

# COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS



Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture

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Volume 33 (2014) No. 4

IN THIS  
ISSUE

## Wilbur Schramm: Beginnings of the “Communication” Field

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

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ISSN: 0144-4646

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Communication Research Trends  
Volume 33 (2014) Number 4  
<http://cscsc.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.  
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Editor: Emile McAnany  
Managing Editor: Paul A. Soukup, S.J.

Subscription:  
Annual subscription (Vol. 33) 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

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500 El Camino Real  
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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  
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email: [psoukup@scu.edu](mailto: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.

# Wilbur Schramm: Beginnings of the “Communication” Field

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## *Introduction*

This review is not a history of the beginning of communication study as that probably goes back to the development of speech among humans or at least to the time of the Aristotle and Plato. Rather this is a review of some of the literature in our field about the man some have called the founder (Rogers, 1994) or the definer (Tankard, 1988) of the field. There are many accounts about this beginning surrounding Schramm and others who have a claim to the beginning of what is now called Communication Studies or, less recently, Mass Communication. What is clear historically is that Wilbur Schramm made significant contributions to institutionally establishing the field of communication as it is defined and practiced in universities in the U.S. and indirectly with the establishment of similar studies around the world. As is common in this review, the article will present the published record surrounding this beginning in the U.S. at mid-20th century that concerns Schramm’s role in the establishment of the field, and the remembered and the contested accounts of this establishment.

One reason why this history is important is that the field of Communication Studies, as it is often

referred to currently, needs to reflect upon itself so that it can justify its rationale for being a large and flourishing part of global university study. It is often criticized as being without a core set of theories and methodologies to justify itself as a social science or of being too undefined, all-inclusive, and even chaotic to justify its standing as a discipline at all. As we will see subsequently, all of these issues were with the field from the beginning of “communication” studies in the early- to mid-20th century when Schramm attempted to move the established departments of journalism and speech (rhetoric) into a single communication department or school. That he did not entirely succeed is still evident in the U.S. at least by separate departments of mass and interpersonal communication. But he did succeed in placing “communication” as an important identifier for what had been very separate studies within the American academy. But before we approach the story of Wilbur Schramm as an important figure in the field, we might well begin with the first major crisis that Schramm had to face after the study of mass communication had barely begun in the U.S.

## **1. Challenge from the Inner Circle: The Field is “Withering Away”**

Many students, in the U.S. at least, know the reference to a 1959 article by Bernard Berelson, one of the original researchers who helped begin the field of mass communication research (Berelson, 1959) at the beginning of the 1940s. Berelson began his challenge with an opening shot that might have unnerved Wilbur Schramm and the whole emerging field of mass communication. He began his article with the pronunciation of a death knell for the field: “My theme is that, as for communication research, the

state is withering away” (p. 1). He went on to describe the work of the previous 25 years by political scientists, sociologists, experimental and social psychologists as doing communication research that was the foundation of the field that Schramm had identified and had inaugurated at the University of Illinois in 1948. Now, 11 years later, one of the early thought leaders in the field (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) was saying that the field was dead. What was at stake, however, was not the field but

Berelson's career in the field. He was leaving the University of Chicago where he had been for many years to take Paul Lazarsfeld's place at Columbia University. Recently, two researchers have helped to clarify the Chicago background to Berelson's gloomy view of the field. Pooley (2008a) argues that there was a split between the sociologists like Lazarsfeld and other early pioneer researchers in the communication field because communication studies in the late 1950s were more concentrated on media audiences and attitude change (more psychological orientation); moreover, the funding for sociological research in communication was drying up. Another author, Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) makes another kind of argument. She shows how the University of Chicago had originally begun a communication pro-

gram immediately after World War II that would train graduate students in an interdisciplinary program in communication research that was close to the one Schramm was to create three years later. The problem for the program was that it was never established as a department but remained only a program that depended on faculty interest. Berelson refers to the closure of the program at the University of Chicago where he had been a strong proponent. His leaving Chicago might have been a sad farewell to his career in communication which he argued was true of the field itself. Schramm (1959a) in the same issue argued quite the opposite, and the subsequent history of communication study would be on his side. The decade-old field was not "withering away" but was showing signs of growth.

## 2. How a New Field Was Created: Begin at Iowa and Go to Illinois

The contribution of Schramm to founding the communication field was that he recognized that if it were to become a recognized field of study in the U.S., it had to take its place along side of other recognized fields within university structures. In other words, it had to be a department or school with the name "communication" attached to it. As Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) pointed out, the University of Chicago's Committee on Communication, begun in 1947 with a MA degree, was only an interdisciplinary program and did not survive (it closed in 1960). Schramm's achievement was that he was able to *take a journalism program and turn it into a communication program*. He accomplished this partially at the University of Iowa (Cartier, 1988) after he returned from serving during the war for 15 months (1942–1943) in Washington D.C. But it was a hybrid program that did not escape from its journalism identity. Schramm's journey to that point has been often told (Cartier, 1988; Rogers, 1994; Lerner & Nelson, 1977) but bears a quick reprise.

Schramm came to the University of Iowa with a MA in English from Harvard at age 23 with the intention of finishing a Ph.D. in English, but also because Iowa had a well known speech lab. Schramm for all his accomplishments had a profound stutter. Once there, he finished his dissertation in two years, then undertook a two-year study with psychologist Carl Seashore about quantifying sound in English verse (Schramm,

1935) and quickly rose to prominence in the Department of English. In 1939 he took over a creative writing class and became the founder and first director of the still famous Iowa Writers Workshop. In December 1941, he volunteered to work under Archibald McLeish in the Office of War Information but also was assigned to work with Robert Sherwood as a speech writer for President Roosevelt. In the course of 15 months, Schramm began to meet many of the recognized social scientists who were working to help Washington win the propaganda war (Rogers, 1994). It marked the start of his immersion in the new communication research field. When he returned to Iowa in 1943, he was offered the deanship of the School of Journalism. Here was a new beginning for the high energy new administrator, but it ran into limitations of budget and a lack of vision about the creation of a new field.

When Schramm was recruited to the University of Illinois in 1947, he was hired by George Stoddard, his mentor from Iowa who had become the university's president. Stoddard had a free hand in the post-war expansion in university growth, and he, in turn, gave Schramm a free hand to create the structure for a new field. This consisted of a new *Institute of Communication Research* and then the inauguration of a new graduate program in *Mass Communication*. The second part of Schramm's strategy for creating a new

field was to begin publishing books that would become the first textbooks in the field of Mass Communication. The third part of Schramm's action was to turn out Ph.D. students who began within a very few years to replicate the Illinois model elsewhere (see Rogers, 1994; and Schramm, Chaffee, & Rogers, 1997, for more details). Schramm had an ability to write clear and concise prose for all of his professional life and to formulate his thoughts in persuasive plans. His proposals to Stoddard were strong and could pass the critical review of both administration and departmental eyes who might have found the proposals far-fetched. But this was a time of change, and with Stoddard's support, Schramm got his proposals accepted. It was not just that he could write clearly and persuasively, but that he could provide evidence to back up the prose. This talent also allowed him to write proposals in the post-war world of university research funding that helped his research institutes and graduate students at Illinois and later at Stanford.

The history of his success at Illinois began, of course, with the strong support of Stoddard, but Schramm had already made a number of other important colleagues in the first wave of communication research (1935–1959 as Berelson, 1959, reminds us) who had been stationed in Washington D.C. during the war. In order to inaugurate his Institute of Communication Research, Schramm invited a number of these and other leaders in a field that was rapidly expanding as a research topic. The meeting was an opportunity to bring the pioneers of communication research to the university where Schramm planned to transition this promising beginning into a university department whose identity was to be *communication* (McAnany, 1988). Among invitees were luminaries from early communication research: Paul Lazarsfeld from Columbia University's sociology department, Carl Hovland from Yale's psychology program, Bernard Berelson from Chicago University's Division of Social Science. All had worked in the mass communication field and were making the field a thriving research focus. In addition Schramm had invited Ralph Casey, Ralph Nafziger, and Raymond Nixon, three prominent journalism professors (a reminder that if he was to succeed in his mission, he would have to gain the collaboration of journalism professors). Elmo Wilson and Hugh Beville came from the broadcasting industry, also a reminder that the study of the growing mass media was at the heart of much early research. From the papers delivered and the discussion among

the assembled experts, Schramm quickly published (he also had been appointed the head of the University of Illinois Press) the first Mass Communication book that would be a textbook for future graduate students in Communication. *Communication in Modern Society* (1948) was simply the edited papers delivered by the distinguished experts. It might have passed unnoticed since a number of such titles were circulating at this time, but it was *the first such book from a department called Mass Communication*. It also made the brief bibliography when UNESCO published its first list of media statistics in 1950. And this international recognition would presage an important role that Schramm would play in international communication in subsequent years (McAnany, 2012).

Within a year of this first book, Schramm published a second volume similar to that first one but more substantial and much more influential to the establishment of a separate university identity for Mass Communications. The book, *Mass Communications* (1949a; 2nd edition, 1960) like the previous one from the year before, was a collection of earlier research on topics related to the media field. But what Schramm had begun to do was to write commentary and introductions to different parts of the book. It was the beginning of his effort to justify his new department and to provide another textbook for his new graduate program (both MA and Ph.D.). It was the beginning of Schramm's own writing about what he conceived the new field to be. A year later, Schramm was asked by the U.S. government, with its Cold War concerns about psychological warfare, to go to Korea and study both refugees and North Korean prisoners. He and his fellow researcher turned out several articles and a book within a year (Schramm & Reilly, 1951). The following year he was involved, once again in Washington D.C., in helping to create the new U.S. Information Agency as an adviser for the research department of that agency. He developed another edited book with similar readings for the agency. It was published a year later as *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (1954b) which, along with *Mass Communications*, was to become a classic in the emerging field (both were given second editions in 1960 and 1971 by the University of Illinois Press where Schramm was director 1947–1954). In *Process* Schramm began a long effort to describe in straightforward language how he thought human (interpersonal) communication worked and how that process was mirrored in mass media communication

with audiences. It was the first attempt by anyone at the time to bring the two fields of interpersonal and mass communication together. The chapter also reflected Schramm's exposure to the prevailing social scientific approach reflected in the work from Lazarsfeld and Laswell in sociology and political science to Hovland in experimental psychology. It placed an emphasis on media effects that would carry through the next 20 years before it was replaced by

other emerging paradigms. What was important was that Schramm was beginning to publish books that would become the texts that other new departments of communication would use to train their students. There were a number of research interests that Schramm developed at Illinois during his seven years that will be touched upon subsequently. Schramm continued to publish books, research reports, review articles, but his time was running out at Illinois.

### 3. The Changing of the Guard and the Move to California

Schramm's mentor at Iowa and his patron at Illinois, George Stoddard, began to run into difficulties as president for a variety of reasons. Rogers (1994) points out his determined pursuit of a discredited cure for cancer and his stubborn anti-religious ideology did not endear him to the board of regents, but part of it may have been the pressure of Senator McCarthy's accusations about left-leaning academics (personal communication from Dallas Smythe in 1985). In any case, Stoddard was fired in 1953, and Schramm was gradually removed from various positions outside of Communication over the next year. Seeing the problems facing his ambitions for Illinois, Schramm took a sabbatical in 1954 and began to consider other opportunities. He took a position as head of a newly created Institute for Communication Research at Sanford University in 1955. It was a time when Stanford was beginning its evolution toward national prominence under its president, Wallace Sterling. Schramm did not want any more university-wide administrative roles after his recent experience at Illinois. But as head of the Institute for Communication Research (not even chair of the Communication Department), he was free to concentrate on teaching and research and building another university program in communication. He continued his output of books, research reports, and articles at the same pace as at Illinois and turned Stanford over the next decade into a nationally recognized doctoral program. It benefited from the prestige that Stanford was building under Sterling.

In some ways, the work at Stanford was similar to that which Schramm had begun at Illinois.

Schramm continued with a heavy scholarly, grant writing, and consulting schedule; he was to write over 5 million words in the 18 years at Stanford according to Nelson, a close colleague (Lerner & Nelson, 1977). But he ceased to publish as much in journalism as he had at Illinois, partly because by 1955, he had begun to win the battle for adding mass communication to a number of existing journalism programs; also, when he came to Stanford, his new department was already called Department of Communication, so he had no need to convince faculty and administration to adopt the name and the focus. What continued to grow was Schramm's work in *application of communication research* to a variety of topics, including a focus on mass media and communication in education. He also undertook his most ambitious field research with children and the rapidly emerging medium of television. His book (with graduate students Jack Lyle and Edwin Parker) *Television in the Lives of Our Children* (1961) was a success and the first such study in the U.S. It fit with his increasing interest in education and technologies that were being used for that purpose, including programmed instruction and instructional television. The other strategy that Schramm continued from Illinois and even from Iowa was his insistence on having a doctoral program that was interdisciplinary. Ph.D. students took half of their courses outside of Communication (often in the social sciences but also in statistics, engineering, and education).

As Stanford's general reputation increased, Schramm made connections with other faculty members with whom he shared interests. Earnest (Jack) Hilgard was a well known psychologist who had

worked with Schramm in Washington D.C. during the war. When he was hired, Schramm brought a \$75,000 grant with him from the Ford Foundation, and Hilgard, as Dean of the Graduate School, was able to supplement his salary to hire him (Rogers, 1994). Schramm continued his close connection with the Psychology Department when he helped bring Nathan Maccoby, a psychology professor at Boston University, with whom he had worked during the war, to a position in Communication. Maccoby's wife Eleanor came to the Psychology Department where she became a well known researcher in developmental psychology and later in women's studies. He also reached out to the School of Education when he began his work on educational technology. His work with the School of Engineering began with an interest in media technologies that might help education in developing countries. He was also one of the early writers on the use of communication satellites for education and development (Schramm & Nelson 1968). Beginning in the early 1960's Schramm began an interest in development

communication and was asked to participate in three meetings that UNESCO promoted in Asia, Latin America, and Africa on the importance of mass communication for development and social change (McAnany, 2012, Ch. 2). When Schramm was asked to summarize the meetings, the result was much more than a simple editing task. Schramm wrote a book that not only synthesized the meeting conclusions but added his own understanding of the issues in one of his best known books, *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries* (1964b).

After almost 18 years at Stanford and as head of the Institute for Communication Research, Schramm faced the dreaded deadline for mandatory retirement in 1973. He was not happy with the requirement since he was as active as ever with writing and research, but he also recognized that he had spent the last quarter of a century establishing the communication field and perhaps it was time for a change. But he was not ready to retire. Fortunately, he had another offer waiting.

#### **4.The Final Stage: East-West Center in Hawaii and One More Institute**

Not untypical of Schramm, his next role at the East-West Center came out of a chance encounter with the Center's new director, Everett Kleinjans (Kleinjans, 1977), on board of a cross-Pacific flight in 1968. The two discussed the Center's plans, and Schramm talked at length about the potential role of communication in research for a number of fields the Center was involved with. Typical of Schramm, a few days later, he had summarized the many hours of discussion about the role of communication in Kleinjans' plans for the Center for the next five years and sent the plan to his new acquaintance. Kleinjans persuaded Schramm to create a new East-West Communication Institute for which he would become the director when he retired from Stanford. Thus the transition was relatively simple, and Schramm immediately undertook the new task with his usual high energy. But Hawaii was not Palo Alto and within a couple of years, Schramm stepped down from the directorship and even from the Institute by 1978. He was to spend the next decade doing research and writing about Asia and communication issues as well as

circling back to issues that he had begun early in his communication career. For example, he made a final effort toward the end of his life to summarize the work he had done from the beginning to make Communication a focus for understanding the connection of communication with human development from the beginning of time. *The Story of Human Communication: Cave Painting to Microchip* (1988) was a return to writing a textbook for the many hundreds of communication programs in the U.S. that he had helped to foster. But much of what Schramm had begun 40 years before at Iowa and Illinois had begun to be contested by critics with new paradigms to promote. He died on December 27, 1987 at the age of 80 with an unfinished manuscript in his computer (later finished and published by colleagues as *The Beginnings of Communication Study in America: A Personal Memoir* (Schramm, Chaffee, & Rogers, 1997). This was his last book in a lifetime of writing and research that helped to establish a new field and spawned a global expansion of university departments and programs of communication.

## 5. The Intellectual Legacy: Schramm's Writings in Communication

The legacy of Schramm did not lie in major communication theories nor in methodology as his colleagues Chaffee and Rogers admit (Schramm, Chaffee, & Rogers, 1997). Rather Schramm had a strategy that began to take shape on his return to University of Iowa in 1943 and his move from the Department of English and head of the Iowa Writers Workshop to become Dean of Journalism. It was a change that was not planned by Schramm, but he had begun to have disagreements with the chair of the English Department. The University wished to keep him as he had already achieved a reputation beyond English during his years at Iowa. There was a need for a head of a journalism department that was growing. Schramm had brought back with him ideas about communication research that he had witnessed in Washington D.C. When asked to consider taking the position, Schramm wrote not just a simple acceptance letter but an entire plan for his vision of how the Journalism Department at Iowa could begin a transition to a communication program. The document was never published, but it showed how much Schramm had absorbed of the research on communication and how he had quickly translated it into a plan to create a renewed field of journalism studies (Cartier, 1988). It also pre-saged his plan for creating a new independent communication department and a new field of study when he arrived at Illinois four years later. It was remarkably prescient for someone who had been only a part time journalist in college but had not taught nor ever looked carefully at journalism education. He was beginning to build a new journalism program at Iowa, but it was clearly a step toward his vision for a new field.

### A. *Defining the new field of (mass) communication*

At Illinois, with President Stoddard's help, Schramm began a writing career in communication that would last for the next 40 years. His first two edited books, *Communication in Modern Society* (1948), the papers given at the inauguration of his new communication institute, and a similar book a year later, *Mass Communications* (1949a) were collections of writing from social scientists already publishing in mass communication in addition to that journalists and media industry researchers. Schramm did not contribute much

beyond editing to either volume, but they became the textbooks for his new graduate program in Mass Communication. *Mass Communications* began selling widely as other programs in journalism began to add Communication to their department titles and, more importantly, to their courses. Thus Schramm began to choose writings that he saw as constituting the new field. He had had experience in editing and book and journal publishing in his years in English (Reid, 1977).

In 1953, Schramm began to make a more personal contribution. He had been asked to continue his wartime work as a research advisor in the creation of the U.S. Information Agency in 1953. His assignment was to provide a communication reader for researchers in the new agency. The result was a book-length report that began to address some of the basic outlines of the new field of communication. He published the report as *Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (1954b). It was the beginning of Schramm's own writing about what he thought "communication" meant for the field. He opens the book with his long first chapter, "How Communication Works," with the sentence: "It will be easier to see how mass communication works if we first look at the communication process in general" (1954a, p. 3). He is proposing that the model for *mass* communication is *human* communication. It was an original contribution, not so much a theory, but Schramm's attempt to explain in his own clear style of prose, what he is thinking about how mediated and interpersonal communication belong to the same phenomenon, if not the same university departments.

But soon he defines the human process with a paradigm that reflects the mechanistic approach that would be repudiated 20 years later by some of Schramm's own students (Berlo, 1977). It was the famous Source—Message—Channel—Receiver that may have been a good summary of how telephone systems performed (as Shannon & Weaver, 1949, in their book on information theory argued), but it left out much of how human communication is constituted. Nevertheless, Schramm, as a person of his times, helped to introduce a model that would endure for decades. The other important contribution that Schramm made to the book was a series of introductory notes to sections of the book on Attention, Channels



of Communication, Getting Meaning Understood, Attitude Change, Communication in Groups, and Achieving an Effect in International Communication (i.e. the “psychological warfare” of the Cold War era). Schramm was beginning not only to introduce other peoples’ writings but his own understanding of the field. He added different chapters over the subsequent decades, culminating with *Men, Messages, and Media: A Look at Human Communication* (1973) just as he was leaving Stanford. His contribution, then, was in articulating in understandable language what the new field was about.

### *B. Journalism, responsibility and public broadcasting*

Although Schramm was new to journalism study in 1943, over the next 15 years he published a number of articles in the main journal in the field, *Journalism Quarterly*. He also began a life-long effort in *summarizing research* on different aspects of the field. For example, in 1949 he published “The Effects of Mass Communication: A Review” (Schramm, 1949b) and in 1957 “Twenty Years of Journalism Research” (Schramm, 1957b). His major contributions to journalism were in three books, all in the 1950s: *Responsibility in Mass Communication* (with an introduction by Reinhold Niebhur, 1957a; 2nd ed., 1969). This was a response to the Hutchins Report in 1947 that first raised the issue of how the growing mass media were *responsible to society* for their actions. Schramm’s book was the first to raise similar ethical concerns within the new field of mass communication. A book that Schramm helped initiate on theories of the press with two colleagues at Illinois (Fred Siebert and Theodore Peterson) was the enduring classic *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956). This book was critiqued for years without being able to dislodge it from the many journalism programs in the U.S. It was a book from the Cold War era that reflected the prevailing focus on the fear of totalitarian and Communist propaganda. A final contribution was Schramm’s first foray into international communication/journalism research: *One Day in the World’s Press* (1959b). This traced the variety of coverage by a number of international newspapers of the Soviet Invasion of Hungary and Israel’s capture of Gaza. This was one of the first publications to show how different cultures and political systems interpret important news events differently as the New World Information Communication Order would demonstrate two decades later.

Another pioneering effort by Schramm at Illinois was his promotion of broadcasting for education to the public from a university non-commercial base. He initiated a campus organization that was to become Public Broadcasting in the U.S., and the University of Illinois was to become the first home of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. It was the beginning of the effort to bring non-commercial broadcasting of radio and television to U.S. audiences that would become first, NET, and later, PBS (Hudson, 1977). Among the first studies of television in the U.S. was found in the work of Dallas Smythe who had been hired by Schramm because of his previous role at the Federal Communication Commission (1954).

### *C. Media for instruction and education for all*

Schramm’s interest in education and communication study dated from his years at Iowa, but became one of his main topics after he came to Stanford. He had begun to look at public broadcasting at Illinois, but at Stanford that began to include instructional media, including television (1962) and the new “programmed instruction” or “learning machines” (1964a). He also became involved with UNESCO’s dual interests in education and communication with three volumes of case studies in *New Educational Media in Action* (Schramm, Coombs, Kahnert, & Lyne, 1967a) and a companion volume *The New Media: Memo to Educational Planners* (Schramm, Coombs, Kahnert, & Lyle, 1967b). These were books that had wide distribution through UNESCO’s global network of educators in developing countries.

Schramm was also one of the first authors to introduce communication satellites as tools for education and development (Schramm & Nelson, 1968). He led a research team to study instructional television in El Salvador but allowed his former graduate students to publish the final study (Mayo, Hornik, & McAnany 1976). His best summary of his many years of work in educational technology was *Big Media, Little Media: Tools and Technologies for Instruction* (1977) in which he argued more for the Little Media than the Big. His work in Western Samoa over a number of years to help introduce a new media system for schools turned out to be a failure which he detailed in a book toward the end of his career (Schramm, Nelson, & Betham 1981). Schramm was recognized in the educational community with membership in the National Academy of Education, a singular recognition for someone not officially in education but communication.

#### *D. Communication for development and social change*

One area where Schramm's name is most recognized was that often referred to as development communication. His role, in fact, is recognized as one of the three "founders" of the field. Daniel Lerner's 1958 book *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, Everett Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovations* (1st edition, 1962) and Schramm's *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries* (1964b) are widely recognized as being the first and most influential in beginning this area of study (McAnany, 2012). Schramm's involvement in this effort was at the request of UNESCO when the organization began to articulate the role of communication media in its policies in the mid- to late-1950s. The U.N. organization asked Schramm to do a summary of the discussions among three large meetings in Asia, Latin America, and Africa concerning how the emerging communication media might help promote development and social change (see Ch. 1 and 2, McAnany, 2012). With UNESCO's help, Schramm's book became an important stimulus for using communication for develop-

ing in many countries. However, after a decade or more when plans for a swift change due to mass media did not happen, other approaches began to displace the original paradigm that came in for heavy criticism beginning in the mid-1970s.

But Schramm did not cease his work in this field. With Daniel Lerner, he promoted an early meeting with many participants from developing countries concerning communication's role in development (Lerner & Schramm, 1967). This volume reflects the high-tide of the original paradigm by Lerner, Rogers, and Schramm, with little dissent. A decade later, when early promises seemed to be failing, another meeting at the East-West Center in Hawaii indicated doubts as to whether communication could deliver significant change (Schramm & Lerner, 1976). The two volumes looked at together indicate a change over the decade of belief in the efficacy of mass communication for social change and led the way for other approaches that included more interpersonal communication and participation by people in their own development. But Schramm continued his work in communication for development throughout his career from 1964 until his death (he had sponsored another conference on the topic just three months before he died).

## **6. Assessing the Role of Schramm in the History of the Field**

### *A. The remembered history: Schramm as founder*

Schramm's role in the communication field is not without contestation. Part of the reason for this is that in many ways he played an outsized role in its development, and not everyone agreed with the result. Beginning with the charge from Berelson (1959) that the field of communication research was "withering away," Schramm was challenged in his view of what the field should mean. There was no one, however, that denied his influence. The writing of history is complicated by different assumptions and interpretations, which is the work of history. It was not until the late 1980s or 1990s that Communication Studies in the U.S. had developed a sense of history. Perhaps the best known mainstream history of the field of communication studies is Rogers' *A History of Communication Study: A Biographical Approach* (1994). The book devoted two chapters to Schramm but makes the case

to call him the real founder. It argues that Schramm's own account of the field, repeated many times, about the four founders was not accurate. Rogers argues it was Schramm who was the founder and the others were forefathers. These forefathers were Kurt Lewin, a social psychologist whom Schramm knew well at Iowa; Paul Lazarsfeld, the pioneer researcher of mass communication, from Columbia University (also a friend of Schramm); Carl Hovland, a cognitive psychologist who worked in Washington D.C. during the war and later started a communication program at Yale in psychological studies of mass media; and Harold Lasswell, who had early (1927) identified mass communication as a key propaganda factor in political power and continued to contribute over his long career at the University of Chicago and Yale. Schramm began to write his own narrative beginning with his response (1959a) to Berelson's challenge and continuing to come back to the four founders' theme. His taking the

research of these four as central to the field he was promoting made it clear from the beginning that Schramm was defining the field as a quantitative, social scientific endeavor that was “objective” and “scientific.” This approach began to unravel in the 1970s with both a cultural critique (Carey, 1965, 1988) and challenge from the critical and Marxist approach (e.g., Schiller, 1969; Golding, 1974; Mattelart & Dorfmann, 1975). But although Rogers mentions critical and other critiques in passing, his thesis is focused on Schramm’s role as founder of the field of communication study.

Another important contribution to this *remembered history* is a collection of interviews by early communication researchers edited by Dennis and Wartella, *American Communication Research—The Remembered History* (1996). These are relatively brief interviews done over a number of years by people, who like Schramm, made a career in the communication field. Since there is no narrative structure, the book offers a variety of experiences that the reader has to put together to arrive at a “history,” but it provides much raw material from the previous 50 years or more. Two chapters at the end by Robinson (1996) and Wartella (1996) are more structured with Robinson arguing for a careful historiography and Wartella providing a history and a defense of the long critiqued *effects paradigm* of which she is a well known practitioner.

When Wilbur Schramm died of a heart attack in December 1987, he left an unfinished manuscript in his computer called “The Beginnings of Communication Study in America: A Personal Memoir.” The major chapters had been completed about the four founders, but a final chapter about the future of the field was outlined but not written. Two well known scholars, Steven Chaffee, a former Schramm student at Stanford and Everett Rogers, a colleague and acquaintance of many years, edited and published the book in 1997 with two added chapters about how Schramm managed to move most journalism programs in the U.S. to add mass communication to their identities and another on how Schramm was also a builder of three institutes of communication research and how that affected the growth of the field.

A final often-cited chapter by Delia (1987) helped to summarize the field and its history just prior to Schramm’s death. The advantage that Delia brings is that he is neither an advocate of Schramm as founder nor a critic of his research approach. In fact, Delia is from a department of speech, a discipline

which early adopted communication into its name but often remained aloof as the human part of the duo (mass and interpersonal) that Schramm had argued early on for combining into one scientific endeavor. Delia concentrates on the period 1900–1960 in the U.S., dividing sections by period. He begins with a reminder that the rise of the mass media in this period was a critical influence for its study that culminated in communication research and communication departments. Other periods concerned the rise of the social reform movement 1900–1930; the move of social science toward quantification, with more theory tied to methods for collection of empirical data. The influence of propaganda studies from 1920–1950 was key to its continuation in public opinion theory and finally in attitude change research in the 1940–1960 period. He adds a unique insight into how his field of speech was influenced by these changes and how in the 1950s speech departments, like journalism, began to add the term communication to their programs. The changes and the names of researchers during this period track well with the changes that Schramm adopted and synthesized into a new field in the last decade of this overview. One can conclude from this remembered history that Schramm was *very much a man of his times*, and the field he envisaged reflected those influences.

### *B. The contested history:*

#### *Culture, capitalist structure, and critique*

The beginning of critique came from within as has been noted with the Berelson article in *Public Opinion Quarterly* in 1959. Schramm (1959b) in his response to Berelson came out on the winning side of history when he argued that the field, far from “withering away,” was just getting started. It continued with increasing numbers of departments and schools of communication over the next decades, and to this day. It is ironic that the critique of Schramm’s social science paradigm was best represented by James Carey who came to study at the Institute of Communication Research in Illinois very shortly after Schramm had left. Beginning in the late 1960s Carey took a humanistic and historical approach to communication with an emphasis on the content of peoples’ ideas and theories as to what role communication played in society. In an early article (1965) Carey articulated a critique of the “communications revolution.” He would later be remembered for his counter model by arguing that communicating was more like a ritual than a scientific

process (1988). He was critical of what he called the “transportation theory of communication” where the standard sender—message—channel—receiver reduced the richness of content to a mechanistic process that accounted rather for how a system worked and not how humans really communicated. He also introduced the Chicago School of Sociology whose early work was a progressive effort to ameliorate social ills. This suggested that a *critical approach* to problems of society should also focus on the mass media as part of a theory of communication.

If Carey was a product of Schramm’s second home at Illinois, so too was the early work of Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe, both overlapping at Illinois briefly in the early 1960s. Both were to follow economic theories of mass communication a few years later. Schiller (1969) began a structural critique of media ownership and the role of the U.S. government’s promotion of U.S. transnational corporations. It was the beginning of a long career of critique of both media and capitalism for the next 30 years. Most of the work of both Schiller and Smythe (Smythe & Walker, 1981) was not directed at Schramm but offered a different paradigm for communication study that gradually grew into an important presence by the 1980s. The irony was that Smythe was recruited by Schramm in 1950 to help with the launch of public broadcasting that would eventually lead to the creation of the Public Broadcasting System of today (see his early work was on television content, 1954).

The other form of additional critique of Schramm appeared more in development communication. This field has had an agreed upon beginning, but the paradigm begun by Lerner, Rogers, and Schramm soon became a field of contestation. In the early 1970s, the use of communication technology for development and social change was challenged by the work of Freire (1970), Beltran (1976), and Mattelart (Mattelart & Dorfmann, 1975). But the most direct attack appeared in an article by Golding (1974) in the key U.S. *Journal of Communication*. In the article the author criticized by name the three founders of development communication and made a critique of their theories. This was the beginning of a long running critique of both Lerner’s Modernization Theory and Rogers’ Diffusion Theory. The theoretical and empirical critique was taken up over the following decades by many others in the field of communication and development (e.g., Mody, 2003; Wilkins, 2000; Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Alternative paradigms,

especially participatory approaches, have shifted the criticism away from the modernization/diffusion paradigm as being less relevant to today’s work (cf. Christians & Nordenstreng, 2014),

A final set of revisions of communication history began with much work in the 1990s and coalesced in the next decade. The scholarly work on early communication history, beginning early with Lippmann and including the establishment of communication as a field by the 1960s appears in an edited book by Park and Pooley (2008). In a chapter entitled “The New History of Mass Communication Research,” Pooley (2008b) argues that two important strands in establishing the early field were the work of Katz and Lazarsfeld’s *Personal Influence* (1955) establishing limited effects of media (and escaping the dilemma of stronger impacts that had emerged from the 1920s to the 1950s in propaganda studies). Pooley adds the second strand about Schramm: “The second strand was a self-conscious creation of Wilbur Schramm, a consummate academic entrepreneur who was almost single-handedly responsible for the mass communication field’s institutionalization” (p. 45). Pooley’s and others’ critique was not that Schramm had not been key to founding the field but that the field represented a sanitized version of events. Pooley especially calls attention to the work of other scholars who have exposed the Cold War propaganda that helped fund and promote early communication research and its theories and institutions. The role of the Rockefeller Foundation in promoting mass communication study before World War II is seen as a sinister move to hide the U.S. government’s effort to promote its own form of propaganda in WWII and the Cold War’s Psychological Warfare up to the 1960s.

In brief, the history of communication is and remains a contested field. The recent historical research makes a valid point in asking for much more rigorous research, especially institutional research (like accounts of how the established departments of journalism and speech were transformed into *Communication* programs). The impact of media on audiences remains a major point of contention to this day, and the immense growth of communication industries of all kinds from the old forms of broadcast to myriad newer forms of the Internet only make the task more daunting. What then can we learn from this one person’s life that might help guide the field toward a more open, democratic and humane system?

## 7. Conclusion: What is the Legacy of Wilbur Schramm?

It is clear that Schramm played a key role in the beginning of the field of Communication Study in the U.S. and most likely beyond. It is also clear that the field has evolved as have the media that propel communication in the modern world. A third thing is clear about Wilbur Schramm: He was not just a scholar whose career may be summed up by an assessment of his writings (which were phenomenal in variety and abundance): he was also a thought leader, a fundraiser, and grant writer; a widely sought after consultant by governments and academic institutions; and an academic institution builder. Schramm was trained as a humanist and writer, a researcher, and a publisher. Schramm often saw early trends and promoted innovative ideas or institutions that might later come to fruition. For example, he read and recognized the importance of Claude Shannon's basic information theory in 1948 and was instrumental in getting a more widely comprehensible book published in 1949 by Illinois Press). He tried several times to argue the importance of information theory for his own field without much success until later when the consequence of Shannon's *Mathematical Theory of Communication* became apparent in our digital age (Gleick, 2011). There were other sides to Schramm as well. He was a published poet and short story writer, a musician (played with the Boston Symphony), a baseball player (given a try out by a major league team), and a pilot of his private plane. The dilemma in trying to understand the man is that there is much that he did in his life that is widely recognized, but as a person he was hard to figure out. He had few close friends. In other words, it is difficult to understand how Wilbur Schramm the person explains Wilbur Schramm the achiever.

One common legacy that both admirers and critics agree upon is that Schramm was an institution builder. First was his effort to bring the existing journalism and speech programs into the mass communication field as he saw it in 1948. The work he accomplished in journalism was much more direct. He help start and was an early president of the major journalism professional society. These activities slowed down after his move to Stanford, but by the late 1950s, the movement toward mass communication

was well enough established for journalism programs that not only the names of departments had been modified but many journalism graduate programs had begun to use the textbooks that Schramm had developed for both Illinois and Stanford. Chaffee and Rogers (1997) spend a good deal of time on the journalism connection. The second set of institutions for which he was responsible were the research centers he founded. He had proposed one early at Iowa but had little time to carry it out fully (Cartier, 1988, Ch. 14). When he came to Illinois, President Stoddard gave him the resources to found his Institute of Communication Research where he could promote communication research of his own, but also that of his colleagues and graduate students. Schramm was able to garner grants and contracts that helped support the research of the Institute. He created a similar Institute at Stanford and was able to maintain its vigor during his 18 years there in the context of Stanford's rise to research prominence during this time. He did something similar at Hawaii (but without an academic department). Although the institute structure remains in name at Illinois and Stanford, it no longer functions as it had in Schramm's time. Nevertheless, research remains as a key identifying characteristic for most departments and schools of communication today and may be seen as a legacy of Schramm's own research and those of his original research institutes. He had from the beginning recognized research and theory building as essential to the academic birth and growth of communication as a legitimate new field.

Schramm made contributions that reached beyond Communication Study. His major focus on education since his early days at Iowa brought the field of educational technology to such things as today's interest in MOOCs. Schramm was well acquainted with the British Open University and collaborated with one of its original technology experts, David Hawkrige, to write the early plan for a similar institution in Israel (Schramm, Howe, & Hawkrige, 1972). Much of his work on media and education was aimed both overseas as well as in the U.S., but the extensive and continuing research over decades resulted in the field moving toward educa-

tional technology departments in schools of education with only a minor presence in Communication Studies. His early recognition of Shannon's critical work in communication (1949) was never taken up by the communication field until toward the end of his life. Today the interest in digital technologies within the communication field is full affirmation of its importance to the field, but Schramm's early advocacy is hardly remembered. In communication for development (C4D), the move away from this focus within communication studies is more a question of U.S. scholars leaving much of this work to people in developing countries, as it should. Although Schramm has been criticized for some of his work here, he is still remembered as one of the three originators of the effort.

Two institutions that are not often connected with Schramm's name, but endure in U.S. society, owe a mention among his legacies. The Iowa Writers Workshop was founded by Schramm in 1941 when he was Professor of English. He had taken over a creative writing class in 1939 and saw in it more than just a class, but an opportunity to build an institution that would appeal to aspiring creative writers to come for a year of intense work that might lead to a professional writing career (Wilbers, 1980). It remains today not only the first of its kind in the country but still the recognized leader. The other creation that was germinated by Schramm was the beginning of public broadcasting at Illinois in the early 1950s. Schramm began an effort to coordinate university radio stations and helped found the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) with national offices at Illinois. He was also created one of the first university television stations. His work continued in research on public broadcasting and helped in the eventual creation of NET and its later form as PBS (Smythe, 1954; Hudson, 1977).

Finally, Wilbur Schramm was a mentor to many communication scholars who went on to create their own identities and research interests, including my own. (I was one of Wilbur Schramm's last doctoral students at Stanford, graduating in 1970 but continuing to work with Schramm both at Stanford and Hawaii. We remained in contact until his death in 1987.) This legacy of those he mentored has not been traced, but it has continued over many generations of contributors to the field. Even though the paradigm that Schramm promoted has passed, his living legacy of people in the field has not.

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## Book Reviews

**Balakirsky Katz, Maya.** *The Visual Culture of Chabad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. 260. ISBN 9780521191630 (cloth) \$99.00; 9781107684058 (paper—issued 2014) \$29.99.

Visual culture is an appropriate research approach for a religion like Judaism, which focuses upon the practical carrying out of commands (there are 613 positive and negative commandments in the Five Books of Moses in the Bible). One of the most “visual” branches of the ultra-orthodox Haredi Jews is Chabad.

In contrast to the Lithuanian school of Haredim that emphasizes study of the Talmud, Hassidic sects like Chabad give equal weight to the heart in the Jew's ties to God. In the case of Chabad, which began in the early 19th century in Eastern Europe, the role of meditation (Kabbalah) and song is central, even if it is also characterized by Torah scholarship.

Within the world of Hassidism, there are very wide differences between sect and sect. They are generally characterized by a withdrawal from Western secular society, living behind cultural ghettos. Chabad is notable for its evangelical approach or outreach—“kiruv” in Hebrew—mostly towards assimilated Jews, but also towards Gentiles. This took on added significance after the Second World War, and after the Chabad leadership moved from Europe to New York at the outset of the War. The Holocaust and extermination of six million Jews was seen by Chabad's spiritual mentor, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Yosef Schneerson, and Menachem Mendel Schneerson, who succeeded the former on his death in 1951, as a “preparation” for the messianic redemption. And, the way to “reach the redemption” was for Jews worldwide to fulfill the religious commandments (*mitzvot*).

Another difference between Hassidic sects concerns their attitudes towards modern Zionism and the state of Israel. For example, Satmar—one of the largest Haredi communities in New York—is ideologically hostile to Israel in contrast to Chabad, which notwithstanding its base in the Diaspora, is qualified in limiting its criticism to the state's secular character.

The adoption by Habad of Jewish religious and other symbols—whether in terms of the application of public relations to its outreach work, to photographic imaging of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, or such symbols of prayer as the menorah at Chanuka, the laying of phylacteries (*tephillin*) by men in their daily prayers, and the lighting of Sabbath candles by women—makes a study of Chabad's visual culture timely and important.

Balakirsky Katz does a masterly service and provides a penetrating portrait of visual culture and Chabad. And while there are not a few academic works on Chabad, *The Visual Culture of Chabad* deserves a



rightful place on the bookshelf by looking at Chabad through the lenses of material religion or sacred space.

The author begins her study by focusing on the use of rabbinic portraiture, showing how Rabbi Yosef Schneerson made the use of photo imagery a key part of his leadership in Poland in the 1930s.

The Chabad usage of Chanukah lights—the “menora”—is another useful example of visual culture. In theological significance, the Chanuka festival is low down the totem pole of religious festivals. It commemorates a miracle that after the Jewish Temple was rededicated by the Maccabees following the Greek invasion, oil for the Temple candelabra lasted eight days. But since the 1970s the last rebbe Menachem Mendel made the menora a focus of Jewish identity, and lighting of the menorah which had up to now been done in the past inside private houses became a public matter with huge menorahs being erected in public places in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world. The author chronicles the battle of Chabad against U.S. bureaucracy and certain interest groups which oppose religious expression in public. Chabad’s upgrading of Chanuka has been seen by some, right or wrongly, as an attempt to give Jews their own festival at Christmas time. To be true, the Jew’s religious obligation of Chanuka requires to publicize the miracle.

The visual dimension of Chabad also came to expression in architecture. When Chabad moved to the U.S. they took up residence in a mansion, 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York. Formerly a medical clinic for carrying out illegal abortions, the house became “purified” by the arrival of Chabad. “770” has since become the sacred space or “Jewish Temple”—preceding the Jewish Temple, which according to Jewish tradition will be built in Jerusalem. The gothic style of “770” has been imitated—or “sanctified”—in building Chabad centers worldwide (including three in Israel) down to the final detail.

Another example of the visual side is the movement’s emblem. Drawing upon the evangelical-like motif of disseminating Judaism, Chabad draws upon the biblical injunction of “Ufaratzta” in Hebrew (Genesis 28:14) “You shall spread to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south.” The Chabad emblem features the two tablets of the Ten Commandments against the background of a globe. Balakirsky Katz masterfully describes the intricate planning of the emblem. When an artist presented the original design with flat tablets rounded at the top, the Rebbe (himself a trained engineer) requested changes,

arguing that the curved top originated from heathen Roman architecture, and altered the design of the Two Tablets instead to a cuboid three quarter pose as depicted in the Talmud.

As her study develops, the author succeeds in providing much light about the Chabad movement as a whole. Yet this sometimes veers into areas with little connection to the visual culture motif behind the book—such as the battle between Menachem Mendel Schneerson and his nephew, over who would inherit the mantle of the next rebbe.

Chabad was one of the earliest Jewish sects to use Internet in its outreach work already by the late ’80s. It is, therefore, regrettable that the subject of Internet is entirely omitted from the book. With a myriad of educational Jewish Torah sources and information about Chabad religious amenities worldwide, its website draws some 75,000 visitors daily—which goes up considerably at times of festivals. AskMoses.com is a panel of rabbis and Jewish women teachers who reply to questions on-line. Chabad’s latest Internet innovation is on-line schooling to the children of Chabad emissaries worldwide—including in distant places far from Jewish centers with religious schools. Puzzlingly, Balakirsky Katz fails to delve into this—leaving a major gap in a study examining Chabad and visual culture—and one which it is to be hoped will be filled by future scholars.

The author describes how when the Rebbe became sick—and who in his last years was crowned the “King Messiah”—his aides juggled to maintain the public image of a healthy rebbe. With his death and childless—some of his followers to this day have even refused to accept that their mentor has died—Chabad leaders moved away from the Rebbe’s portrait to such symbols like the menorah. Left unclear is how in the longer term a movement without a leader—and which draws heavily upon the visual—is able to survive and prosper.

What are the implications of visual culture for Judaism—or Chabad’s version of it? Notwithstanding Chabad’s application of the visual element, visual culture is qualified in the case of a monotheistic religion—which, by definition, begins and ends with the idea of infinite God. In the chapter “Counter- Zionism: the Battle of the Jewish Arts,” the author does describe how modern Zionist culture is perceived to clash with Chabad’s Judaism, with certain implications for how the movement may be, and may not be, projected visually. For example, sculpture is forbidden in Chabad

eyes, given the biblical prohibition of idol worship—despite that today sculpture is intended for art rather for worship. But the author, notwithstanding her appropriate academic background, herself says that she had no intention to develop a fully fledged theory of Chabad's theology of visual culture. That would have undoubtedly enhanced the study with a fitting conclusion.

—Yoel Cohen  
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**Christians, Clifford, and Kaarle Nordenstreng** (Eds.). *Communication Theories in a Multicultural World*. NY: Peter Lang, 2014. Pp. ix, 325. ISBN 978-1-4331-2306-1 (cloth) SFR 148.00; 978-1-4331-2305 (paper) SFR 40.00, \$39.62.

This volume dedicated by the authors to their colleague Robert White, S.J., is a consistently excellent summary of issues raised and promoted by him from the time of his creation of this journal (*COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS*) and his tenure at the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture in London from 1978 to 1989. Many of the authors point out the influence that White had on them and their various professional interests. I had a connection with Bob both in early training as Jesuits together but also in the later years of the 1970s and beyond.

In addition to the acknowledgment of Bob White's influence, there are two important things to highlight in the 18 chapters and the preface by Kaarle Nordenstreng: first, many of the authors trace the history of their own areas of interest and thus make this volume an important documentation of the growth of the communication field over the past 30 years or more; second, the authors are all recognized leaders in the field and consequently bring an in-depth accounting for the theories they have worked with during their careers. Beyond these structural elements, the theme of the book centers on what White himself highlights in his overview chapter as the centrality of "Keeping the Public Sphere(s) Public." As he defines the public sphere he argues that it (1) is "open to all to speak their opinions, information, objections, and rhetorical arguments" regardless of who they are; (2) "No part of the public sphere can be private property excluding the views of others"; (3) "it is dialogical"; (4) "(t)he language of the public sphere is understandable to all who are part of the culture"; (5) the "public sphere must be based on a common narrative and common theoretical discourse of democratic governance"; (6) the public

sphere is contestable with every proposal being challenged, in terms of its validity, to the rest of the public" (pp. 4–5). The remainder of the chapter briefly recounts Bob's own story of how he came to his conclusions about the public sphere. He summarizes the remaining chapters and recounts how many of the authors had made some significant contribution to his thinking and development from the cultural studies perspective of Jim Carey and Stuart Hall to the ethics concerns of Joseph Faniran and Clifford Christians and everything in between.

Trying to summarize all of the chapters briefly could do no justice to this volume, but let me select several that I think connect well with Bob White's own development. To begin with the end of the book, I think the editors wisely put Clifford Christians' chapter on Media Ethics as Chapter 18 as a way of bringing White's argument about the public sphere in the opening chapter to a compelling conclusion about both normative theories and values in communication studies and a clear explication of theories of media ethics that relate to the public sphere outlined in Chapter 1. After a detailed history of ethical and value considerations in early journalism through the 19th century, Christians points to the transition in American journalism from partisan to professional values and the beginning of more professional ethics in the journalistic work place. But he points out the professional concerns were for the individual within the structures of the media and its neoliberal underpinnings. He summarizes: "Throughout this [20th] century, in and around the formative decades in Europe and North America, communication ethics with its professional orientation benefitted little from philosophical ethics generally." He says that instead of "searching for neutral principles to which all practices can appeal, or accepting general relativism uncritically, an entirely new model of media ethics should rest on a complex view of moral judgments as integrating facts, principles, and emotions in philosophical terms" (p. 296). Christians proposes and explains three models: Dialogic Ethics, Feminist Ethics, and Communitarian Media Ethics, but in the end after carefully critiquing the first two, he concludes that Communitarian Media Ethics, with which he has been associated for some years, may best serve as a foundation for application to many aspects of media value concerns. He argues that the communitarian approach does not exclude much of what dialogic and feminist approaches are concerned about but it does so with a more solid philosophical

foundation. His final section on the issue of “social justice” and competing theories of how this concept is best justified within media ethics with a comparison of Rawls, and Sandel’s theories of justice. With a careful analysis of why Sandel’s theory of justice and individual moral development is superior to that of Rawls, Christians argues: “Our selves [we as individuals as assumed by Rawls] are presumed to be constituted antecedently, that is, in advance of our engagement with others. Our moral obligations are not invented by individuals, but they are located within the social worlds that we enter and within which we live” (p. 305). The author concludes that Communitarianism “as a philosophical concept yields a media ethics that is centered on restorative justice and stretches across continents” (p. 308).

A brief accounting of a few of the other chapters between these two bookends will give the reader a feeling for the strong theory and history referred to above. Roger Bromley provides an especially clear but concise summary of the history of British cultural studies, and Dennis McQuail’s personal memoir provides another side of the evolution of British communication research during the second half of the last century. While Janet Wasko provides a skillful historical overview of political economy theory, especially in the U.S., Peter Golding and Karen Williamson make a telling application of the theory in modern British higher education. In more applied studies Thomas Tufte brings up institutional barriers to a participatory approach to civic action programs in Africa, and Pradip Thomas provides a case of a successful participatory movement of the Right to Information in India. Stewart Hoover also provides a thorough historical account of the study of religion and communication with which he has been personally involved from the beginning and recognizing Bob White’s key contributions.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the broad issues of value in communication studies. It delineates the critical shift in communication research to a more humanistic, critical, and value-based theory and practice in both North and South, and East and West. It is a book for everyone who is interested in change and it is a fitting salute to Bob White in this new era.

There are references at the end of each chapter and a summary bibliography at the end of the book along with a detailed index.

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**Dewdney, Anthony and Ride, Peter.** *The Digital Media Handbook* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. 418. ISBN 978-0-415-69989 (cloth) \$130.00; 978-0-415-69991-4 (paper) \$42.95.

*The Digital Media Handbook*, one in a series of handbooks produced by Routledge, is designed specifically for anyone who wishes to work professionally in media. The series of handbooks began in the 1990s. This book first appeared in 2006 as *The New Media Handbook*. The authors clearly state: “this book is designed to help you find your way around an emergent subject and a set of complex, convergent digital media practices. It will, we hope, show the main contours of the subject, locate the main centers of interest and even chart many of the routes and connections between them” (p. 3). The authors believe three things mark this book out from the growing literature on the subject of digital media—(1) looking at digital media from the point of view of the practitioner; (2) looking at the practitioner as primarily a creative, rather than technical person; and (3) looking at digital media in context, meaning “the artefacts of digital media are not simply the outcomes of the creative use of new machines, but are also shaped by the cultural, institutional, and financial conditions in which people who make digital media artefacts work” (p. 7). Since it is a handbook, this book review is written with a number of direct quotations to clearly outline topics and rich dialogue and interview content from diverse digital media practitioners.

Chapter 1, the Introduction, begins with a clear answer to the question “What kind of book is this?” The chapter is effective in outlining the thought process behind the conceptualization and organization of the book. The authors give insight on their approach, education and training of digital media practitioners, and the blending of theory and practice. At the same time, the authors are clear in their discussion of generic skills. Specifically, they state: “there is a common set of ‘generic skills’ that we have identified across the practitioner accounts. The skill set we are identifying encompasses technical skills, conceptual skills, and social skills and can be defined around the following terms, visioning, development, research, networking, collaboration, and production” (p. 17). Finally, the chapter outlines the five parts that the book has been divided into. “The material in each section is structured by a set of underlying questions that students, producers, and users of digital media might reasonably want

to ask, like, what is digital media and how is it being used; what are the key concepts and issues in digital media; and what are the emergent forms and skills of digital media?" (p. 17).

Chapter 2, "Digital media as a subject," does just as the title suggests—examines the *subject* of digital media. Specifically, "this chapter discusses the subject of digital media as it is shaped by and met in education. Understanding digital media involves thinking about how it has been framed for study, which is not at all the same thing as how digital media practice takes place in the rest of the world" (p. 20). The chapter discusses several of the books and other literature in the field of new media and digital media that frame the subject in a number of distinct ways.

The remainder of the book has five parts. Parts I, II, and III each have four chapters. Thus, each begins with a chapter focused on overviewing the subject area. Then, the remaining three chapters in each part focus on a case study dialogue or interview with a practitioner. Parts IV and V have seven and four chapters, respectively.

Part I, "Networks," includes four chapters focused on networked computing. Specifically, Chapter 3, also titled "Networks," focuses on the networked culture. "Appreciating the significance of the new emphasis upon networks for digital media practice requires an understanding of what a network is" (p. 45). Therefore, this chapter discusses topics such as (a) what is a network; (b) the concept of network; (c) when is a network not a network; (d) the politics of the network; (e) computer networks including local area networks (LANs), open systems interconnection (OSI), open source, corporate expansion and control, the Internet, the World Wide Web, hyperlink, Web 2.0, and social networks; (f) the politics of social networking; and much more.

Three case studies are included within this section of the book. Chapter 4 is a case study focused on professional networks. Specifically, the chapter outlines an interview between co-author Peter Ride and Jane Finnis, the chief executive of Culture24, "an online organization that exists to support the cultural sector in the UK" (p. 67). Chapter 5 is a case study focused on communication and marketing networks. Here, co-author Peter Ride interviews Andrew Chetty, the production director of ditto, a communications agency and consultancy practice operating in the technology, finance, and media sectors. Chapter 6 is a case study focused on networking the art museum. "The discus-

sion looks at the digital and online activities of Tate, one of the most influential art museums in the world, with one of the most successful websites" (p. 85). Specifically, co-author Peter Ride interviews John Stack, who is the Head of Tate Online, discussing the implementation of the second iteration of Tate's website and digital networked strategy.

Part II, "Convergent Media," begins with a similarly titled chapter, which discusses the convergence of media forms in digital computing. Specifically, cultural convergence, technological convergence, media industry convergence, and software convergence are among the areas discussed in this chapter. Chapter 8 presents a case study focused on audience attention. Specifically, the chapter offers a dialogue with Matt Locke, director of Storythings, "a company that was set up to experiment with the ways that we tell stories in the digital age, by facilitating consultancy events and creating experimental project" (p. 115). Chapter 9 is a case study focused on creative convergence. This chapter is rich in its examination of the creative industries. "Creative industries have often been thought of as important hub of digital activity since they include computer games, web and interactive design, and software creation, among other things. However, as this case study demonstrates convergence does not only relate to media forms but to sectors as well" (p. 128). Thus, the chapter presents a dialogue with Frank Boyd, the director of the Creative Industries Knowledge Transfer Network (KTN). "The role of the Creative Industries KTN is to stimulate and encourage innovation in the creative industries in the UK, helping people to realize the potential of the creative industries and to motivate lasting change" (p. 128). Chapter 10 is a case study focused on design and digital experience. "This study looks at the way that digital media has impacted upon businesses and brands—not just in the way they make goods and promote them but in the way that they relate to their customers and how their customers relate to them. It looks at the way we have moved from selling objects to selling experiences in response to the way that people now operate within a multichannel world, using many platforms simultaneously" (p. 135). Presented in this chapter is a dialogue with Richard Sedley, director of design for Seren, "a customer experience consultancy, one of the leading international companies that works through research, design, and measurement to understand how customers feel and interact with brands, and businesses" (p. 135).

Part III, “Creative Industries,” includes four chapters. This section is a detailed discussion of the contexts of practice and the kinds of practices involved in contemporary digital media (p. 17). The authors state: “digital media is entailed across the creative media and cultural industries from employment in large corporations or in small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Digital media is also present in many aspects of the public sector in marketing and publicity, information and communication technologies (ICT), or in education and training. Alternatively employment in digital media can be in singular, independent freelance practice” (p. 150). Thus, Chapter 11 examines a broad spectrum of industries. Chapter 12 is a case study focused on designing a mobile app. “This study looks at the development of an app, TechnoSphere, with lead creative artist, Jane Prophet. The app is based on a program first developed in the 1990s as an Internet artificial life project. It is now being redeveloped as a mobile app” (p. 165). Chapter 13 is a case study focused on video games development. The chapter outlines an interview between co-author Peter Ride and Maria Stukoff, head of academic game development for Sony Computer Entertainment Europe. The discussion in this chapter “covers how the games sector currently operates, the roles professionals play in games development and the skills it requires. It also addresses the future of gaming and how ‘constant play’ may be a feature of life in the future and how games may converge with other platforms to mix information, data gathering, and gaming together” (p. 176). Chapter 14 is a case study focused on pervasive gaming. Specifically, the chapter answers the question: How can you play a game across a whole city? Here, co-author Peter Ride outlines his interview with Matt Adams of Blast Theory—“an adventurous group of media artists who use game formats, interactive media, and create ground-breaking new forms of performance and interactive art that mixes audiences across the Internet, live performance, and digital broadcasting” (p. 188).

Part IV, “Digital Media,” has two primary foci. First, it focuses on “three key concepts in digital media: interface, interactivity, and digital code” (p. 18). Second, it focuses on “whether digital media can be thought of as a single new medium, a new paradigm, with the database as its essential form, or whether we should think about digital media as the umbrella term under which a range of continuing media practices and cross disciplinary interests intersect” (p. 18). Therefore, the chapter has seven distinct chapters. It

begins with Chapter 15, “Software as Culture.” Here the authors acknowledge that “the writing of machine readable source code, the development of software, and the uses to which it is put, represent distinct and different spheres of operation, which are not normally considered together” (p. 203). However, they find it important to examine what is software and at the same time emphasize it as cultural. Within the chapter they discuss topics such as using software; digital distribution; digital compositing; software/hardware: system and support; software users; software application in film; image as software; digital video: hardware and software combine; sound software; software aesthetic; software as tools; layers and compositing; convergent software: the still, moving, and graphic; motion graphics, and PowerPoint as culture. Chapter 16, “Digital Code,” focuses on the two words. Specifically, the authors state: “Understanding digital media crucially involves an understanding of what is entailed in the digital and its code” (p. 222). Thus, they use a comparative approach—comparing digital to analogue media. Chapter 17 is a case study titled “Curating the networked image.” Specifically it is an interview with Katrina Sluis, the Curator for Digital Programme at The Photographers’ Gallery, London. Specifically, “this conversation addresses how networked images can be produced by multiple people, or agents, and can operate in multiple ways for different purposes. It also considers what it means to exhibit digital images in a gallery and how digital literacy is replacing visual literacy as an important way of understanding the world around us” (p. 230). Chapter 18, “Information,” discusses how data and information must be examined as distinct. The authors state: “as more and more knowledge, in its representational forms, is converted into digital bytes it is transformed into a digital archive, a vast collection a global store or data” (p. 241). Thus, they discuss the database; data centers and server farms; databases as a platform for digital media; narrative; knowledge in the information age; and tactical media. Chapter 19, “Interface,” focuses on three layers—physical, software, and cultural. The authors state: “the human computer interface can be thought of as three layers, which refer to the ways in which meaning is controlled in the relationship between user and machine” (p. 255). In Chapter 20, “Interactivity,” the authors argue that interactivity “remains a key concept in digital media. It is a concept which marks out a set of defining and characteristic differences between analogue and digital media” (p. 263). Within the chapter,

they explore programming; hypertext; hypermedia; hypertext markup language (HTML); linear vs. non-linear; binary opposites; technological interface; interface analogies; interactivity and the non-hierarchical; control, automation, variability and interactivity; and the interactivity of old media. Finally, Chapter 21, a case study titled “Image as data,” outlines an interview with Rainer Usselmann, co-founder and Director at Happy Finish, a world leading company specializing in retouching, CGI, animation, and app development (p. 277). Many subjects are discussed in this case including taking content from concept to production; generating images from data files; creating multiple outputs for different platforms from same source materials; economies of operating in image production; skills of image production teams; managing workflows and projects; Photoshop as industry standard; and image proliferation and the photo as status update.

Part V, “Media Histories and Theories,” “puts together an outline for a history of digital media, a discussion of cultural contexts and intellectual frameworks, concluding with a discussion of networked computing provoking a crisis in the established European tradition of representation” (p. 19). This section begins with a focus on digital media histories in Chapter 22. The authors state: “a history of digital media will have to include a number of different strands of the historical development of art and media, their technologies, institutions, and cultural forms” (p. 295). However, the authors focus on three broad strands of a potential media history—“histories of material technologies; histories of telecommunication systems; and histories of cultural and media practices” (p. 296). Chapter 23, “Digital media theories,” focuses on (a) digital culture and global economies; (b) postmodernity; (c) Marxism; (d) the real as simulation—Jean Baudrillard, who “argued that with globalization and commodification European and North American societies have changed their system of representation from one in which there was a clear separation between object and subject, between the real and its represented, to a new state of reality as simulation” (p. 341–342); (e) aesthetic of the service; (f) Jean-Francois Lyotard, who “argued that grand narratives contained in science and Enlightenment rationalism no longer had the capacity to explain what was observable and happening in an increasingly technological age, which he characterized as plurality of perspectives and the essential diversity of human ideas and beliefs” (p. 344); (g) rhizomatic culture; (h) psy-

choanalysis; (i) the unconscious and representation; (j) the practice of everyday life; (k) Actor Network Theory; (l) British Cultural Studies; (m) creativity and digital media—which focuses on Raymond “Williams’s tracing of European tradition of thinking about art and creativity” (p. 353); (n) digital media’s cultural location; and (o) the political development of the idea of cultural industries in the UK.

Chapter 24, “A framework for digital media,” provides a discussion of three ways in which the authors think digital media practices engage with as well as contribute to our current understanding of wider contemporary cultures (p. 358). Specifically, the authors state: “First, we discuss digital media as extension of existing media forms and institutions in which we account for digital media as the result of the application of digital technologies to existing media practices” (p. 358). “Second, we discuss digital media as it has been taken up and framed by the institutions of contemporary artistic cultures as a medium” (p. 358). “Third, and much more speculatively, we discuss some of the ways in which digital media, now in its widest sense as the world of information and data, has been seen as challenging fundamental notions of thought and human nature” (p. 358). Chapter 25, “The network and the crisis of culture,” provides a discussion that “represents a third perspective in looking at the contemporary framework of digital media” (p. 373). Specifically, an alternative path for thinking about digital media is offered. The authors state: “writers associated with the third perspective, which argues that digital media should be understood as something different from old media and represents a radical break, more often demand that digital media requires new forms of study, generating new knowledge and new methods of research. The argument for thinking that digital media requires new modes of thinking also carries with it an urgency and appeal for academic and education to catch up with a world changing before our eyes” (p. 373–374). The handbook also has a glossary, bibliography, and index.

Overall this handbook is a well-organized guide to the historical, theoretical, and some of the practical developments of digital media. The authors successfully use interview content from a range of digital media practitioners. The revised handbook edition may be used in many ways and disciplines to explore digital media.

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**Drucker, Susan J., and Gary Gumpert (Eds.)** *Regulating Social Media: Legal and Ethical Considerations* (Volume 2 in the Communication Law Series, Series Editor Susan J. Drucker). New York/Washington, D.C./ Baltimore/ Bern/ Frankfurt/ Berlin/ Brussels/ Vienna/ Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013. Pp. 243. ISBN 978-1-4331-1484-7 (cloth) \$139.95; 978-1-4331-1483-0 (paper) \$38.95; 978-1-4539-0972-0 (e-book).

Recent months have seen a number of cases which have caused increased pressure on governments to offer regulation of social media sites. Such cases have brought discussion of the need for regulation of social media, and the Internet in general, to the forefront of the news. This makes Drucker and Gumpert's book timely, although, as they note in their Epilogue, "by the time this volume is actually published new innovations and further regulatory issues will have surfaced" (pp. 227–228). As they write, such a book can only be a sort of still life—the state of play at the time it is written—with perhaps other views being put forward about what the future may hold.

While the cases of young people, like Hannah Smith, are tragic—and Juliet Dee's chapter "Cyberharassment and Cyberbullying: 'There Ought to Be a Law'" (pp. 65–88) does indeed deal with such cases—we need to be aware that bullying has always existed, as Dee notes (pp. 91–92). Social media just provide a new platform for such bullying but, as Drucker and Gumpert say, the social media are developing at such a dizzying pace that they will no doubt continue to create "vexing, perhaps disturbing, certainly novel, legal issues" (p. 8).

Additionally, there is always the balance that must be achieved between freedom of speech and offence of one sort or another. When growing civil society movements used online activism during the Arab Spring, this was seen as a good thing—except by the governments of those countries. Indeed, "some regimes have adopted filtering as a standard tool of governance, one that strengthens their hold on power" (p. 13). Facebook and Twitter are banned in China, one of the biggest Internet markets in the world, but citizens are finding ways to circumvent the banning of these sites and of others that are seen to be in some way subversive by the regime (*ibid*). Should we be free to speak if it causes problems to somebody like Hannah Smith? As the Internet develops and problems are thrown up, legislation will be put in place to obviate the

problems that may be caused, but such legislation is always done after the event, so to speak.

Following the introduction by the editors, the chapters attend to developments in the context of the United States, but with notice of the subject's global nature. The book tries to address some of the problems that have so far presented themselves and the ways in which these are being addressed. Star Muir asks what it is that makes "digital natives" distinct and how social media have been used for political activism following the Arab Spring. He considers the consequences of such use, both for their positive and negative attributes. Dale Herbeck considers protection from regulation by government and the service providers' liability from the perspective of laws on defamation that are emerging. Are social media subject to the same entitlement to First Amendment protection (in the U.S.) as speech in traditional media? I have already mentioned Juliet Dee's chapter on abuse, its possible repercussions, and the points at which on and offline abuse may overlap.

Mary Ann Allison and Eric Allison continue with the theme of cyberbullying, but discuss unsafe adolescent communications and some of the unintended uses to which social media have been put—such as sexting—from an ethical viewpoint. They put forward the notion that legal responses might encourage brain development research in regard to the consequences that may arise from such behavior and the ways in which these are processed. Adrienne Hacker-Daniels (wonderful name for an author in this area!) examines the WikiLeaks phenomenon. What have been the results, the reactions, and our understanding of the vagueness of the legal situation here? How far should service providers be responsible for what others put up on sites? The WikiLeaks case, Julian Assange still being held in diplomatic limbo, has had repercussions worldwide, but this chapter focuses mainly on the U.S. reaction.

When does the social become private, or vice versa? What is the role of the private in the age of the social? Warren Sandman asks these questions in Chapter 7 and concludes that the question of privacy is now merely a philosophical one, since the private is no longer obtainable. We must bear this question in mind, however. The problem that material always remains on the Internet is something that seems to have escaped many, perhaps particularly the young. In 20 years time, when today's students are the politicians of tomorrow, will those students want people to see them dressed up in stupid clothes at some drunken party, or in some

other compromised position? The repercussions could be considerable—making the “Mr. President, did you smoke dope?” question pale into insignificance when every juvenile peccadillo and relationship will come into the open. Chapter 8, by Douglas Strahler and Thomas Flynn, continues this examination of privacy from the viewpoint of individuals, companies, and governments. How much privacy can we expect in the future? I have often thought that we are horrified that in the past royal and/or families had servants sleeping in their bedchambers or attending the births of heirs, but it seems that the lack of privacy may have returned in the era of the Internet and the social media, this time affecting us all.

Bruce Drushel considers sexually explicit material in Chapter 9 and puts forward applications of mechanisms that have been used in other media as possible answers to this thorny problem. Suzanne Berman outlines ethical considerations of public relations strategies in a social media milieu and then Kelly Fincham looks at how social media can be used for journalistic purposes and the challenges that this raises in terms of ethics and media practice.

In the final chapter, Drucker and Gumpert “visit . . . our crystal ball” (p.16) and attempt to discern how the law and ethics associated with social media may mature in the future.

The social media and the Internet have changed the way that many of us live. Many of the problems that are associated with them have also appeared at the birth of other media. When I first had dial-up email in 1989 (yes, I was an early adopter!), how would I have known how this new technology would develop? Did anyone know? Drucker and Gumpert’s crystal ball may be as good a way as any to look into the future. We just do not know. I particularly liked the last paragraph of the book:

Media theorist Marshall McLuhan once said, “I don’t know who discovered water, but it wasn’t a fish.” With this in mind, we wrote this on a day we abstained from posting, friending, linking, liking, or tweeting a soul. But did anyone notice or care? (p. 232)

I am glad that they decided to put this very necessary book together. Considered work in this area is very much needed. While the figures given on page 6 show that the number of people accessing social media is astoundingly high, I sometimes think of the words of an acquaintance. She lived in a remote area and had Internet access. She would often spend hours on social

networking sites. One day she said to me: “I have noticed that the friends I write to on Facebook are not the ones I see.” If she did not contact these people through Facebook, would they care? Are they real friends at all?

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**Kelly, Douglas L.** *Marital Communication*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012. Pp. v, 240 ISBN 978-0- 7456-4790 (paper) \$17.28.

Douglas Kelly looks at marital communication in Western culture, focusing on communication patterns associated with daily interaction, offering various examples of defined intimacy, highlighting the challenges of marital conflict, identifying long-term couple communicative patterns over the course of the entire marriage, and exploring how couples can and do engage in destructive and restorative patterns throughout their married life. The key strength of Kelly’s work centers upon interview excerpts of married couples’ experiences as they relate to the subject matter of each chapter. In addition each chapter covers the importance of established studies that emphasize how and why marital relationships are structured in Western culture, how and why they can be successful and unsuccessful unions, and the ending “final thoughts” of each chapter, which contain structural reflections and advice that married couples can use to enhance their own marital relationships.

In Chapter 1, “The Uniqueness of Marital Communication: Context, Mindlessness, Arousal,” Kelly concentrates on “identifying relational and social contexts that affect marital communication,” while also looking at “the psychological and physical effects of these contexts on married partners” (p. 2). He focuses on examining “two cognitive and physiological processes that affect marital communication and couples’ ability to make productive change in their communication” (p. 3). Kelly explains these key elements by studying the relational contexts of marriage and looking at the structural phases of a long-term marriage. Of key importance is his emphasis on the approaches to marital communication research. Here, Kelly begins with weddings and moves to subcultures that are unique to the marital relationship, the marriage as showing a couple’s public commitment to each other, how Western culture’s concept of marriage is intertwined with definitions of what constitutes a romantic relationship, and the viewing of marriage as a



partnership. Kelly then explores social contexts of marriage, as for example, how married couples alter their communicative patterns when children enter the relationship. At this point, he delves into the issue of conflict and communicative adjustments associated with parenting. Based on his review of existing literature, he also looks at how blended families, in-laws, and couples who may be financially dependent on other family members such as parents can result in positive or conflict-laden communication (p. 11). The most informative part of the chapter addresses the cognitive and physiological aspects associated with married couples' communicative patterns. Kelly goes on to explain the "double-edged sword" of mindful and mindless communication. He is effective in doing so by explaining how couples can be mindful, regarding their interaction, resulting usually in effective communication. However, he emphasizes how mindlessness is usually detrimental to a relationship (such as not listening to one's spouse), but some kinds of mindlessness can be beneficial (in the form of a "muscle memory" action such as mopping the kitchen floor without thinking about it, resulting in one's spouse later appreciating the "thoughtful gesture"). He ends the chapter with the key emphasis of the importance of choosing to be mindful, regarding marital communication, where he encourages married couples to "seek to create a productive communication environment consisting of positive mindless patterns," and "increased mindfulness."

In Chapter 2 "Living and Working Together: Effective Daily Interaction," Kelly looks at the importance of couples' enhancing their daily interaction and the positive strategies associated with this action. He stresses that "daily interaction is the mortar that holds the bricks together—it is the stuff of which successful marriages are made" (p. 26). He concentrates on information in which he looks at the specific behaviors associated with marital satisfaction and the strategies in which married couples maintain successful relationships, concluding the chapter by looking at things such as how couples "organize their relationships and the ways they learn to live together" (p. 28). Kelly describes the marital structure in terms of a dyadic system (p. 29), focusing on how married couples maintain and enhance their relationship by frequent daily interaction. Kelly references studies that show how couples who are not proactive in working on relational maintenance through daily communication experience lower marital satisfaction. He cites studies of how couples engage in successful conflict resolution and achieve

communicative satisfaction by positive daily communication as examples of positive relational maintenance. He then provides examples of how couples engage in strategic or routine measures that are indicative of relational maintenance. He cites examples such as a husband who surprises his wife by cleaning the kitchen after she's had a hard day at work, to a wife who encourages her husband by giving him a pat on the leg (p. 38). Kelly also uses theoretical frameworks, such as Relational Dialectics Theory, to describe how married couples successfully engage in relational maintenance through "managing dialectical tensions" (p. 40) and "using dialectical tensions as diagnostic devices to improve their relationships (e.g., "We've been so busy we've hardly seen each other. Let's create a once-a-week date night")" (p. 41). Kelly devotes the latter part of the chapter concentrating on married couples' decision-making patterns and choices. In addition to emphasizing that one of the most common forms of daily communication for married couples consists of decision making, he then stresses how couples go about engaging in this process, and what constitutes successful and unsuccessful navigation of this part of marital relational maintenance. Kelly emphasizes previous studies that reveal elements such as openness in communication, assurances in the form of affirmation to one's commitment to the relationship, and even social networks in the form of other married couples who "pull" for the success of their friends' marriages. Kelly also makes it clear that positive outcomes of decision making are based on what each married couple sees as fair and equitable.

Chapter 3, "Closeness: Achieving Intimacy and Love in Marriage," is where Kelly concentrates on looking at certain intimacy models in an effort "to understand how intimacy can be expressed behaviorally, with specific emphasis on self-disclosure, emotional expression and affection, and sex-related communication" (p. 61). He first emphasizes the definition of intimacy, reviewing previous studies related to intimacy research. In doing this, Kelly clarifies previous studies' emphasis of the key elements of intimacy in the form of concepts such as intimate interaction, composed of intimate behaviors (such as self-disclosure and emotional expressiveness, along with nonverbal elements such as laughing together) and intimate experience (such as feeling understood) or "positive involvement, interest, or feelings regarding one's self, one's partner, or the relationship" (p. 63). Kelly also emphasizes how married couples negotiate issues of

privacy. He looks at how previous studies stress key elements of privacy that married couples agree upon and the rules associated with this dynamic. He emphasizes that previous studies shows that married couples have verbal and nonverbal communicative “understandings” associated with what is and what is not private in their relationship (p. 66). He also stresses that these same couples “have to manage relationship dynamics when privacy expectations are violated (p. 67). Also, it is here that Kelly emphasizes his Access and Affect Model of Intimacy, where he stresses that “at the most elemental level, intimacy involves giving access to one’s self informationally, socially, physically, and psychologically” (p. 68), and how the aforementioned part of the model “places unique emphasis on communication.” At the same time, it is here where Kelly emphasizes that the aforementioned part, access as an element by itself will not suffice as a total part of the model’s structure. He states that marital closeness can be dependent on the quality of the access-affect part of the model. He explains that the aforementioned quality is based on the *type* of access and its resulting affect that determine the success or lack thereof, of a couple’s level of intimacy. He stresses by examples such as high or low access in terms of the informational, psychological, physical, or social level as the determining factor related to the success or failure of the couple’s quality of intimacy and closeness. Kelly concludes the chapter by examining what he terms “the relationship overlap of love and intimacy in marriage” (p. 61). He begins by emphasizing that “intimacy and love are intricately linked” (p. 78). It is here that he states the importance of “mature love”: the kind of love that “creates an environment where both partners can grow and develop” (p. 79). Kelly reveals a key strength associated with this part of the chapter in that he discusses the various love styles so that the reader can understand how a combination of these styles contributes to the aforementioned overlap. Also, Kelly emphasizes the information based on previous research that states that a human being’s quality of attachment with the primary care giver during infancy actually influences their adult relationships (p. 81). Here, Kelly establishes the correlation between childhood attachment to a parent positively or negatively affects the quality of love and intimacy expressed by adults. In addition, Kelly emphasizes the love/intimacy overlap by also showing in his model of “full” love, that emotional bonding can have such a high degree of power in a marriage that it can actually supersede physicality.

For example, in stressing this point, Kelly states how “an elderly couple who, for health reasons, are no longer sexually active may nonetheless experience a deep passion for one another.” (p. 85). It is by these observations, coupled with the strengthening of the aforementioned examples of previous research, that Kelly successfully demonstrates the connection between love and intimacy.

In Chapter 4, “Close Conflict,” Kelly “examines how communication contributes to constructive and destructive conflict processes,” looking at “why couples fight” focusing on “styles of conflict” and “variations in conflict behavior based on couple type” (p. 94). It is here that Kelly first emphasizes that married couples “struggle most with money, followed by communication and sex” and that these topics have a tendency to increase during the course of a marriage (p. 97). Kelly also makes a distinction between solvable problems (such as the decision to keep a checking account at a credit union or a bank), and perpetual problems (problems that seem unsolvable). It is in this part of the chapter that Kelly reveals that his and other studies show that whether they view certain problems as solvable or perpetual, happy couples tend to “accept and understand their differences, and manage them with positive affect and amusement” whereas “unhappy couples become gridlocked in their positions, feeling overwhelmed and hopeless about finding a compromise or some sense of peace regarding the issue (p. 99). This chapter’s structural factor is important in that it reveals a powerful message, regarding happily-married couples: they engage in communicative patterns of conflict resolution designed to establish a long-term sense of fairness and mutual peace of mind in their relationship. Additionally, Kelly emphasizes the various types of conflict styles and behaviors, giving the readers (especially the married one) foundational “blueprint” examples of these styles so that they can modify their own behaviors based on what they like or dislike about their own behaviors. This information allows married couples, or couples who are getting ready to get married, to “see themselves” in one or more of the conflict styles or behaviors and make the necessary positive changes associated with successfully navigating issues related to conflict resolution. Also, Kelly discusses couple types and conflict. This way, these same couples can see what couple “type” they are, thereby in the long run, discovering whether or not their conflict-resolution strategies and tactics are effective or ineffective. Another strongly-structured and

effective part of the chapter emphasizes the area of what Kelly terms “religiosity” in marriage. He emphasizes how in the Abrahamic faiths (Christianity, Judaism, and Islam) many couples will engage in conflict resolution “impacted by use of Scriptural teachings as a standard from which to work, and by attending religious services together, and using couple prayer to help alleviate anger and create openness” (p. 119). Kelly provides strong and effective closure to this chapter with suggestions for how married couples can engage in change, regarding conflict patterns, thereby improving their communicative patterns. He encourages couples to seek marriage enrichment programs, providing information of various examples of those he believes the married couples should seek. This is a very effective structural element of the chapter in that it provides valuable information married couples can use to sharpen their conflict-resolution skills, and become more effective communicators in their marriage.

Chapter 5, “Couple Communication across the Life Cycle,” centers upon how during the course of a marriage, couples who have been married a number of years tend to shift the focus to more of a dyadic personal growth-oriented structure. Kelly references studies that indicate how married couples, when experiencing transitions across the life cycle such as parenthood, establish positive rituals of change, adaptation, and resilience that allows them to successfully transition through every stage of the life cycle. Kelly explains how these rituals serve as “maps” that are integral parts of problem-solving, redefinition and renegotiation of the marriage’s communicative structure (pp. 134–135). For example, Kelly emphasizes the various transitional phases of marriage that can take place within the life cycle: early marriage, couples with children and the dynamic related to the children’s early and adolescent years, dual-income couples with children, couples without children, and blended families. One of the most prevalent informational strengths of this chapter are the studies that reveal how these couples negotiate the issue of time; time with each other, time with the children, and time taking care of family-related responsibilities involving child-rearing, or relationship problem-solving. Of key emphasis is how married couples of the aforementioned types handle various types of stress. Of special note is Kelly’s emphasis through various references, the importance of couples maintaining intimacy and positive communication before, during and after the child-rearing stages of the marriage life cycle. Kelly emphasizes that in order to incorporate successful transition in

the midst of dealing with the various stressors experienced during the course of the life cycle, married couples can “model and encourage flexibility, open communication, and constructive conflict management” (p. 156). Kelly ends this chapter by emphasizing the characteristics of resilience displayed by married couples who have successfully managed stress by making it through the various transitions related to their marriage. Here, Kelly recommends that for married couples, especially those who have made it to “center stage” status (midlife couples), “the resilience characteristics of optimism and flexibility are key to managing change” (p. 158). It is after emphasis of the resilience factor displayed by many married couples, that Kelly transitions into the next chapter that looks into the more destructive patterns in marriage, while offering remedies that counter those patterns.

In Chapter 6, “Destructive and Restorative Marital Processes,” Kelly examines the actions that indicate of destructive patterns in a marriage. He strategically structures this chapter by first looking at “the nature of relational hurt and transgression,” “relational hurt and betrayal,” and “patterns of abuse and relational betrayal” (p. 162). Afterwards, the chapter’s second part focuses on “communication processes that are able to restore,” via a summary of “relational repair strategies,” with “forgiveness in particular” (p. 162). Kelly begins the chapter by emphasizing the destructive process in a marriage by showing how poor communication processes through “hurtful episodes” such as infidelity and deception (p. 165) damages marital relations. Kelly introduces the reader to Interdependence Theory, which emphasizes that couples have established rules in their relationship in which “outcome is derived by perception of rewards minus costs (Rewards – Costs = Outcomes)” (p. 167). Kelly explains that when or if an individual violates the established agreed-upon rules of the relationship, romantic couples may end the relationship, or engage in forgiveness, leading to the establishment of new rules (p. 168). Further, Kelly examines the problem of violent and non-violent abuse in a marriage, by distinguishing the types of abusers, and the factors associated with their negative actions. He examines communication-related and relational variables, revealing, for example, a correlation between couple violence and the lack of problem solving skills (p. 172). Further, he reveals through previous research, that many violent couples’ daily communication patterns are “volatile and enmeshed” (p. 173),

and are “characterized by complaints, ineffective change, opposition, despair, and vague language that focused on relational topics to such an extent that it interfered with effective problem solving and the development of a healthy sense of interdependence” (p. 174). Kelly goes on to focus on the effects of infidelity in marriage, concentrating on the concept of infidelity as betrayal, as it is viewed in Western societies. Kelly concentrates on the concept of infidelity as the breaking of a moral covenant, and the viewing of it as betrayal, breaking the established rules of the relationship (p. 176). In addition, he focuses on studies that reveal how the response to what he calls the “victimized partner” of infidelity as reacting to someone who has experienced trauma as well as rejection, along with loss of identity (p. 178). Yet the chapter’s main informational and advisory strength centers upon the restorative processes in which he reveals foundational studies that advise couples on relational repair strategies following the betrayal and trauma associated with the effects of infidelity. Kelly emphasizes studies that showed a stronger positive outcome for couples who engaged in openly communicating their feelings about the transgression, the importance of the apology of the one responsible for the transgression, and the healing process that can take place if the open communication continues, possibly leading to forgiveness and the restoration, over time, of the relationship. Kelly goes to his own previous research to provide the strongest foundational reference for the “forgiveness factor” by providing the “Seven Tasks of Forgiveness,” a blueprint that couples on the mend from the damaging effects of infidelity can initiate or continue the relational healing process. Here, Kelly goes through each step, explaining how the married couple should apply each one so that they can work towards and established a positive and effective reconciliation.

In conclusion, *Marital Communication* is a valuable foundational text; one that serves a twofold purpose. Those who, like Kelly, want to work with married couples to help improve upon the communicative aspects of their marriage, and those married couples who are on the positive path of growth-oriented effective communication will find this text to be a tremendously-important source that will add value to their lives experiences.

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**Knott, Kim, Elizabeth Poole, and Teemu Taira.** *Media Portrayals of Religion and the Secular Sacred*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013. Pp. 250. ISBN 978-1-4094-4805-1 (cloth) £54.00; 978-1-4094-4806-8 (paper) £17.99; 978-1-4094-4807-5 (e-book) £19.99.

The analysis of the content of mass media is a well-honed tool for learning about the media’s picture of the world. It provides useful data for learning in a quantifiable manner about the media’s construction of reality. There are today not a few analyses of the content of religion news coverage, notably concerning U.S. media. Most other countries are noteworthy for the absence of this type of research on religion. *Portrayals of Religion and the Secular Sacred*, which examines the British media, is therefore a useful and welcome addition to the few such studies in Britain.

Kim Knott, Elizabeth Poole, and Teemu Taira are interested in exploring the decline in religiosity in Britain and ask whether this is also reflected in the country’s media. As the second of two content analyses carried out by of British media coverage of religion, the results of their latest 2008 study are compared with the authors’ first study in 1982. It raises the question of the implications for religious identity of people drawing much of their information about religion from the mass media rather than from religious institutions themselves.

Examining two months of religion coverage in *The Times* (a quality newspaper), *The Sun* (a popular paper), and the *Yorkshire Evening Citizen* (a provincial popular newspaper), and one week for broadcasting on BBC 1, BBC 2, and ITV 1, the study found that 53% of all references to religion in the press in the 2008 period appeared in *The Times*, and 29% in the popular *Sun*. Press coverage in the three newspapers examined broken down found that 16% of religion comprised news stories, 10% editorials, and only 3% feature stories. The figure for editorials does suggest that religion has a moral tone in press commentary on public affairs. Surprisingly, 11% of all religion in the press was on the sports pages. But in broadcasting, very few references were in sports broadcasting. Yet, 32% of all religion-related references about religion in television were in advertisements—in contrast to the press where religion in adverts were only 6%.

Islam (4.8% of Britons today are Muslims) accounted for 10% of press content. A reflection of Britain’s growing multi-religious fabric is that 15% of all religion references concerned religions other than

Christianity—an increase from the authors' 1982 study when other, non-Christian, religions received only 6%.

In terms of themes examined in television, formal TV worship services such as on the BBC dropped considerably by the 2008, and comprised only 25% of all TV content on religion. It contrasted to 75% of all religious output in broadcasting in the 1982 period. This may be related to the closure of the Central Religious Advisory Council (CRAC) which since the 1920s had advised the BBC and Independent Television about religion matters. In examining the so-called decline in religion in Britain, there was an undoubted movement from individual Christian streams to religion as a whole. Individual spirituality like healing and music also received more coverage. The authors provide an in-depth treatment of media representation of atheism, secularism, and humanism. Press treatment of atheism increased in the 2008 period. This is a timely reminder that as the media and religion academic discipline grows and defines itself, both in terms of content and of methodology, that anti-religion or non-religion and humanism are no less an important question of study than religion itself.

Most significant is that 95% of all references to religion in TV, and 80% in the press, comprised in fact intonations—or as the authors put it “the creative use”—of religious language where religion itself was not the main issue at all. This may not be surprising. But it helps to explain, for example, the wide appearance of religion-related language in sports press journalism and TV advertising.

Some of the non-Christian religions were influenced by general news reporting from the “mother country.” Thus, British media coverage of Hinduism was conflict-related and more negative than, say the more positive coverage of Sikhism.

Given *The Times*' record in covering key Christian institutions, it was only natural to select it for the sample. Yet, the progressive agenda, for example, of *The Guardian* might have produced a different picture. Similarly, given the question of the connection between mammon and spirituality an examination of the *Financial Times* might have been illuminating—particularly in light of the credit crunch facing the country. Nor should the authors ignore the impact of the specialized Christian weekly press in Britain—which is seen not only by the religion reporters themselves but also by other media commentators—has a subtle impact upon agenda setting in the mainstream media.

The book's authors discuss the changing religion scene in Britain, as reflected in the content analysis, against the background of some of the broader questions raised over the years by journalists, religious leaders, and by academics. The solid background which each of the authors bring to bear adds to the value of their conclusions. The key question they address in their study is whether media coverage of religion has declined as Britain becomes a more secular country—or whether religion coverage never went away, so that talk of its “re-emergence” is misleading. Their study found that there was no decline in the number of references to Christianity. Instead, the nature of the coverage has changed with, as noted, less coverage of specific streams and more coverage of Christianity in general.

Rather than religion coverage being marginalized, it is ever present in television “in all genres, embedded in language and genre. . . . The persistence of religion across mainstream media sources and all genres is probably the most significant finding of this study,” they write. It raises the question of the media framing of religion. Moreover, have the media particularly television taken over, in a Durkheimistic manner—the role of not only covering religion but of itself manifesting religion through generating myths, producing and performing ritual, and creating a moral community around sacred values?

And, if the public increasingly turn to such non-church structures like the media for information, what are the implications for the media of their new found role. The authors did wonder if as negative, and as limited, coverage of religion may be, whether it may be explained by the non-religiosity, or, indeed, anti-religiosity of journalists. The authors are inconclusive about this question. If people today draw their religious identity from the media's mediatization of religion, “no single sacred view” was found in the British media, the authors argue. Instead, there are different media voices each struggling for supremacy,” the authors write.

As valuable as their analysis of the British press and TV is in diagnosing which factors determine current media coverage, Kim Knott, Elizabeth Poole, and Teemu Taira's study could have had wider, and longer-term, significance had they also examined the Internet. No study on news content today can be of major value without examining also New Media. The Internet—in converging voice, text, and the visual—is arguably more suitable than print and TV for conveying religion and religious experience. The authors claim that since

the first period examined in 1982 comprised TV and press, the second also had to. But as they examined press and TV each separately, so they could have also still drawn their conclusions about press and TV in the current research—at the same time as also examining the Internet coverage for the period under analysis. As more and more people, particularly younger people, use the Internet for their primary newsgathering, the incorporation of the Internet into their study would have produced a more up-to-date picture and shed light on the content of religion on news websites in Britain. But more importantly, an examination of religion news on the Internet would have paved the way for future news research well beyond the British case.

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**Nayar, Sheila J.** *The Sacred and the Cinema: Reconfiguring the “Genuinely” Religious Film.* London/New York: Continuum (2012). Pp. 224. ISBN 978-1-4411-587140 (cloth) \$130.00; 978-1-4725-33029 (paper) £19.79; 978-1-4411-47929 (e-Book) £22.99.

In her Preface, Nayar notes that her aim in this volume is to remedy the elision that she sees between religion’s loss of its character as something mysterious and supernatural and the notion that this mystery and supernatural character might matter or exist (p. 7). She asks the very pertinent question: how can we approach *reasonably* (original emphasis) a concept as amorphous as the sacred (p. 7). With Demerath (2000) she asks also: “Can we really study the sacred objectively without experiencing it personally?” Would this personal experience bias academic work? This is something that people have often asked me in my own research work, yet similar questions would not be asked, for instance, of somebody who studied poverty and had experienced it, or who studied a disease that they had themselves had, or the media industries in which they worked. The sacred, and religion more generally, seem to cause quite a lot of dissent.

It is evident from her first chapter, “Tackling Transcendence: An Introduction” (pp.1–16) that Nayar comes from a background that might have engendered her interest in this sometimes thorny topic of “the sacred,” and this is one of the things that makes the books interesting. Coming myself from a mixed religious background, I can empathize with Nayar in many ways, Like her, my grandmother really came from an

oral culture—her own mother could not read, yet knew all of the Church’s services by heart. Nayar asks:

How might the exigencies of an oral way of knowing perhaps differently shape a religious story and our affective response to it? How might such exigencies account for a differently built world, religiously speaking? (p. 3)

She notes (p. 5) that she had thus far made no attempt to differentiate between what “Sacred” meant in terms of the sacred and film, from the broader parameters of religion and film. She uses Berger’s “characterization” (p. 5) of what he intends by “the sacred”:

By sacred is meant here a quality of mysterious and awesome power, other than man and yet related to him, which is believed to reside in certain objects of experience. This quality may be attributed to natural or artificial objects, to animals, or to men, or to the objectivizations of human culture. (Berger, 1990, p. 25)

Following her introductory chapter, Nayar uses Chapters 2 and 3 to introduce her reader to “the historical development of the sacred as a field of study” (p. 5). As I mentioned above, the notion of just what is sacred seems to be problematic, and Nayar herself describes it (p. 6) as having “conceptual slipperiness and [a] largely *unobservable* nature.” She continues by noting that the sacred, the holy, the transcendent “are concepts highly resistant to meaningful definition because they can be so personal and mean so many things, and because they are less things than *thresholds*, indubitably making them fragile and difficult to unpack in writing” (ibid.).

In Chapter 4, Nayar takes a new look and makes a reassessment of religious spectaculars from both Hollywood and Bollywood. She believes that such films—*The Ten Commandments* (1957), *Hanuman Vijay* (1930/1974)—have a form that is “contoured by oral norms of storytelling” (p. 7). She believes that these forms suggest associations between such films, both from afar and from closer to home, and from a number of religious traditions. She notes that her use of the words “religious spectaculars” is loose, but that she has witnessed similar patterns in films from as far apart as Hollywood, Iraq, and the Nigerian Nollywood industry, as well as in Indian films. Nayar also notes that she may not be an expert in either the films or the literature on such films that relate to various nations’ film industries. This is refreshing, so often writers tend to write as though they know everything about everywhere and

everything. Her Chapter 4 thus attempts to advance interdisciplinary enquiry constructively and “to address a major and transnational body of visual ‘readers’ whose responses and noetic . . . needs and expectations have not been sufficiently taken into account” (p. 9). Referring back to others who have worked in this area (e.g., Ong, Havelock, Goody, Watt, and Luria) and a variety of examples of religious films, she attempts to explain the orally inflected norms of select religious spectaculars, noting the pressures that orality can put on expression in cinema and the experience of the transcendent. Nayar also notes (p. 9) that some readers may feel that she has cherry picked her examples to fit her theoretical framework, but notes that she is attempting to display the commonalities between Indian and Hollywood (or, more correctly, Western) movies. I, for one, am delighted with this as so often any work on a religious theme is tied to one religious tradition and, if venturing beyond one tradition, may spend too much time concentrating on differences between traditions rather than on similarities. Religious belief, of whatever flavor, has a tendency to fill similar needs and many problems could be avoided if similarity, rather than difference, were the focus of such works.

Chapter 5 “The Alphabetically Literate Contours of the Transcendental Style” (pp. 95–123) begins with the statement that “what critically constitutes the ‘genuinely’ religious film, rejection of ornamentation and the supernatural has pretty much been the norm since the time of André Bazin.” Nayar associates this notion with the development of both Protestant and Catholic thought at the time of the Reformation. In her section entitled “Epistemic Streams of Time,” she suggests that in orally inflected films the sacred is often revealed through a narrative adherence to “a primordial mythical time made present” (Eliade, 1987, p. 68) in such a way that “[Sacred time] neither changes nor is exhausted.” (ibid, p. 69). She notes that films that are “critically sanctioned as genuinely religious” have what she describes as “highly exhaustible” (p. 97) spiritual time. i.e., such repetition or return cannot conventionally transpire from film to film as it will become kitsch or cliché. Mystery, so important to the religious, is to be found in auteurist originality (ibid.). Nayar suggests that this is counter to Eliade’s notion, above, and to illustrate this, she quotes from Tarkovsky (1986, p. 120), who discussed his notion of auteurship as revealing the director’s sense of time, his “search for time” (ibid.). Her view seems to be that often, as in Pasolini’s *The Gospel*

*According to St Matthew* (1964), or Bresson’s *The Diary of a Country Priest* (1951), or—to use a non-Western example—Ozu’s *Late Spring* (1949), there is an inclusion of mundane, everyday things and activities, which, for Ozu, then become elevated “to the status of religious rites.” Nayar then discusses why this very ordinariness should bring the film and its viewer closer to the sacred (pp. 102 ff.), but she notes that this may itself cause the problem that only audiences “inculcated into an alphabetically literate way of engaging with story can afford this blending of background and foreground, this melding of onscreen human *with* physical setting” (to quote Watt, 1957, p. 27) can perhaps take on this “ordinariness” as a sign of the transcendent. A number of the elderly Italian ladies I know, reasonably religious in practice, would find a Tarkovsky film, or one directed by Dreyer, for instance, unwatchable, while a film like *Ben Hur* (1959) makes perfect sense to them and is also what they consider to be a watchable film. More importantly, it is what they consider that a religious film should be. For Nayar this is because such spectaculars as *Ben Hur*, demonstrate an “orally inflected sensuousness” (p. 103). As she writes (p. 111) “the transcendently styled film’s ‘aural emptiness’ is often matched by a *visual* emptiness,” a flatness, which Nayar suggests is rather like putting the viewer in front of an icon, stimulating—she postulates—his/her veneration of that image. This idea is “endemic to Hindu mythologicals” (ibid.). How is the viewer supposed to deal with “symbolism that implies a *hidden God*” (p. 119), as, for instance, in Tarkovsky’s films? How is the viewer moved from being a feeling being to becoming a thinking being in relationship to God? (see p. 120). Nayar suggests that perhaps this may lead to a form of self-absorption on the part of the viewer, something that she opines may go against “the grain of any outlook typically associated with the holy” (p. 121).

Chapter 6, “Varieties of Hierophanic Experience” (p.125–148), offers an attempt to delineate the epistemic pressures that Nayar says “weigh on film hierophanies.” She writes (p. 125) that she is concerned that her previous two chapters may have divided these notions into two columns (if it were only that easy!), but she tells her reader that hierophany is not this restricted. In this chapter she uses Johnson’s notion of “communion,” rather than communication. She agrees with T. S. Eliot, Northrop Frye, and Walter Ong that “any adequate critical theory of film,” had to consider:

- The movie itself;
- Those who made the film and expressed their thoughts through it;
- The viewers' interpretations, which are based on their own life stories.
- The larger universe or world view that shapes the story's presentation (see p. 127).

In one section of this chapter, Nayar considers non-Christological religious representations on film, and this is, as I said earlier, one of the really good things about this book, that she steps outside Christianity and, indeed, into films that many might not consider as religious films. This is followed by a section on Christological films. She also mentions here the problems that may be caused by a religious film, for instance, Mel Gibson's *Passion of the Christ* (2004), or Moustapha Akkad's *The Message* (1976)—which deals with the life of the Prophet Mohammed. Since Islamic law does not permit the showing of the prophet, he is not seen in the film. Gibson's film engendered an enormous amount of comment, even from those who had not seen it. Some critics thought it required the viewer to have prior knowledge of the narrative (see p. 139), some—often practicing Christians—disliked its bloody portrayals of torture (although why they thought crucifixion was pretty is beyond me), and there were, of course, the allegations that it was anti-semitic. Nayar notes that it has engendered a “veritable cottage industry of academic publications” (p. 138). She also writes that the film took “refuge from thinking, and its concentration on Christ's Passion as an emotional and sensory experience, is especially interesting in the light of the film's graphic, stylized violence.” Those same elderly Italian ladies I mentioned above, went to see Gibson's film, and while both of them normally hate violence in movies, thought this was a very moving film—even if a bit too violent! When I talked to them about this, it seems that they suffered some sort of sensory experience here too. These two ladies cannot bear, for instance, the *Rocky* movies (too violent), but thought *The Passion* seemed “true to life.” This bears out some of Nayar's thoughts in this book.

In the last section of Chapter 6, Nayar considers “Varieties of Secular Sacredness.” Here, she attempts to stress that the sacred is “not of necessity” (p. 141) something split off from the rest of life, nor need it be synonymous with religion. Things that were once sacred to certain people (totems, the Delphi oracle, for instance) are no longer considered sacred. She writes

(p. 143) that “modern secularization has permitted the sacred to lead an existence independent—both orally and literately—from institutional religions.” Intelligently, she notes that “secular” movies have often borrowed from the conventions of religious movies, the *Star Wars* and *Harry Potter* series are used as some of her examples.

Nayar's final chapter revisits Eliade's notions, which she suggests conflate orality with primitive religions phenomenologically—which she believes forced his hand when considering modern societies. Here, she agrees with Walter Ong. McLuhan, she says classifies Eliade's desacralized man as literate man even more unequivocally. She does not, she says, wish to undermine Eliade, but to recast him.

The transcendental experience is, she writes (p. 155), pluralistic and she notes that learning to read and write has an impact on brain activity, different parts of the brain react to different forms of stimuli (the printed and the written word and the spoken word, for instance). Kitsch, she says, can afford entirely genuine religious experience (p. 156), and this, she suggests, has annoyed and even embarrassed religion academics, a form of academic elitism. Her book is an attempt to address Frank Burch Brown's suggestion that there was a need for “flexible but genuine standards for evaluating art and taste theologically” (2000, p. 147). Nayar has succeeded here in writing an interesting and far reaching book that I will certainly return to and read again (and possibly again). She is to be congratulated and I look forward to reading her future work.

This volume would certainly be useful to those teaching theology, film, and media studies, and to those interested in faith in general As Nayar notes, quoting Eliade (1958, p. 459) “Sacredness is, above all, *real*” and who know what new technology or direction or dimension will, as she says (p. 159) “be cast upon the divine, opening yet another door to hierophanic power.”

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**Salzmann, Zdenek, James Stanlaw, and Nobuko Adachi.** *Language, Culture, and Society: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*. Bolder, Colorado: Westview Press. 2012. Pp. v-ix, 434. ISBN: 978-0-8133-4560-6 (paper) \$49.00; 978-0-8133-4955-8 (e-book) \$33.99. (Sixth edition, 2014).

On April 1, 2001, a Chinese J-811 jet fighter attempting a harrowing warning pass collided with a U.S. Navy EP-3 surveillance plane flying above the South China Sea. The J-811 interceptor broke in two—killing its pilot—while shearing one of the EP-3’s four propellers. The EP-3 sputtered 70 miles to Hainin Island (a militarized province of the People’s Republic of China), where its 24-man crew was held captive for 11 days.

To secure the crew’s release, the U.S. submitted a letter of “apology,” reading, in part: “President Bush and Secretary of State Powell have expressed their sincere regret over your missing pilot and aircraft. Please convey to the Chinese people and the family of the pilot Wang Wei that we are very sorry for their loss” (p. 308).

However, in translating the letter into Chinese the Americans rendered “sorry” with “*wanxi*,” a word not usually associated with death, nor a word used to convey one of the six culturally prescribed levels of apology, which range from a simple “sorry,” to the elaborate “admit one’s error and ask for punishment and humbly apologize” (pp. 308–09).

This example is used to illustrate the complexity of intercultural communication and translation in the introductory textbook *Language, Culture, and Society*. The example also evokes two tenets of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: (1) language determines or conditions our perception of the world; and, (2) the cultural or perceptual distinctions embedded in each language are not accessible to outsiders—at least not directly. As Edward Sapir put it, “‘language and our thought-grooves are inextricably interwoven, [and] are, in a sense, one and the same’” (p. 226). Furthermore,

[language] powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has

become the medium of expression for their society. . . . The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (p. 228)

Sapir’s student, Benjamin Whorf, compared the Hopi language with Western European languages and concluded that their different structures reflected different world views and values: the Hopi place primacy on living in harmony with nature; in contrast, the Europeans valorize *things* and ways of *marking time*; hence, the preoccupation with “records, diaries, book-keeping, accounting . . . calendars, chronology . . . annals, histories . . . [and] budgets’ (p. 231).

Such axiomatic observations show linguistic anthropology’s broad applicability. Take, for example, the sociologist Erving Goffman’s ideas about the “presentation of self in everyday life,” i.e., social identity as a type of act or performance. “Goffman,” say the authors, “argued that much of social life—our face time—is spent managing how we want others to see us. And because we are in many ways what we pretend to be, as Kurt Vonnegut said, this has important psychological implications as well” (p. 316). Indeed, one psychological implication is Freud’s idea of neurosis as chronic anxiety caused by maladaptation to imposed social roles and norms.

Across cultures and epochs, speech and dress have been the most obvious and pervasive “markers” of self-presentation. However, new communication technologies are propagating new forms of self presentation. Anonymity and impersonations have ruptured the norms of acceptable social behavior. In digital interactions a person may be insulting or hostile without fearing social reproach (p. 316). Digital communication has affected language—and human cognition—in untold ways. But what, asks the linguist David Crystal,

do we call the language which results when people communicate using computers, mobile phones, BlackBerries, personal digital assistants, answerphones, satnavs, and all the other devices which have become a routine part of our lives? Various technical and popular suggestions have been made, such as *cyberspeak*, *electronic discourse*, *Netlish*, *Weblish*, and *Netspeak*. None of these is satisfactory. (p. 325)

Labeling difficulties aside, this new type of “talking’s” societal and cultural effects falls within the scope of linguistic anthropology (a subfield of anthropology), which investigates the relationship between language and culture. Unlike pure linguists, linguistic anthropologists do not study language in isolation from society, rather they stress its “interdependence with cultural and social structures” (p. 14). A linguist, for example, might make the following statement, “The Modern English word *woman* developed over the centuries from the Old English *wīfman*,” which makes no reference to who is speaking nor to social or cultural context (p. 18). In contrast, the following is a statement a linguistic anthropologist might make:

In Javanese, the choice of words is determined by such characteristics of the speaker and the addressee as their age, gender, wealth, education, and occupation; and the more refined the level of speech, the slower, softer, and more even the presentation will be. (p. 18)

Thus linguistic anthropologists study such things as “the relations between world views, grammatical categories and semantic fields, the influence of speech on socialization and personal relationships, and the interaction of linguistic and social communities” (p. 14).

The conjoining of linguistics and anthropology is a 20th century phenomenon; however, its incubation dates to Colonial days, when native languages “were studied by educated Americans of varying professions—physicians, naturalists, lawyers, clerics” (p. 10). One of these colonial linguists was Thomas Jefferson, who collected native vocabularies and advocated the comparative study of languages (p. 10). Whorf (1897–1941) came to linguistics from chemical engineering and also worked as a fire prevention inspector and a fire insurance executive (p. 229).

While history shows talented linguist anthropologists have come from all walks of life, exemplary field-work requires a facility for learning languages. Without fluency in a native language, the *participant observer* must rely on interpreters—who “may unwittingly simplify or distort what is being said” owing to unconsciously adopting traits from a second culture while losing their own (p. 19). The term “participant observation” was coined by Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) during extensive work in the Trobriand Islands, where he embedded himself into native society, learning the language. Malinowski said he wanted “to get inside the native’s skin” to grasp the native’s world view (p. 26). In *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*

(1922), Malinowski presages the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis when he explains why he ceased using direct translation to chronicle his data: It “robbed the text of all its significant characteristics—rubbed off all its points—so that gradually I was led to note down certain important phrases just as they were spoken, in the native tongue” (p. 20).

In like fashion, *Language, Culture, and Society* contains fascinating renderings of words and sounds from across the globe—including “whistle speech” and Aztec—while mentioning no fewer than 146 languages throughout. However, non-specialists will also find the text interesting; copious examples and sidebars portray the field as an ideal multidisciplinary bridge. Communication scholars, in particular, will find the text enlarges their conception of their own work.

The volume features a glossary, a bibliography, an atlas of languages mentioned in the text, and an index.

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**Storsul, Tanja and Arne Krumsvik** (Eds.). *Media Innovations: A Multidisciplinary Study of Change*. Borås, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2013. Pp. 282. ISBN 978-91-86523-65-7 (paper) 250SEK.

This book is a very timely addition to the growing field of media innovation studies. Thanks to the recent advancements in the information and communication technologies (ICTs) and subsequent growth in various web-based commercial and social media outlets, innovations in production and delivery of media contents has spurred. In the process, the definition of media is being constantly evolved. This is undoubtedly the high time for undertaking of multidisciplinary research on this topic.

In the foreword, the editors assure the reader of the timeliness and importance of the contents of this book that is composed of a selected group of scholarly papers presented at the 1st International Symposium on Media Innovations. As an introductory note, author Lucy King emphasized that media innovation includes changes in content creation and delivery as well as organizational changes. Quoting J. M. Keynes, the author reminds the reader that innovation successes depend not only on creation and adoption of newer ideas, but also on our abilities to embrace them which often test our willingness and ability to step out of our comfort zones of traditional cultures, thoughts, and ways of doing things.

Editors Storsul and Krumsvik coauthored the first paper contained in Chapter 1 “What is media innovation?” They mention of four types of innovations according to the classification of Francis and Bessant (product innovation, process innovation, position innovation, and, paradigmatic innovation) and add social innovation as a fifth one to the list. Social innovation implies innovative usage of media and communication services to achieve social purposes. The authors also emphasized the inextricability of media innovation and rapid changes in information and communication technologies.

This book is composed of three sections titled “concepts,” “structure and management,” and “services and users.” Each of these sections contains several thematically cohesive papers, each presented as a separate chapter. The first paper in Section 1 (Chapter 2) by Leyla Dogruel, “Opening Blackbox: The Conceptualizing of Media Innovation,” sheds light on the issue of media innovation mainly from economic, sociological, and managerial perspectives. The author summarizes media innovation studies into three categories: technical innovation of media related products and processes; new media consumer products focusing on media technologies such as interactive TV, Internet, smart phones, and new standards such as DVD; and new media content innovations that are often related to marketing initiatives. Dogruel points out that such categories of research represent an over simplification in our understanding of the crucial aspects of media innovation and underscores the necessity of more interdisciplinary research projects to shed light on media innovation more holistically. She supports the view that multidisciplinary of studies on definitional aspects of media innovation will help the topic to emerge as a distinct field of study.

In the next chapter, “Balancing the Bias. The Need for Counter-discursive Perspectives in Media Innovation Research,” Steen Steensen makes a point regarding complementing the discourse of media innovation and change with partially counter-discursive analysis in order to have a better grasp of how and why new media practices develop through interaction between structures and agencies. The development of online journalism is presented as an example of such multi-perspective approach of new media development. As new media practice development examples, the author cites social media interactions; digital music creation, distribution, and consumption; eBook publishing, distribution and reading; digital gaming etc. The development of these new media practices were

influenced by precedence and by the agency of individuals. In the last paper Section 1, “Topics of Innovation: Towards a Method of Invention and Innovation in Digital Media Design,” Gunnar Liestøl discusses the inter-linkages of media economics, media management, and innovation theory and identifies four characteristics of media innovation: novelty, economic or social exploitation, communicative implication, and complex social processes. According to Liestøl, media innovation is better viewed as a process than as ready-for-use product. Like other colleagues, the author urges more research efforts, both empirical and conceptual, be devoted to better understand the nature and forms of media innovations.

The five papers in Section 2 examine various aspects of structure and management of media innovations. In “Adapting to the Brave New World: Innovative Organizational Strategies for Media Companies,” Sabine Baumann summarizes multi-tier market structures for media products and services and discusses some relevant organizational design options. The four types of organization graphically analyzed in the paper are hierarchical, network, virtual, and modular organizations. Baumann recalls the relatively higher initial cost and fast decreasing marginal cost of reproduction of media products and stresses how economies of scale and associated network effect calls for addressing a larger audience for the business bottom line. In “Size Ownership and Innovation in Newspapers,” Arne H. Krumsvik, Eli Skogerbo, and Tanja Storsul empirically tested hypotheses regarding the attributes of newspapers that might positively relate to technology savviness such as offering iPad apps for online patrons. The authors particularly considered two attributes or innovation indicators: size of a newspaper measured by its circulation, and ownership status measured by whether the newspaper belongs to a corporate group of industries or not. The results indicate that corporate ownership is a stronger innovation indicator than circulation size. Corporate media house-based newspapers may have significantly more financial resources to look beyond everyday sustenance and are able to focus past the mainstream market to innovate new produces and market development opportunities.

Gillian Doyle’s “Innovation in the Use of Digital Infrastructures: TV Scheduling Strategies and Reflections on Public Policy” is particularly geared towards analyzing how TV broadcasters adapt to technological innovations; it examines instances where pub-

lic policy promotes innovation and when that may play a stifling role. Realized and anticipated innovation potentials exist in areas ranging from content creation to content delivery to management of audience flow. Citing Google chief executive Eric Schmidt, Doyle underscores a paradigm shift in public policymakers' mindset from one of control orientation to innovation-friendliness. "Innovation in Small Regions' Media Sectors—Assessing the Impact of Policy in Flanders" by Sven Lindmark, Heritiana Ranaivoson, Karen Donders, and Pieter Ballon provides a technical framework for impact assessment of publicly funded R&D and innovation support. There are six elements in this framework: problems, objectives, inputs, outputs, outcomes, and impacts. Some other generic assessment issues are relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, utility and sustainability. Specific to a small regional market such as the Flemish media market, the authors identified a number of issues which may also have some resonance with other small media markets. These circumstances are ambiguity in defining what is media innovation, lack of policy problem statements, the detachment of innovation policy, the media industries themselves, and underlying tension between companies' short-term profit maximizing with longer-term policy interests.

Stine Lomborg and Rasmus Helles's "Privacy Practice: The Regulation of Personal Data in Denmark and Its Implications for New Media Innovation" examines how regulations regarding privacy facilitate or hinder digital media innovation in Danish society, and how regulatory practices responded to emergent technological advancements. In Scandinavian societies, involvement of public agencies is widespread in all walks of life and the Danish Data Protection Agency (DDPA) has independent supervisory authority under the Danish Ministry of Justice. The authors note that the close interrelation of business innovation and public regulation is a hallmark of the Danish economy. At present, mining of personal data by businesses is largely legal as long as its stated objective of such archiving of personal data is a product or customer service improvement. However, considering the commercial incentives for other uses (and, possibly misuse) of such archived data, the authors point out that it was about time that the DDPA started to increase regulatory oversight on such mining of personal data by commercial entities.

Section 3, the largest section of the book with seven papers, addresses the theme of services and users of media innovations. "Measuring Innovation.

Successes and Failures in a Newspaper Market" by Piet Bakker informs the reader of the Dutch experience regarding which media innovations worked and which ones did not work to save the newspaper industry's falling revenue trends. Bakker reports that the major media innovations adopted to aid the Dutch newspaper industry includes online editions, flexible subscriptions, format changes, and new paid and free newspaper titles. The paper indicates that media innovation strategies also included business consolidation via acquisitions for some Dutch media groups (e.g., *Telegraaf Media Group*).

Charles Davis' paper "Audience Value and Transmedia Products" evaluates transmedia product design challenges across platforms and associated value propositions for audiences as well as creators. Davis briefly reviews Jenkin's (2009) seven principles of transmedia storytelling (i.e., spreadability vs. drillability, continuity vs. multiplicity, immersion vs. extractability, worldbuilding, seriality, subjectivity, and performance) and mentions that a central transmedia product design challenge is to effectively reconcile business logic, audience logic, and aesthetic logic. He points out that contemporary audiences are organized as complex layers, networks, and segments; and media product creators today have to be ever innovative to attract the attention of the audience. According to Davis, some future research (mostly empirical) topics in this broader area include measurement of effectiveness of transmedia products, and understanding of various modes, degrees, kinds, and dynamics of audience engagement.

"Innovation in TV Advertising in Flanders" by Iris Jennes and Jo Pierson is an interview-based piece primarily dealing with the Flemish TV sector and the prospects and challenges digital television offer to advertisers. The authors summarize the Strength-Weakness-Opportunity-Threat matrix for Flemish TV advertisers as follows: strengths—reach power struggles, impact lack of knowledge, and branding; Weakness—resistance to innovation; Opportunities—data gathering and targeting, new advertising formats; Threats—audience measurement. Jennes and Pierson lend their support for an open innovation model for TV advertisement industry that would encourage knowledge management from both inside and outside the corporation. Jeremie Nicey ("Between Reactivity and Reactivation—User Generated News Photo Agencies, New Practices and Traditional Processes") provides a case study of a French participative news photo agency, Citizenside, that sells user-generated content (UGC) to

both traditional and new media outlets. Nicey contends that the UGC approach is not amateur, but rather innovative. Citizenside's collaboration with well established *Agence France Presse* (AFP) resulted in professional-amateur contents which provides an empowering opportunity for "amateur" photo journalists to enjoy the level of visibility and mainstream media recognition that traditionally was enjoyed solely by professional photo journalists. According to the author the success of Citizenside's innovative business model, on the one hand, relies on online platforms' interactivity, and on the other hand, warrants reactivation of classical business practices.

"Small Pieces in a Social Innovation Puzzle? Exploring the Motivations of Minority Language Users in Social Media" (Niamh Ni Bhroin) examines the case of motivational factors of 20 individual minority language users in social media. The languages considered minority language in this study include the Northern Sami and Irish languages. The motivational factors are intrinsic and extrinsic. Extrinsic factors, in turn, are of two categories: self-determined extrinsic motivations and externally determined extrinsic motivations. The main findings of the paper are as follows: intrinsic motivations promoted creative, bottom-up innovation practices relative to the user's understanding of social media environment as an effective platform for language learning, communication potentials, and prospect of connection with other language users for support. Self-determined extrinsic motivation was based on individual beliefs that minority languages should be preserved and promoted. Self-determined extrinsic motivations ensued from desire of protecting or promoting minority languages. In concluding notes, the author underscores the analysis of social innovation processes in the context of complex cultural interrelations between individual needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy, and a range of intrinsic and external motivational factors.

Jeremy Shtern, Daniel J. Paré, Philippe Ross, and Michael Dick ("Historiographic Innovation—How the Past Explains the Future of Social Media Services") evaluate the impact of Federated Social Web (FSW) initiative in obscuring the distinction between incremental and radical innovation and in posing challenges to media innovation in general. The authors compare and contrast FSW with Web 2.0 and semantic web on four areas: project vision, knowledge representation framework, interconnectivity features, and treatment of data. They present a historio-

graphical account on emergence of social media services including FSW and do not hesitate in expressing some concerns regarding sustainable future growth of alternative social web services. The term historiography refers to a dialogue in which "history forms a narrative in itself, with the narrative's connection to the specific area being examined, forming a metanarrative" (p. 251). This paper deals with some complex issues surrounding technology and innovation, namely the commercial viability of innovation, and the political economy of technology and innovation.

Kjartan Müller ("Innovation and the Genre-Platform Model") explains a model for dealing with the complex activities of genre-innovation and design of digital platforms and artifacts. Müller uses the model in analyzing Wikipedia and EPUB 3.0 platforms for expository purposes. Cornerstones of the model are the concepts of horizontal and vertical genre convergence. Drawing from innovation theory, these concepts are, in turn, compared with the concepts of architectural, modular, incremental, and radical innovation. In this paper the author graphically presents Henderson and Clark's model of types of innovation, a generic platform model, a model showing horizontal and vertical convergence involving EPUB 3.0, and the platform model. The author is confident that this proposed model is particularly path-breaking due to its incorporation of technological considerations, and as time passes by, the model should get more refined and serve as a productive analytical tool to study digital media and innovation.

As the editors' forewords suggest, the book is all about the contemporary topic of media innovation. As a reader, I found the chapters of this book to be very contemporary and intriguing as they analyze some very important and fast emerging aspects of media innovation. The papers are all relevant, and cohesive to the central theme. This 280-page book is a nice, compact document of multidisciplinary studies on this important topic. With thanks to the editors for their great, timely undertaking, I would like to share couple of suggestions for future editions/sequel of the book. First, a slight increase in the font size may provide greater ease of reading. Second, the incorporation of a paper or two regarding the impact of recent innovations in Wi-Fi technology on overall media innovation frontiers may further enrich multidisciplinary research prospects of this important and ever expanding subject.

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**Tufte, Thomas, Norbert Wildermuth, Anne Sofie Hansen-Skovmes, and Winnie Mitullah** (Eds.). *Speaking Up and Talking Back? Media, Empowerment among East and Southern African Youth*. University of Gothenburg: NORDICOM, 2013. Pp. 302 ISBN 978-91-86532-55-8 (paper) SEK200.00.

This book brings together a variety of recent research in East and Southern Africa among youth. In Africa youth is a constituency that is the largest in history, but one that faces hurdles of education, jobs, and a changing culture from rural and traditional lives in villages to often urban slums and street life. The focus of these studies is from a communication theoretical perspective of participation and empowerment that stems from Freire and has been updated since the late 1990s by numerous authors. This approach promotes the principle of people being responsible for their own development through a participatory process that relies on community knowledge to identify their challenges and consequent call to action. The contents of this book explicates this theory in almost every chapter along with the consequences of its application.

Part One (first three chapters) deals with theory, past research and present contexts, and an African theory of development and social change. Tufte and Wildermuth lay out the major themes of the book in this introduction. Tufte in the second chapter analyses the changing nature of communication for development, emphasizing the more dynamic interconnected world of today's communication and the increasing role of citizen activism (as in the post-Arab Spring uprisings). In the third chapter Linje Monyozo speaks about the changes in thinking about communication for development and social change within the African context specifically. He traces the three waves of colonial or Orientalist approach, post-liberation or extensionist approach, and what he calls the NGOification approach. Still he sees all three approaches still present in some forms of communication for development.

Part Two, "ICT, Empowerment, and Policies," begins reporting cases of application primarily in Kenya. Wildermuth's initial chapter outlines the political economy of Kenya's thriving digital economy in promoting citizenship, democracy, and empowerment. Although Kenya leads much of Africa in digital development, the author cautions about the current benefits and the commercial structure of digital development. The remaining four chapters consist of reports on the use of ICTs for various groups.

Mitullah provides a general description of the funded project on Media, Empowerment, Democracy in East Africa that cautions that the progress of ICTs for women and other constituencies is still slow because of various barriers, including a limited access to the Internet. Mbure's chapter overviews youth and political inclusion in the digital age in Kenya. The author concludes that many youth have become politically engaged through digital platforms, especially after the political turmoil of the 2007 election, but that this has not resulted in significant on-the-ground political participation. Kiseni and Petuchaite do an analysis of the *Ushabidi* digital platform that arose during the political turmoil of 2007–2008 and served well in the aftermath, but the authors also comment on the difficulty of transition to other online functions later. Still, they argue that the platform provides a model and a platform that can empower civil society in the future. Finally, Githaiga provides a review of the scholarship on young women and ICT in Africa that summarizes the current situation.

Part Three, "Health and Social Change," contains five chapters dealing with the issues of sexual practice and discourse concerning HIV/AIDS. Chapters in this part are diverse in geography including studies in South Africa, and Tanzania. Govender reviews the different disagreements about HIV/AIDS treatment from behavior vs. social communication practices, media vs. participatory communication, faith vs. secular, social science vs. biomedical, and all of these different approaches in need of contexts in each approach. Nielson and Schutten report on a 2003 study in central Uganda where peer education ran into hierarchy and power barriers to real participation by youth in a transit town. Kiprop and Tomaselli argue that the point often missed by HIV/AIDS campaigns for youth is that sexual beliefs are based on discourses that are formed over time and in different youth contexts. A useful approach is to pay attention to the discourses that create the meanings that youth have concerning their sexuality. Rweyemanmu critiques the practices of some Civil Society Organizations in Tanzania to involve youth in matters that involve their sexuality because results indicate a lack of engagement. Strand outlines the human rights issue of anti-homosexual laws that were inaugurated in 2009 and had not come to a conclusion by the time the chapter was written (the law has now been passed). The author analyzes the role of the media in fomenting the discriminatory bill in the parliament and recommends four strategies for fighting this trend.

Part Four, “Culture and Social Change,” contains the final five chapters focusing on some of the older media like radio. Junggade did interviews with members of culture clubs in Burundi where civil war had created exclusion and suspicion, and the clubs offered a chance to reconcile through participation in cultural activities. Braskov explored crime prevention in a Nairobi slum and concluded that the government-sponsored efforts were not as effective as they could be with a better engagement of self-help youth groups. Gustafsson did a qualitative study of a community radio station in a Nairobi slum and notes the benefits to youth as they served as interns who were trained to do programs that reached other youth. She reminds readers that radio remains the most popular medium in Africa and is a powerful tool for change. Hansen-Skovnoes and Roijen describe the use of a film festival in Zanzibar for youth and Yarde returns to youth radio in Tanzania in a limited experiment of youth making their own programs, both with promising but limited results.

The volume is varied in focus and the short formats prevent more in-depth treatments of topics; nevertheless, it provides an understanding of the wide spectrum of work on engagement of youth and women in African participatory communication. The book has no general index but notes and bibliography after each chapter.

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**Van Brussel, Leen and Nico Carpentier.** (Eds.). *The Social Construction of Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Basingstoke, Hants/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Pp. 256. ISBN 978-1-137-39190-2 (cloth) £55.00, \$83.00; 978-1-137-39191-9 (e-Book)

As we all know, and are frequently told, there are only two certainties in life: death and taxes. When I mentioned this book to the editor of this journal, he was a little concerned that it might not fit the journal’s interests. However, I believe that he was wrong. Death has become a topic that is central to modern day discussion of ethics; for many people there is a religious dimension to death—and many media stories deal with death.

Leen van Brussel and Nico Carpentier introduce the book, noting that death is a social construction. Different societies have different ways of coping with death. Society, they note, “and all the objects and subjects functioning therein—is the outcome of continuous processes

of meaning-making, rather than a fixed reality” (p. 3). In thanatology, post-structuralist thought comes:

with the argument that death and dying derive their meanings through contingent signifying relations. While the meanings of death and dying, and objects/practices related to them, consist of a series of often taken-for-granted elements that construct dominant structures of meaning, these elements at the same time open up a new range of gaps, complexities, and unfixities, allowing for resistance, new discursive struggles, and attempts to re-articulate sedimented meanings of death and dying. (pp. 3–4)

The book is divided into four parts. The first deals with the social construction of death with three different approaches to this topic. Leen van Brussel herself writes a chapter that explores changing discourses on medicalized death (euthanasia is legal in Belgium). Linda Liska Belgrave and Kathy Charmaz write on the value of studying illness and dying, and people’s experiences of them. John Cromby and Adele Phillips consider an affective approach to the ways in which mourning and bereavement are socially constructed through language. They offer the viewpoint that we should be bringing the body (and the material) into the constructivist tradition. The editors note that by these three contributions their intent is to show how different social constructivism can be adopted into studying death and dying.

Part II considers death in popular media. The editors note (p. 7) that media and cultural studies have shown relatively little interest in death and dying, and the three chapters they offer here make an attempt to address this gap in scholarship. While they note that Philippe Ariés wrote:

Just as one can best measure the influence of psychoanalysis on the culture of studying women’s magazines, similarly it is preferable . . . to study the phenomenon of death in the bastard forms of vulgarization. (1981, p. 59, cited van Brussel & Carpentier, p. 7)

The three chapters in this section are by Fran McInerney, who writes on death and dying in film; Tina Weber writes on TV serials—which are described as “repositories of the vulgar” (p. 7), although the editors say that they prefer the term “popular.” Daniel Ashton writes his chapter on audiences’ responses to media coverage. Here, the editors note that there is no reason why media texts should

be privileged over the audiences' interpretation of those texts (ibid.).

Part III, addresses the political and ethical dimensions of death. This is a particularly important topic at the moment due to the discourse around assisted death and here such questions as: "When is it legitimate and ethical to kill?" Those questions around the significance of certain dead, and of the right to mourn them—or not—are also important and addressed here. In an age where terrorism seems to be a word used increasingly in our media and in a year when we commemorate the 100th anniversary of the First World War, a war in which—in my own country—over 850,000 died (both combatants and non-combatants), these questions have particular resonance.

In this section, Jaso Glynoos takes categories of discourse, contingency, and fantasy to stress both the ethical conditions of mourning and to illustrate the "conditions of mourning." His chapter is based on empirical research undertaken around the concept of national identity in World War II cemeteries in Normandy. Nico Carpentier, one of the editors, addresses the ethics of death and killing in the Cypriot War of Independence, showing how war casualties are legitimated through a variety of normative frameworks. He also demonstrates how notions of ethical models of war are persistent. In the last chapter in this section, Arnar Árnason uses as an exemplar a car accident in Iceland, showing how identification can facilitate and allow political mobilization through the political dimension of death.

Part IV is entitled "governing death and the dead." These three chapters tackle the way death and the dead are "governed" (p. 8) through specific technological and discursive politics. The study of loss, the editors write, has until recently been mainly in regard to what is "normal" and what is "deviant." This mainly biomedical approach is yet another example of the way that we medicalize what should be normal parts of our lives. The chapters in this section attempt to complement previous scholarship. Margareth Gibson first considers how new media manage the ways in which we mourn and remember the dead, then Glennys Howarth considers the practices of dissection and organ donation. She connects these practices in tandem with the ways in which the dead body and discourses around it are dealt with. Jenny and Celia Kitzinger write about the way that those with consciousness disorders are governed—or managed—through the dom-

inant definitions that are given to death and dying. How do relatives of such patients deal with these definitions or contest them?

Joachim Cohen ends the book with an afterword that tries to encourage quantitative/empirical and materialistic/positivist approaches to death and dying. He suggests that quantitative scholars should be encouraged to contextualize their research in a more social construction paradigm,

The editors add that this final chapter perhaps steps outside the "comfort zone" of a social construction paradigm, since such paradigms have meanings and knowledge that are continually being constructed and so discussion around them is both necessary and assists to build them.

This volume was put together with a research grant from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel's Research Foundation and resulted from a seminar on "The Social Construction of Death," which took place in May of 2012. It is an interesting step on the academic path in this area and the editors are to be congratulated on taking what is an unusual topic and making it so interesting and rewarding to read. I cannot imagine that death is a topic that draws many researchers in the social sciences, yet it is, as I said above, one of the few certainties in life, and it needs further research.

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## Briefly noted

**Avtgis, Theodore A. and Andrew S. Rancer** (Eds.). *Arguments, Aggression, and Conflict: New Directions in Theory and Research*. New York and London: Routledge, 2010. Pp. xxii, 426. ISBN978-0-415-99641-9 (cloth) \$140.00; 978-0-415-99641-9 (paper) \$55.95.

The editors open the preface to their collection by noting, "Thirty plus years of investigating argumentative and aggressive communication predispositions, including informal argument, verbal aggression, and conflict has yielded great insight into human interaction and conflict behavior" (p. x). After describing the larger corpus of studies, they go on to set the stage for their volume. "Despite these efforts and the concomitant robust and abundant research activity which has accompanied this line of inquiry, many old questions



remain unanswered, new questions have emerged, new contexts have been identified which demand exploration and examination, and methodological and measurement limitations of the previous research efforts have been identified which require re-examination and refinement of existing operationalization” (p. x). Hence this collection of 21 chapters by 42 scholars.

The editors divide the collection into three sections. The first, “Conceptualization and Operationalization of Argumentative and Aggressive Communication,” presents chapters that theorize verbal aggressiveness as an expression of biological influences, as connected to prefrontal cortex asymmetry, as shifting over the life span, or as influenced by cultural variations. Additional topics explore measurement: the role of psychometrics.

Section 2, “Contextual Research on Argumentative, Aggressive, and Conflict Communication,” the longest section of the book, with 12 chapters, offers a look at contexts and problems ranging from grammar school, high school, and university settings to cyberbullying. In addition, researchers report studies on aggressive communication in political contexts, medical contexts, sports, the workplace, small groups, and the family. Still others examine nonverbal “verbal” aggression or “playful” contexts like teasing.

The last section, “Factors Influencing Arguments, Aggression, and Conflict Communication,” offers yet more perspectives. Some of the reported factors include tolerance for disagreement, trigger events, the instrumental use of verbally aggressive messages, and taking things personally.

The volume serves as a very helpful summary of the research in this important area of communication study. The extensive bibliography in each chapter (totaling over 80 pages in aggregate) provides an excellent guide to the corpus of research. The book also features an index.

**Barfoot Christian, Elizabeth.** (Ed.). *Rock Brands: Selling Sound in a Media Saturated Culture*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011. Pp. xxiii, 353. ISBN 978-0-7391-4634-7 (cloth) \$100.00; 978-0-7371-4635-4 (paper) \$39.99; 978-0-7391-4636-1 (e-book) \$39.99.

While media studies acknowledges the business side of communication and marketing considers advertising strategies, few people bring the two together in a systematic fashion. Elizabeth Barfoot Christian takes a first step in remedying this with a volume devoted to the branding and marketing of rock music genres. “The

book’s core objective is to understand how established mainstream artists/bands are continuing to market themselves in an ever-changing technological world” (p. xi). The 17 chapters examine a range of bands and performers—from KISS to Elvis to Ozzy Osbourne—offering studies of marketing strategies or challenges. Each of the book’s three sections examines a different situation for contemporary music.

The first section considers successful branding by established artists. Chapters focus on KISS (Barfoot Christian), AC/DC and Walmart (Barfoot Christian), The Osbourne family (Jacqueline Lambiase), Miley Cyrus and the transition to adult performer (Deborah Clark Vance), Phish (Jordan McClain), and Internet fandom (Daniel Cochece Davis, Bryan P. Delaney, and Heidi M. Kettler). The second section presents studies of how groups appeal to or market to their fan base, often in controversy with religion and politics. These include works on Marilyn Manson (Charles Conaway), evangelism in the music of Bon Jovi (Mary Nash-Wood, Staci Parks, and Barfoot Christian), Christian heavy metal (Jeremy V. Adolphson), Louis Vuitton ads and rock and roll (Heather Pinson), Kanye West (Hazel James Coles), and country music and FOX news (Dave Robinson).

Part III offers studies of “specific avenues available to artists that simply weren’t there a generation ago” (p. xiii), including reality TV, YouTube, social networking sites, and other online venues. Chapters present studies of M.I.A. (Mary Beth Ray), American Idol (Alison Slade), music video games featuring Aerosmith, Metallica, and the Beatles (Bob Batchelor), Elvis Presley (Michael Bertrand), and Michael Jackson (Barfoot Christian and Dedria Givens-Carroll).

The overall collection offers a wealth of historical information, music industry developments, applications of new technologies, and artists’ strategy.

**Ehrat, Johannes.** *Power of Scandal: Semiotic and Pragmatic in Mass Media*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. Pp. xvi, 407. ISBN 978-1-4426-4125-9 (cloth) \$52.50.

Johannes Ehrat argues that scandal exists only as a result of public opinion. And so this volume is first of all a study of public opinion. Second, the book uses religious scandals to illustrate the workings of both public opinion and scandal. Third, Ehrat attempts to develop a theoretical model of scandal based on semiotics, building from the reality of public opinion and scandal. He then applies the model to the cases.

The first chapters take a theoretical approach. Chapter 1 reviews research on scandal and spells out some characteristics: the role of the media, the logic of sanction, the way that scandal functions as an “industrial product and institutional practice” (p. 15), the role of a narrative of publicity as a condition of scandal. Chapter 2 connects this to the public sphere and the idea of publicity. Chapter 3 develops a semiotic theory of publicity. Some of the section titles give a good sense of the content: the historical- cultural role of public opinion, public opinion as theatre, and the operation of public opinion as enunciation. Finally, Chapter 4 puts the theoretical pieces together by considering “publicity in media theory.” This chapter advances the argument from semiotics, specifying the qualities of the media sign and its correlation with the various functions of the sign in semiotic theory.

After this theoretical groundwork, Ehrat turns to an examination of specific religious scandals in the media. To situate this, he considers religious meaning independently of public opinion and then shows how the media construct religious space and meaning. He examines the role of the televangelists in facilitating the connection between religion, the media, and public opinion. Chapter 6 turns to the of investigative journalism and the ways in which sanctioning scandal occurs in public opinion, concluding with a taxonomy of classes of scandal. Chapter 7 examines a specific case to show how the theoretical model might work.

The last substantive chapter examines the effects of scandal and the objectivity of scandal. Here Ehrat offers a critique of subjective approaches and functionalism and again argues for using semiotic theory and pragmatics to define the effects of scandal.

The book is well argued but presumes a certain familiarity with semiotic theory.

It includes a 23-page bibliography and an index.

**Hua, Zhu.** (Ed.). *The Language and Intercultural Communication Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011. Pp. xiv, 430. ISBN 978-0-415-54912-7 (cloth) \$170.00; 078-0-415-54913-4 (paper) \$50.95.

This book provides a valuable resource for students (advanced undergraduate or post-graduate) interested in intercultural communication, but also in “language learning and teaching, pragmatics and discourse analysis of a range of subjects, including language and linguistics, TESOL, communication studies, cultural studies, anthropology, and cross-cultural psychology”

(p. xiii). Zhu Hua has arranged the readings (all important in the field) into six themes: culture, language, and thought; theoretical considerations in cultural approaches to discourse and pragmatics; empirical explorations of communication patterns across cultures; teaching and learning cultural variations of language use; reconceptualizing cultural differences; and intercultural communication in context. The editor provides both a general introduction to the volume and well as introductory comments to each thematic section.

The first theme includes works by Benjamin Whorf; Richard Nisbett; and Larry Samovar, Richard Porter, and Lisa Stefani. The second theme explores topics such as politeness (Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon; and Yueguo Gu), honorifics (Sachiko Ide), managing rapport (Helen Spencer-Oatey), and cultural scripts (Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka). The third theme includes empirical examples of requests and apologies (Shoshana Blum-Kulka and Elite Olshtain), ritual (Tamar Katriel), Qur’anic recitation (Ayman Nazzal), and silence (Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen). The fourth theme—on teaching and learning—examines small cultures (Adrian Holliday), second language pragmatics (Gabriele Kasper and Kenneth Rose), and preventing misunderstanding in English as a lingua franca (Anna Mauranen). The fifth theme (Interculturality) looks at the idea of intercultural communication from several perspectives (work by Srikant Sarangi, Aug Nishizaka, and Christina Higgins). The last theme, which examines intercultural communication in professional contexts, has chapters dealing with communication at work in Australia (Michael Clyne, Martin Ball, and Deborah Neil), television commercials from various countries (Richard Schmidt, Akihiko Shimura, Zhigang Wang, and Hy-sook Jeong), British and Italian management meetings (Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini and Sandra Harris), and non-verbal distances in Montevidean and Quiteño service encounters (Rosina Márquez Reiter and María Placencia).

At the end of each section the editor has added notes for students and instructors, comprising study questions and study activities. The book also features a resource list, a glossary, and an index.

**Kühnlein, Peter, Anton Benz, and Candace L. Sidner.** (Eds.). *Constraints in Discourse 2*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010. Pp. 180. ISBN 978-90-272-5438-2 (cloth) \$143.00; 978-90-272-8854-7 (e-book) \$143.00.

This volume, part of the Pragmatics & Beyond New Series, publishes a second volume (with eight papers) of presentations from a workshop on the theme, all of which seek to advance the study of texts, coherence, and rhetorical structure in their various forms. In his introduction, Peter Kühnlein notes that texts “vary along a multitude of dimensions . . . written, monological, or an exchange between a number of participants” for a variety of purposes and in various settings (p. 1). The essays here explore the idea of structure in texts—a characteristic that cuts across all manner of text, whether written, spoken, or mediated. Kühnlein notes that researchers have paid particular attention to one kind of structure: “it is what is called the *rhetorical or coherence structure*” (p. 1, italics in original). The papers in this volume offer different perspectives on coherence structure, the units of that structure, the rhetorical relations implicit in the structures, and the properties of the structures.

The papers presented in the volume include “Clause-internal coherence” (Jerry R. Hobbs); “Optimal interpretation for rhetorical relations” (Henk Zeevat); “Modeling discourse relations by topics and implicatures: The elaboration default” (Ekatarina Jasinskaja); “The role of logical and generic document structure in relational discourse analysis” (Maja Bärenfänger, Harald Lungen, Mirco Hilbert, and Henning Lobin); “Obligatory presupposition in discourse” (Pascal Amsili and Claire Beyssade); “Conventionalized speech act formulae: From corpus findings to formalization” (Ann Copesake and Marina Terkourafi); “Constraints on metalinguistic anaphora” (Philippe De Brabanter); and “Appositive Relative Clauses and their prosodic realization in spoken discourse: A corpus study of phonetic aspects in British English” (Cyril Auran and Rudy Look).

The scope of the essays provides a good introduction to the current state of research. Each chapter has its own bibliography; the volume as a whole has an index.

**Von Feilitzen, Cecilia, Ulla Carlsson, and Catharina Bucht.** (Eds.). *New Questions, New Insights, New Approaches: Contributions to the Research Forum at the World Summit on Media for Children and Youth 2010*. Göteborg, Sweden: NORDICOM, 2011. Pp. 275. (Yearbook 2011). ISBN 978-91-86523-21-3 (paper) SKR 200.00.

This volume assembles papers presented at the 2010 World Summit on Media for Children and Youth at

Karlstad, Sweden. Participants included not only researchers but teachers, regulators, media professionals, and others—in short, all with an interest in media, children, and youth. The participants themselves came from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America, representing every major research tradition.

The editors have arranged the book into five sections. The first, “New Questions, New Insights, New Approaches” provides overviews of the conference and includes papers on “working principles for change in children’s television” developed by producers (Dafna Lemish) and on ways to harness children’s television for building democracy in the Middle East and North Africa (Ibrahim Saleh). The second section revisits the long-standing research topic of media literacy and education. Paper topics here include “media literacy empowerment competencies in the elementary grades” (Renee Hobbs, Henry Cohn-Geltner, and John Landis); “the impact of media education on students’ media analysis skills” (Chi-Kim Cheung); media literacy assessment in Europe (José Manuel Pérez Tornero and Mireia Pi); “youth and children in contemporary Brazilian film and television and film and television by youth and children” (Esther Hamburger); and a case study of Egyptian media literacy (Samy Tayie).

The third section addresses issues of children, media, and health, with essays on tween girls’ sexuality (Kara Chan), reproductive health taboos in the Middle East and Africa (Saleh), digital marketing and health (Kathryn Montgomery, Sonya Grier, Jeff Chester, and Lori Dorfman), and health advocacy in Colombia (Arvind Singhal). Section Four deals with media ethics and social responsibility. The essays include discussions of children’s interests and Internet governance (Sonia Livingstone), media education and human rights (Divina Frau-Meigs), socially responsible media policy in India (Manisha Patbak-Shelat), measuring audience involvement (Tatiana Merlo Flores), and youngsters’ use of media diaries as expressions of citizenship (Sirku Kotilainen, Annikka Suoninen, Irma Hirsjärvi, and Sara Kolomainen). The last section of the volume publishes studies on communication for social change. Some of the topics presented here: digital activism in Belarus (Iryna Vidanova), a communication for social change agenda (Lise Grauenkøer Jensen and Mette Grøndahl Hansen), youth interaction by radio and cell phones in Turkey (Ece Algan), and citizenship practices among young people (Florencia Enghel and Thomas Tufte).

