COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS

Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture

Volume 32 (2013) No. 2

IN THIS ISSUE

Food Marketing to Youth

Marlene Schwartz, Dale Kunkel, and Sarah DeLucia

with responses by

Rodrigo Uribe and Alejandra Fuentes Garcia,

and Almudena González de Valle

A Quarterly Review of Communication Research

ISSN: 0144-4646

Table of Contents

Communication Research Trends
Volume 32 (2013) Number 2
http://cscc.scu.edu

Published four times a year by the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC), sponsored by the California Province of the Society of Jesus.
 ISSN 0144-4646

Editor: Emile McAnany
Editor emeritus: William E. Biernatzki, S.J.
Managing Editor: Paul A. Soukup, S.J.

Subscription:
Annual subscription (Vol. 32) US$50

Payment by check, MasterCard, Visa or US$ preferred. For payments by MasterCard or Visa, send full account number, expiration date, name on account, and signature.

Checks and/or International Money Orders (drawn on USA banks; for non-USA banks, add $10 for handling) should be made payable to Communication Research Trends and sent to the managing editor
Paul A. Soukup, S.J.
Communication Department
Santa Clara University
500 El Camino Real
Santa Clara, CA 95053 USA

Transfer by wire: Contact the managing editor. Add $10 for handling.

Address all correspondence to the managing editor at the address shown above.
Tel: +1-408-554-5498
Fax: +1-408-554-4913
email: psoukup@scu.edu

The Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC) is an international service of the Society of Jesus established in 1977 and currently managed by the California Province of the Society of Jesus, P.O. Box 519, Los Gatos, CA 95031-0519.

Food Marketing to Youth

Editor's Introduction

The impact of communication media, particularly mass communication media, on children and youth has provided an important pillar of research in communication for close to a century. The Payne Fund studies in the 1920s and 1930s examined how motion pictures influenced youth and affected their behaviors. Similar studies examined radio, television, popular music, and so on. In fact, one could more or less trace the history of media effects research through the concerns of how various communication media—especially the various new media of the 20th century—affected children.

A rough consensus holds that children respond to media messages but not always in the ways that adults do. Younger children do not necessarily distinguish between programs and commercials, for example. It should come as no surprise, then, that advocates for children as well as the scholars studying media and youth have long argued children respond to advertising perhaps too well. Much of child focused advertising tends to promote toys and food. And so, more recently, researchers have pointed out an unintended consequence of marketing foods to children: the increased incidence of obesity. In the lead artical of this issue of Communication Research Trends, Marlene Schwartz, Dale Kunkel, and Sarah DeLucia remind us "that the more time children spend watching television, the more likely they are to be overweight. However, recent research shows that the causal link is not driven by lower physical activity; but rather is likely a result of exposure to more food marketing messages."

Since much of that marketing promotes less healthy foods—foods heavy in sugar, fats, salt, and calories—children consume more of these foods, preferring them to healthy alternatives. And, in a far-reaching health threat, they form life-long habits of poor nutrition. Because children do not act as rational consumers, more and more child advocates argue for some kind of regulation of food marketing to children as a way to protect them from the unintended consequences of this advertising.

Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia focus their review primarily on the sitution of food marketing to children in the United States. However, the problem extends well beyond the borders of the U.S. To better illustrate that such marketing has similar consequences worldwide, as we have done in the past, this issue of Trends presents a dialogue among researchers in different parts of the world. Rodrigo Uribe and Alejandra Fuentes-Garcia examine the situation of advertising foods to children in South America. They begin their review by identifying a mixed effect in terms of obesity. In nations in the early states of economic transition, the obesity epidemic strikes the higher income groups. But in more advanced economies, child obesity appears more among the lower income groups. They then situate this by looking at a case study of food advertising in Chile, largely following the approach of Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia. As these authors suggest, they too see a regulatory regime as valuable and briefly review the current food laws in Chile that touch on marketing to children. These are not without challenges: of enforcing the laws, of coordinating the laws, of the role of parents, and of promoting healthy food choices as well as the advertisers' snack foods.

Writing from a European perspective, Almudena González del Valle accepts the premise of Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia and reviews the legal and regulatory situation for food marketing to children in the European Union. While she finds a good structure, she acknowledges the difficulties of its implementation.

* * *

Marlene B. Schwartz, PhD, works at the Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, Yale University (309 Edwards Street, New Haven, CT 06510 USA). Dale Kunkel, PhD, teaches in the Department of Communication at the University of Arizona (1103 E University Blvd, P.O. Box 210025, Tucson, AZ 85721 USA) and Sarah DeLucia, MPP, is also with the Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University.

Rodrigo Uribe teaches in the Facultad de Economía y Negocios, Universidad de Chile and Alejandra Fuentes-García is a doctoral candidate in the Facultad de Medicina at the Universidad de Chile (Av. Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins 1058, Santiago de Chile).

Almudena González del Valle, PhD, teaches Communications Skills in the Faculty of Social Work at Universidad Internacional de la Rioja (UNIR, Spain) and is a researcher in the Department of Communications of the same institution

Food Marketing to Youth: Pervasive, Powerful, and Pernicious

Marlene B. Schwartz, Dale Kunkel, and Sarah DeLucia

marlene.schwartz@yale.edu *kunkel@u.arizona.edu* *sarah.delucia@yale.edu*

1. Food Marketing Reaches Youth Where They Live, Study, and Play

Childhood obesity is the most pressing public health problem in the U.S. today. The prevalence of obesity has more than tripled among children in the past three decades, and now one-third of American children are overweight or obese (Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2012). At no other point in history have so many children suffered from obesity-related diseases and the risk of a shorter lifespan than that of their parents. The relatively sudden onset and steep increase in childhood obesity suggests that one key cause of the problem is the rapid deterioration of the nutrition environment over the past several decades (Ogden & Carroll, 2010). Our "obesogenic" environment overwhelms people with nutrient-poor, calorie-dense foods, which are more accessible and less expensive than healthier, nutrient-dense choices, such as fruits and vegetables (Brownell & Horgen, 2004).

* * *

A key aspect of the obesogenic environment is omnipresent food marketing directed at youth (Harris, Pomeranz, Lobstein, & Brownell, 2009). In 2009, companies spent more than $1.79 billion to promote food directly to children and teens (Federal Trade Commission, 2012). If this money were devoted to encouraging children to eat fruits and vegetables, food marketing might hold a valuable place in our society. Yet, while the food industry has made efforts to improve the quality of the products marketed to children in recent years (PR Newswire, 2012; The Associated Press, 2011) and inflation-adjusted advertising expenditures have decreased since 2006 (Federal Trade Commission, 2012), food advertising in youth-oriented media still predominantly promotes the least-healthy products one can buy: candy, soda, fast food, and sugared cereal (Powell, Schermbeck, Szczypka, Chaloupka, & Braunschweig, 2011b).

While television advertising remains central to most marketing strategies, outlets such as the Internet, radio, video games, cell phones, social media, and word-of-mouth are increasingly used by marketers to reach children (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). The average child views 12.8 food ads per day, or roughly 4,700 a year, on television alone (Dembek, Harris, & Schwartz, 2012). A generation ago, the majority of the food advertisements children saw were viewed during a few hours on Saturday morning cartoons. Today, television designed specifically for children is available 24 hours a day, seven days a week through cable channels such as the Disney Channel, Nickelodeon, and Cartoon Network. This creates the opportunity to not only reach youth more frequently through television, but also to use the characters and television show brands to market to children. For example, characters, such as SpongeBob, Dora the Explorer, and the Disney princesses, are licensed and used for in-store packaging and promotion of food products.

The Internet provides a number of new ways to reach children with food marketing. First, the websites that are associated with the cable channels (e.g., Nickelodeon, Disney) have food banner ads and commercials embedded into most of their content (Harris, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2009, 2011; Harris, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2010b). Second, food companies themselves maintain websites that appeal to children (Harris, Schwartz, et al., 2009, 2011; Harris et al., 2010b). In 2010, McDonald's had 13 different websites, some of which (Happymeal.com, Ronald.com) are clearly targeted at very young children (Harris et al., 2010b). Cereal company websites are leaders in creating so-called "advergames," which are interactive games that children can play online where characters and images from the brand are integrated into the game (Harris, Schwartz, et al., 2009).

Outside of the home, children and teens are exposed to food marketing through community venues. Food-company billboards and local sponsorship events in communities familiarize children with unhealthy products. Aggressive child-directed food marketing also occurs in retail settings. Packaging and product displays in stores and restaurants are specifically designed to attract children (Harris, Schwartz, et al., 2009). Popular strategies to get children's attention include offering prizes, featuring licensed characters, and promoting entertainment tie-ins (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Harris, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2010a). In 2009, fast food restaurants spent $393 million on premiums, which includes toys to be included with kids' meals (Federal Trade Commission, 2012).

Schools, where children are a captive audience, are replete with food advertising (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In 2009, the food industry spent $149 million to promote products in schools (Federal Trade Commission, 2012). A national survey found that two out of three schools have on-site advertising for at least one company marketing calorie-rich, nutrient-poor foods, reaching up to 30 million students every day (Molnar, Garcia, Boninger, & Merrill, 2008).

Some companies, such as Krispy Kreme donuts, have fundraising kits that make it easy for parents to sell their product on school grounds. Other companies create branded incentive programs for scholastic achievement, providing teachers with "reward" coupons for free or discounted food products such as candy or pizza to give to students in class. One of the most controversial school-based marketing strategies is the "pouring rights contract" that the large soft drink companies have created for schools (Brownell & Horgen, 2004). In exchange for a percentage of sales revenue, all the beverages sold on school grounds must be from one beverage company. These contracts may also include branded "gifts" such as sports equipment, scoreboards, and corporate-sponsored curricula (Government Accountability Office (US), 2005; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Molnar et al., 2008).

In sum, across all media outlets and environments, nutrient-poor, calorie-dense products predominate in food marketing targeted at children (Harris, Pomeranz, et al., 2009; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Powell, Schermbeck, Szczypka, Chaloupka, & Braunschweig, 2011a; Powell, Szczypka, Chaloupka, & Braunschweig, 2007). In contrast, healthy food items are almost never advertised to children. In many cases, food marketers promote products high in sugar, fat, and sodium to children more often than they do to adults (Harris, Schwartz, et al., 2009, 2011; Harris et al., 2010b). Young children especially have an inherent vulnerability to commercials as they are unable to recognize the persuasive intent of advertising (Harris & Graff, 2011). Thus, it is not surprising that child-targeted advertising is highly effective at influencing young people's food choices, which ultimately contributes to the obesity crisis.

2. Effects of Food Advertising on Children

One way to analyze the impact of food advertising on children is to distinguish the intended from unintended effects of exposure. For example, a cereal ad may have the intended effect of generating product purchase requests and increasing product sales, but it may also contribute to unintended outcomes such as misperceptions about proper nutritional habits, parent-child conflict when purchase requests by youngsters are rejected, or weight gain and ultimately obesity if unhealthy products are consumed in abundance. We use this framework to help organize our survey of the evidence regarding the effects of food marketing on children.

A. Intended effects

Advertisers are interested in outcomes such as viewers' recall of the product, their attitude toward the product, and—depending upon the age of the child—either purchase-influence attempts or actual purchase of the product. Although some commercial campaigns certainly are more successful than others, studies have documented the general effectiveness of food advertising across all of these areas.

Extensive research shows that more than half of the children in most studies recall products they have seen advertised quite readily following viewing (Kunkel & Castonguay, 2012). For example, one experiment demonstrated that more than half of four to six year olds had unaided recall of a fictional cereal product they had never heard of after watching a short television commercial for it. When participants were shown the cereal box featured in the ad, as might occur at the supermarket, recall increased to 80% of the children in the study (Macklin, 1994). Recall of ads is typically enhanced when advertisers employ certain tactics such as the use of licensed characters that are well-known and liked by children.

Similarly, research clearly establishes that food advertising is highly effective at persuading children to like, prefer, and request the advertised product. Typical of studies in this area, researchers at Stanford University assigned children to one of two treatment groups as part of a television-viewing project. The first group watched two cartoons separated by 2.5 minutes of short, educational messages, while the second group watched the same two cartoons separated by 2.5 minutes of advertising. After viewing, children in the second group preferred the advertised brand to a comparable product with similar packaging, even when the advertised brand (in this case, a donut) was unfamiliar and the alternative was a local favorite (Borzekowski & Robinson, 2001). Another study showed similar effects for both a fictional cereal (Sprinkle Spangles) and a product unfamiliar to most children, Tang (an orange juice drink powder) (Chernin, 2008).

Survey research with parents also documents the power of child-targeted food marketing. In one study, mothers of 250 children aged 3 to 11 kept detailed diaries for four weeks tracking the amount of television their child watched, and also recorded their child's requests for specific food products. The researchers found a significant relationship between the time spent watching TV and the number of requests for both cereal and candy (Isler, Popper, & Ward, 1987).

B. The power of branding

"Branding" of products is an important element of the advertising process that assists children's recall and enhances persuasive effects (Harris, Brownell, & Bargh, 2009). The use of jingles, logos, slogans, and spokes-characters such as Tony the Tiger or Chester Cheeto reinforce the branded product every time an ad is viewed. This helps to explain why the amount of television a child watches is positively associated with their ability to identify product brands (Valkenburg & Buijzen, 2005) and their consumption of advertised brand food products (Buijzen, Schuurman, & Bomhof, 2008).

A clever study offers a powerful demonstration of branding effects. Researchers provided identical foods to children three to five years old, but half of the participants received the item in McDonald's packaging while the other half were served the food in plain wrappers (Robinson, Borzekowski, Matheson, & Kraemer, 2007). For all food items tested, including carrots, which McDonalds does not even offer, the children preferred the taste and liked the product better when it was presented to them as branded than when it was not.

In recent years, children's use of media technologies has diversified beyond television and now encompasses "surfing" on the Internet and playing interactive games online at very young ages. As this migration has occurred, food marketers have followed closely behind and today employ a wide range of innovative advertising approaches in the online environment.

One of the most common tactics is for a food marketer to establish a website "just for kids" that features interactive games (or so-called advergames) that immerse children in a product-oriented environment. An early version of such a game was "Slam Dunk Oreos," a basketball simulation where players shoot cookies through a hoop, while a more recent example involves a treasure hunt game in which players search for The Golden Pouch as part of Capri Sun's multimedia marketing campaign known as "Respect the Pouch," which promotes its sugared beverage products served in disposable pouch containers.

Recent research shows that these new tactics are at least as effective at persuading children as television commercials, and perhaps even more so given the extended amounts of time many young people spend visiting online game sites. One large-scale study of five- to eight-year old children (N=295) compared children who played a Fruit Loops advergame with a control group that had no such exposure. The researchers found that advergame playing led children to prefer Fruit Loops over other cereal choices and also to prefer cereal to other food categories (Mallinckrodt & Mizerski, 2007).

Similarly, another recent experiment compared snacking behavior following time spent playing advergames for Oreo cookies, Pop Tarts, or Dole fruits and vegetables. Children who played the Pop Tarts and Oreos advergames ate 56% more snack foods than the children playing the Dole games. While the children playing the Dole games increased their fruit and vegetable consumption, they did not decrease their unhealthy snacking. The effects were consistent across the entire age range of children studied, from 7 to 12 years old (Harris, Speers, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2011).

In sum, scientific research has established quite firmly the clear if unremarkable conclusion that food advertising directed to children works exactly as intended. That finding, coupled with the evidence that most foods promoted to children are unhealthy when consumed on a regular basis (U.S. Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010) provides the foundational explanation about how and why food marketing contributes to the childhood obesity crisis.

C. Unintended effects

Most of the research reported above examines the effects of individual advertising messages. Yet given children's extensive time spent with media (over three hours per day for ages 8 and under and over seven hours per day for 8 to 18 year olds) (Common Sense Media, 2011; Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010), we know that there are also cumulative effects that occur as the result of exposure to thousands of marketing messages on an annual basis. Over time, children's frequent exposure to advertisements for high-calorie, low-nutrient food products seems to play a role in normalizing the perception that such foods are an appropriate part of a basic diet, undercutting lessons about proper nutrition.

Numerous studies show that heavy exposure to televised food advertising is associated with nutritional misperceptions; that is, the greater the exposure to food advertising, the greater the likelihood that unhealthy items will be judged as healthy and nutritious (Prevention Institute, 2008a; Signorielli & Staples, 1997; Yale Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, 2012). This finding is particularly problematic because eating habits formed during childhood often persist throughout life (Birch & Anzman, 2010).

The more pernicious effect of children's exposure to food marketing messages is its role in fueling the obesity epidemic. More than 100 studies have examined the linkage between TV viewing and obesity since a seminal report by Dietz and Gortmaker in 1985 entitled "*Do We Fatten our Children at the TV Set?*" The finding that time spent watching television is highly correlated with overweight and obesity was initially thought to be explained by the "couch potato" hypothesis; that is, children who are heavy TV viewers must devote insufficient time to exercise because their eyes are too often glued to the screen.

While overall decreasing levels of physical activity among youth is undoubtedly a contributing factor to the obesity crisis, more recent evidence increasingly points toward food advertising as the primary causal factor that accounts for the positive relationship between television watching and obesity rates. For example, many studies find no significant difference in physical activity levels for high and low TV users, suggesting that screen time is not typically displacing time devoted to exercise. In addition, other studies that control statistically for amount of physical activity in examining the relationship between screen time and obesity still find a significant correlation (Hingle & Kunkel, in press).

Perhaps the most telling evidence is provided by a study that separates time spent watching television into two categories, one with and one without commercial advertisements included (Zimmerman & Bell, 2010). The findings were clear: Time spent viewing commercial television was significantly correlated with children's Body Mass Index (BMI), while time watching non-commercial television was not. This outcome clearly supports the theory that it is children's exposure to food commercials that accounts for the relationship between TV use and weight status.

D. Can't parents just say no?

In an ideal world, parents would refuse children's requests to purchase unhealthy foods, negating much of the impact of advertising. In practice, however, parents have a high rate of yielding to children's requests (O'Dougherty, Story, & Stang, 2006; Wilson & Wood, 2004), perhaps in part because of their sheer volume. Another reason why parents may agree to purchase obesogenic foods their children request is because the companies are vigorously promoting these foods as healthy, with many products marketed to children including health claims on the packaging. Sugared cereals are labeled "whole grain" and fruit flavored drinks that contain nothing but sugar, water, and vitamin supplements as "provides 100% Vitamin C." A recent study of parents found that most misinterpret these nutrition-related claims and believe products are healthier than they are (Harris, Thompson, Schwartz, & Brownell, 2011).

In addition, research is beginning to reveal how food marketing can undermine parents' efforts at promoting healthy diets in their children. In one novel study, three- to eight-year old children watched a cartoon program with a McDonald's ad embedded in it. Half of the children saw an ad for a relatively healthy food item (Apple Dippers), while the other half saw an ad for an unhealthy product (French fries). After viewing, each child was offered a coupon for one of these two items. In a unique twist, the researchers assigned parents a script in which they prompted their child to select the healthier food choice, just as the coupon offer was made. The researchers found that the commercial the child viewed was twice as powerful as the parental intervention in influencing the child's product selection (Ferguson, Munoz, & Medrano, 2011).

While more research is needed to fully understand the deleterious effects of food marketing on parents' efforts to have their children eat healthfully, the impressive influence that food marketing has on youth is clear. Furthermore, food marketing viewed during childhood can exert long-term impacts on children's preferences and diets into adulthood (Harris & Bargh, 2009), underscoring the importance of limiting children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising from as early an age as possible.

One of the best tactics parents can use to counteract the influence of food marketing is to restrict how much television their children watch. Removing television sets from children's bedrooms can be especially impactful as children with televisions in their rooms see an average of 4.6 more hours per week of television than children who do not (Dennison, Erb, & Jenkins, 2002).

E. Summary of the research

The most definitive analysis of research in this realm was conducted by the Institute of Medicine (IOM) of the National Academies of Science (Institute of Medicine, 2006). The IOM conducted a systematic review of all existing evidence on the impact of food marketing on children, with a panel of 16 scientific experts evaluating the strength of the methods and findings from each of a total of 123 empirical studies. Among the key conclusions of the IOM report were that (a) there is strong evidence that advertising influences the short-term food consumption of children 2 to 11 years of age; (b) there is moderate evidence that advertising influences the regular diet of children 2 to 5 years and weak evidence (i.e., more studies are needed) that it influences children 6 to 11 years of age; and (c) there is strong evidence that exposure to advertising is associated with adiposity in children 2 to 11 years and teens 12 to 18 years of age.

While acknowledging that food marketing is only one of multiple factors that contribute to childhood obesity, the report concluded that "food and beverage marketing practices geared to children and youth are out of balance with healthful diets, and contribute to an environment that puts their health a risk" (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Given the clear threat to child health posed by unhealthy food marketing messages, there is an urgent need to pursue steps to address this problem.

3. Reversing the Tide: Policies to Combat Unhealthy Food Marketing to Children

In response to the growth of evidence indicating the role that food marketing plays in the childhood obesity crisis, public health advocates have called for reform. The food industry has responded with an effort to self-regulate its food marketing practices, known as the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), created in 2006 by the Better Business Bureau.

With participation from more than a dozen of the nation's leading food conglomerates, the CFBAI is a pledge program whereby each company offers a commitment to advertise to children only foods that meet its own unique nutritional criteria for defining healthful products. Over the last few years, the CFBAI has encouraged more companies to participate, and has made progress in improving the strength of the companies' pledges to limit marketing of unhealthy foods to children under 12 years old.

At its inception, CFBAI allowed each company to define its own "better for you" nutritional standards. As a result, many companies wrote their standards in such a way that the majority of their existing child-directed products would be allowed, including those of relatively poor nutritional value. The CFBAI has addressed this problem, creating a uniform set of nutrition criteria for all of the companies that will go into effect in 2014. Similar progress has occurred in the way CFBAI members have strengthened the criteria used to define the media venues to which self-regulation will apply. Now, in addition to television advertising on children's programs, self-regulation will encompass traditional, digital, and social media that attract substantial child audiences, as well as product placement in movies geared toward children under 12 (Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, 2011a).

Because food marketing is so pervasive, however, the CFBAI standards miss a lot of marketing tactics, most notably product packaging and point-of-sale promotions (Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, 2011b). The definition of child-directed television also poses problems because the CFBAI does not cover general-audience advertising on family shows. For example, the Charlie Brown Christmas Special is not covered by CFBAI pledges even though over 100,000 children watch it (Harris & Graff, 2011). Similarly, child-directed websites are defined so narrowly that even the website Happymeal.com is not covered (Harris, Speers, et al., 2011). Finally, while CFBAI covers marketing in elementary schools, major components of marketing are exempt, including food and beverage displays, charitable fundraising activities, charitable donations, and public service messaging sponsored by food companies (Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, 2011b).

Despite the merits of industry self-regulation, research demonstrates that the nutritional quality of foods advertised to children has not improved significantly since the CFBAI standards went into effect (Kunkel, McKinley, & Wright, 2009; Powell et al., 2011a). Thus, in 2011, a federal government Interagency Working Group (IWG) proposed voluntary nutrition and marketing standards to serve as a benchmark for the industry to follow (Interagency Working Group, 2011). These proposed standards are more rigorous than those of the CFBAI in three important ways. First, the IWG recommends that the food industry include older children and adolescents ages 12 to 17 in all applicable protections. Second, the IWG expands CFBAI's definitions of "marketing to children" so that more avenues used for promotion of unhealthy foods are covered (Interagency Working Group, 2011). And finally, the IWG recommends stricter nutrition standards than those set by the CFBAI. IWG recommends the presence of "food groups to encourage" and only products meeting strict requirements for sodium, saturated fat, and sugar would be allowed in advertising to children (Interagency Working Group, 2011).

The industry response to the IWG proposals has been quite critical (Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, 2011b). One concern is that broadening the definition of child-directed marketing to include more television shows and websites would interfere with advertisers' efforts to reach adults. This argument illustrates that, to some extent, how effectively we are able to create a safe environment for our children depends on how much our society is willing to limit commercial marketing to adults. A second industry objection is that the nutrition standards are too strict and thus product taste would be compromised. An obvious solution to that concern, however, is for the food companies to keep the products the same, but simply to stop marketing them to children. Due to strong industry opposition, it appears doubtful that the federal IWG guidelines will be adopted as proposed (U.S. Library of Congress, 2012).

A. Local policies to limit food marketing to children

Given the lack of efforts by federal policy-makers to curtail unhealthy food marketing to children, public health advocates have increasingly focused instead on state and local policies. In-school marketing regulations can be implemented at the state, county, city, and school-district level (United States General Accounting Office, 2000).

San Francisco's Commercial-Free Schools Act is an example of a school-district level policy. It prohibits exclusive agreements with food companies, bans branded teaching materials, and requires all corporate sponsorships to be approved by the Board of Education ("San Francisco Commercial-Free Schools Act (as amended), prohibiting exclusive vendor contracts, brand names, and tobacco subsidiary food products," 1999). Seattle Public Schools similarly prohibit logos on all school-district property including vending machines and playing fields (California Project LEAN, 2007).

All school districts that participate in federal food programs, such as the National School Lunch Program, must have a written School Wellness Policy (Schwartz et al., 2009) and must include parents in the policy-writing process. Well-written policies can be effective at eliminating or preventing marketing in schools. These policies have the power to prohibit: (a) the sale and advertisement of brand-name foods on school property, including curricula, food containers, vending machines, sports gear, and venues; (b) the sale of branded items, such as Sonic's Limeades for Learning or General Mills' Box Tops for Education, at fundraisers; (c) incentive programs, such as Pizza Hut

BOOK IT!, which rewards reading with pizza; and (d) direct advertising on bus radio, in-school TV, and school websites (Berkeley Media Studies Group, 2006; Center for Science in the Public Interest, 2012; Harris & Graff, 2011).

At the community level, there are strategies to limit children's exposure to marketing. Detroit, Palm Desert, and San Francisco restrict how close certain food establishments and vendors can operate to areas where children often spend time, such as playgrounds and schools (Prevention Institute, 2008a, 2008b, 2011). A proposed bill in Mississippi would prohibit the outdoor advertising of foods and beverages sold at fast food restaurants near certain places, including underperforming schools (Yale Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, 2012). There are a number of other strategies that can be used at the community level, including forcing stores and restaurants to place only healthy foods at children's eye level, restricting the types of foods that can be marketed in retail establishments, and storing unhealthy products, such as candy, behind the counter (Berkeley Media Studies Group, 2006). Federal, state, and local governments consider new policies every year, and the Yale Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity maintains a current online legislative database that can be used to track bills related to food marketing (Yale University Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, 2012).

B. International efforts to address the problem

The epidemic of childhood obesity is being experienced not only in the U.S., but also in many developed countries around the world (OECD, 2013). In 2004, the World Health Organization (WHO) called on governments to act to reduce children's exposure to marketing messages for unhealthy foods (Hawkes, 2004). In a related development, an international group of over 200 public health and marketing experts developed the "Sydney Principles" to help guide government and industry in efforts to limit junk food marketing to children (Swinburn et al., 2008). A more detailed set of recommendations were subsequently devised by a task force of the International Association for the Study of Obesity, in collaboration with Consumers International, a global federation of consumer advocacy groups with members in 115 countries (International Association for the Study of Obesity & Consumers International, 2008). Both of these efforts help to provide a template for policymaking to limit junk food advertising to youth. Among the challenges in this realm is effective line-drawing between healthy and unhealthy food items, as well as avoiding unreasonable restrictions on food marketing targeted at adult audiences.

A survey of the global regulatory environment reveals a growing number of efforts to limit food marketing to children. As of 2006, 39 countries maintained some form of government restriction or industry self-regulation of food marketing to youth (Hawkes, 2007). For example, the Canadian province of Quebec and the country of Sweden have long banned all forms of advertising to children under age 12–13, while the United Kingdom recently prohibited commercials for unhealthy foods high in fats, salt, and sugar on television programs with a significant proportion of child-viewers in the audience (Harris, Brownell, & Bargh, 2009). It is too soon to evaluate the efficacy of efforts such as the UK regulation, and it remains to be seen whether it might serve as a model for the U.S. and other countries to follow (Darwin, 2009).

In sum, food marketing directed at children is ubiquitous and effective, and hence is a significant contributor to childhood obesity both in the U.S. and other countries. Parents and community leaders must become educated about the harmful effects of food marketing on children and the pervasiveness of such marketing in the current environment. At present, state and local policies are the most promising avenues for enacting meaningful change in the U.S. Self-regulatory efforts by the food industry to date have been insufficient to achieve meaningful reform, and the likelihood of future federal action to regulate child-directed advertising remains uncertain. Interested parents can advocate for and influence the content of district wellness policies to improve the school environment by restricting food marketing permitted in schools and on school buses. Local governments can help parents by limiting where food products may be advertised outdoors. Parents are already tasked with teaching their children healthy eating habits and can take some steps to improve the home food environment. But it will be difficult to succeed in stemming the epidemic of childhood obesity if the food industry is allowed to continue to aggressively promote unhealthy products to youth, which undermines the efforts of parents and is a corrosive factor jeopardizing public health.

References

Berkeley Media Studies Group. (2006). Fighting junk food marketing to kids: A toolkit for advocates. Retrieved

May 20, 2013 from http://www.bmsg.org/pdfs/BMSG_Junk_Food_toolkit.pdf.

Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative. (2011a). Food and beverage products that meet participants' approved nutrition standards. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.bbb.org/us/childrens-food-and-beverage-advertising-initiative/

Better Business Bureau Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative. (2011b). General comments and comments on the proposed nutrition principles and marketing definitions. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.bbb.org/us/childrens-food-and-beverage-advertising-initiative/info/#key%20program

Birch, L., & Anzman, S. (2010). Learning to eat in an obesogenic environment: A developmental systems perspective on childhood obesity. *Child Development Perspectives, 4*, 138–143.

Borzekowski, D., & Robinson, T. (2001). The 30 second effect: An experiment revealing the impact of television commercials on food preferences of preschoolers. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 101*, 42–46.

Brownell, K. D., & Horgen, K. B. (2004). *Food fight: The inside story of the food industry, America's obesity crisis, and what we can do about it.* New York: McGraw-Hill, Contemporary Books.

Buijzen, M., Schuurman, J., & Bomhof, E. (2008). Associations between children's television advertising exposure and their food consumption patterns: A household diary-survey study. *Appetite, 50*, 231–239.

California Project LEAN. (2007). Captive kids: Selling obesity at schools: An action guide to stop the marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages in school. Revieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.californiaprojectlean.org/doc.asp?id=174

Center for Science in the Public Interest. (2012). Reducing junk food marketing to children: State and local policy options for advocates and policy makers. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://cspinet.org/new/pdf/statelocalpolicy.pdf

Chernin, A. (2008). The effects of food marketing on children's preferences: Testing the moderating roles of age and gender. *The Annals of the American Academy Political and Social Science, 615*, 102–120.

Common Sense Media. (2011). Zero to Eight: Children's Media Use in America. Retrieved March 27, 2012, from http://www.commonsensemedia.org/sites/default/files/research/zerotoeightfinal2011.pdf

Darwin, D. (2009). Advertising obesity: Can the U.S. follow the lead of the U.K. in limiting television marketing of unhealthy foods to children? *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, 42*: 317–350.

Dembek, C., Harris, J. L., & Schwartz, M. B. (2012). Trends in television food advertising to young people: 2011 update. Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity: Yale University. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.yaleruddcenter.org/resources/upload/docs/what/reports/RuddReport_TVFoodAdvertising_5.12.pdf

Dennison, B. A., Erb, T. A., & Jenkins, P. L. (2002). Television viewing and television in bedroom associated with overweight risk among low-income preschool children. *Pediatrics, 109*(6), 1028–1035.

Federal Trade Commission. (2008). *Marketing food to children and adolescents: A review of industry expenditures, activities, and self-regulation*. Federal Trade Commission. Retrieved May 20, 2013 from http://www.ftc.gov/os/2008/07/P064504foodmktingreport.pdf.

Federal Trade Commission. (2012). *A review of food marketing to children and adolescents. Follow up report.* Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.ftc.gov/os/2012/12/121221foodmarketingreport.pdf

Ferguson, C., Munoz, M., & Medrano, M. (2011). Advertising influences on young children's food choices and parental influence. *Journal of Pediatrics, 60*(3), 452-455.

Government Accountability Office (US). (2005). School meal programs. In R. N. GAO-05-563 (Ed.), *Competitive foods are widely available and generate substantial revenues for schools*. Washington, DC: GAO.

Harris, J. L., Brownell, K. D., & Bargh, J. A. (2009). The food marketing defense model: Integrating psychological research to protect youth and inform public policy. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 3*(1), 211-271. doi: 10.1111/j.1751- 2409.2009.01015.x

Harris, J. L., & Graff, S. K. (2011). Protecting children from harmful food marketing: options for local government to make a difference. *Preventing Chronic Disease, 8*(5), A92.

Harris, J. L., Pomeranz, J. L., Lobstein, T., & Brownell, K. D. (2009). A crisis in the marketplace: How food marketing contributes to childhood obesity and what can be done. *Annual Review of Public Health, 30*, 211–225.

Harris, J. L., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2009). Cereal FACTS *Food advertising to children and teens score*. Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Harris, J. L., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2010a). Marketing foods to children and adolescents: licensed characters and other promotions on packaged foods in the supermarket. *Public Health Nutrition, 13*(3), 409-417. doi: 10.1017/S1368980009991339

Harris, J. L., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2010b). Fast Food FACTS *Food advertising to children and teens score*. Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Harris, J. L., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2011). Sugary drink FACTS *Food advertising to children and teens score*. Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity, New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Harris, J. L., Speers, S. E., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2011). US food company branded advergames on the internet: Children's exposure and effects on snack consumption. *Journal of Children and Media,* November, 1–18.

Harris, J. L., Thompson, J. M., Schwartz, M. B., & Brownell, K. D. (2011). Nutrition-related claims on children's cereals: What do they mean to parents and do they influence willingness to buy? *Public Health Nutrition*, 1–6. doi: 10.1017/S1368980011001741

Harris, J. L., & Bargh, J. A. (2009). Television viewing and unhealthy diet: Implications for children and media interventions. *Health Communication, 24*(7), 660–673.

Hawkes, C. (2004). *Marketing food to children: The global regulatory environment.* Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.

Hawkes, C. (2007). Regulating food marketing to young people worldwide: Trends and policy drivers. *American Journal of Public Health, 97*: 1962–1972.

Hingle, M., & Kunkel, D. (2012). Childhood obesity and the media. *Pediatric Clinics of North America*, *59(3*), 677–692.

Institute of Medicine. (2006). *Food marketing to children and youth: Threat or opportunity?* J. M. McGinnis, J. Gootman & V. I. Kraak (Eds.). Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Interagency Working Group. (2011). Preliminary proposed nutrition principles to guide industry self-regulatory efforts. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://ftc.gov/os/2011/04/110428foodmarketproposedguide.pdf

International Association for the Study of Obesity, & Consumers International. (2008). *Recommendations for an international code of marketing of foods and non-alcoholic beverages to children*. Consumers International. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.iaso.org/site_media/uploads/ConsumersInternationalMarketingCode.pdf

Isler, L., Popper, E., & Ward, S. (1987). Children's purchase requests and parental responses: Results from a diary study. *Journal of Advertising Research, 27*(5), 28–39.

Kunkel, D., & Castonguay, J. (2012). Children and advertising: Content, comprehension, and consequences. In D. Singer & J. Singer (Eds.), *Handbook of children and the media,* (Second ed., pp. 395–418). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Kunkel, D., McKinley, C., & Wright, P. (2009). *The impact of industry self-regulation on the nutritional quality of foods advertised on television to children*. Oakland, CA: Children Now.

Macklin, M. C. (1994). The effects of an advertising retrieval cue on young children's memory and brand evaluations. *Psychology & Marketing, 11*, 291–311.

Mallinckrodt, V., & Mizerski, D. (2007). The effects of playing an advergame on young children's perceptions, preferences, and requests. *Journal of Advertising, 36*(2), 87–100.

Molnar, A., Garcia, D. R., Boninger, F., & Merrill, B. (2008). Marketing of foods of minimal nutritional value to children in schools. *Preventive Medicine, 47*(5), 504–507. doi: 10.1016/j.ypmed.2008.07.019

O'Dougherty, M., Story, M., & Stang, J. (2006). Observations of parent-child co-shoppers in supermarkets: Children's involvement in food selections, parental yielding, and refusal strategies. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior, 38*, 183–188.

OECD (2013). *Obesity Update* 2012. Retrieved May 9, 2013 from http://www.oecd.org/health/49716427.pdf.

Ogden, C., & Carroll, M. (2010). *Prevalence of obesity among children and adolescents: United States, trends 1963–1965 through 2007–2008*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hestat/obesity_child_07_08/obesity_child_07_08.pdf.

Ogden, C. L., Carroll, M. D., Kit, B. K., & Flegal, K. M. (2012). Prevalence of obesity and trends in body mass index among US children and adolescents, 1999–2010. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 307*(5), 483–490. doi: jama.2012.40 [pii]10.1001/jama.2012.40

Powell, L. M., Schermbeck, R. M., Szczypka, G., Chaloupka, F. J., & Braunschweig, C. L. (2011a). Trends in the nutritional content of television food advertisements seen by children in the United States.:Analyses by age, food categories, and companies.. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine., 165*(12), 1078–1086.

Powell, L. M., Schermbeck, R. M., Szczypka, G., Chaloupka, F. J., & Braunschweig, C. L. (2011b). Trends in the nutritional content of television food advertisements seen by children in the United States: Analyses by age, food categories, and companies. *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, archpediatrics.2011.2131. doi: 10.1001/archpediatrics .2011.131

Powell, L. M., Szczypka, G., Chaloupka, F. J., & Braunschweig, C. L. (2007). Nutritional content of television food advertisements seen by children and adolescents. *Pediatrics, 120*, 576–583.

PR Newswire. (2012). Birds Eye, America's leading vegetable company, joins Partnership for a Healthier America in the fight against childhood obesity. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/birds-eye-americas-leading-vegetable-company-joins-partnership-for-a-healthier-

america-in-the-fight-against-childhood-obesity-150420245.html
Prevention Institute. (2008a). Strategic alliance: Local policy database: Official zoning ordinance. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://eatbettermovemore.org/sa/policies/policy_detail.php?s_Search=healthy+food&Search_PolicyPage=2&policyI D=54
Prevention Institute. (2008b). Strategic Alliance: Local Policy Database: Prohibiting mobile catering trucks from operating near public schools. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://eatbettermovemore.org/sa/policies/ENACT
Prevention Institute. (2011). Strategic Alliance: Local Policy Database: Food vending vehicles. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://eatbettermovemore.org/sa/policies/ENACT
Rideout, V. J., Foehr, U. G., & Roberts, D. F. (2010). *Generation M2: Media in the lives of 8- to 18-year-olds*. Menlo Park, CA: The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
Robinson, T., Borzekowski, D., Matheson, D., & Kraemer, H. (2007). Effects of fast food branding on young children's taste preferences. *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine, 161*(8), 792–797.
San Francisco Commercial-Free Schools Act (as amended). Prohibiting exclusive vendor contracts, brand names, and tobacco subsidiary food products (1999). Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://eatbettermovemore.org/sa/policies/policy_detail.php?s_Search=&issue=1&env=2&keyword=6&s_State=&jurisdiction=&year=&policyID=21
Schwartz, M. B., Lund, A. E., Grow, H. M., McDonnell, E., Probart, C., Samuelson, A., & Lytle, L. (2009). A comprehensive coding system to measure the quality of school wellness policies. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 109*(7), 1256–1262. doi: S0002-8223(09)00457-X [pii] 10.1016/j.jada.2009.04.008
Signorielli, N., & Staples, J. (1997). Television and children's conceptions of nutrition. *Health Communication, 9*, 289–230.
Swinburn, B., Sacks, G., Lobstein, T., Rigby, N., Baur, L., Brownell, K., Gill, T., Seidell, J., & Kumanyika, S. (2008). The 'Sydney Principles' for reducing the commercial promotion of foods and beverages to children. *Public Health Nutrition, 11*, 881–886.
The Associated Press. (2011). McDonald's: Apple slices in every Happy Meal, *USA Today*.
U.S. Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2010). *Dietary guidelines for Americans, 2010*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.cnpp.usda.gov/Publications/DietaryGuidelines/2010/PolicyDoc/PolicyDoc.pdf.
U.S. Library of Congress (Writer). (2012). USHR16 Appropriations Committee.
United States General Accounting Office. (2000). Report to Congressional requesters. Public education. Commercial activities in schools.
Valkenburg, P.M., & Buijzen, M. (2005). Identifying determinants of young children's brand awareness: Television, parents, and peers. *Applied Developmental Psychology, 26*, 456–468.
Wilson, G., & Wood, K. (2004). The influence of children on parental purchases during supermarket shopping. *International Journal Consumer Studies, 28*, 329–336.
Yale Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity. (2012). Legislation Database (2012) MS HB 202—Prohibit certain forms of advertising near specific schools. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.yaleruddcenter.org/legislation/
Yale University Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity. (2012). Legislative Database. Retrieved May 22, 2013 from http://www.yaleruddcenter.org/legislation/
Zimmerman, F. J., & Bell, J. F. (2010). Associations of television content type and obesity in children. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*, 334–340.

Food Marketing, Children, and Obesity in Chile: Evidence and Challenges for Regulation

Rodrigo Uribe Alejandra Fuentes-García

ruribe@unegocios.cl *amfuentes@med.uchile.cl*

1. Antecedents

We can assert without a doubt that the world today faces an epidemic of childhood obesity. An estimated 10% of the worlds school-aged children carry excess weight, a condition that has several mental and physical health consequences for both the individual and society (Lobstein, Baur, & Uauy, 2004).

Evidence shows that the obesity rate is not equally distributed around the world, and it mainly depends on what nutritional transitional stage a country is facing. In the case nations in early stages of the transitions—such as Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru in South America—the obesity rate is more frequent in high rather than low socioeconomic groups. In countries in more advanced stages—Brazil, Chile, or Uruguay—there is no a clear trend, or in some cases, as in Chile, obesity tends to concentrate among poorer people. In a post-transitional situation, obesity consistently affects more frequently the low-income groups (Albala & Corvalán, 2011).

The Chilean data show not only high prevalence in the rates of childhood obesity, but also an alarming rising trend. Taking into account only the prevalence of obesity in pre-school children, the prevalence has increased from 6.2% to 9.8% in the period between 1996-2007 (Albala & Corvalán, 2011). In the case of the prevalence of overweight and obese children, the figures are even higher. For example, the results of two large surveys showed a remarkable increase in 6-year-old children's overweight and obesity between 1987 and 2000, from 12% to 26% in boys and from 14% to 27% in girls (Kain, Uauy, Vio, & Albala, 2002; OECD, 2013).

The rapid economic growth, the remaining level of poverty, and the persisting economic inequalities in Chile have all been mentioned as key contributing factors to the increase of obesity. Among other things, these elements have caused a relevant change in the dietary habits of the population (a movement towards the increasing ingestion of foods rich in fat, calories, and sodium). This occurs in a scenario in which it is difficult to buy healthy food at affordable prices, in which there is a low quality general education and little media literacy, and in which TV viewing (specifically paid TV) is a significant leisure activity (Busdiecker, Castillo, & Salas, 2000; McGinnis, Grootman, & Kraak, 2006).

In this context, it is relevant to scrutinize marketing practices, particularly in the case of those addressed to children. As explained in detail by Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia in this issue, available evidence from developed economies shows the pervasiveness and significant effect of different food promotional tactics on children. Similarly, as we will argue in this essay, local evidence from Chile confirms the same tendencies in terms of the presence and power of these marketing actions among kids. Thus, a relevant challenge for a country like Chile concerns the regulation of food marketing targeted at children: what to regulate, how to monitor the enforcement of the laws, and how to determine the general principle of this policy (to restrict marketing actions of unhealthy foods and beverages versus to promote healthy products and marketing actions) (McGinnis, Grootman, & Kraak, 2006).

2. What the Evidence Shows in Chile

A. The effects of marketing communications on children

In the case of the effects of advertising and other promotional tools, a group of studies have been carried out in Chile examining the effect of advertising on children. The results of these pieces of research have confirmed what prior studies have shown in the USA and Europe about a significant effect of these marketing actions on kids.

In the first study published in Latin America, Olivares, Albala García, and Jofré (1999) carried out semi-structured interviews with a representative sample of 786 Chilean children aged 6 to 11 years old. The objective of this study was to descriptively examine the relationship between amount of time spent watching television during weekdays and the attitude towards food and beverage commercials, as well as how these variables were associated with food preferences. The researchers detected that 99% of the sample watched TV during weekdays and 20% watched more the three hours daily. Commercials devoted to products such as chocolates, cookies, ice cream, and soft drinks were preferred by one third of the kids (in comparison to yogurt ads, preferred by only by 12% of them), particularly by those with higher level of TV exposure. Moreover, 86% of the children declared that they had pocket money to buy food at school, and 66% of them reported buying snacks, and 15%, soft drinks. Each of these items was associated with those who held more positive evaluations of these commercials.

In a follow-up of that study, Olivares, Yáñez, and Díaz (2003) examined a sample of 274 primary school age children ranging from 10 to 14 years old. Firstly, the results again showed that these children preferred the advertisements of non-healthy products (chocolates, cookies, soft drinks, and other sweets and salted products rich in fat) more than the ads of healthy food products (such as yogurt). Secondly, almost 99% of the children said that they had money to buy food at school, and about 90% of them said that they preferred to buy unhealthy food and drinks (68.1% bought sweet and salted products, 17.2% soft drinks, and 3.7% fast food).

In a correlational study, Uribe and Martinez (under review) carried out a survey among children during the week before Children's day [In Chile, Children's Day is a celebration, similar to Mother's and Father's Day, in which children receive gifts from their parents. In this regard, it is a commercial holiday dedicated to buying toys and other gifts for children.] The authors asked children what they had requested from their parents for that day. In addition, during the prior four weeks these scholars examined a representative sample of children's television advertising in order to determine what products were advertised. The study reported that age (as proxy of cognitive development), the amount of television watched, and the presence of a television set in the child's bedroom were significant predictors of the children's request for advertised products (short-term behavioral effect). In particular, they detected that younger children, those that watch more television and have a TV set in their room demanded more advertised products than older ones, light television viewers and those without a TV set in their room.

Evidence about the specific effect of food marketing tactics on children is provided by Uribe and Fuentes-García (2013). They examined the separate and joint effect of two promotional tools—advertising and placement of junk food—on children at different age stages (9, 12, and 15 years old). They measured the short-term effect on brand awareness, brand attitude, and behavioral disposition towards the category and the brand. Findings of this study depicted, firstly, a significant effect of both advertising and placement on children's brand awareness, and the behavioral disposition to the product category (junk food) and the brand (McDonalds). In the case of brand attitude, this study did not detect any change. Secondly, when these results were examined by age, results showed that the effect of these marketing actions on children's brand awareness and behavioral disposition was stronger among the younger ones. Finally, the analysis of the joint (synergic) use of advertising and product placement showed an increase in the effect on children in the case of brand awareness and the disposition toward the category and the brand in comparison to the isolated use of advertising and product placement. This result is particularly important, because it added new information to the study of the effect of marketing actions on children. This study evaluated a common practice of the industry: the joint use of different tools in marketing campaigns (usually labeled as 360º campaigns), which would amplify the effect on children. In other words, this could mean that the effect of communication campaigns in practice could be stronger to what prior studies only examining the isolated influence of single tools have asserted.

B. The prominence of food and beverage communication campaigns targeted at children

Studies in this region are comparatively scarce, but they have tended to show that the presence of marketing communication actions from unhealthy food and beverage companies are similar in terms of presence and style to those carried out in developed economies.

In the largest content analysis of children's advertising developed in the region, Uribe (2012) examined 1,000 hours of television broadcasting from a one-year random sample (including terrestrial and paid television). In terms of presence, the study found that “Toys” is the most prominent product category (with an average of about 40% of the advertising air time) followed by “Food and Beverages” (about 30% of the air time). In addition, there is a seasonal effect on the presence of these categories. In the case of “Food and Beverages,” this category is the most relevant one in the periods August-October and January-April (about 40% of the advertising air time).

Doing a zoom-in on the latter category, Uribe (2012; 2005) detected that cereals were the most prominent food type (about one third of the air time devoted to food and beverages), followed by other two product categories: “Dairy Products,” and “Sweets and other Snacks” (about 25% of the air time each category). It is important to mention that the category “Fast Food Restaurants” was a secondary product in terms of those advertised (3% of the air time).

Examining the nutritional components of the food and beverage television advertising targeted to the general population (not specifically to children), Crovetto, Duran, Guzmán, and Miranda (2011) analyzed a convenience sample from January and February 2010. They classified ads as healthy, moderately healthy, and unhealthy based on their total fat, saturated fat, carbohydrates, and sodium using as reference a British classification chart called “Traffic Light System.” They detected that 16% of the total amount of advertisements were devoted to food or beverage, and 64% of them promoted unhealthy food, 27% moderately healthy, and 9% healthy food. In addition, Cáceres, Ibarra, and Pastenes (2009) provided specific evidence abut children’s food advertising. They evaluated the nutritional components of a sample of food advertising (second semester of 2010) targeted to children based on the guidelines proposed in a law bill about the nutritional composition of foods that was in the parliament at that point in time. They categorized advertisements in terms of both the unhealthy (fat, sugar, and sodium) and healthy (fiber and calcium) product content. Results showed that the three most prominent advertised categories (sweets and snacks, cereals, and beverages) were rich in calories and other unhealthy components. For example, sweets and snacks were rich in calories and saturated fat, and cereals are rich in calories and medium in fat and sodium. In addition, the analysis of healthy elements also showed a negative view: These three categories were low in fiber, and only snacks and cereals were medium in calcium.

Finally, Sepulveda (2012) developed a content analysis comparing the use of the Web 1.0 (webpages) and 2.0 (social media) among the most popular food brands targeted at children. He included the top brands in the categories “Soft Drinks, Sweets, and Snacks,” “Juice,” “Yogurt,” “Cereals,” “Dairy products,” “Ice Cream,” and “Fast Food Restaurants,” totaling 89 brands. Results showed, firstly, a strong under use of the web 2.0. In fact, 81% of brands used the traditional Internet platform (Web 1.0), and only 42% used any social media (Web 2.0). Secondly, the use of persuasive strategies targeted to children is dominated by sales promotions: discount coupons and access to exclusive audiovisual material (such as wallpapers or ringtones) if the child is registered with the page. The other common persuasive tactics used were spokes-characters and advergames to produce interaction between children and the brand. Thirdly, the presence of educational material (no matter if this covered food education) is almost absent. Thus, this study highlights that brands are still not using massively the Web 2.0 platform and that this will be the next step in the development of promotion to children.

3. The Regulation of Food Marketing in Chile

In the context that food and beverage marketing actions are pervasive and potentially harmful to children, regulation emerges as one of the key challenges to the prevention of obesity and the promotion of a healthy lifestyle.

A. Current Chilean regulation

Currently in Chile, as in many other Latin-American countries, the statutes and norms about food and beverage advertising tend to be generic. The only norms specifically devoted to this point appear in the voluntary National Code of Advertising Ethics. In this context, a new Chilean law (Law 20.606, which will take force in July 2013) represents a change, but its application and effectiveness remains full of uncertainties.

Until a few months ago, the only jurisdiction governing the legal status of food advertising fell to the generic laws of the country. On the one hand, the Consumer Law basically requires advertisers to avoid any misleading information in the content of promotional messages. On the other hand, the Sanitary Rule of Food (Decree with Law Force 725) determines what nutritional information is compulsory to include in the packaging.

Recently, the Chilean Congress has approved a new law about the "Nutritional Composition of Foods and their Advertising" (Law 20.606), which will come into force on July 6th 2013. In general terms, this law determines that the industry has to inform consumers about all the ingredients on the label; bans the selling of food and beverages with high levels of fat, sodium, and sugar in schools; and forbids the use of foods and beverages paired with premiums (such as collectible toys). The next steps of the law (currently under preparation) are, firstly, to elaborate the specific regulation that will determine the maximum amount of sodium, sugar, and fat allowed by the law; and, secondly, to determine the specific restrictions to the promotion of food and beverages. At this level, there will be some rules about children and food promotion, which will be determined during the year 2013.

In addition, it important to mention that the voluntary code of the advertisers (National Code of Advertising Ethics) has special chapters devoted to both food and beverage advertising in general (Article 28) and advertising of these products targeted to children under 14 years old (Article 29). The general propositions address the relevance of three principles: to promote a balanced diet, to avoid confusion about the benefits of a particular product, and to assure the accuracy of the claims, with scientific evidence. The specific rules referred to food advertising targeted to children under 14 (Article 29) have generic principles to prevent the use of fantasy to confuse children, to create unrealistic expectations on them, and to avoid damaging the authority of parents (Conar, 2013).

B. The challenges of regulation

In a scenario of a relevant presence of food advertising and a significant effect of the different forms of promotion on children, regulation emerges as a key element in order to decrease the level of childhood obesity. In this regard, the existence of self-regulation and nowadays a new statutory regulation about food advertising appear as good initial steps in terms of the type of norms that a country needs to control the action of the food industry on children.

Nevertheless, the existence of these rules does not guarantee relevant changes and does not control the marketing action of this industry. Firstly, there is the task of enforcing the law. The State, particularly in developing countries, has few human and technical resources to track whether the industry actually follows the law (Nakkash & Lee, 2009). Moreover, international experience shows that the industry may circumvent the law by creating some subterfuges. The most common way is that bans on tactics in one/some places usually lead marketers to reposition their advertising to other non-regulated spaces (Eagle & De Bruin, 2001).

Secondly, regulation requires coordination. On the one hand, statutory regulation and self-regulation require a degree of harmonization in order to produce synergy (González & Atalah, 2011). On the other hand, the big challenge at this level is how to develop a common or at least a compatible regulation among countries in the region. Assuming the increasing number of multinational brands and the development of regional media, it is a new imperative of the law to be consistent not only in a within-country perspective, but also in a between-country viewpoint (Matthew, 2008).

Thirdly, this may be the time to rethink who is in charge of children's protection or at least of supervising the enforcement of the law. At this level the empowerment of citizens and particularly parents becomes essential. In this regard, we would suggest a mix of assigning responsibility for the monitoring of the law between the State and its citizens (Armstrong & Brucks, 1988; Eagle & De Bruin, 2001).

Finally, it is important to mention a final challenge of regulation. Regulation of food advertising to children should not only ban marketing activities but also promote the development of healthy products as well as healthier lifestyles. There is a very real temptation to ban any promotional activity of the food industry assuming that this restriction would solve the problem. In this regard, we must point out that regulation is not only a ban, but also an opportunity to promote those products that could achieve a standard of product quality in terms of low levels of fat, sodium, and sugar. That is to say, it is important to understand policy as restriction as well as a promotion of healthier products and lifestyles (Armstrong & Brucks, 1988; Higham, 1999; Teel, Teel, & Bearden, 1979).

4. Conclusions

This review shows that what Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia support in this issue about the pervasiveness and significant effect of food advertising on children is a common tendency around the world. Moreover, it is possible that in developing and emerging economies this effect could be even stronger.

In addition, this paper tries to illustrate some relevant challenges of regulation in a Latin America country. Among them, it important to mention the existence of a consistency within and between legal norms, and the consistency among the regulations of different countries. Finally, one of the main challenges of regulation is not only to ban some practices of the industry, but also to promote those that accomplish the standards of the regulation.

References

Albala, C., & Corvalán, C. (2011). Epidemiology of obesity in children in South America. In L. Moreno, W. Ahrens, & I. Pigeot (Eds.), *Childhood Obesity Epidemiology* (pp. 95–110). New York: Springer Link.

Armstrong, G., & Brucks, M. (1988). Dealing with children's advertising: Public policy issues and alternatives. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing, 7*, 99–113.

Busdiecker, S., Castillo, C., & Salas, I. (2000). Cambios en los hábitos de alimentación durante la infancia: Una visión antropológica. *Revista Chilena de Pediatría, 71*, 1, 5–11.

Cáceres, C., Ibarra, I., & Pastenes, C. (2008). *Análisis de contenido nutricional de la publicidad de alimentos dirigida al público infantil*. BSc Seminar in Business Administration. Universidad de Chile.

Conar. (2013). *Codigo de Etica Publicitaria*. Santiago: Conar.

Crovetto, M., Duran, M., Guzmán, M., & Miranda, C. (2011). Estudio descriptivo de la frecuencia y duración de la publicidad alimentaria emitida en la programación de canales de televisión asociados a ANATEL. *Revista Chilena de Nutrición, 38*, 290–299.

Eagle, L., & De Bruin, A. (2001). Advertising restrictions: Protection of the young and the vulnerable? *International Journal of Advertising and Marketing to Children, 2*(4), 259–271.

González, C., & Atalah, E. (2011). Regulación de la publicidad televisiva de alimentos para prevenir la obesidad infantil. *Archivos Latinoamericanos de Nutrición, 61*(3), 296–301.

Higham, N. (1999). Industry divided over prospect of ban on children's advertising. *Marketing Week,* July 8, 17.

Kain, J., Uauy, R., Vio, F., & Albala, C. (2002). Trends in overweight and obesity prevalence in Chilean children: Comparison of three definitions. *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 56, 200–204.

Lobstein, T., Baur, L., & Uauy, R. (2004). Obesity in children and young people: A crisis in public health. *Obesity Reviews, 5*(Suppl. 1), 4–85.

Matthews A. E. (2008). Children and obesity: A pan-European project examining the role of food marketing. *European Journal of Public Health, 18*, 7–11.

McGinnis, J. M., Grootman, J. A., & Kraak, V. I. (Eds.). (2006). *Food marketing to children and youth: Threat or opportunity?* Washington: National Academies Press.

Nakkash R., & Lee, K. (2009). The tobacco industry's thwarting of marketing restrictions and health warnings in Lebanon. *Tobbaco Control, 18*, 310–316.

OECD (2013). *Obesity Update* 2012. Retrieved May 9, 2013 from http://www.oecd.org/health/49716427.pdf.

Olivares, S., Albala C., García, F., & Jofré I. (1999). Publicidad televisiva y preferencias alimentarias en escolares de la Región Metropolitana. *Revista Médica de Chile, 127*, 791.

Olivares, S., Yáñez, R., & Díaz, N. (2003). Publicidad de alimentos y conductas alimentarias en escolares de 5º a 8º básico. *Revista Chilena de Nutrición, 30*, 36–42.

Sepulveda, M. (2012). *Herramientas publicitarias usadas en medios digitales por marcas de alimentos infantiles y juveniles en Chile*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Marketing. Universidad de Chile.

Teel, S., Teel, J., & Bearden, W. (1979). Lessons learned from the broadcast cigarette advertising ban. *Journal of Advertising, 13*, 333–346.

Uribe, R. (2005). Características de la publicidad infantil chilena en tiempos de mayor acceso a los medios y a los bienes de consumo. *Estudios de Administración, 12* (2), 1–44.

Uribe, R. (2012). Un momento y ya volvemos: Un análisis de contenido de la publicidad infantil en la televisión chilena. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 18*, 79–106.

Uribe, R., & Fuentes-García, A. (2013). The separate and joint effect of advertising and placement of junk food on children. Paper presented at the ICORIA Conference. June 27–29, Zagreb.

Uribe, R., & Martínez, C. (under review) Advertising and children's product requests: Testing and expanding previous findings in the Chilean context. Paper submitted to *Innovar.*

A Reflection on European Regulation of Television Advertising to Children

Almudena González del Valle
almudena.gdelvalle@unir.net

The ills and benefits of food advertising to children has emerged as one of the hot and upcoming topics in European media and social policy. Writing in this issue of Communication Research Trends, Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia state that the link between the amount of time children spend watching television and the likelihood of their being overweight has been well established; they also note recent research that has shown that this may result from overall exposure to food marketing, rather than mere lack of physical activity, as they watch television instead of taking part in sports or outdoor activities. Since food marketing appears not only on television but also on other off- and online media, they suggest the need for policies to protect children from what seems to be a clear threat to their present and future health. The authors have looked into the U.S. case. I would argue that the need for child protection from food advertising is relevant in all European countries; here, too, child obesity has increased, as identified by the World Health Organization (Livingstone, 2001). In this essay I will reflect on the main area—watching food advertising and food choice—from a regulatory point of view, and in particular, in the European Union (EU).

A. Childhood obesity and advertising concerns at the wider European region level

The World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes obesity as a global health problem, from which European countries are not spared. To facilitate action across the WHO European Region, WHO/Europe organized the WHO European Ministerial Conference on Counteracting Obesity in Istanbul, Turkey on 15–17 November 2006. At the conference, the delegates and Ministers adopted the European Charter on Counteracting Obesity (WHO, 2006). Among other agreements, the charter recommended that policies to counteract obesity should also became part of the WHO European health policy for the next years—Health 2020—currently being developed by WHO/Europe in collaboration with its 53 Member States (WHO, 2012). Their shared goals are to "significantly improve the health and well-being of populations, reduce health inequalities, strengthen public health, and ensure people-centered health systems that are universal, equitable, sustainable, and of high quality" (WHO, 2012, p. 1). The WHO set up an ongoing initiative for child obesity in the European region, the European Childhood Obesity Surveillance Initiative (COSI) (WHO/Europe, 2005). The first data were collected in 2007 and the initiative includes routinely trend measuring in overweight and obesity in primary school children (6–9 years), in order to understand the progress of the epidemic in this population group and to permit inter-country comparisons within the European region. 2010 results indicate that 24% of 6–9 year olds are overweight or obese (based on the 2007 WHO growth reference for children and adolescents).

According to Livingstone (2001) obesity is now a major public health problem in Europe. Future research should aim to better understand the causes of the observed differences in the prevalence of obesity across Europe. At a population level this will mean focusing not just on the mechanisms of energy intake and physical activity but also on an evaluation of the environmental forces which, directly or indirectly, are conducive to high levels of overweight and obesity.

Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia posit that the more pernicious effect of children's exposure to food marketing messages results from marketing's role in fueling the obesity epidemic. Advertising and the commercial world's interaction with children has long been a focus of attention from parents, regulators, and the industry, and it is emerging as a topic of research interest in academia. In Europe in particular, Young (2003) reviewed the literature on the role of advertising in children's food choice. He spotted nine main areas in the literature of both academic and public concern. The themes that emerged included families and food choice; attitudes toward advertising to children; attitudes toward food; packaging and brands; food choice and behavior; labeling; the child's understanding of advertising; television programming; and the relationship between watching food advertising and food choice. Of these main areas, attitudes towards advertising to children, children's understanding of advertising, and the relationship between watching food advertising and food choice are relevant for this essay.

Research done on a pan-European scale (Proponnet, 1997) on the attitudes toward advertising to children has shown that parents mention and rate advertising as a minor source of influence on children. Other influences that parents identify as more important include family and friends. However, when parents were specifically challenged, some had concerns about certain features of advertising food to children. Within a wider context of advertising in general, parents did not consider it to be a major factor in their child's upbringing (Young, 2003).

The extent to which children at different ages understand the purpose behind advertising has always been of central concern in the European regulatory debate, because it moves out from regulation into sociological matters. Research on the child's understanding of advertising has shown that children are judged to be savvier with this medium than was previously recognized (Young, Webley, Hetherington, & Zeedyk, 1996). Generally, the regulatory and academic environments across continents and countries widely share the belief that an adequate understanding of advertising among children emerges by the age of 8, but some children do not apply this understanding until they are 12 years of age (John, 1999). This explains the 12 years of age limit in most European Member States regulations about children's television programming and commercial content curfew. Several studies claimed a direct relationship between food advertising to children and subsequent food choice. Although researchers have claimed significant correlations, these studies are methodologically unsound as they do not use longitudinal or experimental designs; both of these would be required before any claims of causality can be made. In two prospective studies one reported small but significant results and the other did not.

At the European policy level, the concern for children has reached public health debates. The food industry, as Schwartz, Kunkel, and DeLucia point out, has responded with an effort to self-regulate food advertising, as recognized in the 2010 Audiovisual Media Services Directive, "Experience has shown that both co-regulation and self-regulation instruments, implemented in accordance with the different legal traditions of the Member States, can play an important role in delivering a high level of consumer protection" (European Commission, 2010a, #49).

B. Children food consumption and advertising: An EU perspective

At least at the European Union level, a number of European countries share concerns about the effects of television advertising on children, and one of the main EU objectives for audiovisual matters is the protection of minors. However, regulations differ widely across EU countries, in spite of the national implementations of the 2007 Audiovisual Services Directive (AMSD). A European perspective on this research subject should start at looking into regulatory pressures for a stringent set of rules in food advertising at children. A rising need to control public health costs, especially within the eurozone countries, may trigger these rules; decreasing television advertising viewing and branded products consumption may also affect the rule-making. However, a report on this lies outside the scope of this essay.

There are few EU law provisions dealing with the issue of advertising directed at children, and especially scarce are regulatory provisions dealing with the issue of food advertising directed at children (Garde, 2006). The main instrument is the AMSD Directive (European Commission, 2010a), an evolution of the first 1989 Directive "Television without Frontiers" (revised in 1997 and replaced by 2007/65/EC). Other related policies are geared to consumer protection. Recommended legislative action in this area aims to solve problems in the health and safety field, in economic interest, and in the co-ordination of consumer protection with other EU policies. Several legislative acts were passed under this particular field of EU policy affecting advertising, foodstuffs, and labeling.

In connection with the protection of minors, the European Union is most concerned with toy safety and advertising directed at children in general. In the field of tobacco and alcohol advertising directed at children in all Member States specific regulations apply. With regard to other products or services of interest to children, such as sweets, confectionery, and toys, national regulations are not at all uniform. The various regulatory initiatives at the European level do not properly cover the cross-border dimension of advertising to children; it is therefore difficult for individual Member States to enforce national regulation in the case of "foreign” advertisers violating these. According to the European Commission (2012) reports on national enforcement of the AMSD (2010), a number of key provisions emerge.

The 2010/13/EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive. This Directive appears as a central piece of legislation in the regulation of television advertising targeted to children. Nevertheless, the Directive does not imply a homogeneous regulation across Member States. The Directive contains in Article 9 some provisions regulating the advertising of “unhealthy” food and drinks in children’s programs:

> Member States and the Commission shall encourage media service providers to develop codes of conduct regarding inappropriate audiovisual commercial communications, accompanying or included in children’s programs, of foods and beverages containing nutrients and substances with a nutritional or physiological effect, in particular those such as fat, trans-fatty acids, salt/sodium, and sugars, excessive intakes of which in the overall diet are not recommended. (Article 9(2))

Other provisions deal with scheduling commercials or teleshopping within children’s programs:

> . . . The transmission of children’s programs may be interrupted by television advertising and/or teleshopping once for each scheduled period of at least 30 minutes, provided that the scheduled duration of the program is greater than 30 minutes. . . . (Article 20(2))

Sponsorship of children’s programs and product placement within this type of program is also regulated. However, the scope of the provisions differs: Product placement is banned (Article 11(3c)), but sponsorship is left to each Member State to decide:

> . . . Member States may choose to prohibit the showing of a sponsorship logo during children’s programs, documentaries, and religious programs. (Article 10 (4))

Matthews (2008) in her paper on children and obesity in Europe included some recommendations to make in the amendment of the 2007 AMSD (now 2010). She stated that, for the purposes of regulation, no commonly held definition of a “child” is even shared within European countries. Her recommendations included a general ban on all television advertising of unhealthy food to children. Other recommendations related to the adoption of a commonly agreed European Union definition of an “unhealthy” food, and the establishment of a mechanism for pan-European monitoring of the nature and extent of food marketing to children and its regulation (see Matthews, 2008, for full reference list). Although these strict recommendations have not been taken forward at the EU-wide regulatory level, there are indeed some Member States that already have implemented such restrictive measures within their legislative or normative framework. The strength of regulatory approaches ranges from very tough—in Sweden, television advertisements targeting children under 12 are banned—to the self-regulatory efforts at the industry level in Spain. In Sweden for example, it is against the law to send direct mail advertising addressed to children under the age of 16, and the law also forbids the broadcasting of television commercials aimed at children younger than 12 years of age. There are also a number of business agreements, including rules concerning toys that inspire thoughts of war and violence.

These differences may be traced back to older Directive versions (1989 and 1997 Television without Frontiers Directive) (Commission, 2004). González del Valle (1999) in the study of regulatory framework in four EU countries in the field of television advertising to children concluded that EU Member States had very different (commercial) television traditions. This fact may account for the differences in public and regulatory attitudes towards advertising in general, and to children in particular. Each of the countries in her study dealt in a different way from a legal point of view, with marketing practices, with the television and advertising industry, and with the protection of minors. Consumers in each of the countries had different levels of awareness and involvement in public and political debates. To certain extent, these divergences actually accounted for the different interpretations of common concepts and principles, such as misleading advertising in connection to children or advertising content harmful for children. Differences in the economic and political policies may also be central in shaping of the national rules and regulations that govern children’s television advertising.

Thus, the way in which the EU provisions are enacted and controlled varies across countries. The interpretation of the provisions in the European legal texts is left to national regulators, as seen in the provision about sponsoring children’s programs. These differences lead to various degrees of regulatory protection. In the absence of clear criteria set either by regulators or by the industry, broadcasters themselves examine advertising campaigns and interpret the general provisions. Therefore, the resulting national regulatory situation of children's television advertising is determined to a certain degree by both national legal and cultural traditions, and economic and political objectives, and these do not necessarily compare across Member States. (For a sample, see the section of the reference list indicating legal and regulatory texts.)

The role of consumer associations in the enforcement of the rules is central. In the Netherlands, consumer associations participate in the drawing up of the guidelines and rules for example; in Spain, consumer associations control the application of the Code of toy advertising and now the PAOS code (Código PAOS, 2012). Although a self-regulatory agreement, it is largely applied by toy manufacturers and the resolutions of the consumer association's commission accepted by advertisers.

C. Application of the provisions on 2010/13/EU Directive related to children's advertising in connection with food consumption

The First Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the application of Audiovisual Media Service Directive (COM/2012/0203 final) involved a content analysis of the 100 most frequently broadcast advertising spots (European Commission, 2012). Research showed that the Directive's provisions on the protection of minors in advertising were seldom contravened. As with alcohol advertising, because of the detailed wording of the relevant provisions, there were few infringements of the AVMSD. Nevertheless, it appeared that advertising techniques geared towards minors are frequently used in television advertising. Again, as found by González del Valle (1999) national interpretations of the Directive provisions differ widely across Member States. Five Member States prohibit advertising in children's programs (article 9(2) of the Directive). Some Member States impose a partial ban or other restrictions on advertising in children's programs, either during specific time slots or for specific products. Other Member States prohibit the showing of sponsorship logos in children's programs (Article 10 (4)).

The Report recommended an update in 2013 of the Commission's Interpretative Communication (2004/C102/02), an explanatory document on the advertising provisions in the 1997 Television without Frontiers Directive (Commission, 2004). These recommendations underline the importance of including in the revision the experience gained around the EU Platform on Nutrition—a platform for action on diet, physical activity, and health (European Commission Public Health, 2013b)—and the EU Alcohol Health Forum—a platform to debate alcohol related harm (European Commission Public Health, 2013a). Other experience to be included in the revision of the 2004 Interpretative Communication should be research carried out on behavioral advertising. The Report stated the need to further investigate to assess the impact of commercial communications, especially for alcoholic beverages, on minors as regards exposure and consumption behavior, and the effectiveness of the Directive's restrictions in achieving requisite protection.

An example of this diverse interpretation of provisions, and their varied national implementation, comes from the fact that despite regulation, children in the UK are exposed to more television advertising for unhealthy than for healthy food items, even at peak children's viewing times (Boyland, Harrold, Kirkham, & Halford, 2011). Thus, a certain scope remains for strengthening the rules regarding advertising of foods around programming popular with children and adults alike, where current regulations do not apply. In a counter example, in Sweden, for instance, since 1991, all television advertisements directed to children under 12 are banned. Moreover, all advertisements—for food, toys, and all other products—before or after children's programs are banned. In addition, individuals or characters are not allowed to be involved in any sort of advertisements that are directed to children younger than 12 years of age. The rationale given by the Swedish government in relation to this ban is that children under the age of 12 cannot distinguish between advertising messages and program content, as discussed above (John, 1999). Hence, there is a greater chance that they could be influenced by any form of advertisements. This does not mean that children in Sweden are not subject to any form of advertisements. As satellite television programs are aired from other parts of Europe to Sweden, these programs are subject to the respective countries' regulation and these bring all sorts of advertisements to the Swedish community where children are prone to exposure.

D. The road ahead

In 2007 the European Commission published a White Paper on "A Strategy for Europe on Nutrition, Overweight, and Obesity" (Commission of the European Communities, 2007) which focused on health issues and actions that could be taken at EU level to improve nutrition and health related issues. It acknowledged that advertising and marketing are powerful sectors that aim to influence consumer behavior (p. 6). Between October 2005 and March 2006 the European Commission conducted an Advertising Round Table to explore self regulatory approaches and the way that law and self regulation could interact and complement each other. As a result, a best practice model (or standards of governance) for self-regulation was set out in the Round Table report. These standards should apply to the area of advertising of food to children. The aim was that voluntary efforts should complement the existing and different approaches being taken in Member States, such as Spain's PAOS code (mentioned above) and the Office of Communication (Ofcom) initiative in the UK. In July 2007, Ofcom introduced new regulations describing the advertisement of food and drink products to children. Under these regulations, there was a total prohibition of advertising food that is high in fat, sugar, or salt, which is targeted to children aged 9 years and younger. From January 2008, the regulation became more stringent, with no advertisements for food that are high in fat, sugar, or salt aired to children aged 15 years and younger. This food advertisement prohibition is applicable to all cable and satellite children's television channels. Advertisers are restricted in promoting the use of celebrities or cartoon characters and using free gifts as incentives to children when advertising foods that are high in fat, sugar, or salt. As of May 2013, Ofcom had asked the UK's advertising regulators to review the rules that limit children from being exposed to alcohol advertising on television (Ofcom, 2013).

Self-regulation of marketing and advertising of alcoholic beverages substantially improved in the past five years in terms of media services and number of committed Member States. There are some initiatives originating in the industry itself, at the European level, for self regulation. The EU Pledge (launched in December 2007) is a voluntary initiative by leading food and beverage companies to change the way they advertise to children (http://www.eu-pledge.eu/). The EU Pledge program is endorsed and supported by the World Federation of Advertisers as part of signatories' commitment to the Platform for Action on Diet, Physical Activity, and Health. EU Pledge member companies represent over three quarters of food and beverage advertising expenditure in the EU (European Pledge, 2012).

An evaluation of the Platform for Action on Diet, Physical Activity, and Health concluded that stakeholders' initiatives in the field of marketing and advertising showed good progress, but that their impact could be further strengthened (European Commission, 2010b, p. 27). In the more specific area of audiovisual commercial communications in children's programs for sweet, fatty, or salty foods or drinks, Member States have the responsibility of encouraging audiovisual media service providers to develop codes of conduct regarding inappropriate audiovisual commercial communications in children's programs. However, whether all Member States encourage this particular point remains to be seen.

References

Boyland, E. J., Harrold, J. A., Kirkham, T. C., & Halford, J. C. G. (2011). The extent of food advertising to children on UK television in 2008. *International Journal of Pediatric Obesity, 6*(5–6), 455–461.

Código PAOS (Code on co-regulation of advertising of food and drinks aimed at children). (2012). Agencia Española de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutrición, Ministerio de Sanidad y Servicios Sociales, Spain. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.naos .aesan.msssi.gob.es/naos/ficheros/empresas/CODIGO_PAOS_2012.pdf

Commission. (2004). Commission interpretative communication on certain aspects of the provisions on televised advertising in the 'Television without frontiers' Directive (2004/C 102/02). *Official Journal of the European Union* 28.4.2004, p. 2. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:102:0002:0011:EN:PDF.

Commission of the European Communities. (2007). *A strategy for Europe on nutrition, overweight, and obesity related health issues* White paper; Brussels, 30.5.2007 COM(2007) 279 final. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://eur- lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do ?uri=COM:2007:0279:FIN:EN:PDF

European Commission. (2010a). Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation, or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive, codified version). *Official Journal of the European Union* L 95/1, 15.4.2010. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/avms/index_en.htm

European Commission. (2010b). *Strategy for Europe on nutrition, overweight, and obesity related health issues: Implementation progress report*. Directorate General for Health and Consumers. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://ec.europa.eu/health/nutrition_physical_activity/docs/implementation_report_en.pdf

European Commission (2012). Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the application of Directive 2010/13/EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive. "Audiovisual Media Services and Connected Devices: Past and Future Perspectives." COM/2012/0203 final. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2012:0203:FIN:ES:PDF

European Commission Public Health. (2013a). EU alcohol and health forum. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://ec.europa.eu/health/alcohol/forum/

European Commission Public Health. (2013b). EU platform for action on diet, physical activity, and health. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://ec.europa.eu/health/nutrition_physical_activity/platform/index_en.htm.

European Pledge. (2012). *Nutrition criteria white paper*. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.eu-pledge.eu/sites/eu-pledge.eu/files/releases/EU_Pledge_Nutrition_White_Paper_Nov_2012.pdf

Garde, A. (2006) The regulation of food advertising and obesity prevention in Europe: What role for the European Union. European University Institute Working paper LAW, 2006/16. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/4427

González del Valle A. (1999). *An overview and comparison of rules, regulations and policies affecting advertising to children in The Netherlands, UK, Spain and Sweden*. London: The Children's Programme of the Food Advertising Unit.

John, D. R. (1999). Consumer socialization of children: A retrospective look at twenty-five years of research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *26*(3), 183-213.

Livingstone, M. B. (2001) Childhood obesity in Europe: A growing concern. *Public Health Nutrition, 4*(1A), 109–116.

Matthews, A. E. (2008). Children and obesity: A pan-European project examining the role of food marketing. *European Journal of Public Health, 18* (1): 7–11. doi: 10.1093/eurpub/ckm015. First published online: May 23, 2007. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://eurpub.oxfordjournals.org/content/18/1/7.full.

Ofcom. (2013). Ofcom asks advertising bodies to review rules to limit children's exposure to TV alcohol advertising. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://consumers.ofcom.org.uk/2013/05/ofcom-asks-advertising-bodies-to-review-rules-to-limit-children%E2%80%99s-exposure-to-tv-alcohol-advertising/

Proponnet, J. P. (1997). Children's views on food and nutrition: a pan European study. In G. Smith (Ed.), *Children's food marketing and innovation* (pp. 192-253). London: Chapman and Hall.

WHO. (2006). European charter on counteracting obesity, Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/87462/E89567.pdf

WHO. (2012). Health 2020: A European policy framework supporting action across government and society for health and wellbeing, EUR/RC62/9. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/169803/RC62wd09-Eng.pdf

WHO/Europe. (2005). Childhood obesity surveillance initiative (COSI). Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.euro.who.int/en/what-we-do/health-topics/disease- prevention/nutrition/activities/monitoring-and-surveillance/who-european-childhood-obesity-surveillance-initiative-cosi

Young, B. (2003). *Advertising and food choice in children: A review of the literature*. Exeter: School of Psychology, University of Exeter.

Young, B. M., Webley, P., Hetherington, M., & Zeedyk, S. (1996). *The role of television advertising in children's food choice*. Report to the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF).

Legal, Regulatory Texts, White Papers and Self Regulatory Codes

Advertising Education Forum. See www.aeforum.org

Commission of the European Communities. (2007). *A strategy for Europe on nutrition, overweight, and obesity related health issues* White paper; Brussels, 30.5.2007 COM(2007) 279 final. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0279:FIN:EN:PDF

Código PAOS (Code on co-regulation of advertising of food and drinks aimed at children). (2012). Agencia Española de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutrición, Ministerio de Sanidad y Servicios Sociales, Spain. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.naos.aesan.msssi.gob.es/naos/ficheros/empresas/CODIGO_PAOS_2012.pdf

European Pledge. (2012). *Nutrition criteria white paper*. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.eu-pledge.eu/sites/eu-pledge.eu/files/releases/EU_Pledge_Nutrition_White_Paper_Nov_2012.pdf

Swedish Consumers Association. See http://www.sverigeskonsumenter.se/Eng/

Swedish Consumers Association. (2001). *Children and marketing: The commercial pressure is rising*. Retrieved June 1, 2013 from http://www.humanics-es.com/kids-ads.pdf

UK Department of Public Health. (2013). Responsibility deal. Retrieved June 1, 2013 from http://responsibilitydeal.dh.gov.uk/

UK Office of Communication, Ofcom. See http://www.ofcom.org.uk/

World Health Organization/Europe Websites

WHO. (2003). Technical Report 916 on Diet, nutrition, and the prevention of chronic diseases. Retrieved June 1, 2013 from http://www.who.int/dietphysicalactivity/childhood/en/

WHO Europe. (2006). Food and nutrient policy for schools Retrieved June 1, 2013 from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/152218/E89501.pdf.

Additional Bibliography

Dibb S., & Harris L. (1996). *A spoonful of sugar: Television food advertising aimed at children: An international comparative study*. London, UK, Consumers International.

Bjurström, E. (1994). *Children and television advertising: A critical study of international research concerning the effects of TV-commercials on children*. Stockholm: The National Swedish Board for Consumer Policies.

Boyland, E. J., Harrold, J. A., Kirkham, T. C., & Halford, J. C. G. (2012). Persuasive techniques used in television advertisements to market foods to UK children. *Appetite, 58*, 658-664.

Dickenson, R. (2000). Presentation to the annual conference of the food advertising unit (FAU) of the advertising association (AA).

Ekström, K. M., & Tufte, B. (Eds.). (2007). *Children, media, and consumption: On the front edge*. Göteborg: Nordicom.

Fernández Gómez, E. (2009). Autorregulación de publicidad de alimentos y contenidos televisivos dirigidos a niños. *Vivat Academia,* (105) pp. 1–38. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.vivatacademia.net/numeros/n105/Num105/DATOSS105.htm#autorregulacion

Gray, O. (2005) Responsible advertising in Europe. *Young Consumers: Insight and Ideas for Responsible Marketers, 6*(4), 19–23.

Jarlbro, G. (2001). *Children and television advertising: The players, the arguments and the research during the period 1994-2000*. Stockholm: Swedish Consumer Agency

Johnson, M., & Young, B. M. (2003). The history of television advertising to children. In E. L. Palmer & B. M. Young (Eds.), *The faces of televisual media: Teaching, violence, selling to children* (2nd ed., Ch. 13). Mahwah NJ: Erlbaum.

Lewis, M. K, & Hill, A. J. (1998). Food advertising on British children's television: A content analysis and experimental study with nine-year olds. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders, 22*(3), 206.

Livingstone, S. (2006), Does TV advertising make children fat? *Public Policy Research, 13*, 54–61. doi: 10.1111/j.1070-3535.2006.00421.x

Livingstone S, Holden K, & Bovill M. (1999). Children's changing media environment. In U. Carlsson, & C. von-Feilitzen (Eds.), *Children and media: Participation and education* (pp. 19–59). Göteborg: Nordicom.

Lunt, P., Livingstone, S., & Brevini, B. (2012). Changing regimes of regulation: implications for public service broadcasting. In G. F. Lowe, & J. Steemers, (Eds.), *Regaining the initiative for public service media* (pp. 113-130). Göteborg, Sweden: Nordicom,

Marlid, S., Bondestam, M., Bergstrom, R., Ehnberg, S., Hollsing, A., & Alebertson-Wikland, L. (2004). Prevalence trends of obesity and overweight among 10 year old children in Western Sweden and relationship with parental body mass index. *Acta Paediatr, 93*, 1588–95.

Nordicom. (Series). Newsletter on Children, Youth and Media in the World. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from http://www.nordicom.gu.se/cl/publ/letter.php

Oommen, V. G., & Anderson, P. J. (2008). *Policies on restriction of food advertising during children's television viewing times: An international perspective.* In Proceedings Australian College of Health Service Executives 2008 Conference, Going for Gold in Health Motivation, Effort, Performance. Gold Coast, Australia.

Preston, C. (2000). Are children seeing through ITC advertising regulations? *International Journal of Advertising, 19*(1), 117–136.

Young, B. M. (1990). *Television advertising and children*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, B. M. (2000a). Children's categorization of foods. *International Journal of Advertising, 19*(4), 495–508.

Young, B. M. (2000b). The child's understanding of promotional communication. *International Journal of Advertising and Marketing to Children, 2*(3), 191–203.

Young, B. M., & Claessen, M. (1998). Children's categorisation of foods. London: The Food Advertising Unit, The Advertising Association.

Young, B. M., De Bruin, A., & Eagle, L. (2003). Attitudes of parents toward advertising to children in the UK, Sweden, and New Zealand. *Journal of Marketing Management, 19*(4), 475–490.

Villafañe, J. (2010) La influencia de PAOS en la publicidad infantil de alimentos Dictamen sobre el impacto del código hasta 2009 en la comunicación publicitaria dirigida a menores de hasta 12 años. Spanish Agency for Food Health and Nutrition. Retrieved May 31, 2013 from at http://www.naos.aesan.msssi.gob.es/naos/ficheros/estrategia/IV_Convencion/Justo_Villafane.pdf

Book Reviews

Carlson, Ulla. (Ed.). *Public Service Media from a Nordic Horizon*. Göteborg, Sweden: Nordicom, 2013. Pp. 177. ISBN 978-91-89471-60-2 (paper) SEK 200, €22.

This recent volume on public service media in Nordic countries reflects the continuing struggle of the public media to adjust to changes in commercialization, globalization, and digitization. The great shift in European media began in the early 1980s when satellite TV brought outside content across borders within the EU. Then the commercial television interests began to erode resistance to a dual public/commercial system. With this barrier breached, global companies like Disney, Time Warner, and others began to show a global rather than a European face to audiences. Finally within the last decade, the whole broadcast medium was overtaken by digital platforms from websites to non-broadcast media that carried content as with cell phones and tablets. All of these very rapid changes placed the public broadcaster (radio and television) under pressure to compete for previously monopoly audiences. This book is a current assessment of the ongoing struggle in five Nordic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland) that in some way reflects a similar struggle in the greater European Union to maintain a public service system that has been in place since the 1920s.

After a brief introduction by the editor, Chapter 1 by Christian Nissen tries to give a succinct summary of the public service media (PSM) system that, according to the author, rests on "technically advanced and stable political systems" (p. 10), "cultural homogeneity and high social trust" (p. 11), "broad political support for public media" (p. 12), and "close cooperation among Nordic PSM companies" (p. 13). To this very positive summary, he adds some serious challenges: pressure from local commercial media, a significant dominance of American and other global content, and concerns about continuing public and political support especially for the funding source in the license fee. The chapter ends with the concern that the most important constituency of the young audiences seem to favor the kind of global content that is far from the original remit for PSM in these countries.

Chapter 2 by Taisto Hujanen, Lennart Weibull, and Eva Harrie is a long and detailed history of PSM in Nordic countries. The argument is partly premised on the detailed data that show the impact of commercial competition and the loss of audience especially in the 1990s as well as the stabilization of audience share in the 2000s. The fact that the combined population of the five countries is only about 20 million means that the economies have a difficult time supporting the production of much local content. As a consequence of this cost/audience size conundrum, the commercial media have mostly focused on entertainment and mostly with imported content. This gives the PSM an advantage because their mandate is to reflect national and regional issues. However, this advantage is a talking point for commercial interests with political parties that it is an "unfair advantage." The chapter, somewhat in contrast with the previous one, is a more optimistic reading of the current situation, the authors concluding that the PSMs have adapted well to digitization and have maintained public trust.

Anker Lund and Gregory Lowe in Chapter 3 make an effort to clarify the exact nature of the challenge from commercial rivals in the Nordic countries. They begin with the argument that "a robust, healthy dual system is considered essential for meeting the broadest range of needs in the respective societies" (p. 55) and thus make it clear that they are not just defending the PSM but looking at the needs of society and including commercial media into the equation. They proceed to the more theoretical argument from Hallin and Mancinni's classic book (2004) on comparative media models which argues that the liberal model (that of the U.S.) seems to be the tendency for many if not all countries. They argue that this is not necessarily the case in the Nordic countries because of challenges in media production (commercial companies can't afford local production), challenges in media distribution (the PSMs have been leaders in new media technologies adoption and digital platforms), and media management (the tradition of strong executive leadership in the PSMs and the political trust of the government) that the Nordic countries have successfully challenged. This defense of the dual market solution of PSMs and commercial media is clear and persuasive, and provides a clear rationale for continuing to seek a "balance."

In a relatively brief Chapter 4 by Hallvard Moe and Ole Mjos, the argument is made about the regulatory environment of the public service media. Using the "Arm's Length Principle," the authors argue that in "running the public broadcasters" organizations, this principle has meant that the organizations have been relatively free of interference; and the supervisory committees' appointment by parliaments have functioned well without undue interference; but in the "funding the public broadcasters," they believe that the political and economic pressures can affect the license fees or taxes collected and that this has become increasingly vulnerable to outside political influence. This is a point raised elsewhere in the book but highlighted here as one challenge that has not been overcome for the PSMs.

Lars-Åke Engblom's Chapter 5 continues the last point about funding and goes into detail about the variety of mechanisms that the five countries use, from traditional license fees to the media tax that people in Iceland pay and to some form of joint funding proposed elsewhere. What is clear is that the fee is under pressure and that funding is a very political issue that promises to be so in the future. Henrik Hartman in the following chapter recounts the very broad history of cooperation among these five countries from program exchange (1,027 programs exchanged in 2011), co-productions (especially in children's programs and fiction production), and general sharing of ideas and research.

Chapter 7 by Gunn Sara Enil and Elisabeth Staksrud deals with what the PSMs have done in production for children, one of their important production mandates. After a brief history of children's programs in the five countries, the authors detail the challenge that the arrival of Disney Channel, Nickelodeon, and Cartoon Network had on the local PSMs. The shift in the approach has not been to directly compete with these global companies but to provide alternatives in national programming, adding entire children's channels and in emphasizing both education and entertainment. In addition, the local public stations emphasized research on children and media, which the commercial channels simply could not do. Even though the competition remains high, the local public service channels emphasize the advantage of content with emphasis on local language development and cultural values relevant to children and their development.

The final two chapters, one by Ingegerd Rydin on immigrant media and another by Henrik Selin on the influence of EU policy on PSM wrap up the book. Rydin brings up a vexing problem as the four European Nordic countries have allowed immigrants whose entry calls the historical model into some question. There does not seem to be a simple solution, and the author cites more problems than solutions, leaving the conclusion very much unresolved. Selin's chapter is less important as it deals with the EU regulations as they impact the PSMs, an impact that seems less pressing than the many challenges brought up in previous chapters.

What an outsider might view as a communication issue less compelling than the anxiety expressed in the book, the authors and editor would surely respond that the reader did not comprehend what the issue is. Looked at from their perspective, the mass media have remained something of central political and cultural importance since their founding more than 80 years ago. The recent theory of mediatization (Hjarvard, 2013) indicates that media are even more important today and that the challenges to the public system are seen as crucial to the survival of values, cultures, and languages with special inflection for the small countries of this book. It serves as a reminder for other countries of parallel issues in their own cultures that perhaps are not so obvious or have not become so central politically. In short, the book contains a valuable lesson for all readers.

The book has references and notes at the end of each chapter but unfortunately no index.

—Emile G. McAnany
Santa Clara University

References

Hallin, D., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The mediatization of culture and society*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Foss, Sonja K., Mary E. Domenico, and **Karen A. Foss**. *Gender Stories: Negotiating Identity in a Binary World*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2013. Pp. 264. ISBN-10: 1577667913 | ISBN-13: 978-1577667919 (paper) $29.95.

In *Gender Stories: Negotiating Identity in a Binary World*, Sonja K. Foss, Mary E. Domenico, and Karen A. Foss explicitly reject the traditional gender dichotomies of male/female and heterosexual/homosexual as frameworks of analysis. They also question the position that "sex" means biology and "gender" means socialization. Instead, they use narrative structure as their framework of inquiry and commentary. What stories are told about gender in public discourse and in private circles, such as families? Are there dominant patterns? What do various stories reify? What do they challenge or subvert? Are there narratives that purport to tell one story but actually tell another? How do individuals use narratives to assign meaning to their bodies?

Such an approach allows the authors to engage the complex topic of how communication and gender interact with distinctions and gradations too often missing from other books on the topic. It also invites readers to consider the role that many other variables (e.g., ethnicity, class, religion) play as well as the wide array of narrative venues we encounter. Chapter 1 introduces these issues and makes the key observation that we are surrounded by stories that can influence our understanding of gender and that we can use various degrees of agency with regard to that influence. They also offer the intriguing idea that gender identification shifts not only among individuals but within individuals as well . . . sometimes several times in one day.

Chapters 2 through 5 explore four arenas of narrative that are particularly powerful: the role of communication in the construction of reality, "master narratives," science, and popular culture. In each chapter, the authors question commonly accepted truisms about gender and point to narratives that promote these unwarranted assumptions.

Chapter 2 pays particular attention to the way that language and other forms of communication reinforce our understanding of gender as binary, based solely on reproductive functions as though these were the most important aspects of humanity. In other words, even when one is careful to distinguish "sex" from "gender," our communication options still reflect a simplistic division. Even terms such as homosexual/heterosexual are problematic since they play into a binary perspective and continue to identify people based on reproductive capacity. The authors offer several examples of "3rd gender" realities that support their call for more nuanced linguistic options.

Chapter 3 asks where we get our deeply embedded ideas about what is normal, what is takes to be admired/rejected, and how the gender binary is sustained. The authors contend that "master narratives" are deeply rooted in what we consider artistic "classics" such as paintings, novels, and films. They define "master narratives" as "powerful stories that express the social arrangements and values of a society." In addition to high art, these stories are reinforced by rituals, clothing, language, décor . . . even toys. They make a convincing case that the gender binary is so powerful that it carries over into concepts and material items that have no inherent gender (e.g., war/peace) which, in turn reinforces the supposed biological division.

Chapter 4 challenges that most "objectives" of arena: science or at least what figures as "common knowledge." In fact, actual scientific data is used to dispute such myths as boys are naturally better at math, girls/women talk more than boys/men, and that hormones "naturally" make women more nurturing (except when they are "overtaken" by PMS) and make men more violent and sexually predatory. Less obvious in this chapter is *how* such notions become common knowledge, especially if they are not supported by solid scientific findings. Given the discussion in both the preceding and subsequent chapters regarding the influence of cultural artifacts, this would seem an easy and informative addition.

As indicated, Chapter 5 deals with popular culture messages. What is distinctive about this chapter is that the authors offer a framework of analysis in terms of what they see as five possible functions of these artifacts. Items ranging from the news to advertising to the arts to mass media to social media can be seen as reinforcing/retelling, revising, expanding, rewriting, or innovating gender narratives. Numerous examples are given. Most useful are instances that surprise (e.g., the beloved works of Dr. Seuss as reinforcing gender stereotypes and imbalance). Given that printed texts cannot present a full array of examples, especially ones that are "up-to-the-minute," there is ample room for instructors to do so. As discussed later in this review, the authors have used an instructor DVD to provide lists of readings and films that might be useful. Examples of mass media, social media, and other Internet sites should also be considered.

The final chapters directly address the issue of agency. Although one could certainly argue that the awareness raised in the previous chapters does enhance agency, the actions described in Chapters 6 through 9 provide even more pragmatic approaches. Chapter 6 deals with the process of crafting one's own gender narrative. Chapter 7 concentrates on the specifics of "performing," which is valuable but, as written, seems to lose touch with the gender dimension. Chapter 8 addresses the important issue of responses. In other words, how does one deal with support, tolerance, and/or rejection of the gender performances they present?

There is an excellent DVD with teaching resources that accompanies this book. It includes detailed outlines of each chapter, sample syllabi, discussion questions, assignment suggestions, and testing materials. It also includes a very useful list of supplemental readings that are keyed to particular chapters as well as lists of films, both educational and feature.

—Bren Ortega Murphy
Loyola University Chicago

González Gaitano, Norberto. *Public Opinion and the Catholic Church.* Roma: EDUSC, 2010. ISBN 978-88-8333-249-4 (paper) €13.00.

Recent events have proven the need for a book that deals with public opinion and the Catholic Church (as well, perhaps, as for the other churches and religious faiths). In the UK there has been particularly bad press for the Roman Catholic church, perhaps because of the history of antipathy to the Church due to the split at the Reformation and the continuation of the Church of England as the State Church. While public opinion is, to some extent, malleable, there is some truth in Russell Shaw's comment on page 5 of the introduction. Asked to define what good public relations are, he answers: "Doing the right thing and telling people about it." He notes that technique comes second, i.e., telling people comes after substance—the doing of the right thing. While it would be wonderful if everyone involved in public life, not just in the Church(es) could do the right thing all of the time, human nature would seem to preclude this—we are not, after all, saints! And even saints have been known to err from time to time.

Shaw also notes that technique should never take over from the Church's fidelity to the Gospel when a good media image is sought. While he writes also that the Church often has to take up a counter-cultural stance in order to fulfil the Gospel's message and this is often counter-intuitive to the media's normal message type, particularly in regard to advertising, it is when the Church does not follow that message that its major problems can be caused. Professor González Gaitano notes that one of the Church's obstacles in dealing with the media (in all its forms) is that it often utilizes an "instrumentalist" viewpoint, i.e., church documents often suggest that the media be used solely for evangelization. In addition, the Church has often practiced unnecessary secrecy. While my own research has shown that some within the hierarchy have been trying to obviate this culture of secrecy, realizing that it will eventually cause difficulties (recent adverse publicity on abuse cases has proved this), this culture of secrecy is certainly something which cannot be denied.

This book has its focus on secular media: news, information, and opinion. For this purpose, the author takes a number of case studies from the secular media. González Gaitano also highlights that while many journalists are hostile to the Church and, indeed, to religion in general, this is often because those journalists find the message that the Church(es) wish to put forward both incomprehensible and offensive. They have their own standards, secular ones, and want to adapt and adopt stories to these standards. Yet there are good and honest journalists who are prepared to give good press to the Church. The Church, as Shaw says (p. 7), must become more actively involved in media, defending rather than continuing to criticize them. Even well-funded media organizations suffer pressure from technological availability and economic stringencies when trying to continue to produce high quality news product in an age when websites and blogs are now so easily available. Like other web sources, however, my problem is always that there is no way of validating the information that is found on such sites. Where once journalists had to have cast-iron confirmation of their facts, now anyone can put anything up on the web and while there are court cases from time to time, damage may be done before any action can be taken against a specific site or blogger.

The book proper begins with a theoretical perspective on the Catholic Church and public opinion.

To continue his study, the author considers two major case studies: the death of John Paul II and its coverage, and Benedict XVI's visit to the United States and its effects in the media. The first case study, he notes, was something for which the media were prepared. The American press had a somewhat different view from that in other countries, González Gaitano shows. People who were approaching middle-age could remember no other pope than John Paul II. As his life ebbed away I was, quite coincidentally, on one of my frequent trips to Rome. The world's media circled round the Vatican, rather like vultures, I thought. I left Rome two days before his death. I thus avoided the events after his death, which González Gaitano writes about (pp. 55–56). Although prepared, the world's press were not prepared for the enormous numbers of people who strained the city's resources to the limit, in terms of security, accommodation, even food. Yet Rome is a city that is well-used to huge pilgrimages, as was obvious in the Jubilee Year of 2000 and at the canonizations of St. Pio of Pietralcina (Padre Pio) and St. Jose Maria Escrivá in 2002. Over a million people filed past the Pope's body as it lay in St. Peter's. The author notes that there was considerable emphasis in the media on the notions of tradition and history in the events that unfolded during the laying in state, the funeral, and burial. My own major problem was that John Paul II had been pope for so long that nobody seemed able to remember that he was not the only pope who could pull in crowds. Enormous crowds had come to Rome on the death of Pius XII, Pius XI, John XXIII, and Paul VI—and even John Paul I, who reigned for only 33 days in 1978. As the author notes (p. 70) the media were in danger of saturating the audience with the "John Paul II issue" in their attempts to go with what they saw as the public opinion of the time. His funeral was probably John Paul II's last act of evangelization.

González Gaitano's second case study is the visit of Benedict XVI to the United States. He considers American public opinion before and after the visit. He writes (p. 72) that after the visit 84% of the population of the United States said they had "[seen], read, or heard, something about Pope Benedict XVI's visit to the United States in April 2008." The author considers the framing of articles that appeared in the American press, and notes the results of polls. While the issue of the child abuse scandals had damaged public opinion on the institutional church, it seemed to have no effect on feelings towards individual Catholics. González Gaitano shows that after the pope's visit the tenor of press coverage changed. Coverage of the sex abuse issue decreased and what had been almost neutral coverage of the Church became, on the whole, much more positive. The author draws some conclusions—but I will not be the one who gives the "spoiler" here.

This book would be useful to those studying church or, less specifically, religious media and would appeal to those at various stages of their academic careers. It is a useful introduction with carefully researched case studies that would also be a help to students trying to put together research projects of their own. Since Professor González Gaitano is Vice-Rector for Communications at the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross in Rome, he is clearly in a position to understand the situation that pertains in Rome and spent a period as a research scholar in the United States while researching this book.

—Maria Way
Independent Researcher, London

Hjarvard, Stig. *The Mediatization of Culture and Society*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013. Pp. viii, 173. ISBN 978-0-415-69236-6 (cloth) $120.00; 978-415-69273-3 (paper) $39.95; e-book also available from publisher.

The concept of mediatization has been around in the communication literature for a decade or more, and Stig Hjarvard's book tries to tie it all together in this brief volume. We should note, however, that the term seems more European than American and more sociological than communicational. Still, it has been tested empirically in several fields and holds important theoretical insights for communication scholars outside of Europe.

The author makes some clarifications early in his book. First he argues that "mediatization theory differs from both [effects and cultural studies] traditions" (p. 2) because mediatization studies "how social institutions and cultural processes have changed character, function, and structure in response to the omnipresence of the media" (ibid.). In other words, mediatization refers to how media impacts institutions and not individuals. Furthermore, he argues that "Mediatization should be viewed as a modernization process on a par with globalization, urbanization, and individualization, whereby the media, in a similar way, contribute to both disembedding social relations from existing contexts and re-embedding them in new social contexts" (p. 7). He adds that this theory is one of long term change that media cause and not the short term concerns of either media effects theory or that of cultural studies.

Early in Chapter 2, Hjarvard tries to make a clear and straightforward definition by saying that "By the mediatization of culture and society we understand the process whereby culture and society to an increasing degree become dependent on the media and their logic" (p. 17). Moreover, he posits that media have become both independent institutions as well as becoming so implicated in other institutions (like politics, religion, childhood play, and even individualization) that these must conform to the media's logic. There is an extended analysis of a variety of consequences of mediatization including an early disclaimer that the theory is a "non-normative concept" (p. 18) in contrast to more critical theories of media that he will return to at the end of the book. Most of the discussion here is at a general level that briefly argues that the media in modern industrialized society "alter interaction," "restructure social norms," create a new virtual "social geography," and a "realm of shared experience" (pp. 30–39). How these changes take place is left to subsequent chapters that takes more empirical evidence from a variety of authors about the mediatization of politics (Ch. 3), religion (Ch. 4), children's play (Ch. 5), and of "habitus" or the "social character of a new individualism" (Ch. 6).

The chapter on politics seems the most substantial for two reasons: The author seems closer professionally with journalism and politics, and the institution of politics seems the most susceptible to media influence. He cites a phased change of this process: First the media become the primary source of political information; then the "media become independent of political institutions, and journalists acquire a greater degree of autonomy"; then the political institution begins to accommodate to the demands and schedules of media; and finally politicians "internalize the media logic to such an extent part and parcel of everyday political thinking and action, including the development of political ideas and priorities" (p. 45). This and other arguments claim empirical evidence but in a book so brief the reader is forced to take this for granted. One can understand the change suggested but the discussion remains abstract and general. There is a discussion of new media as extending the political communication network, the rise of the politics of visibility, the personalization of politics, and conversational politics. At the end of the chapter, the author seems called upon to state that the theory does not mean that the media have won out over the politician or party, but that the question of power remains to be determined on a case by case basis.

The chapter on religion and mediatization seems quite limited as most of the discussion centers on the role of the Protestant Church in Denmark and the empirical data come from surveys in that country. Not that the discussion of the general role of media on religion is not useful and some of the conclusions are not generally valid, but the historical circumstance of each society may be quite different.

What Hjarvard does in his chapter on play is to follow the case of LEGO toys in his native Denmark to explore his theory. He presents good evidence from a variety of researchers that indicates a significant change of childhood experience of play in the last century and especially since the marketing of toys began in earnest since the mid-20th century. LEGO is a good example and provides an insight into not only the manufacturing of toys and play but the role of media in the marketing of those toys over the past 30 years or more. From simple building block of the original LEGO toys, the industry became media driven by first creating imaginary universes from different media genres, then by creating narratives that suggested the connection of building stories that told the stories of the media until finally the LEGO play went online where the building was virtual. All of this process in turn affected children's play and their social development.

The author finally goes from external social and cultural institutions to the psycho-social development of identity in Chapter 6. Here he begins with Bourdieu but quickly turns to Riesman's classic *The Lonely Crowd* (1950) and his inner-directed and outer-directed social character exemplars. In this analysis, the author feels that Riesman made an early attempt at explaining how people at mid-century were beginning to look outward to the media and other modernizing institutions that helped guide inner definition from external institutions. Where before individuals were socialized in tradition of religion and morals to be more inner-directed, Riesman saw that in this period they were being less guided by tradition and were looking for other forms. Thus the author argues that

> the formation of habitus is to a greater extent shaped through interaction with *contemporary* society [greatly abetted by modern media]. Second, habitus is reproduced through an intensified monitoring of an extended social environment, and third, recognition becomes an important regulatory mechanism for the development of self-esteem and behavior. (p. 147)

The modern individual forms what the author calls a "soft individualism" or one where the individual must write one's own biography rather than have it provided by former traditional institutions.

The final brief summary in Chapter 7 (Epilog) is a summary but also reverts to media politics that he mentioned at the beginning, that is, how should communication policies be developed that control some of the media power that has been at the heart of the book's theory of mediatization. Although Hjarvard gives less than two pages to the subject, it is clear that he recognizes a question that has driven many other contemporary theories of media. His discussion does no more than acknowledging the issue which he leaves to others to resolve even though he calls for policies to deal with both institutional and individual threats of media to modern life.

The book contains a reasonable index and a large bibliography.

—Emile G. McAnany
Santa Clara University

Reference

Riesman, D. *The lonely crowd: A study of the changing American character*. New York: Doubleday, 1950.

Lovink, Geert. *Networks Without a Cause: A Critique of Social Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011. Pp. vii; 221. ISBN 978-0-7456-4967-2 (cloth) $69.95; 978-0-7456-4968-9 (paper) $22.95.

In an interview with Charlie Rose, Mark Zuckerberg summed up Facebook's primary function: "The question isn't, 'What do we want to know about people?' It's 'What do people want to tell about themselves?'" He situates Facebook as a means for managing impressions and developing relationships with others much like we would through a conversation in a coffee shop, a telephone call, or a job interview. His conclusion, however, that Facebook captures the more essential function of self-disclosure, leads to significant media ecological implications. Facebook transforms the "we" from curiosity about others' lives as they affect ours to a Web 2.0 corporate "we:" "We" want you to tell us about yourselves because, frankly, your disclosures are worth a lot of money to advertisers.

This Net criticism, of a more sophisticated sort, of course, is the subject of Geert Lovink's book *Networks Without a Cause.* The author pries into the implications of a social media-saturated world. He first situates his observations in a Web 2.0 world, the period that occurred with the corporatization of the web after the dot.com crash in 1999–2000. This easy-to-use second generation of the Internet promotes sociality and the uploading of many different kinds of content. As a result, networks without a cause are born; they are "time-eaters, and we're only being sucked deeper into the social cave without knowing what to look for" (p. 6). Lovink lays out a foundation for critique of contemporary networks, or what we *ought* to look for: "Rather than mapping mental impacts and pondering the Net's influence on our lives, or discussing over and over that fate of the news and publishing industry, let us next study less obvious emerging logics—real-time, linking vs. liking, and the rise of national webs—that extend beyond particular platforms and corporations" (p. 10). The author examines social media, Internet commenting, media studies, blogging, radio, online video, search queries, and organizational networks and Wikileaks.

Lovink initiates his examination with sections on (1) Psychopathology of Information Overload and (2) Facebook, Anonymity, and the Crisis of the Multiple Self. In the former, Lovink reviews the work of various media critics and philosophers to suggest that information overload is a myth. Instead, it isn't the amount of information supplied by real-time media that is a problem, but the lack of space in between information acquisition during which we fail to reflect: "There may be a multiplicity of voices but there is also zero time to reflect on the constant stream of incoming news sources" (p. 30). A resulting "loss of self" (p. 33) is a bridge to the latter chapter on Facebook in which the author presents Facebook as a contributor to the loss of private life and its rise as a self-promotion machine. Lovink urges combating such a condition by acceptance that on-line personae are illusory, or by an awareness of the perpetual mind-numbing gratification through techno-updating and reviewing and a renewal of the respectability of anonymity.

Our urge to check and recheck, however, is facilitated by one's initiation of comments in the first place. Lovink takes this up in a chapter on online commenting cultures. He situates the discussion of "comment cultures" as an occupant in the history of texts, arguing that ancient texts gave rise to commenting culture. He distinguishes comments from text—comments are ephemeral, texts permanent—but asks "what are the politics of comments? This is the age of feedback" (p. 54), and notes we "must face comment cultures head-on" in the name of staying alert. Similarly, Lovink queries the nature of the critic in contemporary web cultures. He draws from a history of criticism, namely art criticism, to ask if such structures are at all informative to Net criticism. He argues that art criticism has become "egocentric" and "dominated by amateurs" (p. 66). It is not this content that we ought to critique, but the nature of the networks themselves to develop a terminology that can be turned back on itself in order to explore the deep architecture of Net cultures. In "Media Studies: Diagnostics of a Failed Merger" chapter, Lovink addresses the nature of media studies. He argues that it is an "empty signifier. The same can be said of 'digital media' since everything is digital anyway" (p. 76), and even that media studies is "an abandoned construction site" (p. 77).

Lovink argues in "Blogger After the Hype: Germany, France, Iraq" that blogs are "deeply personal" and "occur in a grey space between public and private" (p. 96). This understanding of the application is essential, Lovink argues, as a way to understand the nature of the personal motives of the blogger. The blog is more an extension of the media ecology perspectives of Ong and McLuhan than social networking. Three case studies of the blog culture are presented: Germany (reflective of a suspicious culture), France (effusive if not egotistical blogging), and Iraq (blogging through horrific conditions of war).

Lovink draws on personal experience to discuss the evolution of radio, situated in the "Dutch radio pirate scene" (p. 122). In this chapter ("Radio after Radio: From Pirate to Internet Experiments"), the history of Dutch radio transitions into critique of Internet radio. Radio has gone from community-building to a loss of community, but in the Netherlands individual pirate-type radio has maintained its identify, it has just become more scattered. This sort of diffusion is also the subject of the next chapter on "Video Aesthetics" wherein Lovink identifies the on-line video-watching culture as accessing databases as opposed to watching videos. He argues that we must reframe our understanding of video-watching to see it as a context for dialogic function of media. In contrast to Baudrillard's assessment that mass media is "speech without response," Lovink argues that commenting, ranking, linking, and liking show that current video is indeed a response (p. 138). The author references the Video Vortex, a series of concerns in Europe dedicated to raising questions on all manner of on line video matters.

In a critique of Internet searching behavior, Lovink pens the "Society of the Query: The Googlization of Our Lives." The author draws from the work of MIT professor and computer science critic Joseph Weizenbaum to argue that aggregating everything is not a substitute for scrutiny and critical thinking (p. 149). Simply looking everything up should be unsatisfying to us, and we should look for new ways to organize information in ways other than popularity. Lovink goes on to contrast European and American attitudes toward "Googlization."

Lovink then draws from the media ecology perspective to suggest that the networking capability of the Internet can shape and reshape how people organize themselves for "activism and political activity today" (p. 158). The relatively passive Facebook "like" is a weak substitute for organized activism. Lovink argues for smaller, tighter alliances of individuals and groups who can have more traction as activists:

> Organized networks seek stronger bonds within smaller units that emerge out of peer-to-peer encounters. Instead of complaining about the decline of commitment we'd better start designing tighter structures that can facilitate and coordinate collaborative work on cultural, political, and educational projects. (p. 167)

The author examines three case studies to conclude the chapter. WikiLeaks, an additional case study in the final chapter, also serves as contextualization of the one of Lovink's key theses regarding new paradigms involving technology and networks. The author frames WikiLeaks through a deconstruction of the personality, culture, and sensationalism of its subjects. Ultimately though, he argues that we should "[try to] assesses and ascertain what WikiLeaks can, could, and maybe even should do and to help formulate what 'we' could relate to and interact to it" (p. 185).

Geert Lovink's *Networks Without a Cause* presents revisions of his earlier articles, essays, and book chapters in addition to original material. The writing is rich with references and examples that reach broadly across the media studies landscape. The result is a complex statement on how we can approach a number of media phenomenon from a sophisticated, theoretical point of view.

—Pete Bicak
Rockhurst University

Lynch, John. *What Are Stem Cells? Definitions at the Intersection of Science and Politics*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011. Pp. vii, 184. ISBN 978-0-8173-1748-5 (cloth) $37.50; 978-0-8173-8576-7 (e-book) $37.50.

The book's title catches one's interest immediately, at least for those who have followed the sometimes heated debates in the United States about stem cells. But John Lynch's study delivers much more than a few definitions or an exercise in popular science. *What Are Stem Cells?* presents a careful case study in the rhetoric of science, using a well known and contentious episode spanning two presidencies (that of George W. Bush and Barrack Obama). Lynch asks how rhetoric works in the public sphere, particularly when science enters it.

As the title suggests, he does spend some time offering definitions, but of much more than stem cells. Science itself uses language and argument in specific ways and so Lynch defines scientific language and scientistic idioms. He also reviews the classic 20th century rhetorical theorists Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, Kenneth Burke, and Richard Weaver on the importance of definition in argument. Such definitions function in various ways—and often as a powerful method to frame an argument. Add the American ideologies of science, government, religion, and knowledge, and the picture becomes even more interesting. Lynch points out that scientistic idiom "avoids explicit value statements, thus forcing opponents of any specific use of this vocabulary to impute that bias exists and convince others to see that bias as well" (p. 7). This, coupled with the sense that scientific definitions are "real" and the American belief that political and religious rhetoric are somehow biased, raises the bar of proof for those who would oppose a scientific argument. Lynch also points out that anyone can deploy a scientistic idiom because it appears value neutral. This rhetorical position remains unavailable to religious or political arguments, for example, since those would require adherence to the tenets of the given religion or party. This background sets the stage for Lynch's analysis of the stem cell debate in the United States in the early 21st century.

He limits his analysis to published texts, which means that he and his readers see the debate through a journalistic lens. While he acknowledges this source of material on the debate, Lynch does not completely situate the practices of journalism, practices which involve their own rhetoric and often interpretations of the argument by the reporters, who may or may not act as neutral observers in the face of some fairly powerful rhetorical argumentation. To guard against this, Lynch does use transcripts of Congressional testimony or presidential press conferences where possible.

In broad outline, Lynch examines the arguments in favor of and against government support of the use of embryonic stem cells in research. Proponents offer four reasons, all involving an argument from kairos or appropriate time and place: gains in knowledge of human embryology, functional genomics, pharmaceutical development, and regenerative medicine. Proponents frame each of these arguments in scientific terms, arguing that research using embryonic stem cells holds a promise of great benefits in each of the four areas (Chapter 2).

Opponents of government funding used different bases for their position, with the most common borrowed from the right-to-life arguments first developed in the debates over access to abortion. These arguments resonated most strongly with the journalists covering the stem cell debates, probably because they were familiar. Indeed, journalists tended to focus on the same individuals or institutions who argued in favor of life. Those who took this position made a moral argument and signaled that by their choice of language: Rather than referring to an embryo, they referred to a foetus. This rhetorical move also had political consequences, since it attempted to align the larger pro-life camp against embryonic stem cell research. But not everyone agreed; many proponents of government funding for the research offered scientific reasons that the embryos in question were not viable. Proponents also argued that their opponents came only from certain religious groups.

Lynch points out, though, that this journalistic approach to focus on pro-life arguments significantly narrowed the positions of the opponents of embryonic stem cell research, since it restricted them to just one overarching theme. Other reasons adduced in opposition—particularly those drawn from ethics—received little publicity in the public sphere (through they did appear in Congress). These included "the commodification of human beings, overselling the potential of ES [embryonic stem] cell research, questions about who will benefit from ES cell research, and broader concerns about research priorities in biomedicine" (p. 46).

Each side sought to persuade both Congress and the wider public with variations of the scientific and pro-life arguments. Scientistic argument included distinctions and references to blastocysts and spare embryos (from in vitro fertilization) as ways to treat the embryonic stem cell sources as thing-like. The religious argument brought examples of embryo adoption, with witnesses bringing children to the hearing whom they had adopted from IVF clinics, to highlight the personhood of the embryonic stem cell sources. Since both accepted the rhetoric usage of the "destruction" of the blastocysts in the harvesting of stem cells, they shifted the rhetorical strategies. People do not resist the destruction of things, but they do object to the destruction of people

Another set of rhetorical strategies emerged in the debate, one drawn from the idea of hierarchies. These often serve as premises for argument (p. 91) and here they appeared in an ordering of kinds of stem cells according to potency. Some stem cells, especially those drawn from embryos, are pluripotent and can develop into any kind of cell, while adult stem cells are multipotent or tissue specific. Lynch points out that these terms contain a degree of ambiguity, which each side to the debate attempted to exploit (Chapter 5).

Such debates ranged through a number of Congressional hearings and public debates until President Bush limited government funding to research using existing cell lines. Lynch's analysis of President Bush's thinking includes the background of his presidency, his policy advisers' desire to help him seem a wise leader, and the need to settle key policy questions. However, Lynch describes the President's rhetoric as using a "Manichean idiom," that is, one rooted in a good vs. evil kind of contrast. This had the unfortunate consequence of "defining the middle ground out of existence" (p. 120) and reinforcing the division between the two sides. Eight years later, President Obama reversed the Bush administration policy and allowed government funding for embryonic stem cell research. Lynch judges that his rhetorical approach follows a scientific discourse. Here, the consequence leads to a removal, by definition, of the moral or ethical argument. In his conclusion, Lynch does express his preference for the scientific argument because anyone can wield it. In this choice, however, he seems to ignore the values built into such scientific argument.

This extended case study of the rhetoric of science and public policy offers a good introduction to the role of rhetorical analysis in contemporary life. Most of those who followed the debates as well as many of the journalists who reported on them did not identify the rhetorical arguments nor even reflect on why they found one or another argument more persuasive. Americans tend to accept a kind of polarizing ideology that pits science against religion and do not examine what makes one or the other more persuasive under which circumstances. Lynch helps to shed light on this important part of public debate. It is somewhat unfortunate, then, that although the book appears in the publisher's "Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique" series, its title and cataloguing-in-publication data suggest that the book addresses questions of science. Many a communication scholar might well miss it, thinking the book a discussion only of stem cells.

The book features extensive notes and a lengthy (19 pages) bibliography, but a relatively short index.

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

Maddux, Kristy. *The Faithful Citizen: Popular Christian Media and Gendered Civic Identities*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 271. ISBN 978-160258253-8 (paper) $39.95.

Much of our learning occurs indirectly and this applies as well to the application of religion to the public sphere. Throughout *The Faithful Citizen*, Maddux illustrates this point throughout her examination of evangelical Christianity in the United States. Every religious group wrestles with civic participation and, in the United States, the theology must also address the constitutional separation of church and state. Clearly, political scientists, evangelical theologians, and religious leaders have not ignored the issues, but their writings may not be on the top of the reading lists for many church goers. Instead, Maddux argues, civic identities and practices emerge filtered through popular media.

The last 20 years has seen a flowering of evangelical use of mass media in the U.S. Starting at least with the popularity of televangelists on cable television, evangelical Christians have moved into television and film production, novel and graphic novel writing, book and magazine publishing, and just about every other kind of media production. Maddux chooses five key examples for analysis: the film, *Amazing Grace,* the film *The Passion of the Christ*, the novels and film series *Left Behind,* the television series *7th Heaven*, and the novel and film, *The Da Vinci Code*. While not all of them emerged from evangelical authors or film makers, the evangelical community embraced each of them, certainly as religiously acceptable entertainment. And, Maddux argues, "all of these entertainment media texts also offered audience members opportunities to reflect on the faith-based obligations in their earthly lives, especially in relationship to any hope for another life in Christ. Indeed, these texts nearly fixated on civic life" (p. 182). Here beats the heart of the book: Each of these media expressions offers a practical theology that instructs the Christian observer about gender and civic identity.

In her introductory chapter, Maddux makes the case that the idea of citizenship, at least in the West since the time of Aristotle's political theorizing"—both as legal status and civic responsibility—has been marked by gender" (p. 11). Often this takes on the form of the exclusion of women and, because of this, the "practices of citizenship are commonly defined by characteristics associated with masculinity. Masculinity is a set of behaviors that, although not limited to individuals with male bodies, have historically been performed by men" (p. 12). A second strand in her argument comes from the long Christian debate about whether or how a follower of Christ should engage in civic life. Highlighted during the Reformation's parallel rise with the modern European nation state, the disagreements about religion and society have led to passionate theological argument. Finally, Maddux argues for the rhetorical position that popular culture artifacts can best reveal the level of understanding and acceptance of the more theoretical positions.

Each of her five key chapters examines one of the media texts; each follows a general pattern of analysis. First, she situates the text in its contemporary appearance (a film release, production history, audience engagement, and so on). Then she provides a plot summary, highlighting key aspects. She also introduces a key theme or stance of civic participation (and gender) as portrayed in the media text and summarizes the more theoretical theological or political science positions in favor of and opposed to that stance, usually in the persons of key evangelical thinkers. Finally, she looks at the consequences of each for a Christian civic engagement, whether in terms of a particular party platform content or in terms of a style of engagement. The chapter titles give a general sense of the scope of the positions she analyzes: "genteel masculinity, the prophetic posture, and legislative participation" (*Amazing Grace*); "violence, suffering, and feminine submission" (*The Passion of the Christ*); "brutish masculinity and the war on evil" (*Left Behind)*; "feminine charity, secular salvation, and social reform" (*7th Heaven*); and "biology, heterosexuality, and the privatization of faithfulness" (*The Da Vinci Code*).

In her summary and conclusion Maddux notes that "these themes of civic participation and gender persist in popular Christian media" (p. 185). From them, she draws six lessons as manifest in the Christian media's wrestling with the issues.

- "Achieving a unified faith-based coalition for civic activism is an impractical dream and an unreasonable nightmare."
- "Theoretical discussions of civic participation that focus narrowly on rational-critical deliberation and charitable volunteering miss the range of modes of civic participation widely available."
- "Not only are the ideals of civic participation still characterized by gender, but too often feminine dispositions are accessible to men and women alike while masculine dispositions remain exclusive to men."
- "Popular images of civic participation reconstitute ideologies of race, often creating paternalistic relationships between white citizens and the black neighbors they help."
- "The conventions of entertainment media necessarily constrain the possible dispositions of civic participation they can depict, which makes entertainment media an imperfect source of cultural ideas about civic participation."
- "Because Christianity promises to be a countercultural sphere separate from the state and market, it affords radical possibilities for facilitating civic participation." (pp. 185–186)

Developing the fifth theme, Maddux recognizes the limitations of popular media for civic discourse even while she acknowledges its role, not only in the case studies of Christian popular media but in other media as well. The media products do favor certain images and methods—as much by "their technologies and genres" (p. 193) as by their authors' ideas. But they do play a role in contemporary culture, which she urges us to acknowledge.

The book presents an interesting reading of contemporary culture and offers a methodology for a more careful consideration of the interaction of media and religion. Maddux is surely right in her claim that more people wrestle with issues of practical religion through the media than through a careful reading of theologians or church pronouncements. However, she does not indicate how someone without her background in rhetorical analysis might parse the texts that they consume. That audience analysis must wait for another study.

The book features extensive notes, a solid reference list, and an index.

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

Marinescu, Valentina and **Silvia Branca** (Eds.) *Fiction in the Media or Media of the Fiction.* Bucharest: Editura universitâtil din bucuresti, 2012. Pp. 236. ISBN 978-606-16-0165-3 (paper) Romanian Leu 34.50 ($10.35). Available through http://editura.unibuc.ro/fiction-in-the-media-or-media-in-the-fiction/

In my lifetime many things have changed. Before 1989 the thought of having an academic book from behind the Iron Curtain, leave alone one that dealt with the media, would have been one that was unthinkable. This book comes from the University of Bucharest Press.

The editors have divided the articles in it into three sections: Semi-Fiction in Media, Fiction in Media of Information and, finally Virtual Worlds and Fictions. One of its plus points is that it brings to the reader outside the former Eastern bloc the realities of present-day Romanian media in all its variants. In an increasingly globalized world, I feel that it is important that we read this type of book in order to enrich our knowledge of the situations that pertain outside our immediate media environment.

Andre Krauss' opening article considers the blurring of the distinctions between reality and fiction in entertainment media, and other articles in this section deal with images of girls' independence in Romanian soap opera, with identity and narrativity (Daniela Roventa-Frumušani and Adriana Stefânel), Valentina Marinescu, one of the book's editors, writes a chapter on the ways in which East-Asian fiction is understood in Romania, and Janka Kascakova of the Catholic University, Ruzomberok, Slovakia, writes an interesting chapter on the dialogue between Aragorn, Eowyn, and Arwen in their Tolkien version and in Peter Jackson's filmed version. Tolkien's books always seemed to me to be quite English and so it is interesting to see a viewpoint from Slovakia. The final chapter in this first section is by the other editor, Silvia Branea of the University of Bucharest and considers the way that the public life of the star is made up. She looks at the hybridization of Western media culture with local traditions to form what she describes a "polychrome hybridizations" in a world monoculture (p. 104). She introduces some of the theoretical background to star literature and uses Madonna as an example of a "bad girl" star who now puts forward the Western-style of political views (on gays, the human rights of Roma, people who are different), as she did at her Bucharest concert in 2009. Her statements were not well received in Romania, but Branea shows how the media seem to have developed an interest in her private life, which is something that seems to appeal to the public. She concludes (p. 109) that the audience may be impressed by the fact that a star is popular in several continents and this may encourage them to take into consideration that star's political stance.

Section Two of the book mainly deals with journalism, but a particularly interesting chapter is Professor Bianca Mitu's one on Romanian Amateur Fiction in the Age of New Media, which begins with the statement that books are considered testimonials of the past (p. 150) and considers how new media have changed the publishing industry so that books have moved online and people are able to publish on the web. She notes that, as Derrick de Kerckhove suggested, books will resist this new publication form. In fact, there has been evidence in Britain of this. On May 8th, 2013, information was released on the number of books sold in the U.K. in the previous year. While the number of e-books has increased quickly, the number of traditionally printed books sold has also increased, which was not what had been expected. She looks also at other forms of online reading: the online versions of fanzines, online communities, etc.

The final section is more closely based on new media, including a chapter which is called "From hero to zero in Web 2.0: Online cult heroes. Chuck Norris vs. Fuego" (Monica Mitarcâ). In protests in Romania in January 2012, Chuck Norris' name appeared on placards being waved by the protesters. The author notes that only one of the placards was written in Romanian (one which was translated as: "I am Chuck Norris. I got here already. Where are you?") Others were in English and bore such legends as: "Chuck Norris. Help!!!!" Chuck Norris has, in some peculiar way, been adopted as a Romanian by the protesters. Fuego is a Romanian pop singer (whose name is Paul Sergiu Surugiu) and who seems to appeal to housewives, middle-aged women, and what Mitarcâ calls "other audiences defined as low earners, working class, consumers of tabloid media and soap operas/telenovelas" (p. 229). Like Norris, he has become something of a Romanian folk hero. His legend, she writes, has nothing seemingly to do with his actions or words, but everything to do with his image. She shows that while Norris is constructed as an omnipotent hero, Fuego is shown, satirically, as an anti-hero. This process of making the two men heroes is analyzed here. On the face of it there seems to be little that the two men have in common.

This is an interesting book which widens our knowledge in the field of media and which would be of interest to students and academics in sociology, media studies, and politics. If there is a problem with this book, it is that it could have done with some good copy editing as the English is sometimes a little eccentric. However, I appreciate why the editors would want to publish in English in order to bring the work to the attention of a larger audience.

—Maria Way
Independent Researcher, London

Park, David W., Nicholas W. Jankowski, and **Steve Jones** (Eds.). *The Long History of New Media: Technology, Historiography, and Contextualizing Newness*. New York, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2011. Pp. xviii, 351. ISBN 978-1-4331-1441-0 (cloth) $149.95; 978-1-4331-1440-3 (paper) $38.95.

This collection certainly delivers on both aspects of its title, placing new media in a wide historical context and examining the very historiography of technology as it does so. All too often communication scholars engage media studies independently of media history, much less the history of technology and the rich bodies of theory developed in both areas. The 19 essays collected in this volume begin to remedy that. The editors remind us that their work rests "on the belief that media and history are so intimately connected that the emergence of what can be called 'new media' does something more than merely provide us with new media whose histories can be described" (p. xii). In fact, the book highlights the problems with both terms. "New media" do not remain new forever and today's new media push yesterday's new media into another category, though not quite "old media." History, too, faces difficulties of definition. "The idea that newness itself is a socially constructed process, that there are no natural edges in media, reminds us that historical corners like the one [Ithiel de Sola] Pool [(1990, p. 3)] asserted was facing us in the late 20th century are not brute facts but are claims that come from particular parties" (p. xiii).

To highlight both aspects, the editors present the collection in four parts: "newness contextualized," "new media history and theory," "comparative approaches," and "new media and historiography." Different readers will no doubt resonate with different media and different analytical approaches. The book provides a wealth of material for everyone. In reading through many of the chapters, some may wish to keep McLuhan and McLuhan's four laws of the media (1988) in mind: Each new medium extends, obsolesces, reverses, and retrieves something from prior media. The material presented here adds greater theoretical development to this earlier view.

The first part presents five case studies of the newness of media: digital music, mobile television, wireless connectivity, the virtual world, and sound studies. In each case, newness may not be the most appropriate category; beyond that, each of these new media interact with a much wider set of affordances, enhancements, and constraints, not least people's ideas of how to use them and the economic forces that shape them. For example, Noah Arceneaux points out that explorations of mobile television viewing began years ago and proponents have argued for different standards in different countries, with different delivery mechanisms. Wireless connectivity has suffered less from competing standards than from political battles in the U.S. Stephanie Ricker Schulte, representing these debates, asks whether wireless is a public good that government should provide as a part of a public sphere or whether it is something more aligned with telephony, best left to the private sector. Here again, the technology takes its place alongside other concerns. From the side of newness, we learn from Christian Thorsten Callisen and Barbara Adkins that the idea of a virtual world has existed at least since the time when the printing press and letter writing connected scholars in the "Republic of Letters."

The second part of the book examines ways to conduct new media history as well as newer theoretical approaches. Teresa Harrison, for example, extends McLuhan's early work by looking at the intersection of medium theory and cognitive neuroscience, a welcome interdisciplinary approach. Zizi Papacharissi and Elaine Yuan raise interesting questions about Internet theorizing's connection to the English-language Internet. Many of the key metaphors employed in thinking about this digital world arise in the West, “from Western canons of social inquiry, reflective of capitalist, imperialist, and neoliberal mentalities” (p. 89). A serious examination of the non-English Internet suggests others ways to conceptualize the digital realm, including different weights in the individual/social, public/private, and East/West divides (p. 92).

Even as established a concept in public discourse as the digital divide has a history in the earlier theories of development communication, demonstrated in the chapter by Dmitry Epstein. The concept itself has also changed its reference, assigned different meanings over the years by different stakeholders. Such close history also benefits our understanding of the World Wide Web. Michael Dick in Chapter 9 offers an alternative reading of the narratives of the Web through a look at the use of the forward slash in the now familiar URLs of every web page. Every technology is socially constructed, he argues, borrowing from the social construction of technology theory. This applies to the World Wide Web—perhaps more strongly as we so easily take it for granted. It does not have to be the way it is.

The third part of the volume offers a series of comparative approaches. Peter Schaefer reaches back to the 19th century to examine the origins of the term “interface” in the work of James and William (later Lord Kelvin) Thompson to describe linkages across networks in fluid mechanics and electrical systems. The term has shifted over the years to take its place in today’s more familiar “human-machine interfaces” of the computer world. A more recent development of ideas and techniques comes in the realm of digital radio, which Brian O’Neill points out occurs on several continents and in both theoretical and marketing terms. Like Schaefer, Benjamin Peters and Deborah Lubken turn to the longer historical record to situate their very interesting study of emergency communication from 18th century fire bells to fire telegraph alarms to the “go codes” of nuclear missiles. In passing, they point out that an 1838 book review applied the phrase “new media” to railways (p. 193). Holly Kruse directs the reader’s attention to a different kind of physical network, tracing the use of pneumatic tubes in U.S. and European cities as adjuncts to the postal system. In some ways these networks of interconnectivity foreshadow the electronic networks of today. Telephony also provides a look at the development of media systems across time. Gerard Groggin traces the idea of the telephone from its beginnings to the cell phone era.

The book’s final section reverses the perspective of the first three, asking how the various new media themselves play a role in historiography, aiding the work of the media historian. Each chapter here offers communication scholars a new way to understand what they study. Meghan Dougherty and Steven Schneider consider the new archival forms presented by the World Wide Web—an opportunity more difficult than it might at first appear. Niels Brügger take this up in his chapter on the challenges of creating a register (or listing) of Web material. Given the fact that items on the Web might appear with a URL, a title, a link, or another identifier, this task poses another challenge that is also more difficult than it might first appear. Fernando Bermajo asks a very different historiographical question: How does media economics capture or measure audience labor in an era of shifting cultural production and consumption? The very newness of the media forms leads historians to ask quite different questions. Add in the idea of location (physical as in GPS or virtual as in online) and the picture becomes even more complex, as Adriana de Souza e Silva and Daniel Sutko point out. The book concludes with Simon Popple’s examination of digital video archives. He offers two case studies:

> The first case study illustrates issues related to access and to the development of standardized practices through collaborative moves made between European states to develop integrated and sustainable approaches to the “uncertainties” of the digital archive. The second case study concerns the case of how a major public sector broadcaster—the BBC—has incorporated some of the possibilities made possible by digital archiving. (p. 318)

The fact that historians, archivists, and producers must deal with a constantly changing technology—just think of the video formats we have seen in the last 20 years—makes these case studies fascinating.

This volume should prove quite useful to anyone interested in media history and quite illuminating to anyone engaged in media studies. It will also appeal to historians of technology. Each chapter has its own notes and bibliography and the volume, an index.

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

References

McLuhan, M., & McLuhan, E. (1988). *Laws of the media: The new science*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pool, I. (1990). *Technologies without boundaries: On telecommunications in a global age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pollock, John. (Ed.). *Media and Social Inequality: Innovations in Community Structure Research*. New York and London: Routlege Taylor and Francis Group, 2013. Pp. xiv, 190. ISBN 13: 978-0-415-63118-1 (cloth) $145.00.

This book makes some claims that should draw scholarly attention: It is a study of "the impact of society on media" rather than the usual concern of media's impact on society; it also makes use of Big Data from a variety of sources that are not common in current communication research; finally, it suggests that the research on community structure not only influences what journalism says about social problems but that research from this volume can help journalism promote "social change." The book consists of articles published in a special issue of *Mass Communication and Society* in 2011 with the addition of several new chapters. The book, thus, intrigues by the boldness of its claims.

John Pollock, the editor of this book as well as of the special issue of the journal articles, clarifies the theme early:

> Community structure research can illuminate links between social inequality and media coverage. In effect, community structure research is not simply an academic exercise solely of interest to a particular group of scholars. It is also a perspective that throws a spotlight on multiple dimensions of social structure and demographics that are associated with variations in coverage of critical public issues" [like Occupy Wall Street which Pollock highlights]. (p.1)

The author acknowledges early the foundational work of journalism scholars Tichenor, Donohue, and Olin at Minnesota in the 1970s, but he argues that their tradition is being revived in this period through the attention of a number of scholars who see communities as important social forces to spur journalism to be a provider of social change rather than of social control. Pollock goes on to a review of recent scholarship on media coverage of poverty and inequality, indicating the balance of critical studies that identify that coverage as social control or neglect rather than social change. He also reports on his own recent study of media coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement both before and after the expulsion from Zuccotti Park. He finds a change after the expulsion of less coverage and less favorable coverage, but what he examines is the shift in national, regional, and local measures of social and community structure. Despite a great deal of data correlated with favorable and unfavorable coverage, the conclusions are not robust enough to define the influence of community structure in any definitive way. The author's own conclusion is clear: Journalists may not always conform to researchers' hypothesized behaviors but there is a proud tradition of journalism's promoting equality in the country.

The chapter by Seungahn Nah and Cory Armstrong traces the research tradition from the Minnesota journalism group through the intervening decades to indicate how the theory has been refined and even changed. Following the tenets of the quantitative approach, the authors outline how the explication of structural pluralism has resulted in a relatively coherent concept but that the dimensions of the concept and especially its indicators have proliferated over the last decades. The latter indicators (or measures of structural pluralism) have been especially numerous, but the authors demonstrate that the most frequently used are "the workforce as a measure," "population size," "income," and "education" (p. 38), indicators common to most survey research. They conclude that although the concept has been largely agreed upon, "there has been lack of clear operational definitions, which has resulted in inconsistency of what [other] kinds of indicators are to be measured" (p. 38). Part of the difficulty of summarizing is that the number of variables and their relationship to how structural pluralism influences outcomes in the media and in the communities in terms of change or control is not clear. Later they state that "a major weakness in structural pluralism work is lack of continuity in measurement of the concept" (p. 47).

MasahiroYamamoto in his chapter approaches the media in a community as fostering "the regulatory capacity of a community to achieve core social values by distributing a common set of messages that promote social structural and cultural dimensions" (p. 54), a definition that turns the typical notion of social control by the media on its head. After a review of research that seems to argue a functionalist approach to media as a positive force for social control and citing much of the original thinking that stems from Parsons, the author confronts the dichotomy between "good" social control from the media and the "bad." He argues:

> In the present model, the media are not only constraining [the bad] but also the enabling [the good]. Although legitimizing and institutionalizing the normative culture, the media have the capacity to foster collective action for common purposes. . . . In these capacities, mass media promote changes in certain parts of the system while serving as agents of social control. (pp. 60–61)

This is certainly an original interpretation of the commonly accepted notion of the last four decades beginning with Dhal on power structures in communities and the original Minnesota group's notion of structural pluralism. It argues that a dichotomous approach to social control does not recognize how community media may enforce common norms and values but also promote changes in community practice.

Other chapters touch on a variety of issues doing cross-sectional studies including social trust vs. political participation; public affairs place blogs as influenced by residents of stressed communities who have better education and income; and coverage of the universal health care debate (2007–2009) and the strong influence of large Hispanic population/low health care access to favorable media coverage. Two final chapters call for somewhat more comment. First, in a national study by Leo Jeffres and colleagues on environmental coverage, some of the positive as well as negative elements of the structural pluralism approach emerge. The authors first argue that a policy approach to such studies keeps the focus on what research can contribute to community organizations that are working for change. Second, they construct their national survey in terms of research questions as opposed to hypotheses with the consequence that the study may lead to results that can foster research that is more productive for policy application. Finally, they incorporate a number of variables that broadens the scope of the study: size of communities within metropolitan areas to get closer to the ground; heterogeneity of these communities; level of political activity; membership in local organizations; neighborhood attachment and strength of neighborhood ties; political discussion network and climate; media use and social categories like gender, ethnicity, age, education, etc. The results are indicative of the wisdom of the research question approach because as the authors state the results "provide a less-than-impressive endorsement of the linear hypothesis and/or structural pluralism" (p. 163). The positive is that research is focusing at a national level with better tools, but the results of this and some other studies in this volume suggest that there are few strong variables that indicate a clear path forward.

The final chapter is one that attempts to bring together the two major theories of structural pluralism (society affecting media) and agenda setting (media affecting society) in an innovative approach of thinking of how these two theories might be tested within one study. The qualifier is that it is only a proposal, albeit one with careful consideration of research design and how researchers could best accomplish the data analysis.. Since it is co-authored by one of the founders of agenda setting, Max McCombs, it is worth careful consideration.

The book contains large reference sections at the end of each chapter plus a solid index.

—Emile G. McAnany
Santa Clara University

Briefly Noted

Carlsson, Ulla, Samy Tayie, Geneviève Jacquinot-Delaunay, and **José Manuel Pérez Tornero** (Eds.). *Empowerment through Media Education: An Intercultural Dialogue*. Göteborg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2008. Pp. 272. ISBN 978-91-89471-56-6 (paper) SEK 225, €23, $34.

As communication media take on a greater share of people's time and attention, the importance of media education grows. Beginning in 2007, media educators and researchers have participated in UNESCO-sponsored International Conferences on Media Education. This book emerges from one of those conferences and focuses on international and intercultural perspectives on both practices and policies.

The editors group the papers into six sections: definitions and approaches; history; media culture in the digital age; education and media culture in the context of media literacy, media education in the digital age; and practices of media literacy. The second section provides a particularly useful review of the 25 years since the Grünwald Declaration of the basic principles of media education to the 2007 "Paris Agenda" of recommendations for media education. Both documents appear in this section. Other helpful chapters survey how young people use the media in their various cultures, aiming to achieve a truly intercultural approach to media education. More specific case studies examine civic engagement, technological development, school curricula, family roles, and distance education.

While some contributions have references, others report on case studies, offering helpful primary data. The authors section provides complete contact information for those who wish to follow up on this international dialogue.

Harrie, Eva. *A Nordic Public Service Media Map: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden*. Göteborg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2013. Pp. 97. ISBN 978-91-86523-61-9 (paper) SEK 200, €22.

This brief book "present[s] an overview of the Nordic public service broadcasting system, in an attempt to map a Nordic public service model" (p. 8). It offers a number of perspectives on the sector, gathering and displaying statistics graphically on everything from audience share, revenues, domestic production, the media day, Internet access and usage, and so on. The book also contains information on the Nordic public service media companies, programming profiles, news at prime time, children's channels, domestic and foreign channels, minority language programming, trust in the media, and the Nordic media in the global landscape. The last section is a compendium of facts and figures about the Nordic region: geography, population, currency, politics, and development indicators.

This extremely valuable resource book belongs in every library and would benefit those studying international media, both for its information and as a model for what others should do.

Korzybski, Alfred. *Selections from Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. (Second ed.). Fort Worth, TX: Institute of General Semantics, 2010. Pp. xx, 215. ISBN 978-0-9827559-1-4 (paper) $16.00.

This new edition of Korzybski's 1948 work seeks to introduce his work to a new generation of readers, particularly those enmeshed in the contemporary digital culture. The selections come from the editorial work of Korzybski himself, who heeded the advice of teachers and students that his original *Science and Sanity* proved too much for too many in its 927 pages. This book sets out to introduce key ideas and concepts, examining meaning not in an Aristotelian sense (or in the many theories of meaning following from Aristotle) couched in abstract verbalism and referents. The problem with that approach arises from a mixture of meaning and evaluation, of an identification of observed or "seen facts with . . . judgement, creeds, dogmas, etc." (p. 9). To help the reader or student along, Korzybski leads an examination of language, knowledge, science, structure.

The book covers key topics including terminology and meanings (Ch. 2), structure (Ch. 3), general linguistic and symbolism (Ch. 4), function (Ch. 5), relations (Ch. 6), "mathematics as a language of a structure similar to the structure of the world' (Ch. 9), "mathematics as a language of a structure similar to the structure of the human nervous system" (Ch. 10), abstracting (Ch. 12), higher order abstractions (Ch. 15), and non-Aristotelian training (Ch. 17).

The reader faces a daunting task, as Korzybski asks for a reflective and self-critical analysis of one's language and the value systems implicit in language. The book contains both a description of the task as well as exercises in observation and language designed to move a person to an awareness of the Aristotelianism unconsciously embedded in one's life.

The book contains several appendices (on the contrast between Aristotelian and non-Aristotelian systems, and the full table of contents to *Science and Sanity*) and an index.

Roosvall, Anna and **Inka Salovaaa-Moring** (Eds.). *Communicating the Nation: National Topographies of Global Media Landscapes*. Göteborg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2010. Pp. 256. ISBN 978-91-89471-96-2 (paper). SEK 280, €30.

We tend to take the concept of "nation" for granted, even if we realize that at some level it is a construct. It certainly is useful: as Roosvall and Salovaara-Moring remind us in their introduction, "Political, sports, and cultural events, in the news as well as in fiction, are largely structured by the national logic" (p. 9). To that list we could probably add many, many more things—economics, media systems, personal relations, business practices, warfare, music, and so on. Nation touches on all of them. Roosvall and Salovaara-Moring group the essays in the book around three key themes:

the nation as a social category, the nation as a part of a structure of empirical analysis, and the nation as motivation for reorganizing the space around us. Communication products and communication practices affect all three areas.

Individual chapters in Part I on the making of nations examine "inter-nationalism" in media research, focusing on the flow of information (Terhi Rantanen), "the nation as media event" (Britta Timm Knudsen), the mediation of death as a way of creating national communities (Lilie Chouliaraki), and national branding (Göran Bolin and Per Ståhlberg). Part II revisits nations and empires, with essays examining the (mediated) constitution of nation-states and the ways nations use national narratives or national media to construct and extend themselves. Authors here include Salovaara-Moring, Ivan Zassoursky, Toby Miller, and Andrew Calabrese. Finally, Part III, "National Selves and Others," turns to images, particularly those connected with television. Tamar Ashuri examines national histories in an era of global television; Kristina Riegert calls attention to national television world news; Roosvall looks at foreign news in cultural contexts; and Anu Kantola reviews "the imaginary work of nation-making" in international financial journalism.

Each essay stands alone, with its own notes and references. The book as a whole does present a challenging and insightful look at what we too often take for granted. Rather than attempting to exhaust the topic, the editors and contributors raise key questions, inviting more research.

Storsul, Tanja and **Dagny Stuedahl** (Eds.). *Ambivalence Towards Convergence: Digitalization and Media Change*. Götegorg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2007. Pp. 251. ISBN 978-91-89471-50-4 (paper) SEK 280, €30.

As the editors point out, "convergence" regularly appeared in communication discourse by the mid-1990s, punctuating the talk not only of scholars but of policy makers, businesses, and even practitioners (p. 9). Both the term and its implications remained somewhat open-ended, though. It could refer to particular visions of technology or it could refer to economic and business practices or it could describe a set of social practices. When the digital media experienced boom and bust in the following years, many felt that societies had somehow missed the promise of convergence.

The 14 contributions to this book examine approaches to convergence (just what defines "convergence"), convergence in media institutions—cross platform media, news, or mobile media—the competencies or institutional practices included in convergence, and the genres and social practices that have come to define convergence today.

Each essay has its own notes and references. While some years have passed since the book's publication, only its specific examples seem dated. The analysis and the key issues identified by the contributors remain very much on target.

Sultanik, Aaron. *Cinemulacrum: A Secret History of Film/Video, 1960-2010*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2012. pp. xiv, 121. ISBN 978-0-7618-5841-6 (paper) $26.99; 978-0-7618-5842-3 (eBook) $26.99.

Sultanik proposes a theory of contemporary cinema by drawing together two current bodies of knowledge: traditional cinema studies and Baudrillard's postmodern idea of the simulacrum. Sultanik begins with this definition: "a hybrid term comprised of cinema and simulacrum, cinemulacrum denotes a condition or state of cinema in which the institutional nature of cinema, a term describing the multiplicity of uses and influences of movies/film/cinema, is transformed by electronic technology into the single, commonly-experienced, commercial and creative medium of digital film/video and the pervasive media culture of movies and television" (p. vii). This cinemulacrum brings together three key elements in contemporary culture: the use of video or screen technology (with the digital world transforming production); a focus on fantasy as key content, whether on television or in film or videogames, and a youth culture, with the youth demographic becoming the most important one in the view of the production companies and film makers.

Sultanik also points out that the cinemulacrum culture embodies the postmodern world of recyling content, either through sequels and prequels or through borrowiing—from comic books to film, from videogames to television, from television to film, from film to videogames, and so on.

He develops the argument through a history and commentary on film and television from 1960 to 2010. Sometimes this seems rather elliptical in nature, even as it remains thought provoking.