ignore your work if you ignore mine”) to open hostility over assumptions, methodology, and the nature of the intellectual questions themselves.

The creation of such camps does little to facilitate the broader academic discussion and ignores the obvious commonalities between the approaches. Most obviously the two approaches to popular music grow more closely linked around questions of the music industry and the economics of consumerism. Unfortunately, other areas of popular music scholarship centering around the impact or effect of the mass media, the nature of sociological, psychological, and even chemical reactions to mass media, or the role of interpretation in analysis have proved more difficult areas to bring together. Indeed, much current popular music scholarship suggests that our analyses of similar themes are undermined by our different languages.

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Book Reviews

Barker, Chris. *The SAGE Dictionary of Cultural Studies*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2004. Pp. xxi, 211. ISBN 0-7619-7341-9 (pb.) \$37.95.

On opening this book, one is likely to ask, “Why didn’t someone think of this before?” Cultural Studies has burgeoned in communication and media studies, offering important methodologies for the investigation of communication topics and a comprehensive language for their discussion. But, as with any language, it has its own vocabulary and many a student may want to ask (or be too embarrassed to ask), “Just what does the ‘ideal speech situation’ refer to?” or “Who is Julia Kristeva and why does my professor go on so about her?” This dictionary of cultural studies provides a handy and wonderfully comprehensive guide—it doesn’t purport to tell the whole story, but it does offer to introduce readers and point out further paths.

Chris Barker, from the Department of Communication and Cultural Studies at the University of Wollongong, Australia, has long lived in the cultural studies world, beginning as an undergraduate in the sociology department at the University of Birmingham in the late 1970s—precisely the time that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies flourished under the leadership of Stuart Hall (p. xv). Though not formally a student in the Centre, he later gravitated towards its topics and methodologies, looking at the questions and approaches of neo-Marxism to account for contemporary culture. Combining these questions with empirical, ethnographic, and textual analysis, he came to greater interest and participation in the larger cultural studies milieu (p. xvi). Knowing such personal background helps to situate Barker’s approach. Rejecting as misguided the attempt to say what cultural studies is, he suggests, “Rather, the topic is more auspiciously pursued with the query ‘how do we talk about cultural studies and for what purposes?’ than by asking the

question ‘what is cultural studies?’” (p. xiii). Not a category or an academic camp, cultural studies, in Barker’s view

has been constituted by multiple voices or languages that nevertheless have sufficient “family resemblances” to form a recognizable “clan” connected by “kinship” ties to other families. Thus, cultural studies can be understood as a language-game that revolves around the theoretical terms developed and deployed by persons calling their work cultural studies. In a similar argument, Stuart Hall has described cultural studies as a discursive formation, that is, “a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images, and practices, which provide ways of talking about—forms of knowledge and conduct associated with—a particular topic, social activity, or institutional site in society” (Hall, 1997, p. 6). (p. xiv)

One way into cultural studies, then, comes through its vocabulary, as Raymond Williams reminded us long ago in *Keywords* (1976)—the history happens in the words.

Barker draws his vocabulary from the main lines of what he terms the “tributaries” of cultural studies: ethnography, feminism, Marxism, philosophy of language, political economy, postcolonial theory, post-Marxism, poststructuralism, pragmatism, psychoanalysis, structuralism, and textual analysis (p. xvii). The list gives a fairly good sense of how English-speaking (with some Continental influence) academic conversations progressed in the last 30 years.

With all this in mind, Barker can draw to a more detailed description of the subject of the dictionary:

Cultural studies is concerned with an exploration of culture, as constituted by the meanings and representations generated by human signifying practices, and the context in which they occur. Cultural studies has a particular interest in the relations of power and the political consequences that are inherent in such cultural practices. (p. xix)

The dictionary comprises 254 entries: concepts as well as people. Barker’s list of 50 people attempts to give only a flavor of those whose ideas and writings either influenced cultural studies or popularized it. Readily admitting that such a dictionary can offer only a beginning, Barker implicitly invites the kind of debate that has made cultural studies both an exciting and frustrating approach to communication studies.

People are sure to challenge this set of concepts, but that will keep cultural studies alive.

Ironically, for a book that begins with a warning against the temptation of metaphysical universal truth or essentialism in definition, a surprising number of entries start out, “X is . . .” The task of a dictionary compiler struggles against the academic expectations: one may wish to avoid essentialism but the chosen medium brings it back.

This short dictionary is a wonderful addition to the world of cultural studies. Students will find it a godsend; teachers, a springboard to an exciting intellectual milieu within communication studies; and libraries, a hard-to-keep-on-the-shelves volume.

As would be expected, the dictionary is arranged alphabetically, with a table of contents; individual entries have highlighted “related terms,” and a number of them (especially those dealing with people), lists for further reading.

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Bonner, Frances. *Ordinary Television: Analyzing popular TV*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2003. Pp. viii, 219. ISBN 0-8039-7570-8 (hbk.) \$82.95; 0-8039-7571-6 (pb.) \$34.95.

Given the amount of time that most of us spend watching television, we might find it at least a little surprising that scholars ignore most of that television content. Perhaps it manifests another version of that cultural snobbishness that regards television itself as unworthy of attention: when people do examine it, they examine only certain, relatively “high” genres, like drama or news programming, or perhaps police procedurals. In this fine book, Frances Bonner inquires into the rest of television—the bulk of the broadcast day, which most of us watch but to which few readily admit. She inquires into games shows and talk shows, morning and night shows, food shows and found video (bloopers, home video, and so on), home repair and light entertainment, reality television, and all the rest.

Because academic study of television has taken firm root in the soil of effects and cultural studies, Bonner must begin with a review of how scholars usually look at television. Her review, though brief, hits all

the right topics. Often following Raymond Williams, she examines studies of genres. As a scholar in the Anglo-Australian tradition (having spent part of her career in the UK, she teaches now in the School of English, Media Studies, and Art History at the University of Queensland), she looks at Lord Reith’s vision for the BBC—to inform, educate, and entertain. Following Len Masterman, she tries to make sense of “television mythologies” as program types.

With all this in mind, Bonner proposes her approach to “ordinary television”: this is television that is quotidian, that features people like ourselves, that is routine, that marks out our days. “I regard ordinary television as constituted in opposition to special television, whether that is seen as a TV special or . . . a media event” (p. 43). This television possesses two key elements: it is mundane and its presentation is ordinary, in presenters, in location, in format. In the chapter on defining the ordinary, she roots her discussion in the work of a wide range of contemporary theorists: Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, Alice Kaplan and Kristin Ross, Roger Silverstone, Stephen Heath, and Paddy Scannell.

After these two more theoretical chapters, Bonner turns to her specific study of that ordinary television. Chapter 3 introduces the reader to the people involved: first the special people (presenters, reporters, regular personnel, celebrities, and experts) and then the ordinary people (participants, audience, and active viewers). In each instance, she bases her discussion on specific personalities—an easier task with the “special people” since readers (and presumed viewers) will recognize their names from television.

Chapter 4 joins analysis to narrative. Bonner considers ordinary television from the perspective of its discourses: What kinds of programs appear on ordinary television? Here’s a surprise:

When one looks across the considerable range of programmes that constitute ordinary television, there is not the discursive diversity that such an ostensibly disparate body of work might be imagined as generating. A relatively small number of discourses and discursive positions recur. . . . Quite a small group of preoccupations cover the entire range, though few programmes draw on the full set. Consumption, family, health, sexuality and leisure are at the core. (p. 98)

The rest of the chapter examines these in turn. Shopping shows of every type appear frequently, as do programs dealing with family or family advice. The same things apply to health and sexuality, though programs address-

ing sexual concerns have increased dramatically in the recent past. Leisure shows include travel programs, lifestyle shows, and both personal and property make over shows. The latter hold viewer interest both from the design and do-it-yourself possibilities.

The next chapter examines the inverse of the former: what discourses have become disguised or absent? “The expansion of ordinary television under the rubric of infotainment has led to certain discourses, which had had important legitimating roles under the previous regime, having to be minimized because they militated against entertainment” (p. 137). These included educational programs but also programs that moved from the informational category of ordinary television to the entertainment sector—primarily law and order shows including *Crimewatch* or *Australia’s Most Wanted*.

The last two titles hint at the topic for Bonner’s last substantive chapter: the globalization of ordinary television. Programs that have succeeded in one market move to others, given the likelihood of imitation by producers across the globe. Examples of such transplants include the crime shows already mentioned, variations of *Survivor*, *Big Brother*, *Real World*, *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, and wildlife programs. In addition, where shows themselves do not travel well, their formats do: talk or chat shows, talent scouting, and so on. Bonner puts these into a larger context by examining facilitating infrastructure (satellite broadcast systems, for example or the growth of cable distribution) as well as the challenges of cultural differences in a globalizing world. Some of this analysis has deep roots in the communication literature under the “media imperialism” title, but the move to localizing programs or recognizing national differences seems more rooted in the ordinary of ordinary television.

Throughout the book, Bonner anchors her discussion with examples of programs; perhaps not surprisingly, this seems incredibly easy as everyone can recognize what she discusses, even when the particular program may not appear in one’s own country. But this is part of the attraction of ordinary television.

A concluding chapter recaps the findings of the book. One such finding will suffice as summary:

The key characteristics of ordinary television were identified as being its mundanity, a style which attempts to reduce the gap between viewer and viewed and the incorporation of ordinary people into the programmes themselves. It is the latter which may be regarded as the most significant . . . (p. 211).

After reading this book, one will never view television in the same way again.

The book has an extensive bibliography and an index.

—Paul A. Soukup, S.J.
Santa Clara University

Braman, Sandra (Ed.). *Biotechnology and Communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2004. Pp. vii, 297. ISBN 0-8958-4304-3. (hbk.) \$69.95. Special prepaid price \$32.50.

If the contemporary German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk is correct, advances in biotechnology have rendered moot the great metaphysical problems of Western philosophy. Sloterdijk believes biotechnology has engendered the “post-metaphysical” era—where intractable dichotomies such as those between subject and object or spirit and thing have melded into a hybridity of genetic “information.”

Broadly defined, biotechnology is the infusion of information technologies into the organic world. For Sloterdijk, the profundity of the metaphysical transformation created by the infusion of thought or reflection into matter—where it dwells awaiting rediscovery and further cultivation—is “nothing short of a reconceptualization of reality.”

Readers who are intrigued by such lines of inquiry will find *Biotechnology and Communication* somewhat tangential. This is not the type of book that entwines, say, behavioral genetics with communication theory. Rather, policy issues predominate. This is not to say *Biotechnology and Communication* lacks merit or utility. The editor, Sandra Braman, should be commended for recognizing the significance of biotechnology early on and encouraging these preliminary steps. The better entries summarize developments in the field and chart the emergence of radical changes in the ethos governing scientific research.

The most disturbing change is the bottling of the free exchange of scientific information. Today, biotechnological research is monopolized by a new breed of scientist, the “faculty entrepreneur.” Unlike his or her counterpart of old, this new creature is tied to private industry and seeks to patent and profit from discovery. In “Biotechnology, Intellectual Property, and the Prospects for Scientific Communication,” Leah Lievrouw notes that the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 gave

universities the right to patent (and profit from) the fruits of federally funded research.

This changed the ethos of university scientists:

More often, faculty entered into individual relationships with private firms. Their roles ranged from service as paid members of scientific advisory boards or consultants, to equity positions in companies (in some cases large enough to be reported in a firm's prospectus), to employment in management positions, to seats on a firm's board of directors. (p. 156)

Furthermore, the new faculty entrepreneur, according to *Le Monde Diplomatique*, "uses his academic affiliation as a launching pad for lucrative ventures," pocketing profits while "socializing" expenses through the free use of student labor and university resources (p. 157).

This profit-orientation has created a climate of secrecy and suspicion. Patents and profits trump prestige. Corporate-funded researchers tend to eschew peer review; findings are withheld from scholarly publications, from competitors' eyes. Rather, publication is entrusted to the mass media, often in similar form to those hyped corporate announcements designed to drive up share prices.

In reporting that biotechnology firms have already patented one-fifth of the recently decoded human genome (24,000 genes in all), a recent *Reader's Digest* article (August, 2006) put human flesh on the social and ethical implications framed in *Biotechnology and Communication*. A UCLA geneticist conducting clinical tests on Connexin 26, a gene linked to deafness, received a letter from Athena Diagnostics, a Massachusetts firm, informing him they owned the patent for Connexin 26. He would no longer be permitted to continue his quest to help deaf children.

Instead, he would have to pay thousands of dollars up-front and send future gene samples to Athena for testing. He had no choice. "I had to stop," [Wayne] Grody says. "The cost was out of sight." . . . A company can actually "own" human genes. That's the brave new world of gene patents, where big biotech firms are claiming rights to our genetic blueprints and guarding them with teams of lawyers. And the result, say scientists like Grody, is stalling vital medical research, perhaps even delaying lifesaving cures. (Crowley, p. 41)

How has something so preposterous, so patently wrong, come to pass? At the risk of oversimplifying a multitude of factors, one short answer is that the

aggressive scattershot patenting strategy employed by biotech firms has been facilitated by an adjudicated "technicality." The 1998 EU Biotechnology Patent Directive articulates the rationale accepted by courts and patent offices on both sides of the Atlantic:

5.2 An element isolated from the human body or otherwise produced by means of a technical process, including the sequence or partial sequence of a gene, may constitute a patentable invention, *even if the structure of that element is identical to that of a natural element.* (p. 134, author's italics)

Through this "technicality"—isolation from the human body—living matter is defined as "information," and thus becomes patentable. Critics might see this as sophistry or linguistic sleight-of-hand.

Indeed, in "Information as Metaphor: Biology and Communication," David Ritchie cautions against the conflation of the literal and the metaphoric in employing the concept "information" to explain DNA. A sincere and industrious writer, Ritchie's essay is provocative, particularly his analysis of how metaphoric interpretations of Shannon's information theory have been misapplied. He astutely remarks that one of Shannon's formulas "has come to serve, especially in the field of Communication Studies, as a powerful icon that seems to guarantee prestige and scientific status to any text in which it appears" (p. 42). However, when Ritchie applies his analytical template to DNA, I don't find his argument as convincing or essential. He uses Susan Oyama as a torch, or even a machete. But why take this path? Who today subscribes to the crude biological determinism, the "dualisms," Oyama rails against? However, to be fair, Ritchie does not accept her pronouncements uncritically.

When Ritchie is surefooted, he's very good:

Like the *probability* metaphor, there seems to be nothing intrinsically wrong with the *information* metaphor as long as we recognize that we really have no way to apply mathematical information to the task of measuring epistemological information. Yet the two concepts are easy to conflate—and indeed it is difficult to avoid conflating them—precisely because of an underlying literal relationship. (p. 59)

The primary criticism I have with *Biotechnology and Communication* is that too often the treatment of biotechnology reads like an afterthought tagged onto an alien research interest. Perhaps this observation is

too harsh given the difficulty of the cross-disciplinary terrain the contributors explore. But consider, as one example, “Conditional Expectations: Communication and the Impact of Biotechnology.” The author, Steven S. Wildman, yokes Zahavi’s work (on ostentatious display in the animal world) to Spence’s seminal economic tract, “Job Market Signaling.” However, to postulate these findings as the basis for the following inquiry, “Can biotechnology change the nature of human communication?” is rather a stretch. The essay concludes: “If by the nature of communication, we mean the fundamental logic governing the development of communication processes in selectionist systems, I believe the answer has to be no” (p. 91).

Because the essay doesn’t truly engage biotechnology—at least to my mind—what are the grounds for such a facile, definitive answer? Shoe-horning an interesting treatment of office status games into the biotech theme box takes the luster off of a perfectly good contribution to organizational communication.

Even if one disagrees with some of the conclusions and positions in *Biotechnology and Communication*, doing so forces one to meditate upon such a vast, interlocking heterogeneous expanse that thinking becomes adventure. For the communication scholar, the essays offer numerous points of intersection. In addition, one of the rewards of *Biotechnology and Communication*, which *can* be hard slogging, is stumbling across a clever turn of expression. For example, if DNA is conceived along the lines of a software program, species extinction may be called “an irreversible loss of information” (p. 10).

The book contains references (pp. 261-79), an author index (pp. 281-87), and a subject index (pp. 289-97). In addition, it’s prefaced with an Introduction (pp. ix-xiii) and Acknowledgments (pp. xv-xvi).

—Tony Osborne
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deCordova, Richard. *Picture Personalities: The Emergence of the Star System in America.* (Foreword by Corey K. Creekmur). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001. Pp. 184. ISBN 0-252-07016-X (pb.) \$14.95. (Originally published in hardback in 1990).

This book is an interesting and valuable addition to the library of anyone who is interested in the star system and its development. The late Richard deCordova, who died aged 40 in 1996, made steps towards adding

not only to the cultural analysis of the movie star, but also to our knowledge of early film history.

So ingrained in our culture is the concept of “the movie star” that it is difficult for us to conceive of a time when those who acted in silent films were not known by name. deCordova stepped away from the traditional “Hollywood” version of the history of movies and the star to look with care at the ways in which the industry fed the fanzines with the studio-approved version of the private lives of stars and the gradual development of the audience’s interest in these personalities, which eventually became what Creekmur describes as a “lurid fascination” (p. viii) with scandals involving those stars. These scandals, deCordova showed, eventually transformed pre-sound Hollywood’s image and self-regulation. The book also gives careful coverage of the emergence of the star system and that system’s effect on the institution that is now cinema.

deCordova’s introductory chapter gives an overview of the available academic literature on “stars” up to the date of the book’s original publication. His chapter “The Discourse of Acting” looks at the films that were made as a new form of photojournalism, showing political and society figures of the time, but shows that the emergence of the star, which he says cannot be located before 1907, emerges from “an explicitly fictional mode of film production” (p. 23). From the 1870s there was a star system in the American theatre which had propelled theatrical tours and, using the press and the expanding advertising industry, had made stars of, for instance, Ethel Barrymore, whose descendants are still involved in the film industry. It was on this theatrical and vaudeville basis that the film industry relied for its distribution initially, as between 1898 and 1907 many early films reproduced the work of star acts, theatrical and vaudeville, as well as playlets. These were soon dropped (even if many vaudeville acts later made feature films) when documentary events and so on proved more interesting to the audiences. Management of the theatres (vaudeville or “straight”) saw the movies as novelties that would attract an audience rather than as a revolution. deCordova questions whether the audience were actually paying to see “content” or to see the “marvellous workings of the machine.” He believed that they were paying to see both. After 1905, with the emergence of the nickelodeons in the USA, the film industry had its own dedicated distribution outlets and began in 1908 to regularize the relationships between production, distribution, and exhibition. By 1907, deCordova

suggests, a conservative estimate of 2,500 nickelodeons existed in America. These new outlets played a part in the move towards narrative cinema and away from the more documentary genre. Robert C. Allen has shown that in 1908 narrative examples increased from 17% to 66% of total industry output. The actual “performance” of the actors within the movies began to be considered from a theatrical model, “acting,” “performing,” or even “faking,” rather than the photographic models of “posing” or “modelling.” By today’s standards, however, as deCordova stated these films showed “little evidence to support acting’s association with art, expression, and interiority” (p/ 35)—they look, in fact, staged and overacted.

Space constraints here do not allow for a deep review of the painstaking work that deCordova uses to demonstrate the development of the “picture personality” and, later, “the star.” To demonstrate his thesis, he utilized fanzines and Hollywood industry sources. The “lurid fascination” that I mentioned earlier is dealt with in his chapter on Star Scandals (pp. 117-151), which considers a variety of scandals and how these assisted in the forming of the Hays Office in 1922 as an industry self-regulatory response to the censorship with which the industry had been threatened since at least 1909, when the Mayor of New York closed all cinemas and the National Board of Censorship was formed. As the industry fought various state and federal censorship moves, self-censorship was perhaps a pre-emptive move by them. One of Hays’ first moves was to ban all Fatty Arbuckle’s films in view of the scandal that surrounded the actor. Various “star-related scandals” had caused crisis in the industry. Arbuckle, who had been displayed as an upright citizen, was demonstrated to be a libertine, but one must consider that it was the industry that had put out the false information on various stars, only to have it disproved. Perhaps if they had not encouraged the original misinformation, the scandals would have been less damaging. By such misinformation the industry had perhaps set itself up for a fall. This chapter would be of interest to those who are now working in the developing area of scandal analysis.

The book is well-illustrated with period photographs and advertisements. Each chapter has its own notes and there is a comprehensive additional bibliography. The book has an extensive index.

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Elsaesser, Thomas and Warren Buckland. *Studying Contemporary American Film: A Guide To Movie Analysis.* London: Arnold and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. x, 320. ISBN13: 9780340762066, ISBN10: 0340762063 (pb.) \$35.00.

Studying Contemporary American Film: A Guide To Movie Analysis takes an easy-to-understand approach to film analysis by asking why engage in the analysis of contemporary film altogether, reviewing key historical approaches used to analyze the filmed image, and applying particular film theories through the analysis of the films *Chinatown*, *Die Hard*, *The Silence of the Lambs*, *Jurassic Park*, *The Lost World*, *Back to the Future*, *Lost Highway*, *The English Patient*, and *The Fifth Element*. The latter two films the authors claim are European imitations of American film making.

Before Elsaesser and Buckland go into the actual analysis, they first ask two questions that they use to mold and shape their work: What is the role of narrative in contemporary American cinema? and What is the relation between classical and contemporary American cinema? (p. 3). Also, Elsaesser and Buckland emphasize their belief that “a determinate link exists between theory, methods, and analysis; that is, that theory plays a role in developing methods and in conducting analyses of films” (p. 3). Elsaesser and Buckland begin by employing foundational textual analysis from a historical point of view by applying Aristotle’s work, *The Art of Rhetoric*, to film analysis. They state that Aristotle’s belief that the five stages of rhetoric, *inventio* (discovery), *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (committing to memory), and *pronuntiatio* (verbal delivery) are “the stages in which arguments are produced, arranged, and expressed in discourse” (p. 6), and that those analyzing films can use these rhetorical elements to understand the filmed text. Elsaesser and Buckland refer to key film theorists such as Christian Metz and David Bordwell in the process as well. Each subsequent chapter is an application of theoretical frameworks relative to film analysis, and the application of that theoretical framework to a particular film.

Chapter 2 looks at classical and post-classical narrative in the film *Die Hard* (1988) and argues that by looking at semiotics and semiology, as well as formalism, the critic can determine that the film possesses both classical and post-classical narrative elements. After defining and explaining classical and post-classical narrative, the authors concentrate on key parts of

the film that exemplify the aforementioned narrative elements. Semiology states that films for example, contain objects that are signs, and that the film maker assigns meaning to these signs that result in moving the film's narrative. By looking at the visual and sonic "signs" in the film that explain semiology, the authors make a convincing argument that the film contains elements that are actually detected in "classical" Hollywood films.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the application of mise-en-scene criticism and statistical style analysis to *The English Patient* (1997). Here, the authors use Adrian Martin's essay (1992) definition of mise-en-scene that explains the elements used in the film's frame, such as lighting, props, and actors as the way of explaining what the visual elements of the film represent. In Chapter 4, the authors concentrate on using thematic criticism and the *auteur* theory in analyzing *Chinatown* (1974). Thematic criticism has to do with the analysis of whether a film's theme is or is not effective. The *auteur* theory states that certain film makers are effective storytellers because of their ability to become "authors" of their film; those who puts such a personal stamp on their films make it clear that the audience knows it is their work through the recurring themes in all of their films, for example. The authors are effective at first explaining the method, regarding thematic criticism, then going into the thematic analysis. This, coupled with an explanation of how the *auteur* theory works, helps the reader because the reader understands what makes Roman Polanski the director stand out regarding his style as a film maker.

In Chapter 5, the authors apply post-structuralism to director Luc Besson's film *The Fifth Element* (1997). Post-structuralism as a theory states that there are elements in the filmic text that are present to the point that the viewer will "read" many kinds of different meanings that will come from the work. In the process, the viewer will make a decision regarding what the elements, known as codes, mean in the film. This works in analyzing the film, which is of the science fiction genre, and the authors refer to Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) as a way of showing how many science fiction movies about space travel usually employ the code of showing a large, lumbering spacecraft travel through space, for example. The authors explore the cognitive theory of narration in Chapter 6 by looking at director David Lynch's film *Lost Highway* (1997). Cognitive theory states that the act of a human being's "consciousness is the basis of their identity" (p. 169). Here, the authors state that

films' beginning sequences, for example, show only a part of what is really going on, and this usually takes place within the first several minutes of a film. At the same time, the authors successfully argue that this results in gaps that need to be filled throughout the film, gaps that are filled by the film maker before the end of the film. The authors show that not only do many films contain this example of narration; many films of the *suspense genre* contain these gaps. This results in a successful application of this theory, especially to the film that, like many others of the same genre, contains gaps that are filled later.

Film critic Andre Bazin's theory of realism and its application to Steven Spielberg's films *Jurassic Park* (1993) and *The Lost World* (1997) appears in Chapter 7. Realism in film is a style that utilizes deep focus cinematography and long takes of a shot without cuts in editing. Here, the authors equate realism in both films to Spielberg's application of computer animation. From the point of view of all of the aforementioned elements, the authors make a point that this style of film making, which first became popular by directors such as Jean Renoir and Stanley Kubrick, is not only used by Spielberg in both films; it is applied with the addition of realistic computerized special effects. Chapter 8 looks at Oedipal narratives in the film *Back To The Future* (1985). Here, the authors argue that the film's depiction of a mother who unknowingly falls in love with her son who travels 30 years back in time is actually a reverse example of Freud's Oedipus complex. Freud believed that every boy goes through a period of time in their childhood where they feel in competition with their father for their mother's love and attention. It is an interesting argument, and the authors believe that a reverse example, even unknowingly and possibly subconsciously is taking place in the film.

The final film the authors analyze is director Jonathan Demme's *The Silence of The Lambs* (1991); and here in Chapter 9 they apply feminist theory. The authors cite the work of Laura Mulvey for their argument stating that the Jodie Foster character of Agent Clarice Starling is a powerful and positive female presence in the film who slays the monster who is the serial killer Buffalo Bill, portrayed by Ted Levine. The authors effectively compare the narrative thematic elements and their relation to feminism to the female protagonists in other horror genre films such as Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1963) and John Carpenter's *Halloween* (1978). There is an emphasis on Clarice

Starling's strength, displayed by her tracking down and killing the killer.

Studying Contemporary American Film: A Guide To Movie Analysis takes various theories applied in film, and shows step-by-step analyses that educate the reader in the various ways a film can be analyzed and understood. The book has a bibliography (pp. 294-302) and an index.

—Patrick Stearns
Towson University

Evans, Jocelyn A. J. *Voters and Voting: An Introduction*. Thousand Oaks and London: Sage, 2004. Pp. xiii, 219. ISBN: 0-7619-4910-0 (pb.) \$34.95.

Voter participation in democracies around the world is declining. That phenomenon presents the predictable question asked during every election by media, teachers, researchers, and neighbors: why don't people vote? The common question is difficult to answer. It is also just one of the many questions that Jocelyn A. J. Evans's *Voters and Voting Behavior: An Introduction* addresses. Evans also lays out several others: What is voting? What influences voting? How do we study voting? Her purpose is not to answer these questions with *new* research, but instead to frame them within the context of the science of researching voters and voting.

The driving thesis of the book is that theoretical approaches to voters and voting attempt to explain or predict votes. In particular, Evans provides a history, theoretical overview, and research trajectory for the enterprise of scientifically studying voting behavior, an act she describes as one of the most distinctive activities in a democratic society, yet one that is as mundane as it is important. Among these aims, Evans also identifies the "educational motivation of the book" which is to make the study of voting accessible to students (p. 2). The introduction not only lays the ground work for the text, but introduces a section on social scientific methods for conducting voting studies. Evans introduces student readers to the nature of variables, linear studies, and group membership studies.

Though the book is not organized into sections, the nine chapters clearly follow a naturally sequential course. The introductory chapter is followed by a history of voting, and three chapters on foundational theoretical perspectives on voting. The history chapter provides a grounding of voting research in basic the-

ories (e.g., the Erie County voting studies and the Michigan socio-psychological model), even invoking Aristotle and Tocqueville. Evans identifies three advances that have dramatically changed voting research: the advent of survey research, the growth of statistical techniques, and the development of improved computer technology. Chapter 3 reviews social structure theories of voting. Evans describes these theories as undergirded by a focus on "the basic predispositions which are passed to us by our position in society" (p. 43). She also cites the early Columbia model that examined demographic indicators of voting as they relate to Republican or Democratic vote in the U.S. In contrast to social structure theories, rational choice theories of voting (Chapter 4) focus on individual characteristics of voting. Evans points out that this dominant paradigm in voting research operates from the major premise that "voters decide upon their course of electoral action on the basis of what they expect to get from it" (pp. 69-70). Such an approach is a much more pragmatic than ideological explanations for voter behavior.

Chapter 5 focuses on issue voting, the phenomenon based on elements related to policy or ideology (p. 93), and space—the "inference that voters are close to the parties for which they vote, and distant from those they shun" (p. 95). Spatial theories of voting attempt to identify how far individual voters may be from their espoused political parties regarding specific issues. The complexities of determining how party positions are arrived at, either by examining individual differences or larger populations of party positions, results in a lasting dilemma within this camp. Chapter 6 addresses the essential role of the economy in governmental policy-making. Evans opens the chapter by hypothesizing that the vote ought to reflect the quality of the economy in government—a weak economy should reflect a strong reaction against the government among voters; a strong economy should be rewarded by voters. Chapter 7 reviews studies to identify reasons for why people vote or do not vote and the implications for abstention. Such indicators occur at the micro level (e.g., ethnicity, gender, race, etc.) or the macro level (party system, electoral system, etc). Evans concludes the chapter with a review of strategies used to increase voting, such as compulsory voting and increasing the ease of voting.

The volume concludes with a chapter on voting change. Change in this case refers to voters changing their vote. Evans reviews previous theories to establish

basic reasons for why people may change their vote (e.g., party identification which often influences people to vote the same way, individual choices, etc.), and then elaborates on the concept of voter availability. Availability refers to voters who “have a predisposition to change their vote,” that is, the concept is at the heart of questions such as who “*might . . . [and] does change their vote?*” (italics Evans’) (p. 184). Studying voter change would depend on identifying *where* those who would change their vote can be found, the *breadth of choices* available to the voters who change their votes, and the *nature of the belief system* of those who would change their vote and those who would not, as pre-conditions for determining reasons for change.

The text seems to lie somewhere between a comprehensive overview of the study of voting and a classroom text. It provides a comprehensive review of the voting process useful in political science, communication, global studies, and social scientific methods classrooms. Yet, the book is distinguished from other texts used in these areas in that it places the voter at the center of the discussion. Evans acknowledges that the approach inherently excludes consideration of political campaigns, personalities of candidates which, therefore, could be considered a weakness. She rightly points out, however, that those factors, though significant, do not affect the uniqueness of the theories of voting; they stand alone.

Each chapter, with the exception of the introduction, curiously, includes a “Summary box” at the beginning of the chapter and a “Summary box” at the close. The opening box lays out the headings as they are about to come in the chapter, while the closing box is a series of bullet points that complete the phrase “you should now be able to . . .” Evans also uses a number of clear, hypothetical examples to illustrate theoretical principles, along with examples from many different countries for most theories. Each chapter includes notes, and the volume closes with a reference section and a combined author/subject index.

—Pete Bicak
Rockhurst University

Pacatte, Rose, FSP. *The Nativity Story: A Film Study Guide for Catholics.* Boston: Pauline Books & Media, 2006. Pp. iii, 27. ISBN 0-8198-5165-5 (pb.) \$4.95.

This brief study guide, published to complement the November release of *The Nativity Story*, provides

three approaches to the film—an individual or personal guide, a group study guide, and a “whole community catechesis approach” (p. 19). Judging that a film on the birth of Jesus will share the popularity of Mel Gibson’s *The Passion of the Christ*, Sr. Rose Pacatte, a well-known Catholic film critic and media educator, wants to prepare viewers to make the best of the film in their own journeys of faith.

Pacatte offers two introductions. The first explains just what a film study guide is and how people might make fruitful use of one. Most readers will recognize the first two approaches mentioned above (personal and group), so she offers more detail on the faith formation approach. It has five goals:

1. To create a setting where faith sharing can happen in freedom and respect for the dignity of each person . . .
2. To focus, through relevant questions, on aspects of the film that can help us realize how the movie was an encounter with the person of Christ . . .
3. To lead us to pray together for the community of faith . . .
4. To grow in faith through the shared faith experience of each person present.
5. To listen to the word, the film, and one another so as to identify how the voice of Christ is sending us forth to the community and the world today to make a difference, as Christ did. (p. 3)

The rest of the chapter suggests workable methods for each kind of study.

The second introduction presents the film itself, focusing particularly on the screenwriter, Mike Rich, and the back story. In this context, Pacatte also offers some basic information on the history of the period before the birth of Jesus. Because her interest lies in faith formation, she does not address the questions or conclusions of contemporary biblical scholarship. She does, however, mention that Rich did work with Raymond Brown’s *The Birth of the Messiah*.

After these introductions, the reader goes through personal study questions and methods of keeping a journal; group study questions, usually connected with one of five key themes (journeying, seeking, prayer, values and virtues, and story and symbols); and a whole community approach. This last section is the longest, with study questions for various ages, each tied to the particular lectionary readings for the Advent and Christmas season.

This short guide should prove a helpful resource for parish groups and families, especially if the film becomes widely available for repeated viewing on DVD.

The booklet concludes with a bibliography.

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Santa Clara University

Reece, Gregory L. *Elvis Religion: The Cult of the King*. London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006. Pp. 208. ISBN 1-8451-1256-3 (hb.) £39.50; 1-8451-1164-8 (pb.) £11.99.

While there may be a “lurid fascination” (Creekmur, qtd. in deCordova, 2001, p. viii) with stars, other fascinations develop. One has only to think of Diana, Princess of Wales, and the legends that have sprung up around her (she was killed by MI6, or she is still alive, for instance) to realize this. Perhaps the greatest examples of posthumous cults springing up around a star are those that have appeared relating to Elvis Presley, the poor boy from the South of the USA who made good. These cults were, of course, encouraged by his early death at the age of 42 in August, 1977. I have to confess that I am an Elvis fan—if not one of the most rabid. Presley was an innovator whose early records still have a raw energy that has appeal 50 years after their initial release.

Reece, although he says he knew about Elvis previously, began the quest that led to this book in 1991 when he met a woman in an accident and emergency room. She had moved to Memphis to be “with Elvis.” So much of a fan was this woman that she stated that the only good thing about the inevitable death of her mother was that she would be “in heaven with Elvis.” For Reece, the woman had moved from fandom to an almost religious belief in Presley.

Whether he knew it or not, Reece began to follow a path that led to the book and which considered art and artefacts that were more usually attached to the religious. He discovered that other writers had begun to see a cult of Elvis and in Chapter 1 examines the notion of Graceland, Presley’s Memphis, Tennessee house, as a shrine, backed up by a visit to the Heartbreak Hotel’s happy hour. In Chapter 2, he considers the Elvis impersonators—some of whom have no resemblance to Presley (in Britain, for instance, we have a well-known Chinese Elvis!), but whose appearances are tributes to the dead idol. From here, Reece moves on to look at “religious” images of Elvis and the following chapters

consider the contribution that Hollywood and written fiction have made to the Presley myth. Reece then analyses “outsider art” and the presence of Presley on the Internet and in the tabloids.

Not only is Elvis alive (according to the tabloids), but real religious organizations have been founded around his myth. While Reece underlines that many of these “churches” are formed with irony and humor, he states that, much to his surprise, “what they have to say is important and profound” (p. 153). The tabloid “sightings” about which he writes seem to show a yearning that the King will return, just as those who say Diana was not killed, but is alive somewhere, yearn for the return of their princess. What engenders this devotion?

In the case of Presley, he had a real talent and presence. He could put across a song like nobody else. He had both sex and entertainment appeal. Diana was an upper-class girl with, if we are to believe her school reports, little academic ability. She did only what any other woman of her class would be expected to do, even if at a higher level of profile. As Reece says, the reasons for Presley’s popularity are complex. It is understandable that we would remember the drop-dead-gorgeous Elvis of the beginning of his career, but impersonators tend to want to impersonate the jump-suited Elvis of the Las Vegas days, when many, even die-hard, fans believed that he had “sold out.” For Reece, Elvis’ appeal was based on the fact that he was a superstar, who stayed living in his own neighborhood and was a lot like you and me. Reece suggests that Elvis is indeed alive (p. 189), at least in terms of popular culture. He is now the subject of those films, plays, and books because he actually died. Would he have remained such a great star had he lived? We should perhaps think here of James Dean—forever an iconic presence due to his untimely death—would he have achieved the promise that his three films showed? We will never know.

Reece’s book is well-written and well-researched. It will not please everyone. For some, his irony and humor will seem offensive. For anyone interested in Elvis Presley and stars and fandom, this book is a must. It is also important for anyone interested in religion and how religions appear.

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Roush, Chris. *Show Me the Money: Writing Business and Economic Stories for Mass Communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., 2004. Pp. xiv, 435. ISBN 0-8058-4955-6 (pb.) \$49.95.

This text is best summarized as a resource designed to aid writers of business-related stories in understanding and comprehending what they are writing about—from reading a company’s financial statements to SEC filings. However, individuals pursuing a career in business, public relations, and organizational development should not overlook this well-organized book. In short, prospective business writers, seasoned journalists, and those who work in or with businesses may be well served by the contextualizing, information-gathering, and business beats content in this text.

Contextualizing Content

There are many strong components to this book. The first category is best summarized by the phrase “contextualizing content.” This content truly explains the many facets of business. First, the *glossary* is an excellent starting point to understand basic terminology used in the world of business. The accessible definitions help novices to get a clear understanding of the differences between public and private companies, the different types of financial statements and forms common to the business industry, as well as the different state and federal agencies that regulate business. The glossary is not relegated only to the back of the book—each chapter also includes a glossary.

Second, seven of the 15 chapters provide different levels of information. Chapter 5 titled “Writing Company News” discusses many levels of newsworthy events that may require coverage. Topics include (1) corporate events that public companies are required to disclose using the 8-K filing, (2) executive and board member resignations, (3) a company and its accounting firms, especially the difference between internal and outsourced business functions, and (4) types of counsel maintained by a company. Such information also is valuable to internal writers such as public relations specialists who may need to accurately release such information to the business writers. Chapter 6 titled “Mergers and Acquisitions” covers the topic thoroughly by providing information as to why companies buy each other, common ways buy-outs are funded, how to

locate negotiation details of good and bad deals, and common questions that should be answered when covering mergers and acquisitions.

Chapter 7 clearly unravels Wall Street and Initial Public Offerings (IPOs)—“the first sale of stock by a private company to the public” (p. 414). The content in this chapter ranges from the definition of Wall Street, to at-length details about stocks and bonds, the sell-side and buy-side analysts and the S-1 and F-1 statements. Chapter 8 titled “The Executive Suite” provides a detailed discussion of corporate organizational charts, board members, and inside trading. The information is rich in detail. Information addressed specifically for mass communication writers include how to write CEO profiles as well as how to write stories related to salaries, bonuses, and stock options. Chapter 9 provides an overview of private and small companies. Roush does an extraordinary job of explaining how such companies are a “vital part of local economies” (p. 218). In addition, ownership and structure are discussed as well as public records of private companies and Uniform Commercial Code (UCC) filings. The writing of profiles also is discussed for the beginning business writer. Chapter 10 focuses on nonprofit organizations, which are a significant part of the business world. According to the author, “there are more than 1.3 million entities in this country that are classified as nonprofit organizations by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS)” (p. 243). The chapter content ranges from foundations to health organizations and YMCAs. It also provides a useful discussion about Form 990.

The contextualizing content would not be complete without the regulatory environment in which all businesses operate. Chapter 14 titled “State and Federal Regulatory Agencies” provides extensive discussion about (a) insurance and banking regulators, (b) health care regulation, (c) water and power utilities, (d) consumer product safety, (d) the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and Food and Drug Administration (FDA), (e) workplace regulations, and of course, (f) the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). This chapter is rich in detail. The content will have readers focused on developing an understanding of businesses and not just “how -to” tips to write a coherent story.

Information Gathering

The second category of content in this book may be best summarized as “information-gathering” content. Chapter 2 titled “Building a Foundation” provides understanding of how to gather information about pri-

vate and public companies, gathering information about the terminology an average reader may not understand such as adjustable mortgage or off-balance-sheet financing. Since business writers must write for educated and uneducated audiences they are provided with 10 tips for newcomers to business coverage. The beginning writer is also introduced to how to gather information about business journalism ethics and labor and consumer issues. Chapter 3 deals with economics. Economics stories require a unique understanding of how to gather information about the Federal Reserve Bank, unemployment rates, auto and home sales, international trade, and consumer confidence. Chapter 4, titled the "Basics of Company Financial Reporting," provides information on how to gather information about the financial health of an organization, how to gather information on income statements and balance sheets, as well as how to read annual reports and proxy statements. The business writer is also introduced to how to write the earnings story.

Chapter 15 offers a useful discussion of how to find information on the Internet. Roush is clear in helping readers understand the importance of analyzing the reliability of websites. In addition, readers are introduced to a list of widely known and widely used sites by working reporters when they gather information about business and economic topics and issues (p. 386). The types of websites include (1) general business news sites, (2) basic journalism websites, (3) economic data and resources, (4) business-related sites, (5) industry and sector information, (6) Wall Street, (7) regulatory information, (8) consumer and labor-related sites, (9) legal information, (10) real estate, and (11) nonprofit organizations. These chapters would be very useful on any unit of information gathering for mass communication.

Business Beats

Although business writers may have to write earnings stories and different types of profile stories, there are some beats that always require special attention like real estate, the courthouse, and bankruptcy. Thus, the final category of content deals with these business beats. Chapter 11 deals with the courthouse. Specifically the chapter discusses issues such as why businesses sue each other, the different court systems and business litigation—from shareholder, regulatory, and consumer lawsuits to employee-related lawsuits. Chapter 12 goes into extensive detail about bankruptcy such as the differences of the various court filings (Chapter 13, 11, and 7 court filings) and personal bank-

ruptcy. Chapter 13 titled "Writing about Real Estate" is an extensive chapter providing details about real estate transactions, zoning and planning departments, property deeds, and tax assessments. Although there are many other ways business beats can be divided such as personal finance and new businesses, Roush sticks true to the goal of helping readers understand and comprehend the world of business.

Roush does a great job of explaining why such a book has been organized with this type of content. In Chapter 1 titled "Why Business Reporting is Important," Roush addresses reasons such as the need to have knowledge about Corporate America and how business and the coverage of it have changed our lives. Throughout the book, Roush does an excellent job of providing an overview of the context of business and the different levels of information gathering that is needed to write within the business, financial, and economic beats.

Each chapter also includes references, "other books" reading recommendations, and suggested exercises. The book will make a valued textbook for beginning, advanced, and practicing journalism students. In addition, it may increase the knowledge of media readers and listeners of all kinds as well as other industry professionals who operate in the world of business. This text is strongly encouraged for any field that requires an understanding of businesses.

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Wooffitt, Robin. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction.* London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005. Pp. 248. ISBN 0-7619-7425-3 (hbk.) \$78.95; 0-7619-7426-1 (pb.) \$39.95.

When one teaches undergraduate students discourse or conversational analysis, there are some who immediately grasp the concepts and methodologies with which the classes deal, and there are others who look at one blankly. While I suppose this may be true of many areas in the study of the media, I have found it particularly noticeable in these classes. For some students, their main question is always, "What's the point?" However much one explains and gives examples of the importance of the ability to analyze what is said to us and how discourses develop, however much one points to the ways in which we use such analyses

in our everyday lives, some always see such analyses as a waste of time.

Wooffitt, who is a senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of York, United Kingdom, writes this book with three objectives:

- To introduce conversational analysis (CA)
- To introduce discourse analysis (DA)
- To demonstrate how these methodologies have implications for the ways in which we understand social interactions and the roles of both discourse and conversational analysis in our everyday lives, by making a case for conversational analysis' power and scope.

As I mentioned above, if Wooffitt manages this feat, this book is a very useful addition to the literature in the area. Not only does he consider verbal interactions and discourse, but also discursive and rhetorical psychology, speech act theory, critical discourse analysis, and "Foucauldian forms of discourse analysis, or the analysis of discourses" (p. 1). He, as I, has found that this plethora of methodologies serves to confuse the student further and so he tries to unpack the ways in which discourse and conversation analyses differ; whether critical discourse is the same as Foucauldian discourse analysis; if the variety of approaches used really study the same thing, but in different ways or, alternatively whether the assumptions from which these methodological means derive actually indicate that there is a radical difference in how such enquiries are formulated. Additionally, Wooffitt gives an overview of existing literature, including a historical account of Sacks' (generally considered the founding father of CA) first attempts at the study of CA and work on DA that has followed on Gilbert and Mulkay's 1984 initial study.

Unusually in an academic book, Wooffitt is open about his partiality for CA and what he believes are its advantages over other methodologies, while also acknowledging that other methodologies show "committed, creative, and thought-provoking research" (p. 2). He strongly believes that CA allows us a means of analyzing language in a way that is both sophisticated and robust. The author also acknowledges the difficulties in writing such a book which, while attempting to be objective and impartial, wishes to develop an argument that reflects his own methodological preference for CA.

This three-part book supposes no prior knowledge and is thus an excellent book to use with undergraduate students or those postgraduates who wish to develop their knowledge in another field. It would also

appeal to the academic who needs an overview, written in a sympathetic manner, in order to begin to teach such analysis (for we all sometimes have to move to fields outside our own specialty area). The first four chapters, therefore, introduce students to CA and how it has changed the ways in which we understand how people interact in conversation. It is in these chapters that the historical dimension of the development of this area of the discipline is outlined. The interdisciplinary nature of CA is also demonstrated, and the developments in CA and DA are compared and discussed. Both CA and DA, Wooffitt suggests, can be seen as radical developments in the social sciences. His fifth and sixth chapters summarize the two foci of DA research since it surfaced from social psychology. Here he considers how language can be utilized in the production of factual, authoritative accounts and how, from discursive psychology, vocabulary has been used in a psychological manner, setting up mental and cognitive attributes as social and interactional activities of discourse.

His seventh chapter makes a departure from DA to critical DA and to the methodologies of Foucault. Here, he attempts to link Foucault's DA and Potter and Wetherell's (1987) discourse analysis while showing the differences he perceives between CA research and the methodologies and assumptions inherent to the more critical of DA studies. He also outlines some of the main criticisms of the methodologies and social interaction perspectives of CA.

In his final chapters, he considers the relative strengths of the two methodologies and suggests that they are too restrictive and should be utilized with the addition of post-structuralist work on discourses and on the positioning of subjects. CA, he further suggests, cannot address issues which motivate more traditional social science methodologies, for instance the working of power and injustice in social interactions. He argues that those who criticize CA use unsatisfactory practices in methodology that give no benefit to analysis and he attempts to show that the depth of CA's possibilities has meant that such a methodology has an appeal to some of those researchers who would not have used its benefits, but who realized that its fundamental concerns with power and expression make it an attractive tool for their own analyses.

As with many books, this is the work of an enthusiast. Its provision of useful background material and of exemplars in the final chapters, make it a really useful book for anyone interested in either CA or DA. The summaries at the end of each chapter, the extensive

bibliography and index and the table of transcription symbols that it gives, make it doubly useful. From the media studies' viewpoint, it might have considered some of the work on the analysis of broadcast talk (e.g. Scannell, 1996, 1991). As the work has such a wide scope, I would suggest that it would appeal to researchers and students in many disciplines.

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Wright, Melanie, J. *Religion and Film: An Introduction*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007. Pp. 256. ISBN 1-8504-3886-2 (pb.). £14.99.

In 2006 one of the major stories worldwide was the opening of the film *The Da Vinci Code* (Dir. Ron Brown), a film taken from the worldwide bestseller written by Dan Brown. The book had also caused controversy, although its story seems in part to have been based on a book written more than 20 years earlier as a work of history (Baigent, Leigh, & Lincoln, 1982) from which a tv documentary was made. This book was later discredited when it was discovered to have been based on a hoax. This was not the first film that had a religious theme to have caused controversy, Scorsese's 1988 film, *The Last Temptation of Christ*; Monty Python's (1979, Dir. Terry Jones) *The Life of Brian*; Mel Gibson's (2004) *The Passion of the Christ* are films that immediately spring to mind. Why do such films have such power to move people (who have often not seen the film and, in some cases, may never see the film) to protest or, as in the case of the Gibson

film, to encourage people to go to see it? Either way, the films tend to get a lot of free publicity which tends to increase their audience. While we are always being told in the West that we live in more secular times, those with religious belief feel that their faith is central to their being and so a film that undermines their belief is to be avoided or discouraged, while one that encourages that faith is to be lauded.

Melanie Wright, who is the Academic Director of the Centre for the Study of Jewish-Christian Relations and is a Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, has written several books on religious themes and this is her latest. As the cover notes of her book point out, film has been used extensively to cover religious topics. As early as 1896, the Lumière Brothers company were filming religious events, such as the Coronation of the Russian Tsar, Nicholas II, or a short film on Pope Leo XIII. When films were silent, the stories that everyone knew, Bible stories for instance, were obvious narratives to use. Wright suggests that "religious films" have too often been critiqued from confessional perspectives and the question of textual fidelity, or the film's world view, or its use for ministry or mission purposes. Here she tries to move towards changing this by arguing for a holistic approach (which she believes has been lacking), utilizing work from cultural studies and religious studies as well as from the field of film studies. From an economic point of view, film is important. 65 million people every week go to see a film in India, the country which produces more feature films than any other, including the Hollywood film industry. For the first time last year, the income from Indian films outside India was greater than the income inside India, partly because of the Indian diaspora, but also because of the increasing popularity of Bollywood movies outside the subcontinent and because ticket prices are higher outside India than inside. In 2002, there were 176 million admissions to cinemas in the UK (p. 1), about half of the per capita number of admissions to cinemas in the United States. When one considers also DVD and video sales and tv transmission, the importance of the medium becomes evident.

Perhaps one of Wright's achievements here is that she considers films from all confessional groups and from many countries. Film is a way of showing the invisible, of embodying the divine. As Wright points out, film can "assume a sacramental quality" (p. 4). Many, particularly in the "chattering classes" in the cynical West, are almost scared of the portrayal of religion but, as Wright shows in Chapter 8, Vijay Sharma's (1975) *Jai*

Santoshi Maa caused audiences to respond with acts of devotion. There is a need there that many confessional groups do not face in a professional way. Too often, the media products of these groups seem amateurish in comparison with the media to which the audience is now used. It is here, I believe, that religious groups could learn from the professionals. Whether one liked or hated Gibson's *Passion*, it was a professional product that filled cinemas, caused discussion, created a discourse, in a way that no other product that I can think of has done in the West, except perhaps for the funeral of John Paul II, which was transmitted to over 220 countries using images from the Centro Televisivo Vaticano.

The first section of Wright's book considers the approach she uses to interpret the religious films with which she deals. She points to some of the trends in analysis of such films and the differences accorded by those coming from different sectors of the academic world. She believes that in writings on religion and film, many basic issues are still not being addressed sufficiently well. In my own case, I feel that a good definition of what exactly a "religious film" is would be a good start. There are many films that are not overtly "religious" but which deal with religious topics—are these religious films or not? Where does religion converge with ethics, for instance?

Moving from the more theoretical chapters, Wright makes detailed analysis of particular films. All of these are available on DVD/video as she believes that our relationship with film is now enhanced by our home viewing, reviewing, and continuing for years to view favorite films. It also, as I have discovered, makes the film analysis much easier.

As I mentioned above, all of the films discussed here have religion as either a dominant or significant feature. Just as in the point I made above, she adds that it is virtually impossible "to conceive of a narrative film devoid of *any* trace of the religious impulses that underpin the cultural construction of feelings, institutions, relationships, and so on" (p. 7). Wright wisely notes that it is impossible to be truly comprehensive in regard to the films that she discusses, but she has included big Hollywood studio movies, art (or Second Cinema) movies, and those from the "Third Cinema," ones that are independently made and have a political content and practice. Films treated vary from Dreyer's 1928 *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, through the cult movie *The Wicker Man* (Hardy, 1973), which has recently been remade starring Nicholas Cage, de Mille's (1956) *The Ten Commandments*; Udayan

Prasad's 1997 British film, *My Son the Fanatic*, Edward Norton's (2000) comedy *Keeping the Faith*, to the extremely popular Indian film *Lagaan* (2001), amongst many others. As always when reading such a book, there are always other films that come to mind that one feels might have been included, but there are limits to what one can address in a single book.

Melanie Wright is to be congratulated on producing this interesting book which covers so much in its 203 pages. It has extensive notes and a bibliography which would be useful to anyone embarking on, or continuing with, work in this area. While the book will appeal to students, I would suggest that it might also have appeal outside the academic community (if, as she suggests, they drop the first two theoretical chapters) and might be particularly useful to those who use film as a medium of instruction. Taking note of some of the contents on these professional films would also be very useful to those in confessional groups who are, or are considering, producing their own filmed materials.

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Letter to the Editor

Editor:

The review of my book [*The Playful Audience*, Vol. 25, no. 3] which you publish would be simply silly if it were not seriously misleading. It omits the volume's entire argument (set out in the first three chapters) that it seeks not to oppose one form of communications theory to another, but to integrate "mainstream" theory. Its multiple points of empirical reference which are part of this argument are simply ignored. The reviewer seems to have sampled half a dozen pages. Short paragraphs aid comprehension by student readers: the volume was two years+ in printing, hence the out of date bibliography. Under these circumstances, I ask to set the record straight, or at least adjust it a little more accurately.

Tony Wilson

