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Pervasive Entertainment, Ubiquitous Entertainment

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Pervasive Entertainment, Ubiquitous Entertainment

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1. Introduction

“Never before in history has so much entertainment been so readily accessible to so many people for so much of their leisure time” (Singhal & Rogers, 2002, p. 119). Media entertainment, now decentralized and omnipresent in our lives, has transformed our society into a hedonist one. We have more technical opportunities to enjoy entertainment, but we also see that entertainment has grown and affects more and more diverse areas such as sports, politics, information, and education. As long ago as 1985 Postman pointed out that television made entertainment itself the natural format for the representation of all experience. Following his prophecy, public discourse had already begun to degenerate into entertainment. The main suspect was television that like King Midas had the talent to convert everything it came in touch with into something particular. King Midas received the gift that whatever he touched immediately converted into gold. The gift carried a price and a problem—he could not eat the bread that had become gold when he took it in his hand. Television—and its viewers—on the other hand suffer from the gift that whatever television deals with becomes entertainment. As a consequence of this inevitable conversion, politics, religion, news, sports, education, and economy become appendices of show business as soon as television looks after them. Postman (1985) wrote in a highly descriptive way and did not take into account much empirical research arising from

the large field of social sciences. Some 24 years later one must admit the accuracy of his description of the symptoms, both then and now. We will discuss the degree of accuracy of his diagnosis in regard to the consequences of such a development later in this essay.

The trend to present “all subject matter as entertaining” stems from a changed manner of processing information by individual recipients. More precisely, the individual experience controls or determines entertainment, not the product. Wolf (1999) sees an enormous appetite for entertainment content, something to connect people emotionally with products, something to provide human beings with information in a stimulating way. Entertainment has become the unifying force of modern commerce as pervasive as currency.

Based on the assumptions that entertainment affects people deeply and that humans have a need for living in a hedonist society, this review will focus on how entertainment has achieved a ubiquitous presence in our everyday lives. It explores the omnipresence of entertainment and describes the symbiotic relationship between entertainment and information, entertainment and sports, entertainment and politics, entertainment and charity, and other similar relations. It describes the way media entertainment has deformed our (media) society into a hedonist society and vice versa, and it discusses the positive and negative aspects of the pervasive entertainment phenomena.

2. Theoretical Approach: Infotainment

A. Entertainment

We define entertainment, in its broadest sense, as any situation or activity from which a person derives pleasure. Entertainment appears mostly in situations where recipients receive exogenous stimuli in a large-

ly passive way (Brock & Livingston, 2004, p. 257). Based on empirical and theoretical research, we describe the experience of being entertained or of enjoying entertainment in the following way (Bosshart & Macconi, 1998, p. 4):

Thomas Aquinas Passiones sunt delectationes	Thomas Hausmanninger Entertainment is a pleasure of:
Sensibilis	The Senses: The use of physical abilities; competences of using the body, experiencing (the display of) motor and sensual activity
Emotionalis	(Ego-) Emotions: Evoking and experiencing emotions: “Mood management: using entertainment to full advantage” (Zillmann, 1988, p. 147)
Cognitionis	Wit/knowledge: Cognitive, intellectual powers, competences of being able to use one’s wit
Reflexiva	(Socio-) Emotions: Feel with others and feel for others: identification and empathy

Table 1: Categories of pleasure in entertainment

- Psychological relaxation (restful, refreshing, light, and/or distracting)
- Change and diversion (varied, diverse)
- Stimulation (dynamic, interesting, exciting, and/or thrilling)
- Fun (merry, amusing, funny)
- Atmosphere (beautiful, good, pleasant, and/or comfortable)
- Joy (happy, cheerful)

These experiences are indeed pleasant and positive ones, distinct from everyday routines and boredom. Entertainment in the sense of the Latin word *tenere* means to keep somebody steady, busy, or amused. In today’s words entertainment serves the improvement of mood states or, more neutrally, acts as an effective mood management tool.

Stimulation seems to provide the most important motive for entertainment-seeking individuals. Their main goal is to reach or maintain an ideal level of arousal or an optimal level of activation. Different genres offer stimuli of different strengths to people with different entertainment needs. While some people eagerly want to get an arousal kick out of entertainment stimuli, others tend to want to lower their excitation level, and still other people try to maintain their existing state of satisfaction. Entertainment allows regulating different states of excitation.

In order to examine the ubiquitous phenomenon of entertainment we have to look at two sides: at the pleasurable experiences and at the stimuli those experiences use to create pleasure. Despite the fact that

many things can be entertaining for many people, some things are not entertaining at all.

After all, entertainment is pleasure, and that means experiencing pleasure by witnessing or being exposed to something! Taking up the terminology used by Thomas Aquinas in his reflections on the passions and following Hausmanninger’s “Outlines of a Constructive Theory of Entertainment” (1993, p. 34), we categorize pleasure as consisting of four sub-categories, as shown in Table 1.

Since *delectationes sensibiles et emotionales* mostly come together in psychosomatic reactions, we can break the above categorization down in three sub-systems based on the human systems:

Physical System	materiality, existence (being there)
Psychological System	personality (emotions and cognitions), (being thus)
Social System	sociality, coexistence, society (being with)

It may appear schematic to associate with the sub-systems of the human system the genres and concepts of entertainment (its constituents and functions). Such associations serve only as preliminary examples to an analysis of further dimensions.

Taking the associations that go with the term entertainment, taking the main constituents of entertainment, and taking the basic elements of the defini-

tions of what (probably) constitutes entertainment, the basic factors of the term “entertainment” show the following profile:

- Factor 1: “assessment.” Items: pleasant, agreeable, good, beautiful, enjoyable
- Factor 2: “potential.” Items: light, restful, easy, not demanding, not compulsory
- Factor 3: “activity.” Items: stimulating, dynamic, alive, exciting, thrilling, spontaneous, varied

So entertainment has basically active (stimulation, suspense), tension reducing (relaxation, diversity), and positive (joy, pleasure) components. Put negatively, entertainment is not demanding, not unpleasant, not monotonous, and not boring. People also experience entertainment as something that compares more positively to any other alternatives.

Constructed to the idiosyncrasies of various human systems, entertainment thus appears as a ubiquitous every-day phenomenon that crosses public and private spheres, past experiences and future concepts, and real actions and fictional models. If one considers the maintenance of a comfortable equilibrium of excitement as an important function of entertainment, then one must also say that the extent of the need for entertainment varies individually. It varies with the age, gender, education, intelligence, psychological state, social situation, and so on of each individual. Various factors make different grades of need, satisfied by different offers and reception patterns. Interaction between the supply and the receiver situation brings about an extraordinarily large number of possibilities, sometimes even in contradictory ways. But people

have this in common: They are imperfect beings, looking for absoluteness.

On the basis of the imperfect human system and its needs, we can construct multidimensional fields of tension in which we can position entertainment as a human reality. On the whole, and as a summary of the argument so far, the main dimensions (and oppositions) constituting entertainment appear in Table 2.

We can understand entertainment as a working out of a balance (or a homeostatic state) between dichotomous options—between hope and fear, freedom and limits, play and serious behavior. In this sense, entertainment serves as a survival kit for daily life that makes it livable; it serves as a vehicle in finding a fit with the environment. Entertainment reduces the gap between reality and utopia (in our minds); it allows us to live with contradictions, inconsistencies, and inadequacies; and it offers venues for self-directed self-experiences, self-enhancement as well as self-fulfillment or self-realization. From this point of view, entertainment sustains humans. It reduces the accidental nature of life by offering exemplary (or perhaps even absolute) models. The essential goal of human entertainment therefore may be to establish or sustain balances between different fields or states of existential tensions, primarily maintaining a balance between reality and utopia. Two of the taken-for-granted descriptions of entertainment, as “escape” and as “wish-fulfillment,” point to its central thrust, namely utopianism.

Entertainment offers the image of ‘something better’ to escape into, or something we want

Reality-based extremes of the human system	Utopia-based extremes of the human system
reality chance, coincidence risk seriousness limits, rules fears anxiety chaos conflict, discord obligations exhaustion boredom monotony	imagination eschatology security play freedom hopes wishes structure harmony, concord liberty energy excitement variety

Table 2: Dualisms of human entertainment

deeply that our day-to-day lives don't provide. Alternatives, hopes, wishes—these are the stuff of utopia, the sense that things could be better, that something other than what is can be imagined and maybe realized. (Dyer, 1992, p. 18)

B. Information

Information, on the other hand, is a difference that makes a difference. This definition of the concept of information elaborated by Gregory Bateson (1981) and promulgated by Niklas Luhmann (1996, p. 100) contains in a few words the main elements of information: news, relevance, correctness. News means that information must enlarge our body of knowledge or, the other way round, must reduce uncertainty. In information theory information is a measure of uncertainty or entropy in a situation. We understand "situation" as a system of circumstances (factors) in a given time. Our everyday life constantly moves from one situation to another, all linked together. The history of humankind describes how people tried to remove unpredictability and uncertainty from their lives. People did it by accumulating personal and social experiences, that is, by learning. People did it with the help of laws (rules that regulate or channel the behavior of members of a social body), cultures (value systems and beliefs that structure society), and religions (to cover the area between reality and transcendence) that make sense. Fortune-tellers say that they remove uncertainty from the future. In every situation people try to overcome uncertainty, to gain insight, to get as many things as possible under control, to solve problems and to make a good living.

Information has utility not only for what we think, feel, and do. It should also apply to our lives. This utility-principle of information highlights its relevance. The news-, utility-, and relevance-potential of information to reduce uncertainty, to solve problems, to answer questions can only be put in concrete form as long as the information is correct.

For ages public and academic discourse strictly separated entertainment and information. People dissociated themselves from simple, vulgar amusements; scholars judged entertainment as not worth academic research. But things have changed in the meantime. Now we understand that we cannot separate information and entertainment, that they both form a profound and intimate, amalgamated, integrated whole. And we now recognize that mass mediated entertainment mat-

ters as much as information. This goes not only for the producers and the product but also for the audience. Dehm and Storll (2003, p. 429) established a list of the main motives for watching television, that is, experiences people look for when they watch television.

- Emotions (fun, relaxation, tension, diversion)
- Orientation (inspiration, new information, opportunity to learn, topics to discuss)
- Compensation (calm, reassurance, distraction)
- Social event (feelings of belongingness, sharing an interest)

C. Infotainment

It does not take much time or energy to realize that these motives form a symbiosis, with the components of information and entertainment. About 20 years ago the term to denote that symbiosis appeared in popular culture: "infotainment." This refers to media products that inform people as well as entertain them. Content and form combine elements of information and entertainment. Despite the recency of the neologism, "infotainment," the phenomenon as such has ancient roots. Aristotle wrote in the 22nd chapter of his *Poetics* (1966, pp. 67) that good language is clear but not ordinary. For Aristotle the language becomes important where actions, persons, or ideas cannot alone absorb the attention of the audience and yield to stimulating elements. Aristotle points out the main issues: the proportions of the mixture, the interaction between information and entertainment, form and content. For Quintus Horatius Flaccus (*De arte poetica*, verses 333f.) literature has the two main goals of instruction and delight: "aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae" (Poetry shall instruct and please, create communication pleasures and combine what is agreeable and useful for our life).

Infotainment, then, seems quite normal in different processes of human communication. It means the transfer of information in a pleasant way. Infotainment means the combination of stimulating information (cognition) and arousing entertainment (emotion). We all find it more agreeable to listen to a witty speaker than to a boring one. Good teachers know when they have to insert a joke to keep the attention of the students.

We see the success of infotainment in how it pervades nearly every area of public life. Here is a list of the main combinations, which shows that nearly everything can entertain:

- Advertainment (advertising and entertainment)
- Branded Entertainment
- Charitainment (Charity and entertainment)
- Computainment (computer entertainment)
- Crititainment (criticism and entertainment)
- Digitainment (digital entertainment)
- Docutainment (documentary and entertainment)
- Eduainment (education and entertainment)
- Evangelitainment (evangelism/religion and entertainment)
- Infotainment (Information and entertainment)
- Internetainment (Internet entertainment)
- Iuristainment (law and entertainment)
- Militainment (military and entertainment)
- Newstainment (news and entertainment)
- Politainment / Confrontainment (politics and entertainment)
- Preventainment (prevention/health care and entertainment)
- Scientainment (Science and entertainment)
- Sportainment (sports and entertainment)

As noted earlier, the phenomenon of amalgating information with entertainment or vice versa has occurred for centuries. The changing environment of the media demonstrates that media functions still package bundles of interacting variables. (See Figure 1.)

This figure presents our view of an ongoing blurring of boundaries between information and entertainment. It further shows the difficulty of distinguishing between information and entertainment. The following sections in this review provide an overview of the main combinations of entertainment and information.

3. *Advertainment*: Advertising and Entertainment

A synonym for *Advertainment*, *Branded Entertainment*, means the promotion of a brand. This promotion features the brand as a protagonist in an entertaining context. In *Advertainment* or *Branded Entertainment* formats, producers integrate brands in a narrative, making it essential for the further development of the plot (Schmalz, 2007, p. 125). *Advertainment* and *Branded Entertainment* offer constructions of lifestyles in which brands appear smoothly embedded in attractive, inconspicuous, symbolic, fictional worlds; they help to create social cohesion as well as homogenous peer groups, that is, clearly defined target audiences. Such a *mise en scene* aims to

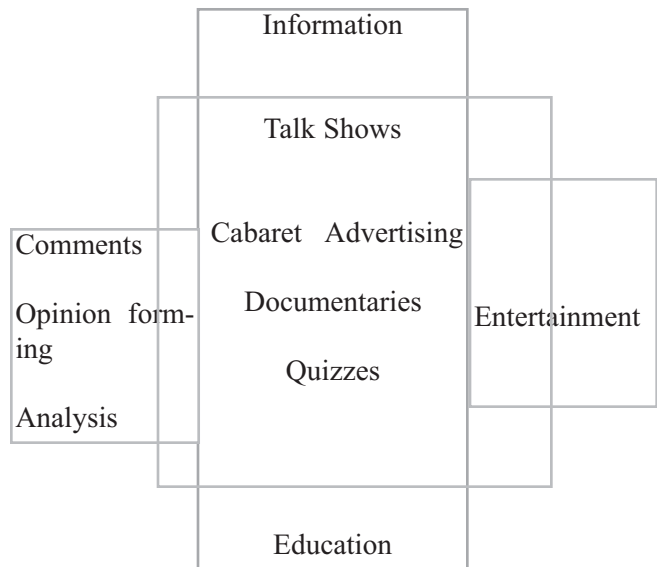


Figure 1: Overlapping functions of mass entertainment

An intense examination of this topic also shows that we cannot exclude one form of entertainment from another. For example, war results from a political conflict which, if presented in an entertaining form, we can describe as either *militainment* or *politainment* or even *infotainment* depending on the way a news report frames the story. Therefore we must keep in mind that each of the forms distinguished in this overview influences the others and interconnects with the others. Entertainment is pervasive in every area of public and private life. The following examples shall give an impression of what *infotainment* in selected spheres can mean.

catch the attention of a well defined audience. *Branded entertainment* combines two goals. It wants to entertain an audience and it wants to position a brand in a sphere covered by mass media, that is, in strong channels of mass distribution. *Branded Entertainment*, then, means neither product placement, nor sponsoring, nor public relations. *Branded Entertainment* claims to create an added value for the brand, the medium, and the consumers who pay attention to a new format as long as they are informed, amused, and entertained. These consumers encounter the brand via movies, music, fashion, lifestyle magazines, or different genres in the field of popular culture (see Fowles, 1996).

Advertainment and *Branded entertainment* catch the attention of audiences, that is, of consumers. The fight for that very rare economic good became necessary because contemporary, developed, and industrialized societies suffer from a tremendous information overload. So, as long as the target audience pays attention to the commercial message, it gets the benefit of amusement and entertainment. Positive commercial messages are well received, understood, and stored as long as they show up with the entertaining stimulus of activation. Advertisers can accomplish this with an arousal kick, with an aesthetically sophisticated appearance, with emotional stimulation, with romantic, erotic or sexual attributes, with humor, or with intellectual wit. *Advertainment* and *Branded entertainment* demand a tight cooperation of advertisers and entertainers. Kretchmer puts it this way:

The successful union of advertising and broadcasting that began in the 1920s generated an industry where advertising flourishes as entertainment, with lavish budgets, impressive talents, and its own version of the Emmy and Oscar awards. At the same time, from the culture and celebrity of salesmanship to the pervasive aura of product consciousness to the staccato, fragmented style that echoes clusters of commercials, entertainment has become advertising. (2004, p. 43)

And in the words of Moss, shopping can also be seen as an “entertainment experience” (2007). The main goal of branded entertainment is consumerism. It indicates an attitude that seeks to influence people by creating a consumer friendly atmosphere.

4. *Charitainment*: Charity and Entertainment, Celebrity Advocacy

TIME magazine nominated 2005 as the year of *charitainment* (Poniewozik, 2005). At that moment, the symbiotic relationship between charity and entertainment became clearer than ever before. Celebrities received huge attention in the entertainment media because of their charity activities. Bono and Bob Geldof organized the Live Aid concerts. “So effective was the mass action that it announced the arrival of rock stars and other celebrities in global politics” (Cashmore, 2006, p. 219). Actress and Oscar winner Angelina Jolie spoke about Sierra Leone and child soldiers on benefit dinners; Sharon Stone and Tom Hanks asked the world to join the fight against AIDS; George Clooney, Michael Douglas, and Charlize Theron committed themselves as UN Messengers of Peace. The question in this content is: “If celebrities can sell material goods as part of public relations or endorsement campaigns, can they not expand on their status and sell ideas in a sense of commitment on an issues-specific basis?” (Cooper, 2008, p. 10).

The huge amount of donations from celebrities today expands every year. As reported in *People* magazine, *The Giving Back Fund* compiled a list of celebrities who made the largest personal public donations to charity in 2006. Talk master Oprah Winfrey heads the table. She donated or pledged over \$58,300,000 to different groups (www.givingback.org). It seems as if

fame is a superpower that allows celebrities to save the world with money. And this leads to these interesting questions about the phenomenon: Why does it draw the rest of the world’s attention? Why do people and celebrities donate money to people they don’t even know? Different scientific approaches offer explanations. This section tries to answer the following questions: Which needs do people want to satisfy by witnessing such events in front of the TV screen? What feelings moderate the state of being entertained while at the same time being exposed to scenes of widespread poverty?

First, *charitainment* actions offer a platform for, and visualization of, the specific needs of poor people. Visibility becomes the watchword for today’s organizations, because people are *overnewsed*; entertainment media try to catch the public’s attention with celebrity’s filters. Those have an affective impact because the personalized messages involve emotions which trigger empathy through what people witness. Empathy functions as a motor that mobilizes the public to donate because people identify with ill or poor people’s basic requirements. The process of identification and empathy can help in satisfying needs. Here we call attention to Maslow’s needs pyramid, which he developed to explain why people manifest different needs at different times and how different needs build on each other.

He invented the hierarchy of human needs (1943, 1954) which posited physiological needs such as survival at the bottom of the pyramid, followed by needs for safety, belongingness and love, esteem, and self-actualization. Once people have experienced the satisfaction of one level of need, they tend to understand how other people must feel if they experience the same stage in their life. Therefore one develops an empathic understanding of how people must feel if they suffer from hunger. Koltko-Rivera (2006) argues that the inclusion of self-transcendence beyond self-actualization in Maslow's hierarchy also allows for a richer conceptualization of the meaning-of-life worldview dimension. It includes the forming of a sense of the purpose of life (p. 310). In other words, if people watch the Live Aid concerts for example, it can motivate them to achieve a better sense of altruism. This occurs because, first, they suffer with starving people as they know how it must feel and, second, they experience self-transcendence as a motivational step beyond self-actualization when they realize that there is a broader global sense-of-life than self-actualization and self-achievement.

Logically, the charity event might serve as a reputation-building strategy, and the ethical question also concerns the perspective of the celebrities and the needs which they want to satisfy with their appearance. Are they really driven by altruism or are they only interested in connecting the image of their own personality in the minds of the public to the image of a social worker who cares about poverty? Keep in mind that such an event holds great interest for TV stations and other organizations involved because of the money that circulates. One could argue that it is a "win-win-win-win situation" because TV stations gain audience (first win), celebrities gain attention combined with a positive event (second win), the audience members gain

entertainment and new perspectives (third win) and global-problems gain public consideration (fourth win). However, this does not mean that only money can solve problems.

History has taught us that giving money to a poor country can make them dependent on the donor country and that local people will not develop a sense of personal contribution as long as they suffer from dependency and its benefits. However, experiencing empathy and identification provokes specific feelings toward justice in the world. It highlights the fact that people spend too much time on trivia and ignore matters of life and death to other people. It relativizes daily life and places it in a broader perspective (Poniewozik, 2005). Guilt, an emotional state, occurs when individuals violate their own understanding of what they should do. It can therefore have a great effect on charitable donation. Basil, Ridgway, and Basil (2006) show that a sense of responsibility mediates the effect of guilt on charitable donations. The presence of others also enhances the sense of responsibility to behave prosocially. This sense of responsibility then leads to a larger charitable donation (pp. 1035-1054).

To summarize, Maslow's pyramid of needs provides an apt explanation of the effect of *charitainment*. The charitainment event affects the viewers on an emotional level and can influence the way one identifies with people and explains why one develops empathy towards them. Celebrities can work as role models and hence provoke prosocial behavior, which in turn can lead to larger charitable donations. The theory explains what motivates people to integrate a better understanding of the "meaning-of-life" into their worldview in an altruistic way. Finally, the perception of the needs of other people is moderated by feelings of guilt, responsibility, mercy, and mindfulness—the factors responsible for the effectiveness of *charitainment*.

5. *Edutainment*: Education and Entertainment

Education constitutes a fundamental duty for national governments. Because it offers the promise of upward mobility at a time when inequalities of income have continued to grow, many regard education as a stable factor for a nation: Buckingham and Scanlon see it as "responsible for the moral regulation of children, for keeping idle hands busy, and preventing the possi-

bility of delinquency" (2005, p. 1). Furthermore, the lifelong learning credo and the growing emphasis on qualifications in the work place have developed into new sites for education and its power. This growing education industry provides an instance of the privatization of the provision of education. It raises the fear that only parents who already have greater economic

capital can buy the same education for their children, thus achieving an educational advantage for their children. Because obtaining a good education matters so much, parents also often ask how they and the schools can provide the most effective education.

The idea that enjoyment can contribute to the effectiveness of a student's intrinsic motivation has a long history. Since 1990 interest has surged in developing *edutainment* software to provide an effective learning situation while allowing the students to have fun. However, the actual idea that enjoyment contributes to meaningful learning goes back at least to the Montessori School and to the concept of "flow," in which the existence of intrinsic motivation plays a crucial role. Rathunde and Csikszentmihalyi explain flow in this way: The concept of "flow," an intrinsically motivated, task-focused state is characterized by full concentration, a change in the awareness of time (time passing quickly), feelings of clarity and control, a merging of action and awareness, and a lack of self-consciousness (2005, p. 62). They argue that the experience of "flow" proves a key factor in education and provides one mechanism to achieve success and happiness in life. Maria Montessori (1876-1952), for example, promoted schools that combined discipline and freedom. And it was precisely "this kind of experience that unites immediate enjoyment with concentrated work" (Rathunde & Csikszentmihalyi, 2005, p. 76).

This section develops the idea of the hybridization of entertainment and education. First, we will outline the concept of *edutainment*, mainly used as a technical term that refers to *edutainment* software (for example computer programs) to provide fun for brains. Second, we will explore in greater depth the strategy of entertainment-education campaigns that groups have specifically used to increase audience members' knowledge on educational and health issues. This concept holds particular importance because it includes communication theories which explain the process of how a popular culture product can have an enduring effect on peoples' educational efforts.

A. *Edutainment Media*

Edutainment refers to a hybridization of education and entertainment. It includes visual material and a narrative or game-like format that provides a learning process (Buckingham & Scanlon, 2005, p. 46). It attracts the attention of the learners by engaging their emotions (Okan, 2003, p. 255) and raises learners' expectations that they will find learning enjoyable and fun.

Edutainment materials contribute to a change in the theoretical concepts of the learning process: from a knowledge-acquisition view of learning to a knowledge-construction view (Okan, 2003, p. 256). Moreover, Salomon and Almog (1998) have added an interpersonal view of learning to the knowledge construction view in which social interaction serves a variety of crucial functions. They assert that cognitive and emotional effort decisively contributes to meaningful learning. Interactivity, provided by *edutainment* software for example, is the new magic word that should guarantee children's engagement. Typically, this consists of limited interactivity, clicking away at the interface or completing multiple-choice tests (Buckingham & Scalon, 2005, p. 51).

Edutainment material can contribute to the students' motivation to learn and explore topics in greater depth. While motivation depends on a complex mix of intrinsic and extrinsic factors, intrinsic motivation tends to hold the key to meaningful learning: intrinsically motivated students work harder and persist longer (Okan, 2003, p. 259). Intrinsic motivation arises from many sources in a school setting, such as a variety of resources and solutions, so motivating learners involves more than just adding entertainment value or buying learning software. Students have to be engaged in the material and motivated to learn more about a specific topic. Not every learning process can be flavored with fun. Studying for a university degree might be an experience devoid of fun, because students have to persist in the learning process and can not choose to study only when they experience intrinsic motivation.

The question arises that if authorities wish to implement the co-existence of education and entertainment within the learning environment, how much "edu" and how much "tainment" should they include (Okan, 2003, p. 262)? The argument favors the software that engages students in learning rather than playing with the software. Hence, Okan concludes her essay with the logical implication of the absolute necessity of educational and parental critical awareness of a deeper understanding of the role of entertainment software (p. 263). The consequences of these developments just described and the new awareness of these resources provide a further instance of the growing importance of commercial involvement in education.

B. *Entertainment-Education: Create Favorable Attitudes*

The theory of entertainment-education describes another approach to the hybridization of education and

entertainment. Here, entertainment-education is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior (Singhal & Rogers, 2004, p. 5). The term refers to prosocial messages embedded into popular entertainment media content (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 408). The difference between *edutainment* and the entertainment-education concept is that while *edutainment* procures knowledge and information, entertainment-education goes one step further by trying to achieve a behavior change (Lampert, 2007, p. 70).

Entertainment-education interventions contribute to the process of directed social change, which can occur at different levels—at the level of an individual, a community, or a society. These interventions try to contribute to social change in two ways. They can influence the awareness, attitudes, and behavior toward a socially desirable end, and they can serve as a social mobilizer.

The first recognizable entertainment-education interventions occurred on radio with *The Archers* in 1951 and on television with *Simplemente María* in 1969. At that time theorizing about entertainment-education started; Miguel Sabido, first deconstructed those programs in order to understand the theoretical foundation of entertainment-education (Singhal & Rogers, 2002, p. 117). Since then, programmers have implemented over 200 entertainment-education interventions, mainly for health-related educational issues, and mostly broadcast as radio or television soap operas. The entertainment-education strategy has been widely invented and recreated by media professionals in various countries. In the initial era of entertainment-education, two main organizations drove the international diffusion of entertainment-education projects: Population Communications International, a non-governmental organization headquartered in New York City, and Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs. Today numerous other organizations have become involved in utilizing and diffusing the entertainment-education strategy. Notable instances include the work of the Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication in South Africa, Media for Development Trust in Zimbabwe, and Africa Radio Drama Association in Nigeria. The large-scale program, Soul City in South Africa, for example, has used entertainment-education program-

ming to influence attitudes toward HIV prevention, condom use, awareness of domestic violence, and rape prevention (Usdin et al., 2004, pp. 153-174).

Theoretical Background. Why do scholars think that entertaining health messages have an influence on people's attitude and values? Sood, Menard, and Witte (2004) offer a review on the theory behind entertainment-education and point out a rapidly growing theoretically rich body of research (pp. 117-149). Entertainment-education does not itself refer to a theory of communication, but rather to a strategy used to disseminate ideas to achieve behavioral and social change. The theories behind the strategy represent a diverse field. They range from logical positivistic perspectives to critical theory and humanistic perspectives (p. 119). Researchers use the *social cognitive theory* (Bandura, 1979, 2001) and the *elaboration likelihood model* (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) to explain the entertainment-education message processing of soap operas or similar programming (p. 407). Sabido drew on Bandura's work to understand the theoretical basis of the telenovela *Simplemente María* in Mexico (Sood, Menard, & Witte, 2004, p. 117) and to transfer it into a strategic tool to explain education-entertainment programming.

Bandura's *social cognitive theory* contends that people indirectly learn values, cognitive skills, and new styles of behavior by observing models. Media messages more likely influence outcome expectation and self-efficacy when they feature successful characters with whom people identify or whom they find attractive. People do not choose to engage in every behavior they learn. They must be motivated to enact the behavior.

Outcome expectations and self efficiency form core factors in terms of motivation. Outcome expectations refer to the perceptions of the consequences that result from the witnessed behavior. Viewers therefore more likely imitate a behavior from a model who receives a reward for the behavior, whereas punished behavior is negatively reinforced. Bandura refers to the observer's confidence in his or her ability to enact the behavior as the self efficiency concept. This core belief provides the foundation of human agency (Bandura, 2001, p. 207). Seeing similar others solving a problem or accomplish a challenging health behavior change will increase one's own self efficacy regarding this behavior (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 412). Program producers can then expect entertainment-education to influence individuals' beliefs and attitudes in distinctive ways and depending on the indi-

vidual's readiness to change. Slater and Rouner (2002) argue that the procession of narratives, experienced when watching an entertainment-education episode, to a great extent precludes counterarguing with persuasive content in the narratives. To explain the strong impact of persuasive content in narratives, they detail a model based upon the elaboration likelihood model (ELM) (p. 174), which they term the *extended elaboration likelihood model (extended ELM)*. This model holds that viewers engaged in the dramatic elements of an entertainment program remain in a state of less critical, more immersive engagement (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, 413). This theory posits that the narrative format can increase transportation into or involvement with a story, reduce counterarguing as discussed above, and thus increase persuasion.

Conventional *ELM* differs from *extended ELM* in that engagement and absorption in the narrative (also known as narrative involvement) and identification with characters replace issue involvement with the persuasive topic (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 177). According to Slater and Rouner, viewers experience absorption when they vicariously experience the characters' emotions and personality. Parasocial interaction or identification, in the sense of experienced similarity, occurs in a situation where an individual feels similar to another person. This phenomenon serves as a partial mediator of the effects of absorption in the narrative. The concept of identification describes a complex construct: for example, believing oneself similar to a character is not the same as liking a character (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 182). But the idea is the same—engagement in the storyline. We need still more research to understand the processing of persuasive narratives. One key problem here lies in the quite different uses of several distinct concepts, such as identification, similarity, and parasocial interaction.

Resistance to, and Critiques of, Entertainment-Education Interventions. Dutta, one of the few scholars who has indicated the absence of a critical approach toward entertainment-education interventions, points out, "Whereas most E-E scholars emphasize questions of effectiveness, a minimal attention is paid to questions of ideologies and values that drive the campaign" (2006, p. 221). Producers justify most interventions by the claim of altruism where Western countries have implemented interventions in Third World spaces. Dutta points out that "a value-based analysis demonstrates that the communicative practices at entertainment-education campaigns privileges the dominant

power structure and excludes subaltern voices and propagating their marginalization" (p. 229). This critique is often forgotten, with more attention paid to production and to reception resistances. Nevertheless, an exploration of the motives, values, ideologies, and funding that lead entertainment-education campaigns is important and fundamental. Scholars should question the production side, which involves ethical and cultural values that lead to a specific type of campaign. Because intercultural communication research shows that cultural variation in people's background influences their communication behavior, it would be interesting to investigate how media professionals and researchers combine their own culture with the production. To what extent do they reflect on the fact that these conceptual filters influence their communicating with another culture or with strangers in general? These conceptual filters fall into four categories: cultural, sociocultural, psychocultural, and environmental. Those filters also explain how the target group members interpret messages encoded by strangers (the production companies), what predictions they make or what interpretations they place on the message (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003, p. 49), and how these can lead to resistance.

Because of cultural differences, no responsible leader of an entertainment-education project would consider an intervention without devoting budget resources to research. Such research is crucial in the case of a campaign because of the difficulty in ensuring that the audience members interpret the educational meaning in the way intended by the professionals. Advanced research can thus prevent resistance against an entertainment-educational campaign (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004, p. 436).

On the message production side, strong resistance to the initiation of entertainment-education interventions exists. Most commercial broadcasters fear charting what they perceive as unknown territories. They fear that audience and advertisers will turn away if they perceive a radio or television program as playing too much of an educational role. Such resistance operates particularly in more media-saturated commercial broadcasting environments where the total audience is more fragmented (Sherry, 2002, pp. 206-224). As a matter of fact, Bouman (2005), one of a few scholars who has investigated the entertainment-education collaboration process between health communication experts and creative people, highlights the difficulties and possibilities (p. 47). She and other scholars argue

for more research and theoretical investigation into entertainment-education production processes, including how projects are funded, partnered, produced, researched, and broadcast (Bouman, 2005; Singhal & Rogers, 2002, p. 124).

Resistance also operates at the message-reception end of the process as audience members selectively expose themselves to entertainment-education messages. They selectively recall them and selectively use them for purposes they value (Singhal & Rogers, 2002, p. 125). Therefore, theoretical investigations of entertainment-education now focus not only on what effects those programs have, but also try to understand more fully how and why entertainment-education has such an effect. Researchers increasingly focus on how audience members negotiate the message content, especially as the message reception environment hinders or enables the impact of the entertainment-education messages. Growing evidence suggests that interpersonal

communication of entertainment-education message content, received by audience individuals from a mass media channel, can greatly magnify its effects on behavior change (p. 15).

Finally, we note that the Internet has opened new possibilities to entertainment-education interventions. It offers the individualization of a communication message to audience members, and thus there exist new ways to conduct research about resistance or cultural values, and to air entertainment-education soap operas through this specific channel (Singhal & Rogers, 2002, p. 132). But on the other hand, Singhal & Rogers argue that individuals who tend to have the greatest need for health and other types of information do not have access to the Internet; these researchers favor the Internet as one part of a campaign in which audience members can interact online with their favorite shows' producers and stars, but not as campaign itself (p. 133).

6. *Evangelitainment: Religion and Entertainment*

Religion deals, as do entertainment products, with eschatology, fears and hopes, anxiety and wishes, conflict and harmony, good and bad, egoism and altruism. Religion as well as entertainment shows long-lasting or even timeless values; they both create meaningful meaning. They both show attractive and perfect states of worlds ("paradises"), of individuals ("almighty supermen and -women"), and of people living in harmony, after years of troubles, conflicts, and defeats.

Religions and entertainment form and develop rituals (symbolic performances, rites of separation and unification), community-building symbols of identification, and similar patterns of behavior (see also Biernatzki, 1998, pp. 14ff). What is the difference between being a fan or supporter of a club or a movie-star and a follower of a religious person or a believer? People can find themselves in a "family" with people who share the same beliefs, assumptions, values, likes, ideas, skills, and ideals. People find pleasure and comfort in the experience of identifying themselves with good and strong characters, in seeing justice done, and in gaining a sense of community. A key question emerges here: Do people make or not make a religious construction of the meaning—for them—of entertain-

ing stimuli or events? Are experiences mediated by the entertainment media the same as those that come from religious experiences (see Clark, 2002)? One might be tempted to say "yes"—Entertainment and religions know icons, parades, processions, shrines, rituals, good characters (saints and heroes), and basic themes of human existence. They deal with the same myths and archetypes. The Catholic religion adopted profane symbols, introduced rock- and folklore Masses and dances into its liturgy. Popular culture on the other hand has adopted religious symbols. But—and this matters—entertainment covers the gap between reality and utopia whereas religion covers the gap between reality and transcendence! That gap spreads too wide for entertainment to bridge. Human beings have to live with their weakness and contradiction. Entertainment may reduce the gap between reality and utopia. Entertainment points beyond the everyday reality of men and women. Religion goes beyond it.

The closest relationship between information and entertainment in the field of *evangelitainment* probably consists of the act of preaching (Postman, 1985, Ch. 8). Televangelists use several polished entertainment methods to seek out viewers in order to spread religious messages to a greater audience. They

portray a high degree of sincerity in their preaching and they try to create a community. Surface level tactics include great vocal inflection and dramatic deliveries of sermons, the use of symbolism and analogies in scripture so that viewers can relate teachings to their own lives, peaceful music to calm audiences, and the integration of humor to put viewers at ease with teaching, i.e. edutainment! *Evangelitainment* combines escape motives of the viewers with entertainment, involvement, and the expression of faith. Televangelism works with dramatic effects, talk show formats, dramatic shows, aesthetic beauty, verbal pictures, fast pacing, and straight forward solutions. The programs satisfy the anxieties and fears of the viewers by providing clear authority on moral dilemmas. The most common theme in televangelical programs is known as the “successful people” syndrome. This compares quite favorably with the most frequent

themes in the fictional media entertainment—love, success, and security! In the words of televangelists, wealth provides a clear proof of God’s blessing.

After reviewing the contributions to *Religion as Entertainment*, its editor, C. K. Robertson, draws the conclusion that “there *is* a connection between religion and entertainment in America that deserves to be explored” (2002, p. 1). In an analysis of the rhetorical skills of the great 18th century American preacher Jonathan Edwards, Rusk comes to the following conclusion:

His language constantly returns to the pleasures and enjoyments of true happiness. The notion of pleasure and enjoyment is an essential consideration in the evaluation of entertainment. (2002, p. 23)

Television evangelists have learned this lesson well.

7. *Militainment*: Military and Entertainment

The term *militainment* includes four major areas: entertaining elements in the reporting on wars (war as a monumental show), war as fighting actions in popular war movies, war as a background for docu-dramas or docu-soaps, and war as a video game. *Militainment* brings together armed forces, conflict (a news value), and media entertainment. One can say that such a combination in reality defines a successful cooperation or even a tight symbiosis.

Commentators have described the Second Gulf War as an open war, open to the media and therefore open to the audience. Journalists were “embedded” with various military units, and this embedding resulted in an enhanced tendency towards identification with the troops. Journalists were told that “the idea is by making you a part of the unit, you’ll be a member of the team” (Glasser, 2003, A14). From a journalistic point of view this means a loss of distance or even objectivity. Comradship replaces critical reporting. Excitement has more news value than violence and brutality (usually edited out). Andersen quotes Peter Arnett when he reported the photogenic bombing of Baghdad: “An amazing sight, just like out of an action movie, but this is real” (Andersen, 2003, p. 23). Thus he describes the work of television journalists as “Live

from the battlefield,” or “the Foxification of war reporting” (2007, p. 114).

Clear differences appeared in the reporting of embedded and behind-the-lines journalists:

The embedded journalists often described the war in terms of the weakness of Iraq’s army resistance, the frequency with which regular Iraqi forces deserted or surrendered, and the joy of Iraqi civilians of the demise of the Hussein regime. Stories filed by behind-the-lines journalists described the war in terms of the potential of Iraqi forces to mount significant unconventional counter-attacks, the ferocity of the Iraqi irregular forces, the adequacy of allied war planning, and the vulnerability of the Allies’ long supply lines. These stories emphasized civilian anger at collateral damage, interruptions to utility infrastructure, and mistrust of American intentions. (Cooper & Kuypers, 2004, p. 169)

A nicely orchestrated example came in the mission called “Saving Private Lynch.” Reporters mainly described the rescue of Jessica Lynch from a Nasiriya hospital as a daring raid. The operation as such met no resistance, but only frightened other patients. The

media had their story, though: Jessica comes home! Going home or coming home are very familiar and popular motives in entertaining narratives. The story also reinforced another myth of war movies: never leave a comrade behind!

With “Profiles of Courage” CBS introduced a series that portrayed soldiers. Most “Profiles” had a highly uncritical tone and an approach near to hero worship. “Profiles from the Frontline Military Soaps” added some more nurses to the set to make the military soap more attractive for family audiences. The producer of “Profiles from the Frontline” was none other than Jerry Bruckheimer, the producer of “Black Hawk Down,” a heroic account of a group of soldiers who learned the true nature of war and heroism. Heroism forms a well known entertainment element of war movies.

“American Fighter Pilot” (CBS, 2002) provides an example of a reality show—a docu-soap—that reports the demanding training of future fighter pilots. But after three episodes the network pulled the show. The movie “Top Gun” was more successful!

War games are a well known technique to train officers and troops in virtual situations. Powerful home computers have made their transfer into civil society possible. In 2002 the U.S. Army launched a war game called “America’s Army” and in the same year this videogame went on the Internet. The main goal of this free game was and still is to recruit soldiers for the army. Similarly, “Marine Expeditionary Units” serves commercial as well as military goals. Here again we see a sign of symbiosis, this time between the military and the entertainment industry. War becomes a game. Another symbiosis, or a kind of synergy, exists

between war movies and war games. The movie, “Black Hawk Down,” (2002) has its parallel computer game (2003). The “special operations” discourse they promote “is remarkably similar to the schema of the ‘professional Western’ . . . , which features a band of hardened men ‘doing a job’ to protect a weak ‘society,’ relying on superior ‘professional’ skills, and motivated more by their loyalty towards each other than by concern for those they are protecting” (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 136). The message is clear: a man has got to do what a man has got to do!

If war becomes the father of every progress, in the Gulf War the war has fathered:

- Embedded journalism
- Information warfare
- Human interest stories
- War as a reality-show
- Propaganda
- War soaps, docu-dramas
- Games

When digitization brings everything together, fiction and facts, games and serious actions, information and entertainment, truth and lies, propaganda and education, Hollywood and the Pentagon, Der Derian (2001) uses the term, the “Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network.”

Whether or not entertaining military troops falls under the category of *militainment* has yet to be decided. In Europe as well as in the United States rock bands, cheerleaders, movie-stars, singers, and dancers can all take on the job to entertain soldiers. Even the Swiss Army has a major who serves as the “Swiss Army Master magician” and who does conjuring tricks to fight boredom and the trauma of war.

8. *Politainment*: Politics and Entertainment

In the 2008 presidential election campaign, Senator Barack Obama had a lot more publicity from celebrity endorsement through entertainment media than did Senator John McCain. McCain failed to use Obama’s similarity to celebrities as a campaigning argument. After he compared Obama to celebrities like Britney Spears and Paris Hilton in one of his 30-second commercials questioning Obama’s leadership qualifications, Paris Hilton shot back at McCain by posting a video calling McCain a “white-haired dude” and

announcing her own campaign for president (Roloff, 2008). The election campaign became an omnipresent topic in comedy shows like *Saturday Night Live* or *The Late Show* and demonstrates that the *politainment* phenomenon has taken center stage in the entertainment media, especially as a strategy for campaigns to attract people less interested in political events.

This phenomenon offers a new perspective for political communication scholars because they have long treated entertainment and public affairs content as

immiscible. However, recent research enables an approach which includes the argument that the traditional distinction between news and entertainment content is no longer helpful. The questions appearing in recent studies concern the nature of the political messages offered through various entertainment outlets, and the ways in which the convergence of entertainment and political messages can influence the receiver (Graber, 2004; Jackson & Darrow, 2005; Kim & Vishak, 2006; Payne, Hanlon, & Twomey, 2007).

Politainment—the term refers to the symbiosis between politics and entertainment—can occur in different mediated situations. First, it refers to two different kinds of relationships between politics and entertainment: on one hand, there are political reports framed by human interest angles such as the marriage between the president of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, and his wife and fashion model, Carla Bruni, for example. Second, *politainment* applies to entertainment products such as films with a political message (e.g., “Bowling for Columbine” by Michael Moore, 2002), music with a political content (e.g., “Dear Mister President” by Pink, 2006), and books with a political point of view (e.g., *An Inconvenient Truth* by Al Gore, 2006).

Scholars (Holbert, 2005, p. 438) argue that we need to study this particular type of content from a political perspective because the messages offered via entertainment outlets qualitatively differ from those offered through news. Furthermore, entertainment television, for example, engages the audience on an emotional level and treats the audience as physically present within the program. Politicians, on the other hand, serve as entertainers from the media logic of today’s society. They present events focused on visualization, and they schedule activities to meet media deadlines. Kamps (2000) summarizes recent reproaches against the *politainment* phenomenon in his theoretical construct of the “Amerikanisierungsthese” [Americanization thesis]. The German term refers to the assumption of American cultural imperialism. It critiques the transfer of popular culture into value system of other countries and further critiques the way in which the American culture controls and determines political cultures outside the U.S. The construct describes specific characteristics that political cultures around the world adapt from the American role model. The Americanization of politics occurs in the dominance of the visual in politics, in the personalization of politicians, in the de-politicization of private space, and furthermore in the dramaturgy of an election where a

political election takes on the trappings of a sports contest (or “horse race”), which involves winners and losers and the emotional involvement of a fight (Rössler, 2005, p. 76).

Also, phenomenon of the involvement of testimonials and celebrities in a presidential campaign to use to one’s advantages first occurred in the United States. Scholars point out that celebrity spectacle influences young voters (Baum, 2005; Besley, 2006; Jackson & Darrow, 2005; Payne, Hanlon, & Twomey, 2007), particularly with a substantial media focus on celebrities (Payne, Hanlon, & Twomey, 2007, p. 1239). Hence, in the U.S. 2004 election year but also in 2008, celebrity spectacle themes dominated much of the political rhetoric. For example, President George W. Bush used celebrity endorsements in 2004 from popular politicians such as New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani and California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger to his advantage. But, the celebrity endorsements worked predominantly on Senator John Kerry’s behalf. He had the support of *Spin City* star Michael J. Fox and actor Aston Kutcher as well as the support of songwriter Bruce Springsteen. Kerry’s liberal allies in fact got him a lot of media attention and provided a large part of his financial support (Payne, Hanlon, & Twomey, 2007, p. 1242). At the end, John Kerry lost the race and many have pondered on the real impact of celebrity. Credibility of the candidates is a major mantra. But if credibility of the source were the only important factor, no one would expect celebrities to have a huge impact. Early on, McCracken (1989) offered a very sophisticated explanation for the relationship between celebrity endorsement and the source credibility model. It is not just the celebrity who does the selling, but the appropriate interaction among celebrity, product, and audience. According to McCracken’s meaning transfer model, celebrities’ effectiveness stems from the cultural meanings with which they are endowed (p. 310, p. 314).

Kim and Vishak (2006) took another more critical approach to political messages spread through entertainment media. They adopted an experimental design using 20 minute collections of real news and entertainment programs to examine the effects of media types on political information processing in evaluation of a political actor (pp. 1-29). The findings show that both news and entertainment media clearly increased accurate political information gain of all aspects, but using news media predicted more effective learning of polit-

ical issues, whereas entertainment media use had the edge in forming impressions about candidates (p. 23). Thus, entertainment media provide few additive informational effects in political judgement (p. 26). But, the authors acknowledge one limit of this study: Individuals might have formed their processing goals instantly, at the time of the exposure. So, more likely, according to the uses and gratification approach, people seek different gratifications depending on the media type. If they watch talk shows, for example, they gratify their motives of entertainment seeking and passing time and thus could have greater sensitivity to impression formation. On the other hand, if they watch the news they know that it can contribute to their political knowledge; therefore, the gratification differs.

9. *Sportainment*: Sports and Entertainment

Approximately 1,652,000 people from the German part of Switzerland watched the European Soccer Cup game between Switzerland and Turkey, a market share of more than 75% (Associated Press, 2008). The euphoria in Switzerland and Austria, the site of the host cities of the European Soccer Cup 2008, shows how entertainment and sports enjoy a symbiotic relation and how sport has become an integral source of entertainment that attracts a large number of spectators. Sport plays an important part in television programming because it achieves among the highest audience ratings in its time slots. The importance of sports is strongly connected with the invention of TV as a mass medium. This invention for the first time allowed fans to root for their team in front of a screen and not in a stadium. It made sports accessible worldwide and simultaneously to a dispersed public. Sports thus become an entertaining event everyone could enjoy.

Certainly, sport does not always entertain. Fans witness boring games, not offering any spectacle at all. But, sport has the potential of entertainment because one can become personally involved—with team songs, games, gambling. Sport includes show elements, rituals, ceremonies; it provides suspense, dramas, conflict, victory, or failure. Furthermore, people identify with stars, feel with their heroes, and suffering with national teams (Beck & Bosshart, 2003, p. 4).

Enjoyment is not limited to the people in the stadium. Fans watching their favorite team on screen are

That might explain why the results on the political impact of entertainment media appeared inconsistent across different studies. As a matter of fact, news media are supposed to be more useful to learn about political issues, whereas the entertainment media shape our views about personalities and political lifestyles. As experienced with the election campaign of Barack Obama, entertainment media can serve as a very important motor or a wakeup call to engage young voters in the political systems or to raise attention for a particular political position or a presidential candidate (Jackson & Darrow, 2005; Kim & Vishak, 2006; Payne, Hanlon, & Twomey, 2007).

equally animated if their team scores. They scream and clap. While watching their favorite team, viewers support their team by evolving empathy toward them and rooting against the opponent. Among the many researchers who have addressed entertainment from televised sports over the last 20 years (Beck & Bosshart, 2003; Raney, 2003; Zillmann, Bryant & Sapolsky, 1989), we find a useful guide in understanding how and why people are entertained by sport in the disposition theory (Raney, 2004). Raney defines it as the “affective disposition (of a viewer) toward characters and the story line outcomes associated with those characters” (p. 349). The theory posits that people develop empathy toward a character or a player they like and therefore hope for a positive outcome for this character. Enjoyment therefore works as a function of affective disposition toward a team or a character and the identification with result for the protagonist. The term, mainly used for enjoyment in dramatic entertainment, emerged in 1972, when Zillmann and Cantor (Bryant, Hezel & Zillmann, 1979, p. 52) first described how people come to appreciate jokes that disparaged, insulted, embarrassed, or degraded a person. They described the victimization either as physical, verbal, or both and as wrought by an individual, a group, or the environment (1979, pp. 52f). In the following decades, they applied the theory to different fields of research as well as used it to explain the enjoyment of sports entertainment such as in the

disposition theory of sports spectatorship (Zillmann, Bryant, & Sapolsky, 1989). The theory includes the prediction that the public experiences a higher degree of enjoyment if our highly liked characters or our favorite team experience positive outcomes and the antagonist negative outcomes. We develop an emotional reaction toward a character (team), one that the researchers therefore describe as an affective disposition. Some researchers have addressed the question of how people select their favorite characters. Raney points out the non-capricious character of this decision: individuals have to morally justify the selection (Raney, 2004, p. 350). Hence, one likes characters whose actions one judges as proper and morally correct. Moreover, the choice does not remain static; one experiences a constant moral monitoring. If one develops very strong positive feelings, those also advance our empathy toward this character. Empathy therefore plays a key role in the concept. Raney (2006) points out the complexity of the factors that help produce the enjoyment of drama—namely, affect, moral evaluations, attitude maintenance strategies, and moral disengagement—and indicates that they can vary by person, gender, race, etc. (p. 365).

Different factors model the dynamics of entertainment and affect which sport has which effect on a specific audience. While soccer cups matter for a European audience, the Super Bowl is perhaps the biggest sporting event in the United States (Prabu, Horton, & German, 2008, p. 398). The leagues, teams, networks, and sponsors invest millions of dollars every year to provide that spectacle. Because of the significance of this big annual event, Prabu and his colleagues (2008) conducted one of the first studies to address entertainment from televised sports; furthermore they collected data about audience response to a Super Bowl game under natural viewing conditions (pp. 399ff). The study design captured changes in entertainment and

affect during the 2006 Super Bowl. The researchers encouraged participants to watch the game with friends in natural viewing situations. They only needed to have Internet access in order to fill out the questionnaires during each commercial break.

Not surprisingly, the results show that supporters of the winning team found the game more entertaining. But the study also shows significant effects for negative affect on entertainment. In other words, negative affect correlates positively with entertainment, which means a combination of positive and negative emotions produces a more interesting, suspenseful, and entertaining game than a predictable positive outcome game does (p. 416). People find championship games therefore so enjoyable and full of suspense and emotions because they experience fear and happiness at once as they witness the fight between two equally matched teams and so cannot predict the end result.

As a modern drama on a field, sport provokes emotions on spectators who really want their favorite team to win and who want to witness the rivalries at the heart of the sporting event. But these rivalries can provoke violence on the field or off the field. Such real or perceived violence can undermine the entertainment process. Raney and Kinnally (2007) directed scholarly attention to this phenomenon in order to find out how violence can contribute to entertainment. The findings show that the influence of violence on enjoyment appears to be tempered in circumstances where the favored team loses a game to a traditional rival (p. 15). The perceived violence changes if the favorite team loses or wins. A win can increase the perceived violence. Furthermore, the more violent the spectators think game is, the more enjoyable it becomes for the viewer, as long as the favored team wins. They find the game less enjoyable when a favorite team loses; also here their perception of violence does not impact enjoyment in the least.

10. Conclusion, Discussion, Criticism

Entertainment has basically active, tension-reducing, and positive components. To sum up, without a doubt entertainment is omnipresent in our every day lives. Besides that, the phenomenon also has a great effect in influencing our daily lives. Given these factors, we must ask whether this “entertainment dose” dumbs people down or affects them in a positive way.

What are the positive and negative aspects of the omnipresence of entertainment? This essay focused on entertainment stimuli, on entertaining offers, and programs. There is a wide area of research to be done to answer the question of what pervasive entertainment does to individuals, groups, and societies.

On the whole, this review argues that the entertainment euphoria holds great importance for today's society, providing something to connect people emotionally with products, something to provide human beings with information in a stimulating way. For example, an uninterested political audience can also get attracted by a political debate on entertainment media. Hence, entertainment media can provoke interests for specific areas, whereas without that information people wouldn't pay attention to those things. It can raise interest for an area such as a charity, the courts, education, politics, the military, sports, or preventative medicine in a stimulating, appealing, and effective way.

But, on the other hand, the disadvantages of an "entertainment overdose" shouldn't be omitted from this discussion. This need for entertainment can lead to a life where people only consume media products that entertain them. A society that, in the pursuit of happiness, needs to be constantly amused runs the danger of losing its role as a democratic power. We would therefore like to add some critical thoughts in regard of the nearly endless "entertainmenization" of our world.

- Entertainment provides people with mild arousals with *positive stimulation*. There is a real danger that people ask more and more for constantly stronger stimuli which may lead to either blunting critical sensibilities of individuals or to aggressive hyper stimulation.
 - Dramatized, stage-managed, story-telling, patchwork journalism presents a distorted picture of reality. The audience will have difficulties distinguishing between real problems and blown up media events, between what is important and what is just interesting. The media lose their agenda-setting function in our societies when entertainment values become news values. Public discourse runs the risk of degenerating into public gossip where populism triumphs over due deliberation.
 - A society that acquires the right to be constantly entertained takes the risk of being constantly distracted and diverted. People get used to look away from hard and awful realities. This may be of no harm during times of political stability. It is a real danger when there is a strong necessity of rational reflection.
- There is much theatrical behavior in the political arena but if one has to be telegenic to get access to a successful political career then we have reached the state of a "mediacracy," where to fit television is the first command. To name the problem from the other side: there is a danger that the media system so colonizes the political system that the rules of the media become the rules of contemporary societies. If appearances in soap operas, sit-coms, late-night shows or talk-shows are taken as evidence for quality in politics, if one has to be an actor before becoming a politician, then a loss of credibility is not too far away. No wonder that politicians are one of the least trusted professionals in the world. People are not interested in political issues anymore and become indifferent.

This essay is a list of many areas that are penetrated by elements of entertainment. This list is a kind of inventory of what is being offered in the public, especially in the mass mediated sphere. There are several critical questions to be asked in regard to possible dysfunctions of a growing "entertainmentization." The final question to ask is: What can we do?

There is a tremendous need for in depth research in the field of what has been called *infotainment*. With the exception of uses and gratifications as well as cultivation studies, the classical research in regards to media effects deals with pure and innocent political communication. We should know what it means when Hollywood goes to Washington, when political issues are spread out in popular movies (Bosshart, 2002). We should know the persuasive power of narratives when the counter-arguing system is out of service. And we should know more about the credibility of media celebrities who sell at the very same time coffee (Nespresso), watches (Omega), and human rights in Darfur (George Clooney).

And there is a tremendous need for enlightenment and public information about the logics of contemporary media, i.e. about how commercialization determines the way they work; and—even more—there is a strong need in the field of teaching media literacy at all levels of education.

Editor's Afterword

As long ago as 1985, Neil Postman highlighted the early forms of “-tainment” that Louis Bosshart and Lea Hellmüller present in this issue of COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS. Writing in *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*, Postman expressed concern for how people in the United States (and more generally Western democracies, since those formed the audience for his research) had shifted how they received and processed information. Postman rooted his analysis in the different ways that print and visual communication work (something to which Walter Ong, S.J., had also directed attention in his summary study, *Orality and Literacy: The technologizing of the word*, 1982). For Postman, print promotes analytic thought, provides an opportunity for leisurely study, and engages a particular kind of epistemology—all of which lead to democratic debate and public responsibility. Western democracy grew along with the rise of literacy, a literacy made possible by the increasing output of the printing press.

Visual communication, particularly television, changed people's thought. The fleeting images themselves led people away from the kinds of sustained analysis needed for education and government. Visual media have more than a bit of the conjurer to them—distracting attention away from the switched card or false arguments. And so, Postman uses the second part of his book to criticize how entertainment (extended to a mass society) had changed four important social institutions: news, religion, government, and education. He intended the book as a warning.

The book also succeeded in grounding a fledgling field of communication study, what Postman called Media Ecology (see TRENDS, Volume 23, No. 2, 2004, for a comprehensive review essay). Postman's work asks that we pay attention to the communication environment—both the physical environment of various communication media and the symbolic environment of their content. Perhaps more importantly, he notes that, as with any ecology, we interact with the environment, changing it and being changed by it. The move from print to image matters a great deal.

Bosshart and Hellmüller's work has a related, but ultimately different, purpose. First, they try to explain how entertainment constitutes a natural element of many

kinds of communication, not only the four areas noted by Postman but also areas as diverse as law, military reporting and action, and sports. This psychological or emotional link between entertainment and other parts of human cognitive and social processes has deep roots; awareness of these links appears in classical authors from Aristotle to Augustine to Aquinas. By directing us to the process, Bosshart and Hellmüller adopt a less worried attitude than Postman, suggesting that humans have dealt with the natural link between entertainment and so much else throughout most of Western culture.

Second, they catalogue many of the specific interactions of communication and entertainment and the purposes they serve. This taxonomic approach has great value for scholars. By assembling the research in these areas, they offer a road map for further research. For example, some areas such as “militainment” have received only cursory scholarly attention—basic description, for example—while others such as “edutainment” have well developed scholarly histories. To take just a single example, one handbook of research on computers and education and the entertainment components runs over 1200 pages (Jonassen, 2004). Communication scholars need to direct sustained research to all, but especially the less studied areas of “-tainment,” to understand how they work and how we interact with them.

Both the reference list and the additional bibliography provide valuable starting points for further study.

Though not necessarily designed to complement their argument, several of the books reviewed in the following section of TRENDS do indeed illustrate the importance of these questions. Badaracco examines the media and religion nexus while Beckett asks what new media do to journalism. Both touch on “-tainment” in different ways. Cohen and Boyer's edited volume on religion and print in the U.S. and McNicholas' study of the Irish press and politics harken back to Postman's initial thesis of the connection between communication form and social institutions while Deacy and Ortiz bring entertainment (film) to bear on theology. Lundby presents studies of digital storytelling and Marriott looks at the entertainment in live television. Scholars do indeed take up the challenge of understanding how our contemporary media entertain and communicate.

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Book Reviews

Alred, Gerald J., Charles T. Brusaw, and Walter E. Oliu. *The Business Writer's Handbook*. (9th Edition). New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-312-57510-6 (hbk). \$44.95.

Alred, Gerald J., Charles T. Brusaw, and Walter E. Oliu. *The Handbook of Technical Writing*. (9th Edition). New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-312-57512-0 (hbk). \$44.95.

Do we really need more handbooks on writing?

The advances in communication technology since the introduction of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s has changed how, what, when and even why we communicate. The subsequent use of email, social networks, text messaging, and blogging has had a profound impact on how the English language is being used today. English is once again under serious attack. How so? "OMG TTTT we r ucwap, but wca? BBFN"

In the case of email, the very nature of its speed, urgency, and instant gratification results in horrible grammar, misspellings, words without thought, loss of proper respect, and massive distribution.

In addition, one cannot discount the impact of English as a Second Language (ESL) on rhetoric and proper grammar. What can we do to save the English language? Another writer's handbook? Maybe.

To research the question of our need for more writing instructional material, I went to The Book Store, Amazon.com, and searched "writing." Amazon.com produced 866,622 results. Honing the search to "writer's handbook" produced 6,177 sources. "Business writer's handbook" produced 1,497 and

"technical writing handbook" generated 657 results. Plenty of information, readily available.

My next thought, online, of course. Google Search took me to exponential heights. Any printed resource must compete with the preferred medium of 80% of the country and one of the preferred media of 100% of youth and young adults.

Among the best online writing sources that I found are: <http://writing.wisc.edu/Handbook/> (University of Wisconsin), <http://www.mrsalex.com/writing/handbook.htm> (Writing it Right!), and <http://www.gmu.edu/departments/writingcenter/wcref.html> (Writing Center at George Mason University).

Now back on topic: Good, if not, great writing has always been a requirement for business success. It is still at the top of the list of what employers look for in entry-level people. The first writing manual I can recall using is *The Elements of Style* by William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White. I still have the 1959 edition, which cost 95 cents in those days. After that I was never without my *Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*, a must for any public relations writer or journalist, for that matter.

So, do we need more writing instruction handbooks? In teaching effective writing, rhetoric, and communication, my observation is that we do NOT need more sources. We need well-known, easy-to-use, enticing-to-use sources of proper grammar, style, and technique. We need the assurance that the rules of English are understood, accepted, internalized, and used in ALL communication.

Let's take a look at Alred, Brusaw and Oliu's *The Business Writer's Handbook*. Opening the cover, one will notice the book is organized by the purpose of the writing, the final outcome, and the medium of delivery. This includes business reports, correspondence, resumes, visual support, presentations, and research. The authors have done an excellent job of integrating Web 2.0 tools such as web sites, blogs, and emails with traditional print.

The 9th edition does a fine job of addressing ESL and the typical problems many face when attempting to learn and use English as a second or third language. The handbook completes its offering with more traditional rules of grammar, sentence structure, parts of speech, punctuation, and style.

The subject matter is presented and accessible in alphabetical order, which makes sense on the surface. However, one quickly notes that the orderly, logical arrangement of content by topic gets lost as these sub-

jects are now dispersed throughout the book based on the first letter of the subject or topic. So you have to know precisely what you are looking for to find it easily and quickly. Where is Google when we need it?

The orange topic headings and highlighted words make the search a bit easier once you are in the vicinity of what you want to know. The Handbook has many useful and pertinent examples, visuals, and illustrations to demonstrate the proper use of the topic under discussion. Of note: job interviewing techniques, typography, presentations, grant proposals, resumes, and writing for the web. Under “e-mail” the authors do address business decorum, writing style, confidentiality, and frequent malpractices. I commend this expansion but it could go further.

My conclusion for your consideration: Alred, Brusaw, and Oliu’s 9th edition of *The Business Writer’s Handbook* certainly covers the subject. It is an excellent and complete handbook for business writers. It captures the transition to online media, but stops short of social networks and our newest challenge, the 140-character world of Twitter.

The information is here, but to entice the Millennial Generation to include the handbook in their backpack is an entirely different story. It may be time to take the 10th edition online.

Now moving to Alred, Brusaw and Oliu’s other 9th edition, *Handbook of Technical Writing*. It’s been said “Imitation is the sincerest flattery.” That being the case, the authors are in love with their work. This Handbook is a clone of the *Business Writer’s Handbook* and so it should be!

There are numerous purposes for writing with the one constant objective to communicate. For whatever audience and for whatever purpose, good writing is good writing. Only errorless prose, precise editing, and the flair to spark an emotion within the reader constitute good or even great writing.

Both handbooks present an excellent organization system and process to present and allow the reader to find the guidelines, rules of grammar, techniques of style, and examples of desired results. Why change? Why mess with a process that works?

While both handbooks contain the basics of good writing, the *Handbook of Technical Writing* goes a bit deeper into to the title topic, but NOT as extensively as one would have thought. Technical literature, documentation, instruction manuals, data manuals, tutorials, specification sheets, and application notes have long been essential to marketing and sell-

ing high technology products and services. Today, many semiconductor companies, for example, have very smart engineers that know little about capturing the technical superiority, differentiation, and essence of their products, and packaging that information to enable design engineers to determine if and where they can use the device.

To be a true technical writing handbook this work would have to have gone much more in depth on the desired outcomes than it does.

My conclusion: both handbooks are rich in content and contain a Wal-Mart of vital information for either novice or experienced writers to have at their fingertips. There is approximately 75% duplication in the two books. And that is as it should be. The formatting makes it easy to use the handbook IF you know what you are trying to locate.

There is a tremendous opportunity to take a 10th edition of both handbooks online. Let’s hope the authors will hear that calling. In the meantime, make room next to your computer for either of these excellent works. Professor Strunk would be pleased at how far we’ve come.

—H. Buford Barr
Santa Clara University

Badaracco, Clare Hoertz. *Prescribing Faith: Medicine, Media, and Religion in American Culture*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007. Pp. 270. ISBN 978-1-932792-89-98 (pb.) \$34.95.

As in many other countries, the United States seems to have a pandemic of anxiety, which pharmaceutical companies (and websites) feed upon, making more money from this (as Badaracco says, p.1) than from oil. Religion, even in the USA, is seen to have a decreasing influence and complementary and alternative medicines are growing fast as acceptable therapies. Mind-body medicine, like meditation, is being used for stress reduction, but along with this there is also a return to “folk” and botanical cures and prayer from various faith groups. Unlike the United Kingdom, the USA does not have a National Health Service, and Badaracco notes that in the first five years of the 21st century more Americans used complementary medicine than used “traditional” practitioners—although this may be a contradiction in terms on my part, since as she notes, many of the practices called “complementary” medicine are centuries old.

One of the interesting developments in complementary therapies, to my mind, is the mixing of Eastern and Western methods. This notion perhaps started in the 1960s when pop stars and hippies, and even people who were neither of these things, began to travel to India and to become involved in yoga, meditation from various traditions, and so on. Badaracco notes that while doctors warn against the use of plant therapies and medicines as cures (due to the toxicity of some of these agents), even those medicinal cures which have undergone supposedly stringent tests in the West, and upon which millions of dollars or pounds or euros have been spent, both in development and in advertisements, have had sometimes fatal or devastating side effects. Such Eastern/Western fusions may perhaps be yet another aspect of our more globalized world—much as I dislike using the term “globalized,” for how else can the world be described?

The focus of this book is on the controversial subject of the role of faith in medicine. The author describes the culture of the United States as one in which advertising disease thrives. She attempts here to seek out the historical roots behind faith-based therapies and, as she writes, to “deconstruct the pseudoscience of disease awareness that creates a demand for anxiety as a product, one that requires the corollary production of faith-based products to alleviate fears of illness, aging, and death” (p. 3). One has only to watch television, read a newspaper or magazine, or log into the Internet to see how much of the advertising we see and hear relates to defying age. In an era when obesity is a major factor in producing illness, there are advertisements for miracle diets—when actually the only way to lose weight is to eat less, a low-cost way to health. Badaracco notes that there seem to be two sectors in the American economy of health—rejectors of standard medicine and those who buy into it. There is, however, an increasingly large group of people who are undecided about which type of medicinal practice or practices they should follow.

Badaracco remarks that as the medical profession became more professionalized, they moved away from the religious authorities with whom they were once closely entwined. Religion and faith were, in medicine as in many other fields, often shown to be irrational. Since cures offered by doctors were often themselves dangerous, she observes that “prescriptions of contemporary pharmaceutical culture” (p. 3) must be taken just as much on faith as those offered by earlier physicians.

Badaracco offers answers to the questions: what is it about American cultural identity that has cultivated the ground for alternative religions based on the rejection of formal medicine and its prescriptions? Why did these “alternative” ideas about medicine and religious healing become so popular? Are they endemic to the American culture? While we live in a supposedly “rational” age, she explains that American culture has an engrained ambivalence to religion and health for a variety of cultural reasons, one of which is the ways in which medicine and religion both advertise hope.

Here also she notes that many fields come together in mind-body medicine (from the neurosciences to Christian prayers for healing by way of Buddhist mental training). For the pharmaceutical industry, branded advertising, which sells the drugstore as habitus, relies on what she calls “disease mongering”; anxiety is fomented about epidemics (perhaps the so-called bird “flu” epidemic publicity fits here), from information gleaned from press releases put together not by medically trained people, but by PR agents. She shows that the media cover science, and therefore medicine, as news, but few journalists have enough training in the sciences to unpack the press releases they are given—such information then also bypasses the audience/reader.

It is human to worry and imagine; anyone can do it—and most do. Badaracco comments that in an increasingly mediated world the means of mass media put together the notions of rational consumer choice and the hope of wellness, which transcends both ethnicity and denomination. The media thus cause us to return to entrenched ideas about medicine, faith, and wellness. At the same time, some doctors are returning to notions that, in fact, religious faith may have some bearing on the physical health of patients. Badaracco also comments that there are three interlinked threads in the ways that science and religion are today communicated in the USA: The impact of prayer on health, intelligent design vs. creationism, and national health-care public policy and constitutional or Supreme Court jurisprudence issues. The book looks mainly at the first of these threads. Here, she considers also the role of women in the history of faith and medicine and notes the key roles played by women both as objects and subjects in this field.

Her third chapter considers the research already completed on faith and medicine since the 19th century and notes controversies around clinical studies and prayer interventions in therapy together with the role of faith in healing.

The fourth chapter considers research data on prayer in brain research, stress-relaxation responses, and neuroimmunology. It also considers the sometimes negative responses to such data. Her fifth chapter considers how the pharmaceutical industry, through the financial power it is able to exercise on the media, presents its opposition to notions of alternative and complementary medicine. It also considers conflicts of interest between physicians, medical journal advertising, and “nonprofit” consumer groups that are often funded by the pharmaceutical industry itself.

The author notes that she has tried to present her arguments in a way that is as unbiased as possible, trying to be judicious and balanced and she makes no secrets of her own faith, nor of her interests in Buddhism and the Christian mystics.

Badaracco is to be congratulated on this well-researched and well-illustrated book, which considers an area of such increasing interest that universities, my own included, now have schools of alternative medicine that cater to the growing need for an academic basis to the whole area of complementary therapies.

The book features endnotes, a reference list, and an index.

—Maria Way

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Beckett, Charlie. *SuperMedia: Saving Journalism so It Can Save the World.* Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. x, 205. ISBN 978-1-4051-7923-2 (pb.) \$21.95.

Most everyone agrees that journalism has a future and most everyone remains puzzled as to what that future might look like. Journalism has strong ties to “the public,” to the public square as a site of discussion in a democracy, to government (at least as its subject), and to business (both as a subject and as that side of journalism that must pay the bills). How will people negotiate the roles and the relationships of journalism in a time of new media? With this book, Charlie Beckett, a former BBC and Channel 4 (UK) journalist and the founding director of POLIS (the forum for research and debate into journalism and society at the London School of Economics), offers his interpretation of the state of journalism and presents his hope for it. “This book is my manifesto for the media as a journalist but also as a citizen of the world” (p. 2).

Beckett has a fairly straightforward approach. After an introductory chapter on the importance of journalism, he reviews the new media landscape and then offers his best guess as to the future—something he terms “networked journalism.” The rest of the book has him explicating the concept in different contexts: networked journalism and politics, networked journalism in the face of terrorism, and networked journalism in its relationship with editorial diversity and media literacy.

The introductory material asserts (rather than establishes) the importance of journalism (though, in all fairness, most readers of this book most likely would agree with the assertion):

Journalism matters. We live in a much more interconnected world where information is ever-more critical to our lives. And it is journalism that conveys that data and allows us to debate its significance. (p. 4)

In reaching this point Beckett reminds his readers of what he sees as self-evident about journalism today: the abundance of news; the abundance of resources with which journalists can reach people; the ease of access to news for various audiences; the necessity of journalism in local and global society, economics, and politics; and the “technological, educational, and economic potential for a vast expansion of journalism’s impact” (p. 3). In this context, he describes the new media landscape, sketching the changes all of us have come to know. In doing so, he examines threats to journalism (loss of audience, loss of revenue, fragmentation, loss of diversity, trivialization, and loss of quality) as well as the deeper threats to the public good.

His solution to this is networked journalism.

Here the book becomes more difficult, not in its style, but in its presentation of just what “networked journalism” is. Though he devotes a chapter to it, the exact nature of networked journalism remains elusive. Acknowledging that “Good journalism has always been about networking” (p. 46), for a definition Beckett quotes at length from blogger Jeff Jarvis:

“Networked journalism” takes into account the collaborative nature of journalism now: professionals and amateurs working together to get the real story, linking to each other across brands and old boundaries to share facts, questions, answers, ideas, perspectives. It recognizes the complex relationships that will make news. And it focuses on the process more than the product. (p. 46)

But this sounds much like today's journalism. All of the examples and discussion of networked journalism do not differ all that much from what we have today, except perhaps through the use of online linkages. It seems a bit like old wine in new skins. Beckett does suggest that networked journalism will differ in that it has fewer barriers to entry, has an interactive character, can use "infinite technology," has lower costs, uses multiple platforms available 24/7, and presents multiple dimensions. In all the discussion, it seems the key distinguishing features all arise from the use of online resources.

This criticism does not imply that Beckett does a poor job; on the contrary, he carefully spells out the dimensions of this new journalism, in reporting and consuming, and in the business side. In capturing a readership, the networked journalism must remain local and deeply connected to public service (pp. 80-86), since such connections lead to greater trust and transparency.

Chapter 3, on networked journalism and politics, shows how this new journalism works in terms of U.S., U.K., and African politics. Heavily dependent on case studies, the chapter shows how bloggers and YouTube have led some political investigations. In the African context, networked journalism works via cell phones and some blogs to develop a new tradition of investigation. Again, the difficulty here is that, with the exception of some of the African coverage, many of the stories would have eventually entered into the political discussion. Bloggers may indeed refuse to "play by the rules" established in the old media, but one could argue that their breakthroughs do not really advance the public sphere.

In Chapter 4, Beckett examines the role of networked journalism in the face of terrorism and public security. The added eyes or ears of a participating public certainly help, but he also notes the problems arising from bias and ignorance (p. 131) and from the fragmentation of the social order (p. 134). On the other hand, networked journalism allows marginalized groups (Muslims in Britain, for example) to tell their own story; internationally, it allows new news operations like Al-Jazeera a world-wide stage. The more voices, the better coverage—something long held in journalism, but perhaps more fully enabled by cheap (and almost ubiquitous) communication.

The final chapter examines the benefits of greater editorial diversity and of greater media literacy. The former story arises in news organizations and better represents society. The latter frames an audience (if one

can still use that term for members of the networked journalism circle) and its obligations to understand networked journalism and how it works.

The book as a whole does provide an important snapshot of what journalism might become, but—and maybe this results from attempts to foretell the future—the image remains somewhat fuzzy and not all that different from what we know today.

Each chapter ends with a helpful bullet-point summary of important points; each has references. The book also provides a list of suggested readings for each chapter as well as a subject index.

—Paul Soukup, S.J.
Santa Clara University

Cave, Martin and Kiyoshi Nakamura. (Eds). *Digital Broadcasting: Policy and Practice in the Americas, Europe, and Japan*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2006. Pp. 304. ISBN 978-1-84542-371-1 (hbk.) \$140.00 (online discount \$126.00); also available as 978-1-84720-160-7 (ebook) \$140.00.

Digital television broadcasting is transforming the broadcasting landscape in many countries across the world. The collection is divided into three sections: the development of digital broadcasting (USA, Latin America, Europe, and Japan); content rights and digital broadcasting; and digital broadcasting and platform competition (Europe and Japan).

In their introduction to this collection of essays on the policy, economic, and legal aspects of digital broadcasting, Cave and Nakamura emphasize that digital TV will eventually bring about a "comprehensive change in the economic and social relations linking consumers, content providers, and all the intermediate steps in the process linking providers and consumers of content" (p. 2). It is clear from these contributions, however, that any such transformative change will have to be negotiated in the context of very different economic conditions, regulatory regimes, technological capacities, and political systems. The move from analogue to digital broadcasting is just as much a political decision as it is a technological or commercial one.

The complexities of the political and regulatory issues involved are well explored in a number of chapters. Kwerel and Levy consider the U.S. situation and highlight, in addition to the benefits for consumers and the increase in competition with cable and satellite, the policy makers' desire to use digital terrestrial TV as a

means of freeing up spectrum which can then be auctioned for other purposes. Similar considerations are found by Cave in his UK analysis, with the added complication of supporting public service broadcasting. Nakamura and Tajiri consider the difficulties faced by Japanese policymakers in trying to move an entrenched broadcasting system which is relatively inflexible. First, Fontaine and Pogorel and then, Di Mauro explore the complexities in European Union policy as politicians and regulators try to balance the competing needs and interests of different nations as well as broadcasters and the public. In his analysis of the Italian situation, Del Monte concludes that “the future of digital television in Italy will be decided by politics rather than technology” (p. 101).

Whether the move to digital TV will be of benefit to the Third World is a question considered by Galperin in his chapter on three countries in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Galperin argues that “the transition to digital broadcasting represents a unique opportunity to reformulate the existing industry structure based on limited competition between a number of licensees, as well as to optimize spectrum utilization and promote innovative radio-based communication services at the local level. However, numerous political and institutional factors favor adaptation to existing industry arrangements . . . thus minimizing the opportunities for policymakers to seek reforms.” (p. 40). This institutional inertia may also inhibit the possibilities for digital broadcasting to help ameliorate the information gap in developing nations.

Other chapters analyze the difficult problems of balancing the rights of consumers with those of producers and broadcasters and examine the pros and cons of copyright, digital rights management, and the regulation of conditional access systems. The final three essays are an in-depth examination of the transition to digital broadcasting in Japan.

In his essay on the legal and economic issues of digital terrestrial TV in Japan, Hayashi concludes that “it is necessary to understand the need for a fresh model for television culture after the programme production processes change from analogue to digital, instead of regarding DTTV merely as the replacement of equipment.”

—James McDonnell
Signis

Chevalier, Rebekah. (Ed.). *Love to Share: Intellectual Property Rights, Copyright, and Christian Churches.*

Toronto: World Association for Christian Communication and Geneva: World Council of Churches, [2008]. Pp. 58. ISBN 978-2-8254-1519-1. Free download from <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/programmes/unity-mission-evangelism-and-spirituality/spirituality-and-worship/love-to-share.html>

This small book (or download) seeks to do three things: (1) “to raise awareness among churches and wider audiences about intellectual property as it relates to liturgical and Christian education resources and their use;” (2) “to invite people to reflect, discuss, and act effectively on intellectual property issues and use of liturgical resources;” and (3) “to promote a culture of sharing that protects the individual creators/authors and encourages Christian communities and their publishing houses worldwide to act in a fair and just way” (p. 3). Recognizing the problem that churches face, particularly in liturgical settings, the World Council of Churches and the World Association for Christian Communication convened a series of meetings and conferences to explore intellectual property issues. This short document presents the work of these conferences, within the context of international agreements on copyright, including the recognition of both moral and material rights of authors.

The book’s first chapter presents an overview of the current context, both economic and legal, faced by Christian groups. The second chapter—probably the most insightful and original in this context—offers a theological framework for the discussion. Refusing both a condemnation of the dominant capitalist system of intellectual property and an embrace of that system, the chapter suggests several theological approaches to property: God as the source of all, the sharing in the Christian community, a witness to the Resurrection, and the option for the poor. This provides the background for Chapter 3, which outlines the challenging issues for the churches. These include enforcing copyright, identifying authors, using material from traditional communities, and the inadvertent use of copyrighted materials.

The last three chapters sketch principles. Chapter 4 distinguishes the public and private sectors while Chapter 5 offers alternatives, including the Creative Commons and copyleft movement (see COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2007). Chapter 6 presents some guidelines for action in five sections: guidelines for all, guidelines for the churches, guidelines for those using others’ material,

guidelines for authors and creators, and guidelines for publishers.

The book has an appendix of helpful websites and a glossary of terms.

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

Chopra, Rohit. *Technology and Nationalism in India: Cultural Negotiations from Colonialism to Cyberspace.* Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008. Pp. xii-xv 314. ISBN 978-1-60497-567-3 (hb). \$109.95.

This book makes important links between cyber research and cultural and political theory. It is very much worth a careful reading. Chopra makes a formidable claim in the very first line of his book: “This book examines the use of the Internet by global Indian communities for the promotion of Hindu nationalist ideologies, a phenomenon I term “technocultural Hindu Nationalism,” with reference to the relationship between technology and nationalism in India from the era of British colonial rule in the mid-18th century to the present era of an economically and technologically interconnected world” (p. 2).

In a surprisingly brief space, the author is able to trace in the Introduction the relationship of technology to the theory of the state both in British and subsequent Indian political regimes from Gandhi to Nehru to the Hindu nationalist party of the 1990s.

In Chapter 2 we find in only 26 pages a compelling exposition of Bourdieu’s social theory that the book will employ to explore its thesis. And this in a form of clarity and brevity for which Bourdieu and his followers have, in my experience, not been noted. Chopra first gives an explication of concepts of habitus, practice, dispositions, doxa, field, capital, and class in a form that the reader will carry through the reading of the book with greater clarity than is usual for studies that incorporate theory seriously into the research project. He also gives Bourdieu’s theory of the state and locates his writing across several key disciplines that will be involved in the study: social theory, cultural studies, and sociology of education. Finally, the author confronts three objections to Bourdieu’s theory: instrumentality (vs. social practices outside considerations of capital), Eurocentricity (vs. a universal basis for theory other than French society) and religion (vs. a view of spirituality beyond organized religion).

Chopra devotes Chapter 3 to “key moments in the history of the technological field and technological

capital and identifies important characteristics of the field and species of capital during the period of roughly 1750 to 1900” (p. 69). The key period of 1835 is highlighted when the British, in response to Macaulay’s (yes, that one) critique of indigenous Indian knowledge, introduced an educational reform that would be secular and grounded in the English language. Even though science and technology were subjects in early Indian universities, these subjects were neglected through this period. What is highlighted is the Indian response to the racist assumption that Indians needed to be civilized by a superior British/European culture. Indians began to develop a theory of how the early Hindu texts provided an interpretation of an identity predating colonial conquest. As the author argues: “In this reading, Hinduism was described as a universal scientific, religious and cultural world view—a “Hindu science” that was the foundation of an authentic Indian identity as well as the source for the realization of that identity” (p. 85). This reinterpretation, however, had its limitations in its readings of the ancient texts in the anti-Muslim views that were built into the emerging nationalism by some.

Chapter 4 proposes to outline the development of the technological field and capital over the next century until 1947. The author proposes to assess “three competing visions for the Indian nation-state . . . the decentralized, industry-free, Indian nation proposed by Gandhi, premised on a radical critique of Western industrial modernity and the very idea of the nation-state; the dream of a modern Indian nation-state that would derive its strength from its essentially Hindu core, proposed by Savarkar, the main ideologue of Hinduvta, or Hindi nationalism; and the Nehruvian socialist model of a technologically developed, economically prosperous and socially progressive Indian nation-state” (pp. 95-96). It turns out that Nehru’s vision became the dominant one after 1947, but the technological and scientific base was set in place in the previous century with an education system that privileged those who could get private education in English and who could later study abroad in England or America. It created a class structure that was combined with caste and led to both technological and cultural capital for its members.

Chopra provides non-Indian readers with an important understanding of how the early nationalist teachings of Savarkar gained political importance in the 1980s through a series of events that exacerbated the tensions between Muslim minority and Hindu

majority. The liberalization of 1991, when there was an abandonment of the previous Socialist policies of Nehru and the dominant Congress party, provided an opportunity for the BJP Hindu nationalist party to incorporate neoliberalism into a Hindu-centered nationalism. The rise of Indian technological prowess at the same time provided all the elements for what the author calls Technocultural Hindu Nationalism “by combining the cultural reason of Hindu nationalism with economic and meritocratic logic of neoliberalism into a new nomos for the Indian nation-state” (p. 160).

The final substantive chapter provides the evidence for this kind of nationalism by examining websites of not only the BJP party but others (many from the diaspora of hi-tech Indians in the U.S. and UK) that reflect the party’s basic ideology. The chapter is largely given over to a methodological and theoretical argument that allows Chopra to come to some conclusions about the ideology that drives the present BJP party and explains some of its themes that suggest a darker side of India’s spectacular rise to prominence among global powers. In his concluding chapter, the author makes some intriguing points about India’s current identity on the Internet as well as some comments about Internet theories and research in our present era. Although a proponent of Bourdieu’s theory and one who uses the theory skillfully throughout the study, Chopra concludes with the following: “Bourdieu’s theoretical framework may be critiqued on the same general ground on which Gandhi critiqued modernity itself. The objection, simply stated, is whether aspects of human social life can be completely described in terms of calculations of capital” (p. 258). The author concludes that there is a need to achieve a social practice that is more egalitarian in an era of nationalism and technological advance.

The book contains footnotes after each chapter, several appendices, a bibliography, and index. (In the interests of full disclosure, I note here that Professor Chopra teaches in the same departmental unit as I do.)

—Emile McAnany
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Cohen, Charles L. and Paul S. Boyer (Eds.). *Religion and the Culture of Print in Modern America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008. Pp. xlvii, 345. ISBN 978-0-299-22570-4 (hbk). \$65.00; 978-0-299-22574-2 (pb). \$29.95.

In the field of communication, insufficient attention has been given to the role of printing and the history of the book in shaping awareness of how media has influenced and been shaped by religion. This book is a landmark contribution towards rectifying that gap in the body of knowledge in communication and the history of media and religion in America. The distinguished historians Paul Boyer and Charles Cohen argue in their introductory essays that American religious history is “incomprehensible” (p. 15) without understanding the “primacy” (p. xiii) of print culture and, conversely, that one will fail to understand contemporary American print culture without also comprehending how much modernism owes to the ideas, content, and style of religious tracts, magazines, periodicals, books, and other printed ephemera used intentionally to evangelize through messages about values and ideas, goods and services—even salvation. By assembling the dozen essays in the well-edited volume by a broad range of interdisciplinary scholars, this book provides ample evidence for its claim that it is the “first to survey the history of religious print culture in postbellum and modern America” (p. ix). The book is part of a series emerging from the work of the University of Wisconsin Center for the History of Print Culture in Modern America, sponsor of a 2004 conference on religion and the culture of print in America, from which this selection of essays emerged.

The history of print culture and religion has matured, as the editors observe, from denominational histories to an interdisciplinary and cultural studies approach to communication analysis. This volume includes scholarship about a range of traditions, including Jewish, Mormon, Megiddo, Quaker, Protestant denominations as well as New Age; the lack of Catholic historical analysis is admitted in the Preface, and remains an area where future research is encouraged by the editors. Yet the purpose of this volume is to “sketch the contours” of the history (p. xi), and it does so in a highly interesting and far-ranging way. The organization of the volume is not intended to provide a case for a unified trajectory about the growth of American religion, but to attribute to the history of an increasingly diverse landscape of American spiritual beliefs the explosive growth of the various styles of printed literature. To fully account for an audience’s suspension of disbelief, a prime mover of modernist consumption of mass mediated productions, one needs to analyze how beliefs functioned historically in the

shaping of cultural productions. Examples abound in this collection, from Paul Boyer's example of *What Would Jesus Do* comic books, to Paul Gutjahr's *Bible-zine Revolve*, discussion of cultural identity about Jewish Identity, the Scopes Trial, Fundamentalism, and New Age Feminism, and the Psychology and Mysticism in Merton and Fosdick, and narratives of Healing by Kathryn Kullman; the collection covers a spectrum of popular beliefs mediated through an equally broad range of print productions.

As Charles Cohen's introductory essay observes, it is the printed word that served not only as messenger, but as a point of cohesion in the formation of American cultural identity, both on the periphery and in proximity to the site of the production of print culture. As Paul Boyer's introductory essay observes, Judeo-Christian religions embody the ideas of a people of the book, and bibles throughout history have served as the prototypical best seller, a paradigm followed by producers of tracts to mass market paperbacks. In the second part of the book, novels and books of moral instruction as well as their advertisement are discussed; in the third part, periodicals; Part 4 includes cartoons, pamphlets, and journals; Part 5, middlebrow books sold through subscription book clubs, and the fad and fashion of popular psychology that accounted for leading best sellers; Part 6 takes into account niche marketing and audience segmentation influence in designing eclectic theologies responsible for productions of self-help as well as the American Bible Society's teen bibles targeting consumers of magazines. The consequence of authorial intention in print culture, and the many ways in which the central message or linguistic reality can be displaced by other considerations emerging from style of print product design, packaging, delivery, and the like can be demonstrated through the history of print culture: This theme unifies a diverse collection of essays in media and religion. Along with the other books emerging from the Center, this is an important contribution to our understanding of the field.

—Claire Badaracco
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Deacy, Christopher and Gaye Williams Ortiz. *Theology and Film: Challenging the Sacred/Secular Divide*. Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiv, 245. ISBN 978-1-4051-4438-4 (pb.) \$32.95.

Theology and Film sets out to accomplish two things: to provide an overall method for doing theology in the context of film and to apply that method to a number of themes in contemporary film. While the book approaches both goals in quite interesting ways, it does not quite manage to fulfill its promise. The very difficulty of the topic itself, particularly with the huge amount of prior material demanding at least an acknowledgment, poses a formidable challenge, one that perhaps no author can fully meet. Deacy and Ortiz try and in so doing offer some initial steps forward.

Part I consists of a long methodological proposal, primarily authored by Deacy, which situates the book and advances the independent work of both Deacy (2005) and Ortiz (Marsh & Ortiz, 1997). This chapter, which bears careful reading, proposes two important methodological considerations. First, those dealing with film and theology should approach their study as a hermeneutical dialogue. Though not mentioned explicitly, this method recalls the work of Gadamer and its theorized "fusion of horizons" in which both dialogue partners bring important background knowledge to the conversation and both shed light on the meaning created in their encounter. The chapter does well to insist on the independence of both theology and film, even while attempting to overcome the "sacred/secular divide." While one must not simply make films into a series of illustrations of theological points, the chapter points out that one can neither abandon the theological enterprise nor the independence of the cinema. Unfortunately, even after acknowledging this, this chapter (and the rest of the volume) tend to privilege theology in the exposition of meaning created in the encounter with film. While Deacy and Ortiz prove much more subtle, one still can get the impression that films somehow come up short when measured against the expectations of theology.

The second significant methodological consideration involves an attempt to categorize or classify various theological approaches to film according to Richard Niebuhr's well known "Christ and culture" approach (1952). Such an approach recognizes that one cannot speak univocally of theology—for many Christian theologies exist, with different churches stressing one relationship between Christ and culture over another. The chapter suggests readings of various people doing work in the nexus of theology and film according to their placement in Niebuhr's typology. This certainly proves helpful in contrasting one theological approach with another and in making sense of

seemingly contradictory readings of film vis-a- vis theology. It also helps to place the present work in a specific theological context

Part II presents theological perspectives on six filmic themes, though the chapters equally seem to present films that address theological themes—women, the environment, violence, justice, war, and eschatology. Typically, the chapter will introduce the theme and then summarize films that relate to the theme. The exception comes in Chapter 3, “Woman as Spectacle,” which draws a parallel between feminist film theory and feminist theology. Here the intersection between theology and film remains on a more theoretical level throughout. While interesting in itself, the presentation does not explain how the parallels of the two perspectives lead to a fruitful dialogue between film and theology, particularly since they arose from two distinct concerns within feminist discourse. The other chapters offer both films as well as summaries of how various theological writers have interpreted the particular films. Not surprisingly, some chapters have more substance than others: The chapter on the environment runs only 10 pages while the one on war takes up twice as many and that on eschatology more still. Certainly more films address these latter themes than the former, and the latter themes have garnered theological attention far longer than has the environment.

Theology and Film does not succeed as it might for several reasons. As noted above, the authors subtly privilege theology; they seem unwilling to admit that the writers/directors/producers of films may also do theology—not in words or with the traditional tools of academic theology, but in the narratives and worlds and characters and images they create. Rather than fitting films into a theological framework, one might examine the theology of a particular film or director. Ironically, Deacy and Ortiz claim to give films a voice and rightly criticize those theologians who naively hunt for Christ-figures in all manner of films. Their own approach, while avoiding this pitfall, still seems to begin with theological themes into which they fit films. Second, in the thematic chapters, they occasionally ignore the framework so painstakingly spelled out in the first part of the book and mix theological readings of film, even though the theologians line up in different categories of “Christ and culture.” Sometimes, they call the attention of the reader to this, but not always.

Third, even though they acknowledge film theory and film studies, the authors do not seem to take those areas seriously, mixing various approaches to film or

treating films in isolation from the cultural matrix and political economy that produced them. Their approach also tends to ignore the audience(s) for the films they discuss, even though they hint at the impact films can have. If a professional theologian finds a compelling theological element in a given film, will the average movie-goer experience the film in the same way? This book attempts no answer.

A small fault, but a disturbing one, occurs in the book’s attitude to the Catholic Church, whether resulting from a bias or from the selection of films. The Catholic Church receives both just and unjust criticism, where other Christian churches do not. The Catholic Church must answer for the failings of its members (Michael Corleone in *The Godfather*, whom the film presents as killing his rivals during the baptism of his child); the Catholic Church proves a greedy organization (when in *The Verdict*, a Catholic hospital is involved in a medical claim); the Catholic Church appears hypocritical in the sinfulness of individual Catholics (Jimmy Markum in *Mystic River*, who attends the First Communion of his younger daughter, even though he seeks murderous revenge for the death of his older one). Perhaps the Catholic Church deserves such criticism, but one wonders at the sinlessness of other Christians. One also wonders at how the various cited religious critics can miss the deeper theological contrast of sin and salvation in each episode.

Despite these things, *Theology and Film* repays a careful reading. The methodological considerations should prove helpful to future discussions of film and theology, if only to sort out so many competing claims. The encouragement to take film seriously as a dialogue partner can only benefit theology—if theologians take the time to learn the hermeneutics of film on the cinema’s own terms. And, finally, the authors’ avowed claim that taking “film in a holistic sense discourages us from thinking in a way that dissects the sacred/spiritual from the secular” (p. 203) proves a point well taken.

The book features a bibliography, a filmography, and an index.

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Lundby, Knut. (Ed). *Digital Storytelling, Mediatized Stories: Self-Representations in New Media*. New York, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. viii, 313. ISBN 978-1-4331-0274-5 (hbk). \$109.95; 978-1-4331-0273-8 (pb). \$33.95.

This book emerged from an international research project managed by the editor: “Mediatized Stories: Mediation perspectives on digital storytelling among youth” (www.intermedia.uio.no/mediatized/) is made up of scholars in six countries covering cases in California, Europe, Georgia, Iran, and Japan. Scholars from Australia add to this group their ongoing research at Queensland University of Technology. In this theory-intensive volume, consisting of contributions from academics in media studies working throughout the world, a cutting-edge niche is established among those thinking about, analyzing, and studying the impact of digital technologies on the personal, individual, institutional, and societal levels of self-imagining. Scholars debate the sociological, political, aesthetic, and literary genres involved in meaning making, mediation, and mediatization. The range of evidence and body of knowledge in media theory raises up the need to differentiate the users of social networking sites from the large, organized, institutional storytelling projects that are largely, but not entirely, the evidentiary basis for this book.

Among the 16 chapters divided into five parts, introduced by the editor Knut Lundby of the University of Oslo, theoretical approaches; strategies; and questions of intentionality, authority, and self-representation are unpacked as they have been interpreted and experienced in various regions of the world and in disparate cultural circumstances. The global reach of this volume is its strength, as is the larger implication of its cumulative evidence that for a full understanding of global communication networks, it does take a story circle that is wide enough to match the reach of the technology itself.

In the first section the definition of terms is argued and established. The terms mediatization and mediation predate the application of digital media to storytelling, as Lundby asserts, but the “processes are intensified by digital media with their capacity for semiotic, narrative, and institutional transformations” (p. 11). The reference to “media logic,” a term coined by American scholars David Altheide and Robert Snow in 1979, is useful, both as affirmation and critical terminology; and more currently, the idea of mediatiza-

tion has emerged, denoting society’s dependence on that mode of thought. The second section concerns self-representation and explores the tension between multimodal, multivocal, cultural, and assumed authenticity in digital tales about the life of the self. The third section explores strategies vis-à-vis institutions and the aesthetic dimensions of this terrain. The fourth section explores the challenges to educational pillars—parents, schools—and to the media industry itself. The fifth section examines metaphors of telling—including the use of Lego bricks—and interrogates the assumptions that underlie the whole book; that is, what is it about stories being digital that changes assumptions, narrations, and the cultural definitions of world.

Themes and threads of debates unite the chapters: for example, how has storytelling as art and craft been changed by digital media? In what ways, modes, and forms does such digital media challenge institutions to change? Does this grassroots movement of multimodality, semiotics, and self-representation always result in truth-telling? Does such a universalizable endeavor through global media encourage democracy? Finally, in what ways is the digital story likely to mature and what implications does it have for a political future when children who grew up with this technology enter leadership roles in society and in academic life? This is a volume is a classic because it presents a snapshot in time of the logic of a leading edge group of digital media theorists.

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Marriott, Stephanie. *Live Television: Time, Space, and the Broadcast Event*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd. 2007. Pp. 137. ISBN: 978-0-7619-5909-0 (hbk.) \$99.95; 978-0-7619-5910-6 (pb.) £24.99, \$39.95.

To the uninitiated, the fuzzy label “phenomenology” is suspect, carrying connotations of doctrinaire mysticism, or even something akin to parapsychology. The cumbersome word’s unfortunate resemblance to “phrenology” and the suffix it shares with various other strains of charlatanry doesn’t help. Nor do Edmund Husserl’s (the so-called father of phenomenology) dry tomes, which tend to dishearten all but the hardest seekers.

But artful phenomenology, meaning a vibrant account of some facet of experience, need have nothing to do with the formulaic terminology academics

derived from Greek philosophy. Ultimately, a keen eye, imagination, empathy, and expressive power produce the richest descriptions of experience. Thus, some of the most striking phenomenological investigations, such as Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, and Hunter S. Thompson's *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72*, don't bear the imprimatur of formal phenomenology.

Live Television, Stephanie Marriott's description of how television affects our experience of time, space, and interconnectedness, is grounded in academic phenomenology. However, her brisk, first-person account is anything but stuffy. Marriott comes across as an ardent viewer and celebrant of technology as she pursues her quarry, "the ontological structure of television," whose essence, "liveness," she attempts to capture by describing snippets of programming. Her examples range from the quaintly pedestrian—such British fare as snooker, bowls, and jump racing—to the epochal—J.F.K.'s assassination and the World Trade Center's destruction.

Central to Marriott's investigation of "liveness" is the elusive *now* of lived experience, which both Husserl and Henri Bergson tried to pin down. Each philosopher agreed that this generative *now* couldn't be reduced merely to the moment that dies, and in a wink, is born again endlessly. Rather, Bergson stated,

what I call "my present" has one foot in my past and another in my future. In my past, first, because "the moment in which I am speaking is already far from me"; in my future, next, because this moment is impending over my future: it is to the future that I am tending . . . The psychological state, then, that I call "my present," must be both a perception of the immediate past and a determination of the immediate future. (qtd. in Marriott, pp. 66-67)

Here is Husserl's description of the "thickened" experiential present we inhabit:

the duration of the sound apprehended in the now . . . constantly sinks back into the past and an ever new point of duration enters into the now or is now . . . the expired duration recedes from the actual now-point . . . and moves back into an ever more "distant" past, and so on. (p. 67)

Relevant to the ontology of television is the notion of the "new." The present, for Bergson, is "simply what is being made." Reality is "a ceaseless upbringing of something new, which has no sooner arisen to make the present than it has already fallen back into the past." And for Husserl,

"above all, the now-moment is characterized as the new. The now, just sinking away, is no longer the new, but that which is shoved aside by the new" (p. 67).

In applying these insights to television, the "new" and the "now" correspond to "liveness" or "immediacy." Marriott allows that "liveness" is not an ontological given. However, "liveness perpetually underpins the flow of broadcasting, [is] always available as an option because the instantaneity of transmission and reception renders it a constant possibility." Whether broadcasters opt to realize this potential is beside the point: "immediacy resides in the medium as a continual promise, forever on the brink of emergence" (p. 58). Marriott contends that live television permits viewers to co-constitute a temporal horizon that transcends the limitations of physical presence—or in her words, to "watch what is going on *right now* in a host of elsewhere" (p. 60).

The riveting factor in this type of inter-subjectivity is an emotional grip unique to knowingly watching a live event. Marriott cleverly cements this claim with an analogy to gambling, which, in Walter Benjamin's words "converts time into a narcotic." Marriott elaborates: "to gamble is to surrender oneself to the addictive thrill of pure duration, to position oneself, momentarily, inside the flux of the moment with its constantly changing horizons of possibility and outcome" (p. 70). Marriott then shows her hand, "Live television, whether it delivers on this promise or not, offers the same thrill" (p. 70).

Analogies aside, plumbing why live television should offer this particular thrill would yield considerable insight into just *what* summons forth consciousness or attention. Indeed, the roots of Husserl's phenomenology are drenched in psychology. Marriott ventures into this territory, but returns empty-handed. She remarks the appeal of *Bird in the Nest*, which offered viewers several daily glimpses into habitats:

The impact of such programmes depends on seeing what the birds are doing as they do it; to watch it after the event is to be stripped of the enchantment which the programmes offer by virtue of their ability to bring hidden places into the immediate vicinity of the audience in the moment of their unfolding. (p. 60)

Obviously. But why should the moment of unfolding deliver enchantment rather than tedium? Here's another go: "To watch such footage at a later date is to be placed in a fundamentally different relation to the event" (p. 60). Obviously. But, again, an empty nest.

As a stock answer to live television's thrilling appeal, simply positing "the encounter of the emergent *now*" lacks wattage. The same in-the-moment mode of being factors into reading and other pleasures. This, Marriott allows: "The reader encountering the world of the book is indeed encountering it in the emergent *now* of reading, in an ever-novel [nice pun] *now*-moment" (p. 72). But to claim that a book's narrative is *completed* prior to its dissemination, thus its emergent-*now* is qualitatively different settles nothing: "One can always skip to the last page to see how it ends, just as one can fast-forward a DVD or video to get to the final chapter of the film or the conclusion of an event recorded earlier" (p. 72). Yes, but one can also choose not to.

In effect, Marriott's attempt to demonstrate the phenomenological uniqueness of live television's "emergent *now*"—in birding and assassinations—lends narrative cohesion to *Live Television*. But how this argument unfolds—blemishes and all—is far less interesting than the avenues it opens and Marriott's penetrating observations about television.

Consider her appropriation of the concept *kleinform*, which she uses to describe the phenomenological consequences of the practice of embedding and re-embedding replays into live coverage. (A *kleinform* is a "tube containing part of itself [which] can in turn be contained in another part of itself, or can emerge from itself and re-enter.") These replay images, Marriott writes, possess a temporal duality, "existing in both the past and the present at one and the same time" (p. 80). An additional layer of complexity is added when broadcast microphones continue to pick up ambient, real-time sound during the replay, creating a fusion—or confusion—of live and non-live, *then* and *now*, and the *past* as *now*.

In her description of British election night coverage (in May 1997), Marriott probes the complexity of spatial diffusion. A profusion of cameras and screens dispersed throughout the land produced numerous images of this sort: Blair's supporters in Sedgefield "are also caught on camera in moments of endless regress, watching themselves watching themselves on a large screen in an example of what Ong . . . refers to as a 'one-way electronic hall of mirrors'" (pp. 93-94).

Live Television presents an increasingly tangled picture screen where perceptual parameters bleed into and among each other and emerge blurred, neither fully inner nor outer, mediated nor direct, here nor there, then nor now. Marriott demonstrates that immediacy and presence are essentially rhetorical strate-

gies—visual and linguistic re-orderings of familiar frames of reference—designed to portray authenticity. To echo Jean Paul Sartre, every such technique contains a metaphysical perspective. Marriott's sharpest observations beckon us to consider what is "real." Of these, as a BBC presenter might say, "She had her eye in well and truly."

The book contains a list of references (pp. 130-134); and an index (pp. 135-137).

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McNicholas, Anthony. *Politics, Religion, and the Press: Irish Journalism in Mid-Victorian England.* Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Wien: Peter Lang, 2007. Pp. 370. ISBN 978-3-03-910699-8 (pb.) \$106.95.

This book arose from McNicholas' doctoral thesis, but has been substantially altered and amended to include work that the thesis did and could not cover. For those of my generation, the Roman Catholic church in the United Kingdom was often an Irish church. Although there were recusant families, those of us who were working class rarely came across them. Apart from the Irish, Catholic churches usually had Scots, Italians, and Poles, but in smaller numbers. To be Catholic and not Irish was something rather strange—I used to think that one of the conditions for being a nun was that one had to be female and Irish, for I met no nuns who were not Irish.

The history of conflict between the Irish and the English—or perhaps more correctly, the United Kingdom—goes back a long way. It was under the Normans that people from England first went to conquer the Irish, but in the 19th century there was a huge influx of Irish into England due to famines. McNicholas notes that for many years, perhaps due to this, Irish migrants were distinguished only by their poverty—strange when one considers the number of literary giants that Ireland has given England. Now, he notes, with increasing study of this migrant population, it is beginning to be considered, while overwhelmingly poor, not uniformly poor; individually transient—although it put down deep roots; mostly Catholic but with sizeable numbers of Protestants and dynamic and variegated, rather than homogenous. While many of the immigrants were manual laborers of various types, there were professional men—described as "emigrants

of hope as well of despair.” He also notes that the Irish were frequently shown as being problematic by Victorian writers, but their own writings have been missing from the equation and they have even been written out of the history of English Catholicism, even though, as he notes, they were four-fifths of the Catholic congregations.

This book considers the Irish immigrant press in the 1860s, i.e, the press addressed to the Irish in England, or those who considered themselves Irish—not those who, although they came from Ireland, considered themselves British. This press, McNicholas notes, was both Irish and Catholic, even though the degree of its Catholicity was in itself controversial.

One wonders why this is such an understudied area, particularly in view of the problems that continued to erupt during the 20th century between those who wanted a Free State and the British Government, often damaging innocent bystanders in the process. Newspapers, as he says, are the perfect place to study the politics of a given time and place and it was in the 1860s that Fenianism arose. His field of exploration was previously uncharted and his diligence in working through the many trials and tribulations that had to be undergone in order to find materials is to be congratulated.

McNicholas notes that it is difficult, apart from finding the materials and trying to ascertain who wrote or published what, to put oneself entirely into the position of knowing a past culture, and he notes that this was a truly global and diasporic press, which referred to events outside the British Isles and even outside the British Empire. These events, like the *Risorgimento* in Italy, for instance, often had an impact on both Irish and English society. He also notes that it is not so much the ownership or authorship of papers, but the readership and the way that these readers were addressed that is important here. The importance of the Irish immigrants’ adherence to the Catholic church cannot be underestimated. Elsewhere in the world, the Irish were able to shape to some extent the Catholic churches they found there; this was impossible in Britain, where the recusant families held sway. In America, the Catholic bishops condemned the Fenian press, as they did in Britain and Ireland, but it continued to flourish as long as it had readers. In Ireland itself, the colonial administration closed papers and imprisoned journalists when clerical condemnation did not have the required effect. In Britain, McNicholas avows that the active censure of the clergy was enough of a threat to keep the press down.

The author has discovered a story that is not that of institutions, but of the people who produced and consumed the Irish press. While they often struggled with conflicting factors in their religious and political consciences, these mainly artisan and labouring Irish formed societies and through reading rooms, libraries, and public discussion established their place in the public lives of Ireland and England. Their newspapers were central to their struggles.

In his conclusion, McNicholas notes that he has concentrated, although not exclusively, on the relationships between the papers, the readers and the Catholic Church, which determined what happened to the Irish Press in England. While he notes that there are no accurate sales figures for these papers and that economic constraints on Irish press development were certainly severe, this immigrant press could not maintain an Irish identity of which the British Catholic Church disapproved. Financing was always a problem and it was probably difficult to attract the advertising that might have helped. He adds that during the period studied, Irish politics, in opposition to the demise of Chartism, was becoming more radical and the press in general was expanding, so there are questions about the short-lived nature of many of these newspapers. His conclusion is that one of the major problems was the “fraught nature” of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the newspapers. This related particularly to the means of distribution. The Church often saw support for newspapers as support for what it considered dangerous secret societies. Those who did not follow clerical advice were publicly condemned in Churches; congregations were told not to buy the papers and distributors, not to handle them. Finally, he notes that this is only the first step in what should be a greater study of a globalized phenomenon.

This is a well-written and interesting book, with many appealing and informative illustrations, bibliography, and an index. It should be read by anyone interested in newspapers, in migration or diasporic studies, and in politics and/or religious studies. While I should advise the reader that Anthony McNicholas is a colleague of mine, this has in no way biased my feelings about this book.

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Mugridge, Christine and Marie Gannon. *John Paul II: Development of a Theology of Communication.* Citta del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2008. Pp. 295. ISBN 978-88-209-8041-2 (pb). \$29.95. (Distributed in the United States by Catholic Word, W. 5180 Jefferson Street, Necedah, WI 54646. Tel: 1-800-932-3826)

The text of this book seems intended to serve as a “curriculum text” as well as a “foundational study.” It treats in the first part Church teaching on social communication, with Christ as the “model communicator.” The second part presents secular teachings and the teaching of Pope John Paul II, while the third part looks at “Social Communication at the Service of the Church.” The fourth part considers “social communications in light of the communication of faith and John Paul II’s development of a theology of communication.” The last part of the study of this book, which originate as a doctoral study at the Salesian University in Rome, examines the Apostolic Exhortation “*Ecclesia in America*” under communication perspective.

This publication of Christine Mugridge and her moderator, Sr. Marie Gannon, fma, seems to indicate, with the title and the cover of the book, that there is a so-called “theology of communication” developed by Pope John Paul II. There are quite many useful data collected, but from the professional point of Catholic Social Communication as well as from secular studies, there are quite some flaws that need critical remarks.

Long before John Paul II came to office, there already existed quite an extensive literature on Theology and Communication, including Pontifical documents like “*Miranda Prorsus*” (1957) of Pius XII, which was actually used as the basis for “*Inter Mirifica*” (1963) of Vatican II. Another example is a study on the “Ethics of Mass Communication according to the Teachings of Paul VI,” by Giselbert Deussen which is part of an important body of literature on the matter.

John Paul II is undoubtedly a great communicator, but the mere duration of his Pontificate has, of course, allowed him to also produce many more documents and considerations on communication than Popes with lesser time for their Pontificates. Even so, there are more than 90 texts related to communication written by Pope Pius XII and some 60 by Pope Paul VI.

“*Aetatis Novae*” (1992), which is quoted many times in the book, is definitely not a document of John Paul II. It was only published during his Pontificate but it was written and prepared, and even published, by the

Pontifical Council for Social Communications. This means a group of theologians and members of the Pontifical Council were the ones to write the text. Though approved by the Pope, it cannot be considered a document of the Pope himself. In fact, the original Pastoral Instruction “*Communio et Progressio*” (1971) has dealt much more extensively on theology than “*Aetatis Novae*.” The latter document appeared as a follow up, to commemorate “*Communio et Progressio*.”

Important in John Paul II’s teaching on social communication and his theology is a text which must be considered as a paradigm shift in the Church’s teaching about social communication. The text, however, is not reflected directly in one of the communication documents. It is found in “*Redemptoris Missio*” (1992), the Encyclical Letter on Mission, where under no. 37c, John Paul II calls social communication the “first aeropagus of modern times” and elaborates on a new communication culture, created by modern means of communication, with new ways of communication—new languages, new techniques and new psychology. This paradigm shift and its consequences are essential. But they do not exist in this book, nor is “*Redemptoris Missio*” mentioned. The assertion that Wilbur Schramm (1971) has developed a participatory model of communication seems not to correspond to reality. A participatory model of communication was developed by Everett Rogers and Lawrence Kincaid (1981). Schramm’s model is still to be considered as linear, although together with him, many “linear” scholars were concerned about the recipients, for obvious reasons: In order to become successful in the communication process, one needs to study the recipients, who in the process, are not on equal terms with senders. Putting recipients on the same level as senders was done only by Rogers and Kincaid. They used A and B to designate the participants in the communication process, instead of calling them “Communicator” and “Recipient.” (Even James Carey did the same in his ritual communication model, 1975.) In fact, Figure 2 on page 87 of the book in question uses the Rogers/Kincaid model (1981), which is not at all from Wilbur Schramm as the authors seem to suggest without proving this, even in their source.

It is totally unacceptable to equate Public Relations with Communication, and use both terms as identical or interchangeable (p. 71), as is done throughout the book. In fact, the professional communication books used as sources for this study are very limited. The few books used by the authors do not reflect suffi-

ciently the reality of modern communication studies, including Church-related books. Thus, for example, Carlo Cardinal Martini's seminal book on a Biblical perspective of communication (1994) is totally missing.

Finally, the book sees communication in view of "New Evangelization" which is justified by concentrating on "Ecclesia in America," and the Americas. John Paul II's Encyclical Letter "Redemptoris Missio" (no. 23), however, distinguishes between pastoral care, new evangelization, and "missio ad gentes" which is the main concern of the document. Each of these fields call for different approaches in Church communication. All in all, the work by Mugridge and Gannon is a good attempt and beginning, but it needs a much greater depth and professionalism in the approach to place a possible "theology of communication" into a proper perspective.

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Ong, Walter J. *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*. New Foreword by Adrian Johns. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. (Original work published 1958). Pp. 436. ISBN: 978-02-266-2976-6 (pb.) \$22.50.

Walter J. Ong, S.J., (1912-2003) often noted that we need both proximity (closeness) and distance in order to understand something. I have wondered if his observation grew out of his own experience of distance from his native American culture as he lived abroad for almost four years (1950 to 1953) researching the work of Peter Ramus (1515-1572) and his antecedents and his followers and his critics.

Ong worked in more than 100 libraries in the British Isles and Continental Europe tracking down the

more than 750 volumes by Ramus and his followers that he lists and briefly describes in *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Harvard University Press, 1958). In a published interview reprinted in *An Ong Reader: Challenges for Further Inquiry* (Hampton Press, 2002, pp. 80-82), Ong himself has recounted the eureka experience he had concerning the material that he had gathered about Ramus and his antecedents—the twofold insight that the experience of hearing something spoken (sound) is quite distinct from the experience of seeing something said in written or printed words (sight). Throughout *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Harvard University Press, 1958), Ong works with the sound-sight contrast, which he credits (p. 338, n. 54) to Louis Lavelle's *La parole et l'écriture* (Paris, 1942) and Jean Nogue's *Esquisse d'un système des qualités sensibles* (Paris, 1943)—neither of which has ever been translated into English.

Independently of Ong, Lavelle, and Nogue, the Canadian Jesuit philosopher and theologian Bernard Lonergan (1904-1984) had a similar insight regarding the visualist tendency in Western philosophy. In *Insight: A Study of Human Understanding* (1957), the pugnacious Lonergan mocked the visualist tendency as equating knowing with "taking a good look." In *Method in Theology* (1972, p. 214), Lonergan claims that this visualist tendency can be found in "materialism, empiricism, positivism, sensism, phenomenism, behaviorism, pragmatism." More recently, the visualist tendency in Western philosophic thought has been studied by Andrea Wilson Nightingale in *Spectacles of Truth in Classical Greek Philosophy: Theoria in Its Cultural Context* (2004) and others. Thus the sound-sight insight with which Ong works, following on Lavelle and Nogue, has been ably validated by studies of visualist tendencies in Western philosophic thought by Lonergan, Nightingale, and others.

As a result of his eureka insight, Ong did not run along the streets of Paris naked proclaiming "Eureka!" as Archimedes reputedly did in the streets of Syracuse. But Ong managed to express his excitement in a series of notable essays: "The Jinnee in the Well-Wrought Urn" (1954), "Voice as Summons for Belief: Literature, Faith, and the Divided Self" (1958), and "A Dialectic of Aural and Objective Correlatives" (1958), which are reprinted together with other essays from this highly creative period in Ong's life in *The Barbarian Within: And Other Fugitive Essays and Studies* (1962). As a matter of fact, he never stopped

expressing his excitement about the sound-sight insight, which he later came to refer to as the orality-literacy contrast. There are only two other people that I have heard of who proclaimed their excitement about something as tirelessly as Ong expressed his excitement: Jesus of Nazareth and Paul the Apostle. Of these three, the most articulate was Ong.

In the New Foreword to the 2004 edition of Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, Adrian Johns commends Ong for his fine articulateness: "The real story [of the relation between media and reason]—one which is as relevant to our understanding of media as ever—is more fine-grained than [Ong himself was in the streamlined story he provides in *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (1982)]. And for the real story you need to read *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*" (p. xiii). Amen.

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Seidman, Steven A. *Posters, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008. Pp. xxviii; 327. ISBN 978-0-8204-8616-1 (pb.) \$33.95.

National political party conventions, in all of their orchestrated glory, bombard television viewers with all manner of persuasive imagery. In 2008, signs such as "Hockey Moms for Sarah" (fashioned to appear hand-painted) at the Republican national convention and "Unity" at the Democratic national convention were placed on chairs (as similar posters have been for years) so that convention attendees could hold them up in the sight lines of television cameras. These peripheral placards, and their yard sign, mailer, and billboard cousins, were once the primary means of shaping both a candidate's policy and personal identity. Though its place in the central or peripheral positions in persuasion is fluid, the poster in many forms has always had a place in election campaigns and probably always will. Steven Seidman's history of this mode of propaganda provides an overview of its development.

Seidman begins his eight-chapter volume with key definitions of broadsides (crude, limited-run prints printed on one side of a sheet of paper), banners, and posters. He supplements these definitions with operational definitions of propaganda (drawing from Laswell) and mass persuasion (p. 7). He also identifies key trends that have affected poster production includ-

ing technology, social attitudes, education, graphic design, and others. Against this backdrop, Seidman proceeds to the "high points" in the history of posters as a medium of propaganda (p. 25), beginning with a vast array of American political posters. In Chapter 2, Seidman traces 100 years of American campaign broadsides to explore the origins of political party message management. Though broadsides appeared almost immediately in the newly formed United States, Seidman begins in earnest in the 1820s with examples of broadsides that reduced candidate profiles, policy and otherwise, to generalities encased in slogans. He traces the John Quincy Adams-Andrew Jackson campaigns of 1828 through the Herbert Hoover-Al Smith contest in 1928. Each stop along the way provides a description of the propaganda of competing political parties with many illustrations of the broadsides that displayed them. Some examples include the use of the log cabin in 1840, hand-colored pro-Lincoln broadsheets in 1860, the silver and gold coinage issue of 1896, and anti-Catholic propaganda and Al Smith in 1928. Chapter 3 then takes up the next 80 years. In all chapters, Seidman acknowledges the proliferation of electronic media and its effects on poster-use, but broadsides, posters, and other print methods are always placed at the center of his discussion. Thus, this chapter provides some background on the growth of radio and television as channels for campaign messages but includes examples of posters from Franklin Roosevelt through George W. Bush.

Chapters 4 and 5 survey posters from France and Britain, two of the world's oldest democracies. Here, Seidman provides historical background to explain changing governmental structures and other critical incidents in order to explain why posters played a particular role. For example, he explains the "revolutionary agitation" (p. 103) in Paris in the mid-19th century that greatly expanded the electorate increasing the use of broadsides among new, often illiterate, voters. He identifies an example of "image management" through his description of a poster with images of both Napoleon Bonaparte and his nephew in the 1869 election. Another broadside boasted support for author Victor Hugo in 1871. The French case study continues through this chapter to include examples of posters supporting return to power of de Gaulle (p. 114), wisdom as a quality of Mitterrand (p. 118), and the message of solidarity for Jacques Chirac (p. 120). Several examples of British posters include one from 1945 featuring the smiling face of Winston Churchill, whom

Seidman describes as more popular than his coalition party. Seidman points out that a major difference between U.S. and British posters is the willingness of British parties to show opposition leaders in posters (p. 160). In both France and Britain, contemporary poster use is still relatively strong given stricter legislation governing television advertisement content.

The author then turns his attention to “the rest of the world” in Chapter 6 (p. 163). In Asia and Africa, only a handful of countries are fully democratic thus influencing the types of posters produced. Other countries have undergone considerable change. Seidman addresses the re-organization of Japan’s parliament in 1889 (p. 170) which led to a shifting voter profile. This and other historical overviews provide the context for his explanation of the role of propaganda print materials in the context of those governments. Among numerous African examples, Seidman references the excessive use of posters in Algeria causing hazards for automobile drivers and heavy poster use in support of Nelson Mandela. He cites one study in which Indian campaign managers rated poster use as “exceptionally important” to their campaigns (p. 170). The Kuomintang government in Taiwan used posters to claim that it maintained stability for many years. When the government lost power, an alliance of challengers to Taiwanese leader Lien Chen featured comparisons of Chen to Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. Later in this chapter, Seidman’s inclusion of numerous illustrations of Nazi posters complements well his description of turbulent politics in Germany since the 1840s.

Chapters 7 and 8 ask questions about effectiveness and future trends (respectively). As one might expect, drawing conclusions about effectiveness is difficult, particularly when virtually no data exist prior to the 20th century. Seidman points out that certainly there is a *belief* (emphasis his) that posters have an effect because of their ubiquitous presence in virtually all political campaigns around the world since the 1820s (p. 221). He goes beyond political posters to draw on the effectiveness of all posters including posters for events other than campaigns, such as events advertised in university stairwells. He cites one study by an Austin, Texas billboard company involving a pretest-posttest study that revealed significantly increased recall of billboard advertising. The final chapter lays out some basic conclusions such as the emotionally evocative nature of propaganda posters, the similarities between advertising campaigns and

political campaigns (including the growing work by U.S. political consultants in burgeoning democracies), the effects of legislation on the use of posters (primarily what is prohibited on television is often picked up by posters), literacy and poster use (poster use is higher when literacy rates are lower), and that most posters are one part of a packaged message. Future trends in this area of research will focus on the Internet and its relationship to poster use, but also to the use of data to target consumers’ preferences.

The list of illustrations includes nearly 200 items. All of the images are in black and white (certainly color would be cost-prohibitive) but his collection is impressive. Seidman’s research on key historical developments in various countries, current statistics on voting rates, and other background areas is noteworthy and supported by an extensive notes section.

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Waldron, Vincent R. and Douglas L. Kelley. *Communicating Forgiveness*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, 2008. Pp. x, 206. ISBN 978-1-4129-3971-3 (pb.) \$37.95.

Forgiveness touches everyone’s lives, most likely from both sides: seeking/receiving it for ourselves and offering it to others. Most writing about forgiveness arises in theological, philosophical, or psychological contexts. And yet, as Waldron and Kelley point out, communication makes up a good deal of the action of forgiveness; they ask, then, what communication study might contribute to our understanding of forgiveness.

Their investigation, rooted in the empirical, social science part of communication study, rests on interviews with dozens of long-term married couples, on forgiveness narratives completed by a sample ranging from college-aged young people to older adults, and on shorter questionnaires. Right away, we see an advantage to their work: the empirical data very much represent the wider population, not just the typical college student. The data also have an added reliability, gathered with different methods, both qualitative and quantitative. Because they do rely heavily, though, on the married couples, many of the forgiveness episodes and examples reflect marital or romantic rather than workplace kinds of forgiveness. A weakness on the surface, perhaps, but this gives the book a much more realistic tone—we can indeed easily identify with each aspect of their discussion of forgiveness.

Waldron and Kelley divide the book into six chapters, each introducing a different aspect of forgiveness: conceptual foundations, elements of the forgiveness process, theorizing forgiveness (as communication), communicating forgiveness, practicing forgiveness, and studying forgiveness. To aid the reader, the authors begin early where they will end, with a communication-based definition of forgiveness:

Forgiveness is a relational process whereby harmful conduct is acknowledged by one or both partners; the harmed partner extends undeserved mercy to the perceived transgressor; one or both partners experience a transformation from negative to positive psychological states, and the meaning of the relationship is renegotiated, with the possibility of reconciliation. (p. 5)

With this in mind, they review various literatures on forgiveness, from theological to psychological. They also clarify what they set aside: Forgiveness is not

- pardoning
- forgetting
- condoning, excusing, or denying
- the same as reconciliation (pp. 14-16).

They then propose a descriptive model of forgiveness, informed by their data, and use that model as a way to organize the subsequent discussion. The process begins with a usually traumatic transgression or relational experience (acts, messages, verbal or non-verbal, omissions, intended or unintentional or even patterns of behavior) and occurs within a relational context (family, marriage, friendship, work), mediated by individual factors and, by necessity, involves communication (Ch. 2).

In Chapter 3, Waldron and Kelley theorize forgiveness first in terms of commonly understood communication frameworks: dialectical theory (pp. 57-67), uncertainty reduction theory (pp. 67-73), and identity management theories (pp. 73-78). For each, they present the theoretical principles, apply them to forgiveness, and point out questions those theories raise for further study of forgiveness. Only then do they present their own empirically derived theory—one that attempts to supplement the others and fill in some gaps. The “negotiated morality theory of forgiveness” (pp. 78-89) begins with a core assumption that “human relationships are interpreted with reference to a system of implicit or explicit values” (p. 79) and these play roles, to varying extents, in the processes of forgiveness. Negotiating forgiveness (and the communication always reveals some level of negotiation) involves

reinforcing or re-establishing shared moral codes. As they do with the other theories, they conclude with a set of research questions prompted by the theory of negotiated morality.

The next chapter, the most explicit discussion of communication, asks how people communicate forgiveness. Waldron and Kelley proposed six communication processes: (1) revealing and detecting transgressions; (2) managing emotions; (3) making sense; (4) seeking forgiveness; (5) granting forgiveness; and (6) relationship negotiation and transition (pp. 93-126). They describe each process in detail, supported with data (usually drawn from their extended interviews).

Chapter 5 examines the practice of forgiveness, drawing on both theoretical and empirical data. It includes a discussion of reasons to forgive, risks of forgiving, and various prescriptive models of forgiveness drawn from the counseling literature. Waldron and Kelley then propose their own model: the communication tasks of forgiveness. It includes seven items:

- confront the transgression
- manage emotion
- engage in sense-making
- seek forgiveness
- grant forgiveness
- negotiate values and rules
- transition, monitor, maintain, or renegotiate. (pp. 135-143)

Finally, they supplement this with suggestions from the long-term couples whom they interviewed. Many of these, rooted in years of experience, should sound familiar: acknowledge wrongdoing, apologize sincerely, invoke spiritual values, seek outside assistance, etc. Good advice.

The book concludes with something all too rare in communication studies: a well-thought out and carefully presented chapter on methodology. How might communication researchers study forgiveness? What challenges does such a study present? How did these researchers overcome them?

Communicating Forgiveness provides a valuable addition to interpersonal communication study, to the literature on relationships, and to the wider literature on forgiveness. Religious workers will benefit from a careful reading as will students and interpersonal scholars.

The book features appendices of interview questions and surveys, a reference list, and a subject index.

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