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Popular Culture and Communication Practice

Alexander Buhmann, Lea Hellmueller, and Louis Bosshart
University of Fribourg-Freiburg

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Paul A. Soukup, S.J.
Communication Department
Santa Clara University
500 El Camino Real
Santa Clara, CA 95053 USA

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

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

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Popular Culture and Communication

Editor's Introduction

Communication, particularly mass communication, has a long association with popular culture—some would even define the rise of popular culture in the 19th century and its continuing impact in terms of the mass media. The relationship, however, works both ways: Much of current communication practice and content relies on popular culture. And popular culture has a powerful impact: The film and music business generate billions of dollars of sales every year, for example. More and more communication professionals seem to regard the popular as the key to success. The transformation of the various communication media (print, broadcast, film) into digital forms has extended the reach of popular culture—and probably made it more truly popular, with materials from around the world, created by non-professionals as well as professionals, now easily available online. Many people have shown a preference for the locally produced music, video, news, and so on over the corporately produced fare—or, perhaps better, welcome both.

These phenomena have given rise to a great deal of research within communication studies, as well as within other academic groups like the Modern Language Association and more specialized groups such as the Popular Culture Association. Scholars associated with these group generate so much work that one has difficulty keeping up with more than a subset of the research. For example, the Popular Culture Association fosters research into regional popular culture (Appalachian Studies, Asian popular culture, Brazilian popular culture, and so on throughout the world) as well as into various manifestations of popular culture (such as animation, circuses, comics, dance, folklore, games, music, visual culture, and more), without ignoring those areas that appeal to communication scholars: film, radio, television, rhetoric, and language.

This range of popular culture forms the backdrop for this issue. Communication overlaps with the popular, and scholarly attention has turned to that overlap.

For the last 10 years, Communication Research Trends has benefitted from a research relationship with Professor Louis Bosshart, now emeritus at the University of Fribourg-Freiburg, in Switzerland. Professor Bosshart's interests include the ever expanding circle of entertainment, such as we find in its various hybrid forms: edutainment, infotainment, advertainment, politainment, and other such combinations of education, information, advertising, politics, religion, sports, and military affairs with entertainment. These, of course, grow out of popular culture in its current mediated forms.

Trends and its readers have followed Professor Bosshart's work for the past six years. In 2009, we published an overview of the entire "-tainment" field, prepared by Bosshart and Lea Hellmueller, "Pervasive Entertainment, Ubiquitous Entertainment" in Volume 28, number 2. This review laid out the directions for further research in these hybrid forms of popular culture. The next year, Professor Hellmueller, working with Nina Aeschbacher (originally with the University of Fribourg, but recently with Swiss television), provided a look at a complementary phenomenon, celebrity, in their review, "Media and Celebrity: Production and Consumption of 'Well-Knownness'" (Volume 29, number 4). Two years later, in 2012, Daniel Beck joined Hellmueller and Aeschbacher on the Fribourg research team to examine the further muddying of entertainment boundaries for a review, "Factual Entertainment and Reality TV" (Volume 31, number 2).

This issue of Trends examines a related area: the transformation of journalism into a popular culture product. Students of the press have long recognized a distinction between the "quality press" and the "popular press." Here Alex Buhmann, Hellmueller, and Bosshart examine the research on this distinction. But they also go farther by looking at popular culture and strategic communication. Scholars have begun to attend to the ways that marketing, advertising, and information campaigns, for example, turn to popular culture.

* * *

As noted, Louis Bosshart serves as a professor emeritus at the University of Fribourg-Freiburg, in Switzerland, and as a visiting professor at Stanford University. Alexander Buhmann is completing his graduate work at Fribourg-Freiburg. Lea Hellmueller currently teaches on the faculty of media and communication at Texas Tech University.

Popular Culture and Communication Practice

Alexander Buhmann, Lea Hellmueller, and Louis Bosshart

alexander.buhmann@unifr.ch lea.hellmueller@ttu.edu louis.bosshart@unifr.ch

1. Popular Culture and Communication Practice: An Introduction

Within the domain of communication research, popular culture constitutes an important object of analysis because media and communication technologies serve as a central catalyst for its success. Especially in western capitalist societies, popular culture increasingly affects people as modern mass media embed it into people's lives and routines. "Since popular culture today is so closely bound up with the mass media . . . it is almost impossible to look at one without the other" (Strinati, 2004, p. xi).

At the same time, in modern history, the discussion of popular culture has a century-old tradition. The leitmotifs that guide the academic discussion of popular culture, which have run through the modern era, remain important even today. As early as 1950, an expert on the sociology of literature and mass culture, Leo Lowenthal, conducted a survey to understand radio listening habits as an expression of popular culture during that time (Lowenthal, 1950). The responses reveal the dilemma that has guided popular culture research since then: Some respondents remark excitement about the social benefits of the radio, that "I have heard village people discussing the merits of Mozart and Chopin," while other respondents refuse to have a radio set at home, "Because once there is a set in the house, one cannot resist. Everybody listens idiotically, the kids and the others too. When we stay with my friend G., my husband plays with the radio all the time" (p. 324). We can understand the conflicting stances over the benefits and threats of radio listening habits in light of today's social media as well: "On the one hand, a positive attitude toward all instrumentalities for the socialization of the individual; on the other hand, a deep concern about the inner fate of the individual under the impact of the leveling powers of institutional and other organized forms of leisure activity" (p. 324).

The same discourse about the same kind of dilemma still appears 60 years later, referring now to new popular media, pitting social media against risk prevention, for example, in the way children learn to adopt popular media but also face risks on social network sites (Khan, Swar, & Lee, 2014; Livingstone, 2014; Vanderhoven, Schellen, & Valcke, 2014). On one hand, new media and new forms of technology provide a new platform and opportunity to engage with popular culture for the socialization of the individuals. On the other hand, the change in technology comes with risks such as the loss of privacy and lack of control when dealing with online communities. Going back to the results from the 1950s, Lowenthal's study does not only provide a historical context to the dilemma of popular culture as it is somehow a conflict between the psychological and the moral approaches to popular culture, but also the study reveals the various meanings and contexts of what popular culture entails, coupled with the fear that the "indiscriminate outpouring of music and talk over the radio lowers everyone's intellectual level" (p. 324). The multifaceted approaches in discussing the phenomena of popular culture products and their consumption have formed the various definitions and cultural meanings that can be found in the literature to define popular culture.

Hence, this essay aims to examine the production and reproduction of popular culture through communication processes, how they define and redefine what the concept of "popular culture in communication practices" entails. We pay particular attention to popular culture and journalistic practices as a well developed scholarly field and compare it to the integration of popular culture into strategic communication practices—a rather new field affected by narratives and practices of popular culture. The empirical questions that guided the literature review and analytical conceptualizing of popular culture for this essay included the following questions:

- What is popular culture and how is it applied and reproduced in communication practices?
- How does journalism integrate elements of popular culture for information purposes?

- What is the role of popular cultures in strategic communication?
- How do strategic communicators engage in the production and reproduction of popular culture?

This literature review makes it evident that it is in the production process in which the interplay between communication, popular culture, and society becomes visible. As a theoretical framework, the interplay between the three may provide a theoretical understanding of popular culture based on the historical development of popular culture consumption. This interplay can explain forms and expression of popular culture in different historical contexts. The main goal is to examine unifying principles of popular culture in communication practices that can work towards a theoretical framework and guide future research in this field.

A. Popular culture in communication practices: An overview of the essay

The following discussion on popular culture in communication practices starts with a terminological review and clarification of the concept of popular culture. In this section, we explore the interplay between popular culture, the production of entertainment communication products, and important definitions of popular culture.

In the next section, we examine the relationship between journalism and popular culture. This intersection remains one of the earliest reconstructions of the relationship between popular culture and communication practices. While journalists nowadays, more and more, embrace an entertainment or infotainment role, not surprisingly, most studies reveal that journalists seem to downplay such historical and institutional aspects of journalism's intersection with advertising and entertainment that underscore journalism's role in the rational transfer of socially and politically useful information (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992, p. 7). The discourses on journalism professionalism can greatly benefit from explaining and studying forms of popular culture within journalism. This avoids legitimating only one particular form of journalism, given the popularity and growth of the tabloid and popular press and the diversification of soft news and new genres of popular journalism such as lifestyle and celebrity reporting. Meanwhile, those genres in journalism scholarly discourses that do not belong to politics are somehow set into a hierarchy rated according "to their proximity to journalism's classic hard news text. . . . They may be tolerated, but are less likely to be lauded" (p. 8). Moreover, they may serve as an antithesis on which good journalism can define itself. Those contradictory forces that shape the relationship between popular culture and journalism are also discussed in that section.

In the following section, we explore the nexus between strategic communication and popular culture by looking at corresponding areas of research such as advertainment, gaming, storytelling, sponsoring, and endorsement. This section shows that the purposeful use of communication by organizations (such as corporations, political parties, or NGOs) to fulfill their mission, employs and reproduces popular culture in distinct ways gain attention, tell a "corporate story," or engage publics in continuous interactions in order to leverage relationship management strategies. A review of strategic communication research highlights central research concepts in relation to popular culture. These concepts are relevant for strategic purposes and lead to a systematic distinction of basic forms in how strategic communicators engage with popular culture in terms of media content and how they use popular culture to achieve communicative goals.

2. Defining Popular Culture

Culture, in the widest sense, refers to something created by human beings. As such, culture differs from nature. Etymologically, the term culture has its roots in the Latin word "colere" (*coleo*, *cultus*), which means to care for something (as in "cultivate") or worship (as in religious "cults"). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), defines culture in the following way:

> Culture is the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions, and beliefs. (World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico, 1982)

The main ingredients of cultures consist of sets of values, norms, attitudes, beliefs, and basic assumptions. These are reflected in behavior, art, music, myths, movies, fashion, architecture, advertising, literature, sports, language, etc. As such, we may visualize culture as a hierarchical structure, at the core of which we locate basic assumptions and beliefs. Widely accepted values forms the next level from the center, leading to further levels of patterns of goals and, further out, widely followed ways of behavior. The outer layer in this hierarchy consists of artefacts, that is, the result of cultural production.

Looking at this general understanding of culture, the question arises: Is *popular* culture more than, as Storey (2012) puts it, "culture which is widely favored or well liked by many people" (p. 4)? Defining and systematically putting a finger on the somewhat opaque phenomenon of popular culture may cause some difficulty, even more so since the scholars of popular culture and cultural studies themselves "have taken a certain perhaps perverse pride in not defining their subject" (Parker, 2011, p. 147). Some of the most prominent contributions in the field, such as Graeme Turner's (2003) seminal work on British cultural studies or Andrew Ross' (1989) critique of modern American culture, have provided mostly historical analyses on popular culture and its study without providing a systematic discussion of the term itself. Surprisingly, the less historical and more theoretical works also refrain from giving a clear definition. In another widely cited book, Strinati (2004), who discusses central sociological theories concerned with the evolution and analysis of popular culture (such as structuralism, Critical Theory, Marxism, and Feminism) and presents in great detail the assumptions and arguments of the selected theories, states plainly that "although this book is abut popular culture, not much time will be wasted defining it in this introduction" (Strinati, 2004, p. xvii). Even in an extensive anthology such as Michael Pickering's (2010) four-volume edition on popular culture, finding common ground on definitions is difficult. Understandably, some even go as far as to claim that the "concept of popular culture is virtually useless, a melting pot of confused and contradictory meanings capable of misdirecting inquiry up any number of theoretical blind alleys" (Bennett, 1980, p. 18). However, when researchers from other domains as the cultural studies "come down their own alley" and as such want to study questions concerning popular culture, they need a definition. Despite the difficulty, some have made useful attempts at definitions and can provide viable starting points for other areas of study, such as communication.

When aiming to define the term "popular" one deals with multiple different contexts in which the term has been used. One meaning is the notion of popular in reference to the size of the audience. This might as well be called the "quantitative" sense of the term, since the size and composition of the audience relate to revenue (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991). The work of Raymond Williams offers another definition and traces its political usage back to the Renaissance, when it was used disapprovingly (Williams, 1976, 198–199). It was then, and might still be, used as the opposite of "the elite." This has become one of the central usages and it has remained current. Accordingly, researchers often break down the umbrella-concept of an "overall culture" into different sub-cultures, which on the highest level draw a conceptual line between high culture and popular (or "low") culture. The relation between the two has formed a key topic in the works of, for example, Gans (1999) and Simon (Simon, 1999), the later with an historical focus on the complex relations between past high culture and contemporary popular culture. Though certainly the conceptual distinction of such sub-cultures is sometimes blurry, following Browne (1972), Real (1989), Saxer (1998), and Gans (1999), Figure 1 illustrates common distinctions between subcultures and their main qualities and authorships. Whereas high culture commonly denotes a general category of intellectual and innovative types of artefacts, which elites produce for elites and, as such, construct a more or less exclusive audience, popular culture—which people regard as "the mainstream" culture consumed by large majorities—is often subdivided into a "mass culture" and a "folk culture" (or folklore). In this typology folklore denotes that part of popular culture that has deep roots in tradition and reproduces common legends, myths, and sayings. Such folk culture, mainly done by non-elites for non-elites, happens in a decentralized and grass-roots fashion. Mass culture, by contrast, comprises the highly standardized, commercial, and entertainment-focused part of popular culture that has strong ties to a "cultural industry" based on principles of mass production and controlled by elites.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">High culture
• Exclusive
• Innovative
• Complex
• Intellectual
• Institutional
• By elites for elites</td><td colspan="2">Popular culture
• Mainstream
• Accepted and consumed by large majorities
• Strong channels of diffusion (mass media)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mass Culture
• Understandable, readily accessible
• Entertaining
• Standardized
• Mass produced, mass mediated
• Commonly liked
• Widespread
• Confirmative
• By elites for non-elites</td><td>Folklore and folk culture
• Traditional narratives, legends, myths, sayings
• Archetypes
• Fantasy
• Decentralized
• By non-elites for non-elites</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1. Common distinctions between subcultures

In terms of institutionalization, discourse on popular culture experienced its major establishment between the mid 1960s and early 1970s. The first meeting of the Popular Culture Association (PCA) occurred at Michigan State University in 1971 and eight years later the association started holding joint conferences with the American Culture Association. When it first came into being, the PCA had the main idea to focus more on the study of material culture, popular music, movies, and comics rather than pursuing a common focus on texts and literature. The association's initiators (Ray Browne from Bowling Green State University and Russell Nye from Michigan State University) started this organization in a way that would remain open to all possible topics and forms of cultural studies. The first academic journal to focus on popular culture, the *Journal of Popular Culture*, first appeared in summer 1967 to foster the intellectual discussion of the field. The editorial policy of the first publication of the *Journal of Popular Culture* states that the journal focuses on "Popular Culture" in the broadest sense of the term. Editors invited manuscripts that developed or touched on the various fields in this wide area. They placed no limitations on period or country covered. The first articles published covered topics such as "Heroes and Hero-Worship in Nigerian Chapbooks," the "Theatre of Graffiti," "The Cowboy and the Myth Makers," the "Morphology of the Middle English Metrical Romance," among others. This wide area of interest in the journal's editorial policy already mirrors the difficulties defining what popular culture actually is and what it is not.

In this essay we refer to Hebdige's (1988) widely used definition of popular culture as "a set of generally available artefacts: films, records, clothes, TV programs, modes of transport, etc." (p. 47). Like Strinati (2004), we hold that an inclusive definition such as Hebdige's (1988) works well for purposes of outlining and reviewing theoretical and empirical work across different fields that deal with popular culture and communication practices. The specific artefacts and communication processes which the term popular culture covers in a specific case will emerge within the context of reviewing the literature and is substantiated by examples of each review section.

3. Popular Culture and Journalism

A. Popular journalism: An antithesis to good journalism?

Most research on popular culture addresses fiction, television, and forms of expression that aim at entertaining an audience. It is rather rare to find a scholarly examination of popular culture in non-fictional journalistic products, though it seems taken for granted that such media are "popular." This section turns our attention to popular culture and journalism, a discussion on which scholars most often end up with a reflection on popular journalism (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992). The proposed "juxtaposition of journalism and popular culture actualizes several points of contrast . . . within both professional and academic settings" (p. 4). First, genres in journalism that do not belong to politics are somehow set into a hierarchy rated according to their proximity to journalism's hard news and political context. Second, as a consequence of such a hierarchy, popular journalism may be tolerated, but less likely to be celebrated than political reporting. Popular journalism therefore may serve as an antithesis on which good journalism can define itself.

As a matter of fact, the genre of soft news journalism has gained increasing popularity. First of all, however, we must reassess the meaning of popular culture and journalism over time to understand how the growth of consumer capitalism has meant that more and more genres have become available for popularization. At the same time, media move adeptly to colonize them. In essence, the popular press has always claimed an allegiance with the people, the ordinary people (Conboy, 2002, p. 1). The popular press has expressed a rich engagement with the dissemination of cultural norms and survives on its ability to maintain a dialogue with contemporary cultural trends. Cultural Studies argue that journalism forms a part of popular culture, rather than existing as a separate entity (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991, p. 18).

Popular culture became integral to journalism with the beginning of the mass press. The urbanization that brought with it the idea of mass production with advancements in technology increased literacy, and concomitantly led to more efficient forms of mass printing and the beginning of a mass press (Delaney, 2007). The press played a crucial role in distributing ideas of popular culture (Conboy, 2002; Delaney, 2007). "Popular culture developed in printed form to the extent that it could incorporate elements of the previous folk culture and versions of the 'great' tradition commercially altered for a wider readership" (Conboy, 2002, p. 23). Even before newspapers, news sheets, broadsides, printed ballads, and the almanac provided a forum that linked the older traditions to the "modern capitalist culture of printed entertainment and information" (p. 23). Burke (2009) explains that popular culture was perceived as a local culture: "It was the region, or town, or even village which commanded loyalty; these units formed closed communities with hostile stereotypes of outsiders, reluctant to admit new people or new ways" (p. 50). Print culture was the initial popular form to build upon oral culture and folk tradition before the emergence of the popular newspapers. The division between the income classes becomes visible in the formats of distribution: Printers targeted news sheets and pamphlets more toward a commercial class who could afford the expensive offering, while they produced chapbooks and printed ballad broadsheets for the poor (Conboy, 2002, p. 25); printers had sold the latter on the streets and in the market squares of Western Europe since the 15th century. The common forms that targeted the lowest end of the social and economic spectrum offered contents that informed, entertained, and provoked debates on popular interests and even about matters of state.

The historical emergence of the print culture shows how the common people became central to the emergence of the popular press (Conboy, 2002). Popular journalism, then, does form a legitimate area of popular culture. In such a sense, the popular press has successfully articulated the life and culture of the ordinary men and women excluded from political power. Those processes have always taken place in historical contexts, and history illustrates how popular culture "emerged from the 15th century onwards along with the development of printing in Western Europe" (Conboy, 2002, p. 2).

An essential ingredient to the success of the popular press, then, is its subtle and reflexive relationship with popular culture. If we attempt to trace an institu-

tional path of evolution of the popular press and popular journalism, we find a complex path, one that depends on definitions of popular journalism's audience and journalism's ambition. A more productive approach would claim that the popular press consists of a set of discourses, which establish elements of authenticity in part through their rhetoric. This enables the popular press to establish an inclusivity based on its appeal to wide sections of ordinary people (Conboy, 2002). This appeal to a wide section of ordinary people reminds us to keep in mind the flexibility of popular culture over time, something measured by its reception. Fiske (1994) argued that popular culture is always in process: Its meanings can never be identified in a text, before texts are activated, or made meaningful apart from social relations and intertextual relations.

However, increasingly it seems that all forms of media, from newspapers to the Internet, preoccupy themselves with soft news and entertainment (Hanusch, 2012) that question the high levels of political news that most journalism scholars would want journalists to produce. At the same time, the high amount of soft news and lifestyle topics on digital media points to the increasing importance of popular content in an industrialized society. Technological innovations increased the number of pages newspapers could publish. That process created a news hole that was 10 times bigger than previously so that news organization more and more included soft news themes such as fashion, home improvement, health and fitness, food, and drink (Cole, 2005).

The same dynamic occurred with television. With more television channels, producers and broadcasters had more air time to fill and that led to the development of channels devoted entirely to lifestyle and popular journalism such as the Discovery Channel or the variety of cooking channels (Hanusch, 2012). Today, even *The New York Times* offers sections on health, style, food, and travel. In fact, *The New York Times* served as the pioneer in lifestyle sections. In one of the first studies to examine a change in lifestyle sections in U.S. newspapers, Miller (1976) found that of four major newspapers only *The New York Times* had substantially changed the amount of lifestyle and consumer coverage between 1965 and 1975. Findings point to the large number of women in the readership that the papers attempted to attract with replacing traditional content with forms of entertainment: "These lifestyle sections may nevertheless have retained enough of their traditional format to discourage male readers. . . . Roughly half the ads were pitched to both sexes, the other half were pitched to women" (p. 646). Lifestyle sections were considered women's pages by many readers and journalists alike. Editors decreased their coverage of high society and high fashion, but also reduced home care tips for consumers. A closer look at the lifestyles of the '70s offers an explanation of how editors target lifestyle topics to the demand of the market and how they conceptualized the audience as consumers. The declining birth rate and the number of women who joined the work force or went back to school for further education offered an audience with a completely different lifestyle and with completely different needs than earlier generations. Interestingly, in 1975, the largest category of lifestyle section news was the one at *The New York Times*, followed by syndicated features at the *Chicago Tribune*, social events at *The Los Angeles Times*, and entertainment/arts at *The Washington Post* (Miller, 1976). Meanwhile, in the television industry, competitors often criticized the application of soft feature stories as a way to set their own programming above others. For example, Roone Arledge, president of ABC News, accused NBC Nightly News in 1997 of running softer features to entice audiences. Dan Rather of CBS evening News then claimed that both of them produced "news lite" (Goodman, 1997).

B. What defines popular journalism?

Because popular culture and popular journalism is always in process—and somehow vulnerable to criticism from outside and inside the media industry—the discussion of its history and functions often misses a conceptualization and definition of what popular journalism entails, and a definition that captures the process element of popular journalism. Indeed, popular journalism remains increasingly difficult to define (Deuze, 2005, p. 861); researchers generally conceptualize it as a form of journalism that follows market forces that in turn define its most important logic. For example, they often frame popular journalism as the commercialization and commodification of media content in such a way that it attracts a large public and is thus popular.

Meanwhile, the definition of popular culture and the attribution of popular journalism (as defined by the impact of the market forces on journalism) serve as the basis for a critique on the effects of popular journalism. While the press gained its status in struggles for democracy over the last 200 or more years from a normative

perspective, "the press is caught between conflicting demands that it provides both more diversion and entertainment and more specific, detailed, and technical information, quite apart from the demands of the market for profit and from pressure groups' efforts to shape the news" (Christians, Glasser, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009, p. 222). Christians and his colleagues see a close connection between the decline in democracy thesis and the emergence of television entertainment and the diversion of citizens from their civic duties. In essence, they find the main critique—and the connection between low media performance and political decline—in the expression of popular journalism storytelling as well as in popular journalism formats. They presume that commercial pressures and incentives are lowering standards of journalism. In addition, they see a general trend, which they label tabloidization, "referring to the stereotype of this news format as populist, superficial, and sensational" (p. 223). "In general, the media are more and more devoted to promoting individual consumerism and increasingly neglect larger social concerns" (p. 223). Complaints of lower standards of journalism seem to be rooted in the norms of a serious journalism standard against which scholars measure popular journalism and which they tend to view as the traditional flagship of journalistic authority. The University of Geneva in Switzerland organized a conference in September 2010 on "Celebrity news—an oxymoron." The word "oxymoron" refers to a figure of speech, which combines contradictory qualities for literary effect (Conboy, 2013). If an oxymoron, celebrity journalism would suggest an enterprise incompatible with journalism as a profession. The meaning rests upon the idea that as an oxymoron, celebrity coverage as a form of journalism cannot uphold the true purpose of journalism because of the subjects of its coverage—celebrities. Meanwhile, the conference shed light on crucial questions within that rather normative discourse: What is the purpose of journalism? How do people justify a hierarchy of a set of ideas in journalism?

Within that discourse, we see another distinction in society that contributes to that understanding of a hierarchy of journalistic beats. Research from around the globe has pointed out the problem of horizontal segregation. That is, in examining tasks and beats associated with reporting, surveys found evidence that more female journalists cover soft news (education, health, and lifestyle news) (North, 2009). In addition, most respondents understand soft news as less important within news organizations in comparison to politics and sports. Men are still more likely to be assigned hard news stories (Beasley & Creedon, 1989), which almost always appear on the front page or top of newscasts. On the other hand, female reporters cover more popular journalism topics. Females are assigned to more human interest stories (Lynch, 1993), feature pieces, which can appear on newscasts or in newspapers for a similar length as men's stories (Grabe, Samson, Zelenkauskaite, & Yegiyan, 2011), but not in the lead positions. Even with the passing of time, women continue to be "symbolically annihilated" in traditionally male circumstances (Harp, Loke, & Bachmann, 2011). Popular journalism not only creates distinctions between beats (i.e, soft or hard news), but as research shows, also between the producers of popular journalism (i.e., the horizontal segregation with women covering more popular journalism-related topics). At the same time, the diversification of popular journalism offered both men and women new forms and skills to produce and practice journalism that was no longer limited to political reporting.

C. Lifestyle and celebrity journalism: Incorporating interests of the mass

The popular press still depends on rhetorical appeal to legitimate its claim to popularity and to represent the people and their interest, particularly as articulated against the power block. We can identify two articulations: the popular, vernacular voice and the integration of a number of other popular discourses and genres to add to its popularity, such as celebrity coverage (Conboy, 2002). Indeed, the growth of consumer capitalism means that more and more genres have now become available for popularization, and the media move adeptly to colonize them. We will discuss two important genres in order to point to the popular journalism in the 21st century that incorporates new popular discourses. Furthermore, a new form of "media life" (Deuze, 2012) led to mediatized societies in which expression of lifestyles is almost unthinkable without the media. The pervasive relevance of the media is important in defining lifestyles; the media also function as a platform to articulate and negotiate lifestyles and identities. Most of those shifts in media production and content have been addressed from a cultural studies perspective, but have not gained a lot of attraction among journalism scholars. Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) are among the first to define lifestyles as an analytical concept for journalism studies. They distinguish between the formative, reflexive, and articulative

dimensions. First, lifestyles provide orientation for the management of self and everyday life (i.e., the formative dimension). The media play an important role in providing orientation on what lifestyles exist and how they are expressed. Second, lifestyles have a performative aspect that engenders a great deal of consistency in individuals' behaviors (i.e, the reflexive dimension). Third, the expressive component of lifestyles articulates identity (articulative dimension). Social media in particular made a contribution to the articulative dimension and the way audiences engage in the articulations of lifestyles. Individuals and the media not only share lifestyles with local communities but let them gain global attention through distribution over digital media.

Lifestyle and celebrity journalism: Beyond the news? Bacon (1999) has argued that major gaps exist in media studies when it comes to areas of journalism beyond the news. For example, many have often criticized lifestyle journalism as an antithesis to journalism because of its lack of watchdog reporting. However, lifestyle as a form of popular journalism has gained rapid popularity over the past two decades, though it still remains somewhat neglected by academic researchers (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). To define lifestyle journalism scholars mostly refer to reports about the way people lead their lives, or "patterns in which people live and spend their time and money" (Gunter & Furnham, 1992, p. 70). Lifestyle journalism as form of popular journalism has the potential to popularize knowledge, as pointed out in the introduction. More people become aware of issues in society as the popular press addresses a wider public.

The importance of lifestyle journalism corresponds with the ongoing modernization that creates a need for orientation in societies that offer multiple options for people (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). Subfields of lifestyle journalism such as travel journalism and fashion journalism influence audiences' ways of life and shape identities of today's consumer societies. As a global phenomenon, the rise of a consumption culture has triggered the growth of lifestyle media in western societies since the 1980s. Between the 1950s and 1960s, technological innovations enabled newspapers to increase in size, allowing for more advertising as well as content, in particular soft forms of journalism (Cole, 2005). Individualization is considered the fundamental transformations of modern society (Beck, 1992). As a result, people have to make choices of styles in how to live their lives. Lifestyle programming has become ubiquitous on television. Meanwhile, social value change—the shift from general social orientation to values of self-expression—is another major process mentioned by Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) that contributes to lifestyle coverage in the news. With an increase in wealth in industrial societies, people have generally secured economic resources for survival; self-expression values thus become more prevalent in wealthier societies (Inglehart, 2000).

Journalism mirrors such a shift and has therefore increased its focus on lifestyle topics. Journalists' more and more perceive of their roles as service-providers. According to Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013), lifestyle journalism refers to "the journalistic coverage of the expressive values and practices that help create and signify a specific identity within the realm of consumption and everyday life" (p. 947). They interviewed 46 lifestyle journalists in Germany and 25 lifestyle journalists in Australia in order to understand the professional views of those journalists who work in popular journalism jobs. Not surprisingly, "providing entertainment and relaxation" forms the most explicit role conception of those journalists in both countries. Lifestyle journalists also aim to offer inspiration and a positive attitude towards life. Most of the lifestyle journalists pointed out that at the heart of their work they follow core journalistic skills and values, but also are aware that other colleagues in other fields look down on them. Deuze (2005) conducted in-depth expert interviews with tabloid reporters and editors in the Netherlands to examine popular journalism and professional ideology. He explored the relationships between issues related to popular culture and infotainment and journalism. Based on the interviews, he identified a utilitarian attitude functioning as a strategic ritual to explain why and how one does his or her work based on the consequences of their own actions (most prominently reflected in the sales numbers), the distinct emphasis on pleasure, including a moral notion. Deuze (2005) concludes that "Instead of a professional ideology, a kind of personalized utilitarian ideological framework is applied to give meaning to being a journalist" working in popular journalism (p. 880). The results indicate how the journalists negotiate the meaning of their own work reflects the context of the production of journalism. In other words, tabloid reporters and editors negotiate their professional identity within the limitations of the structure of their working conditions—the boundaries of popular journalism.

4. Popular Culture and Strategic Communication

A. Popular culture as a field of interest for strategic communication research

According to a common definition strategic communication "is the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission" (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Verčič, & Sriramesh, 2007, p. 3). These purposefully communicating organizations can be "corporations, non-profit organizations, activist groups, political parties or movements, government organizations, and all other kinds of actors" (Zerfass & Holtzhausen, 2015, p. xx). Scholars regard strategic communication as an integrative field with an emphasis on communication practice that taps into public relations, technical communication, political communication, management, marketing, and information/social campaigns.

So far, popular culture as, for example, in entertainment media, sports, or new technology plays a central role mostly in the domain of marketing (see, e.g., Shrum, 2012). In other fields of strategic communication only few researchers have paid specific attention to the interplay of strategic communication practice and areas of popular culture (L'Etang, 2006; Seiffert & Nothhaft, 2015; Tilson, 2003). However, the way in which strategic communicators (such as corporations, political parties, NGOs, and so on) engage in and use popular culture can shed an interesting light on the field of strategic communication—not just in a marketing sense but as a relational and public-oriented communicative practice in general. "As audiences become more adept at filtering out advertising messages by TiVOing, turning, or clicking their attention elsewhere, public relations efforts to infuse corporate messages more directly into news and entertainment media content are becoming increasingly important" (King, 2006, p. 74). Strategic communication is under pressure to adapt to functional logics of popular culture, mass media, media use, and new media. Developing new forms of engagement in popular culture content forms one current strategy to advance and differentiate existing communicative practices in the field.

In the following section, we review strategic communication literature that focuses specifically on aspects of popular culture. Unlike other reviews which look at the interplay of strategic communicators with distinct areas of popular culture—such as sports (L'Etang, 2006), or the movie industry (Tilson, 2003)—in order to gain publicity for a communicative entity, we focus on a variety of forms in how strategic communicators in practice integrate popular culture in general and specifically with popular media content. As such, we highlight corresponding areas of research such as advertainment, gaming, storytelling, sponsoring, and endorsement; further, we identify central research concepts and their context, which are relevant for strategic communication and lead to a systemization of basic forms of how strategic communicators engage with popular culture in order to achieve communicative goals.

B. Extant strategic communication research with a focus on popular culture

As indicated above, within the field of strategic communication research, the marketing domain has chiefly dedicated strong attention to the interplay of popular culture and the strategic communication practice. Within this domain one of the "classical" topics of strategic communication research with a focus on popular culture appears in advertising communication (Danna, 1992a; Fowles, 1996). Researchers have covered diverse subjects from a popular culture angle such as T-shirt messages (Sayre, 1992); 19th century showcases (Greene, 1992); the construction of gender, sexuality, and racism in advertising (Danna, 1992b; MacGregor, 1992; Whipple, 1992); constructions of national identity (MacGregor, 2003); or humor in advertising (Robitaille, 1992). These works show how advertising—which in its modern form emerged mainly as a product from the development of a culture of mass consumption in the late 19th century—both draws from and contributes to popular culture (Fowles, 1996). A common and often-cited example for this meaningful relationship is the cultural figure of Santa Claus:

> The story of Santa Claus has been passed down through centuries in legend and folklore. The image of Santa, while steeped in tradition, also owes a heavy debt to commercialization. The

> Coca-Cola Company, which began its famous Christmas advertising in the 1920s, transforms Santa into the enduring warm, friendly, jolly, plump (and Coke-drinking) image we recognize today. (Kretchmer, 2004, p. 38)

This example shows, above all, that the relationships between strategic communication practices and popular culture are much more diverse than expressed, for example, in classical forms of advertising (such as commercials and billboards) and involve a vast variety of communicative formats.

In recent years one popular concept which partly reflects this diversity has been *advertainment*, a term that refers to all "propositional practices that integrate brand communication with the content of entertainment products [such as] TV and movies, radio shows, songs and music, videos, video games, plays, and even novels" (Russell, 2009, p. 3). Within this integrative matrix, new products and formats such as video games emerge, which hold great potential for the strategic communication domain. But so far video games, especially, have not received much theoretical and empirical attention in the field: "Despite the discussion about "gamification" . . . and a tradition of game studies in the humanities, there have been few attempts to treat computer games not only as trivial culture, but as a 'persuasive device,' as a way to shape public opinion" (Seiffert & Nothhaft, 2015, p. 254). Seiffert and Nothhaft suggest Ian Bogost's (2010) recent analysis of computer games and specifically his term of "procedural rhetoric" as a useful framework for explaining how strategic communication practices shape public opinion via popular culture artefacts such as videogames. Bogost emphasizes that computer games have a unique persuasive power: "In addition to becoming instrumental tools for institutional goals, videogames can also disrupt and change fundamental attitudes and beliefs about the world, leading to potentially significant long-term social change. I believe that this power . . . lies in the very way videogames mount claims through procedural rhetoric" (Bogost, 2010, p. iv). As such, computer games serve as expressive media with high persuasive potential in diverse areas such as politics, advertising, and learning. Bogost argues that games can generally do so on two levels: (a) on the *content* level (in just the same way as other media content in films, books, newspapers, etc.) and (b) on the *procedural* level, as these games can mount particular arguments "through the laws, rules, and procedures of the world in which the game takes place and in which the player is involved" (Seiffert & Nothhaft, 2015, p. 261). This analysis shows that for strategic communicators, videogames as a modern popular culture artefact extend far beyond the classical advertising function and may be used as a means of strategic communication towards different publics and purposes. As such, they may be part of refined communication strategies going beyond the classical marketing context. One example comes from the field of learning and respective edutainment strategies, that is, strategies "where educational content is incorporated into entertainment media programs to influence the audience members' attitudes and behavior, as well as provide knowledge about pro-social issues" (Desens & Hughes, 2013, p. 295).

But strategic communicators do not only engage with popular culture by producing their own distinct content for different mass media and new media formats; they also do so simply by being present within other more or less non-strategic forms content (Tilson, 2003). This is generally achieved through strategies of sponsoring (Lacey, Sneath, Finney, & Close, 2007), product placement (Owen, Hang, Lewis, & Auty, 2012), or in-game advertising (Mau, Silberer, & Constien, 2008; Terlutter & Capella, 2013; Yang, Roskos-Ewoldsen, Dinu, & Arpan, 2006) where the strategic communicator does not produce an own commercial, game, or movie, but pays a third party to be included as part of other content—whether through placing particular messages, products, or brands (Kretchmer, 2004). Historically, this practice developed with placements of products or brands in movies and television content, but today includes all sorts of popular culture media content in video games, podcasts, web sites, and so on (Lehu, 2008). Especially in the context of mass or mainstream culture, with large groups of recipients and strong channels of diffusion, such strategies can be highly effective when the aim is to simply generate media coverage for a strategic communicator (Pardun & McKee, 1999). A good practical example for this come from the California-based lifestyle products company Paul Frank Industries, which "just by keeping musicians, film stars, and other celebrities outfitted in t-shirts and handbags emblazoned with 'Julius the Monkey' and other icons, . . . obtained prominent placements such as at the Academy Awards and on the cover of *Rolling Stone* magazine. As a result, the brand became widely popular without any paid advertising" (King, 2006, p. 75).

In recent years, catalyzed especially through the development of new media and more interactive and dialogic technologies and formats, strategic communicators increasingly practice more interactive communication that is not confined to a particular piece of content, whether self-produced or entered through sponsoring. Rather, communicators use open formats to build relationships and engage recipients over time. One such example is, of course, strategic communication via social networking platforms such as Facebook or Twitter (Rybalko & Seltzer, 2010; Waters, Burnett, Lamm, & Lucas 2009; Weberling & Waters, 2012). More and more, communicators successfully use these platforms to increase organization-public engagement and practice relationship management to leverage user engagement and its effect on relational outcomes such as trust, satisfaction, and commitment (Men & Tsai, 2013). Another trend in strategic communication practice that develops with regard to dynamics and structures of popular culture media content on the one hand and more continuous and interactive media technologies on the other hand is storytelling. Research shows how narrative techniques (Berger, 1996) help strategic communicators enfold messages over time within sequel narratives of media content such as movie series (Cooper, Schembri, & Miller, 2010). Such stories relate strongly to recipients' need to see causality and experience time (Hirschman, 2010), and generally recipients interact more strongly with strategic communication messages that are embedded in distinct storylines (Brown & Patterson, 2010; Schembri, Merrilees, & Kristiansen, 2010). Hence, strategic communicators increasingly engage in larger narratives and stories to entertain and to enable higher degrees of engagement: "Although traditional notions of timeliness, proximity, significance, and the like are still important, media relations specialists must think about these concepts not just in terms of informational value, but also entertainment value. Furthermore, they must also understand the principles of drama—and perhaps look to the disciplines of storytelling and theater to learn how to develop characters and plot lines and foster the suspense, excitement and emotions that drive the drama of entertainment" (King, 2006, p. 75).

C. Systemizing forms of engagement with popular culture in strategic communication

We can systematize current forms of relating strategic communication and popular culture by looking at the way in which strategic communication practice plays a role in the production and dissemination of different forms of media content. The above review shows that researchers in the field mainly analyze three more or less distinct forms: a form of mere *material involvement* where strategic communicators pay or sponsor a third party to be included as part of an otherwise non-strategic media content; a form of *closed content production* where strategic communicators produce their own more or less confined piece of content such as movies, computer games, or commercials; and finally a form of *open content (co-)production* where strategic communicators use interactive media technologies to engage recipients in continuous communicative processes. Though these categories are not entirely distinct, we can identify each of the three forms with specific implications for practices in communication management.

Material involvement offers communication managers the opportunity to distance themselves from a possibly all too obvious strategic intent: "While traditional marketing and advertising may be viewed more skeptically as blatant self-promotion, sponsorships, celebrity endorsements, and product placements can be more subtle, lending third party credibility to a corporation's products, services, or image" (King, 2006, pp. 75ff.). But at the same time such material involvements from the perspective of strategic communication also act as a double edged sword due to effects of persuasion knowledge (Friestad & Wright, 1999, 1994), which may lead people who become aware of the paid promotion to become more skeptical of the strategic communicator and its intent (Meenaghan, 2001; Wood, Nelson, Atkinson, & Lane, 2008).

Furthermore, when comparing closed content production (as in commercials, advergames, or advertainment) with the other forms of how the strategic communicator involves and engages in popular culture media content, we see an important hierarchy of control: While closed content affords the strategic communicator the opportunity to control many of the parameters of the communicative process, forms of both material involvement and open content (co-)production imply a lack of control—but they, in turn, also hold greater potential in terms of engagement. Also, we should note that the classification of new media formats such as advergames within a category of closed content is far from exclusive, due to a very vast-moving technological development and emerging possibilities for interactivity and user generated content within gaming environments.

And finally open content (co-)production (as in engagement and dialogue communication via social media platforms and storytelling in continuous communications with recipients) supplies new opportunities for handling contingencies in organizational conduct (especially in the context of risk/crisis, or heterogeneity in the collective/organizational identity). Open content (co-) production can reduce complexity through strategic communication. With respect to contemporary mass media culture, communicators realize these strategies by adapting to the functional logic of modern mass media and new media technologies with user generated content, preferences for personal focus and stories, and tendencies to transfer complex issues into causally stringent and dramaturgically sound narratives. When focusing on dynamics of media use, these strategic communications need to account for the critical potential of modern media users, namely, their heightened power to intervene in public discourses and the respective risks of unmasking staged events, stories, and narratives—and the concomitant constant reputational threat (Ott & Theunissen, 2015). Social media communication in particular poses additional challenges in strategic communication for balancing openness, strategy, and management (MacNamara & Zerfass, 2012).

Ultimately, within integrative strategic communication strategies and over time, all these forms can act in ways supplementary to each other. Research emphasizes that even material involvements can serve as an important prerequisite to the more dialogic forms of open content (co-)production in strategic communication as they can draw attention to the communicator and serve as hooks for further media coverage and interactive forms of communication. King uses the case of the product placement campaign by Pontiac to exemplify this: The company gave away cars to audience members of the Oprah Winfrey Show; and while the giveaway "had a total retail value if nearly USD 8 million, reportedly it generated USD 20 million worth of unpaid media coverage and public relations" (King, 2006, p. 75).

5. Epilogue

It is almost impossible to look at popular culture without looking at communication practice. Media and communication practices always played a crucial role in legitimating and reinventing popular culture. Journalism and strategic communication constitute two professional fields, which—through their formats, contents, and production—engage with and shape popular culture in modern media societies.

Cultural studies researchers have claimed that journalism forms part of popular culture rather than being a separate entity (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991). For the domain of strategic communication, this claim holds true at least for the sphere of advertising (Danna, 1992a). But with the rising importance of social media on the one hand, and strategic communicators' increasing professionalization in terms of open content strategies on the other, this statement increasingly applies to other spheres of strategic communication.

Since the dawn of industrialization and mass culture, new media and new forms of technology have continuously provided new platforms and opportunities for both journalists and strategic communicators to reach and engage (and influence) new and greater audiences. Looking at different sets of sub-cultures as distinguished by cultural studies (e.g. Browne, 1972; Gans, 1999; Real, 1989), we see that these communication practices have an important focus on mainstream and popular culture that is accepted and consumed by large majorities. In part, this focus becomes visible (and sometimes problematic) only when it is seen relative to other sub-cultures. In this regard we have seen that scholars in journalism research have extensively analyzed the role of journalism and its various manifestations of popular culture in journalistic genres such as lifestyle and celebrity reporting within the tension of the field of popular vs. elite culture. This argument has it roots in the old controversy about the quality of the press as, for example, with tabloid journalism representing the lower end of what constitutes good journalism,

Looking at strategic communication research, we have seen that such normative discourses with regard to popular culture are almost entirely absent due to the inherently persuasive strategies of advertising, marketing, or engagement communication. Researchers instead focus on how strategic communicators may use

popular culture artefacts, and mainly mass and new media, to gain publicity and engage publics as a way to generate trust, legitimacy, or higher revenue. Apart from advertising, with its long history in the popular and mass culture of industrialized societies, this field has a strong focus specifically on the more recent trends. Accordingly, while the historical entanglement of popular culture and journalism is very well documented and analyzed (meanwhile contested), in strategic communication so far this only holds true for the field of advertising.

Taken together, popular culture in communication practices on the one hand provides a positive attitude toward all instrumentalities for the socialization of the individual, but, on the other hand, a deep concern about the inner fate of the individual under the impact of "the leveling powers of institutional and other organized forms of leisure activity" (Lowenthal, 1950, p. 324).

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Book Reviews

Review Essay

Communication for Development

McAnany, Emile G. *Saving the World: A Brief History of Communication for Development and Social Change*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 185. ISBN 978-0252-03677-4 (cloth) $95.00; 978-0-252-07844-6 (paper) $27.00; 978-0-252-09387-6 (e-book).

Enghel, Florencia and **Karin Wilkins**. (Eds.). Communication, Media, and Development: Problems and Perspectives. *Nordicom Review, 33* (special issue), 2012. Pp. 240. ISBN 978–91–86523–48–0 (paper). No price given. http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/publikationer/nordicom-review.

Thomas, Pradip Ninan (Ed.). Beyond the Impasse: Exploring New Thinking in Communication for Social Change. *Nordicom Review, 36* (special issue), 2015. Pp. 112. ISBN 978-91-87957-07-9 (paper) no price listed. http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/publikationer/nordicom-review.

Studied and referred to under many titles—among them, development communication, communication for development, communication for social change, or communication for development and social change—this area defines one of the most important confluences of theory and practice in the larger world of communication studies. These three publications complement one another: *Saving the World* looks to the past in order to suggest a future; "Communication, Media, and Development" provides a snapshot of the present; and "Beyond the Impasse" begins in the present to untangle the future. Together they offer a very good introduction to the people and issues that frame the communication for development and social change world.

A student of Wilbur Schramm, Emile McAnany (an editor of Trends) has both lived through and studied communication for development and social change for 40 years. In this volume he provides a history of the last four decades of the work in this area. With personal knowledge of many of the founders of the field and as a teacher of many of the current people working in this area, McAnany offers an informed and critical introduction to the idea of communication and social change.

After a first chapter that stresses the importance of communication in the lives of people around the globe, McAnany sets out his understanding of communication for social change. The rationale for the book comes from "using any insight from the historical review of the theories and paradigms that energize the field at different times to suggest an agenda for improving and strengthening the work of academics, policymakers, development funders, and people working in the field to use communication in all of its forms to promote the social change in people's lives, which is the basic rationale for the work of [communication for development]" (p. 4). McAnany argues that we must refocus the communication for development field, partly in response to the millennium development goals, partly in response to the split between theory and practice or application (p. 6).

He organizes the book in an historical or chronological pattern, looking at the origins of the work in communication for social change and then stepping through the various leading ideas, what McAnany terms paradigms. Though the field of communication for development or social change has experienced a great deal of disagreement and controversy, McAnany argues that it is important to look beyond these to find evidence of individual interpretations, how various people implemented the founding texts, the ways in which they measured the results, and how they have moved forward. He traces the beginnings of the field that he says "grew organically from the first period of mass communication studies in the United States (1936–49)" (p. 11). More or less in the decade following that period, three founding texts in communication and development took shape or appeared: Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Tradition Society* (1958), Everett Roger's *Diffusion of Innovations* (1962), and Wilbur Schramm's *Mass Media and National Development* (1964).

Research on development communication begins with Lerner's book and Lerner's argument about the importance of mass communication for development within the particular cultures that he studied. This research originated during the Cold War and was funded by a grant from the Voice of America. This approach encouraged other mass communication scholars to look at the ways that communication could work to support the modernization of traditional societies. The second important foundational text, this one by Rogers, took a more sociological approach (Rogers' training was in rural sociology) and was based on work he had done with agricultural groups in the United States, studying how ideas spread among farmers. Schramm's book,

jointly published by UNESCO and Stanford University, hints at an often overlooked fact in the communication for social change work. McAnany argues that the reason communication for social change and development took the form that it did resulted from the interests of the funding agencies, particularly the United Nations and foundations like the Rockefeller or Ford Foundation. The whole history of the field crosses over again and again with various large-scale projects as well as with debates in the international community over the role of communication, the role of development, and the role of the local people. It was part of the United Nations system to have a focus on more global approaches to things, and this opens the door to many of the specifications for development projects. McAnany notes that many projects started very small and then after an observational research study would be scaled up. This move often corresponded with one from theory to practice. In the course of the book he provides examples of each of the kinds of development projects that grew from the theoretical work.

In the first phase of the work of communication for development, many of the projects addressed educational needs: These would include educational radio or educational television, with the idea that these mass media would serve as multipliers to allow a small group to influence a wider cultural group. Researchers and workers in this first phase of communication for development tended to be very optimistic, even when they found more limited or less positive results than the planners had anticipated. A leading cause for the limited results had to do with the cost/benefit ratio of the projects, many of which did not scale well. For example, while some of the educational television projects led to strong student achievement, the added costs of teachers in larger projects made the enterprises too expensive for local governments.

The second paradigm that McAnany reviews—which he places in the 1970s and the 1980s—he refers to as "the critical and structuralist phase" (p. 66). This approach had its origins in a critique arising in Latin America. This critique itself came out of the work of communication researchers aligned with economists, who developed dependency theory, "a theory developed by Latin American economists to describe the development or underdevelopment of their continent through its economic relation with the developed world" (p. 67). Dependency theory held that foreign investment actually served to restrict growth and foster foreign rather than local interests and the foreign domination of local economies. Applying this to communication, theorists argued that many of the communication for development projects served as cultural invaders into their particular cultures and ignored the context and the needs of the local audiences. The critique changed the approaches taken in communication for development, leading to more field experiments in attempts to understand how best to organize communication for development (p. 82).

The dependency critique led to the growth of another way of thinking about communication for development, participatory communication. This approach tends to follow historically from the other, although it had existed simultaneously in many places. Dominant from the 1970s to the late 1990s, it overlaps as noted with some of the other approaches and theories. The idea rests upon the conviction that local people form the best judges of their own development. Building on research findings, the strategy involved the local community in nurturing the ideas of self-reliance and participation rather than simply receiving ideas from the industrial world or from communication experts. The key question: "Whose development?"

Finally McAnany describes a paradigm appearing more in the last 10 to 15 years: social entrepreneurship. This approach seeks to empower local people to develop their own ideas by providing funding for local innovative thinkers or planners. The work builds on economic theories or practices, like that of micro-lending, that succeeded in other areas—perhaps in job creation—and then tries to harness this for communication and social development.

In each of the chapters McAnany describes the approach by giving its historical background in terms of the key thinkers and leading theories for each of the areas. On the side of practice, he offers examples of both successful and unsuccessful projects, using them to highlight the theory and the practice of communication for development. In the course of the book we meet a wide range of thinkers, including Andre Gunder Frank and Armand Mattelart (dependency theory); Paulo Freire, Frank Gerace, and Erskine Childers (participatory communication); and Muhammad Yunus, Rowena Young, and Bill Drayton (social entrepreneurship).

McAnany concludes the volume by suggesting an agenda moving into the future for communication and development. He outlines what he describes as a policy debate with three different positions that would suggest directions for communication and development

work. The first position, "transformational," describes an approach which is "a big push to solve a major problem all at once." The exact opposite approach ("marginal" or "incremental") describes "intervening in an area in smaller increments" (p. 125). The third approach, falling in the middle, seeks to focus attention on the very poor and supports outside intervention to "help them reform themselves" (p. 127). Each of these approaches has the backing of different economists and each has been tried in one way or another currently. However, few of them involve any kind of communication work but McAnany suggests that communication could fit into these patterns. His analysis also identifies challenges facing the field. These include debates about funding sources and the control they exert. In the past the major funders determined both the kinds of projects and the approaches to the project. The struggle for control led to some of the charges about the dependency theory. Another challenge lies in how to measure success or even how to define success. Each of these projects sets up goals and yet the agencies remain unclear about how best to measure them. Researchers have used both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the past, with mixed results. A third challenge has to do with the role that innovation could play in these various projects. Does the innovation come from outside and perhaps lack a contextual or cultural context or does the innovation come from local sources, best recognized by local actors? A fourth challenge has to do with the relationship of technology and people. Should the projects push the latest technologies or should they focus more on the individuals? Finally, as suggested already, McAnany asks about the context. How much does the local context matter? How much can idea be moved from one culture to another?

The conclusion also reflects on whether the idea of a paradigm is the most appropriate one for the book; it certainly does help to organize the ideas about communication for development. The field has shown different approaches over the last 40 years, with a constant tension between theory and practice that appears in the ways in which researchers and funding groups articulate them and in the ways in which they seek to measure outcomes. McAnany also notes the ways in which technology has worked to favor one approach over another.

Saving the World provides a wonderful introduction to the general area. Those who work in the field will know much of what McAnany proposes, if not everything. However, they may appreciate the ways in which he phrases the questions and the suggestions that he makes in highlighting an agenda for the future. All students who are just beginning will find this book an excellent introduction not only to the ideas and theories but also to the key thinkers who have helped frame the debate over the last 30 or 40 years. Students, especially beginning students do tend to forget how much any field depends upon personalities and circumstances: Things do not have to unfold as they do. Knowing the people and their histories gives an invaluable background to our knowledge.

The publishers of *Nordicom Review*, a journal that serves as a forum for communication researchers in Nordic countries, had noticed how important some of their other publications on development communication had become and so, over the last few years, have published two special issues dealing with development communication. In the first (2012), Florencia Enghel and Karin Wilkins highlight a number of the key problems in the field. They write that "we sought approaches to development, aid, globalization, communication, and media that shared a preoccupation for advancing substantive theorization, meaningful research, and fairer practices. We made an effort to cover a broad span on several levels" (p. 10), including people from different disciplinary backgrounds as well as those representing both academic work and fieldwork.

This issue, published the same year as McAnany's book, lays out a number of the problems that face development communication, reporting on failures as well as on successes. Initial articles offer theoretical approaches to the work. In his essay, "Means of Communication: Transnational Struggles and Scarce Resources," Thomas Hylland Ericksen argues "that a democratization of the means of communication may be a key to a less volatile world and an important dimension of a more equitable world society" (p. 15). Erickson offers this reflection in the context of examples from a number of different countries and the importance of giving people the ability to communicate as part of any development work and against the backdrop of postcolonialism and globalization..

Several writers reflect critically on development communication. Lisa Ann Richey presents a different kind of critique of development work, this one stemming from a reflection on treating HIV/AIDS in her article "Mobilizing for Global AIDS Treatment: Clicking Compassion and Shopping Salvation." She notes that much of the fundraising for treatment of HIV/AIDS tends to come from social marketing cam-

paigns or from companies who raise money by attaching their donations to various kinds of consumption in the west. Drawing on "international relations theory, sociology, and anthropology" (p. 29), she offers a perspective on and a critique of this approach to development. Another approach to the critique of international development looks to international news coverage about various economic crises or civil wars. Bella Mody ("The Potential of Foreign News as International Development Communication") examines the correlation between news coverage of crises in various countries and the commitment of those countries to development aid. She reports a study in which she examines news coverage and measures how news organizations report on the causes of various crises, and then she "compares their performance on coverages of causes as a source of information for foreign publics and their government" (p. 50). She includes the press in China, Egypt, South Africa, the UK, France, the United States, and Qatar. Her work highlights the limits of knowledge available in the press but also suggests a different approach to the role of communication for development. Nora C. Quebral approaches the critique in another direction, in "The Underside of Communication in Development." She frames her critique in terms of the fact that in many cases communication is equated with the mass media and often accepts notions of development from donor countries. In the essay, she discusses "the underside of communication and development . . . as the failure to address those forms of poverty that threaten equality, social cohesion, and the free flow of knowledge and information" (p. 59).

A series of articles treat specific projects or countries. Two introduce development communication projects in India. The first, by Paula Chakravartty looks at how the information and communication technology business sets up unequal information societies even though they attempt to offer help in development communication. Pradip Ninan Thomas looks at participatory communication in terms of what he calls public-sector software or open-source software. He considers how this offers access to a number of different publics and shows some of the benefits of this approach for India. Turning to South America, Rosa Maria Alfaro Moreno asks the provocative question (whose answer many simply assume, building on the original work of Lerner that McAnany introduces): "Is It Possible to Generate Development Starting from Communication?" Building on her work with a Peruvian civil society group begun in 1983, she notes how from some perspectives one can respond positively to her question: "beginning with citizenship at the individual and collective level; from the shared support of civil society; by interacting with the existing political organization; via the engagement of a committed although still small part of the business community." She goes on to argue that "citizens should be the protagonists of development in a relationship with other key players, from government, the business community, and organized civil society" (p. 91). Silvia Balit describes the experience of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's history with development communication in "Communication for Development in Good and Difficult Times: The FAO Experience." As her title suggests, such communication has worked and has not worked. She proposes that "new approaches should be married up with the participatory principles and methodologies applied to the past that are still valid for meeting the new challenges" (p. 105).

Many communication for development projects have roots in Africa. Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez in "The Limits of Communication: The Gnat on the Elephant" report an experience from a land law project in Mozambique and how the participatory communication part of the project was not implemented. They ask what went wrong in a reflection on the process. Other reports from Africa examine radio and television. Peter da Costa looks at lessons about sustainability from a community radio campaign with which he was associated. He found that "radio stations created through top-down initiatives tend not to survive when external funding dries up. Where such stations do survive, their purpose often becomes different from what was originally intended" (p. 135). Lebo Ramafoko, Gavin Anderson, and Renay Weiner look at "Reality Television for Community Development: The Kwanda Initiative in South Africa." This development initiative of the Soul City Institute and its partners involved "five deprived communities . . . challenged to make their areas 'look better, feel better, and work better' by addressing health and development issues. Responses to this challenge were documented in a 13- episode reality TV series that culminated in a viewer vote for the most successful community" (p. 149). The group reports on the relative success of this project both in terms of getting the individual communities involved as well as the role the government was able to play. Another case study from Africa comes from Tanzania, "The Globalization of the Pavement." Here Ylva Ekström, Anders Høg Hansen, and Hugo Boothby report "examples of citizen media

production and communication (blogs and social media sites in Tanzania and its diasporas) in the immediate aftermath of the Gongo la Mboto blasts in Dar es Salaam" (p. 163) in 2001. The authors suggest that these social media sites match the oral culture and the traditions of the country to provide a globalization of various traditional communication forms.

Several essays propose new approaches to communication for development. Helen Hambly Odame and Natalie Oram examine the use of community service learning. Peter Lemish and Kelly Caringer review the work of civil society organizations as managers of projects. They argue that this requires a shift in perspective "from business and marketing models to a *development communication* perspective" (p. 189). McAnany expands on his discussion of social entrepreneurship and offers a detailed model.

Two final essays, one by Cees Hamelink and one by Oscar Hemer and Thomas Tufte, suggest paths going forward. Both are hopeful, based on global changes, but both call for a rethinking of the role of communication in development.

The seven articles and one dialogue making up "Beyond the Impasse: Exploring New Thinking in Communication for Social Change," each addresses one or another aspect of the things that McAnany identified in looking toward the future of development communication. Though not intended as any kind of response to his work, the issue highlights how much these issues have attracted attention among the practitioners and theoreticians in this area.

Enghel (in "Towards a Political Economy of Communication in Development?") proposes a theoretical model to expand the foundations for development communication. She notes that the very title "development communication" tends to highlight the fact that the field itself either focuses on one element, development, or on the other, communication, a reality that perhaps weakens the overall idea. She suggests instead a theoretical model to better balance the three dimension of development communication: seeing it "as a field of study, as a practice, and as a project" (p. 13). But each of these three falls victim to the overall context of what she terms "neoliberal digital capitalism" (p. 16). She argues for a critical political economy approach, one that would lead each of the aspects of development communication towards a more conscious understanding of the overall circumstances in which it works. Such an approach would avoid errors like regarding communication as simultaneously "a powerful tool" and a "neutral tool," applicable to any culture or context (p. 13). This sense of the structural constraints would help those engaged in this area to face up to some of the challenges identified in the literature. She sees four advantages:

- as an alternative to decontextualized practices, it calls attention to "the social totality, making it possible to identify and analyze the interconnections between the systems of economic, political, and symbolic power at play in the practice and the project of development communication"
- it informs "a future-oriented perspective grounded in an adequate understanding of recent history"
- "it would illuminate the changing power balance—and forms of interaction—between the media and information industries on the one hand, and the funding and recipient governments on the other."
- it "emphasize[s] the analytical relevance of attending to praxis, i.e., to the relationship between academic research and practice, and the wider governance contexts which they seek to influence" (p. 18).

In "Communication for Social Change: Making Theory Count," Pradip Ninan Thomas argues for a more carefully derived theory for communication for development. He examines the state of the question much as Enghel does. He points out that one of the difficulties that communication for development has faced, at least in terms of its theoretical model, results from an uncertainty in terms of its grounding. While clearly articulated contributions come from people like Paulo Freire, others draw too widely. Communication for social development "theorization has also been shaped by a great variety of '-isms' and schools of thought including Marxism, feminist theory, post-colonial and subaltern theories, identity theory, globalization, social movement theory, and ICT for development theories" (p. 72). He then points out that effective theory needs several components. These include the development of a theory of knowledge, "in other words an epistemological understanding of why and how communications intervention will result in the desired change." Second, a theory requires "a specific understanding of process that feeds into practice"; third, "a knowledge of structures, meaning the institutions and power flows that play a role in the structuring process, interventions, and access to resources" (p. 74). Fourth, the theoretical foundation requires a specific understanding of "context" as well as, fifth, "a grappling with the flows of power." "In

other words, the accent on power recognizes that fact that no [communication for social change] project exists in a vacuum or is outside of the influence of a variety of stake holders" (p. 75). He argues that each of these is necessary for a fully developed theory and that many theories of development communication focus on one or another aspect but not on all five. As a case study to show how this could happen but he looks at the grounded theory in development communication that comes from the RTI [right to information] movement in India. Thomas indicates that a careful examination of projects like these can help to resolve the question of the lack of follow-up or a lack of a valuation of communication projects.

Another ongoing difficulty that McAnany and several others had identified has to do with evaluating the work done in communication for social development. Three of the essays in the special issue address this area. June Lennie and Jo Tacchi argue in their essay, "Tensions, Challenges, and Issues in Evaluating Communication for Development: Findings from Recent Research and Strategies for Sustainable Outcomes," that the tension between two general approaches—"results-based" and "emergent learning and improvement-based" approaches—make work more difficult to evaluate. They identified a number of challenges to doing any kind of evaluative research; some of these include things arising from particular contexts, things arising from institutional level challenges, things arising from the attitudes and policies of funders, challenges arising from the attitudes and policies of funders and management, and issues arising from "the timeframe," in other words, the unrealistic demands to complete a particular assessment or even a particular project within a given time. They suggest a number of strategies that could be helpful in doing better evaluation. These include "evaluation . . . as an ongoing learning and organizational improvement process; . . . shift[ing] from proving impacts to developing and improving initiatives; the use of evaluative processes to support the development of innovations; and a shift from external to internal and community accountability" (p. 33). They also suggest some alternative, more innovative approaches to evaluating projects; a rigorous mixed methods evaluation approach; and a long-term holistic evaluation capacity. In addition they briefly review other frameworks they have proposed in other publications.

A complementary article by Jessica Noske-Turner, "10 years of Evaluation Practice in Media Assistance: Who, When, Why, and How?" draws on a number of evaluation reports to identify key challenges. A review of "trends in methodology choices and critiquing the quality of the evidence enabled through different valuation approaches" (p. 41) allows Noske-Turner to highlight key weaknesses in project evaluation. Authorship of the reports included external consultants (the majority), donors, project leader, or some combination. The majority of evaluations took places two or three years into the project. Most used qualitative methods (a "desk review" of project materials and field interviews with project stakeholders). Noske-Turner finds clear deficiencies in the model of work, with most studies not including any kind of clear project monitoring. And, she notes, that although most evaluations include lengthy sections on recommendations, few use those reports "to inform future funding decisions in media assistance" projects (p. 51).

A third critique of methodologies comes from Tamara Plush ("Interrogating Practitioner Tensions for Raising Citizen Voice with Participatory Video in International Development"). Plush bemoans the limitations facing those who wish to use participatory video, "a method that specifically prioritizes iterative processes of filmmaking, viewings, and dialogue to support the people least heard in societies to represent themselves" (pp. 57–58). After analyzing interviews with a number of practitioners, Plush determined a number of overarching threats to the validity of this particular approach to participatory communication. Each originated in the institutional views of the sponsoring agencies. Three threats stem from their views of purpose of the work and three stemmed from the experience or practice in the projects. Under the first heading, she found that practitioners felt that the work itself became driven by the agenda of the sponsoring institution and thus limited the value of the input of the participants. Others felt that the projects themselves had to be focused on the output desired by the sponsor, something that again tended to weaken the voices of those participating. Third, some of the institutional sponsors simply saw giving a voice to people as an opportunity for greater credibility for their work, but Plush's informants argued that this placed institutional value over the good of the particular group of people. The second set of weaknesses arose from the experience itself, the ways that the sponsoring groups influence the projects. Again, she identified three sources of threat. First, the sponsoring groups tended to want an apolitical participation; yet giving voice to people who are often voiceless intrinsically has a political aspect. Second, some sponsoring

groups felt that participatory video should be innocuous; here, too, they failed to recognize the power of giving voice to people. Finally the last weakness coming from the sponsoring groups is that many felt that people could learn participatory video quickly and then easily sustain it. Practitioners point out that to do participatory video properly takes a great deal of time and training for the participants who engage the process.

Gemma-Rose Turnbull, a documentary photographer, presents an interesting study in "Surface Tension: Navigating Socially Engaged Documentary Photographic Practices." Her work includes case studies of a number of projects as a way in which participants become part of the artistic expression. This challenges the idea of the solitary artist and leads to a rethinking of the relationships involved between artist and subject. Though she does not develop the point in great detail, her work can serve as a model for the kind of participant communication one would look for in a development project.

The essays in this special issue come from a conference on exploring new thinking about communication for social change held at the University of Queensland in January, 2013. The last part of the journal records a dialogue between two of the keynote presenters, Jo Tacchi and Sylvio Waisbord. They carry on a discussion about several key topics from the conference, some of which we have already seen in the writings reviewed here: the role of participation, the definition of participation, and the political reality of participation; the question of scale and how to build up or understand scale among various communication development projects; the understanding of praxis; and the role of policy as well as that of new technology in development communication.

These two publications offer a very good introduction to work in development communication. But in addition to the introduction to people and ideas, they also serve to introduce some of the debate and confusion that has characterized communication for development theory and practice. Each publication includes extensive bibliographies of books, articles, and web sites. Given the different formats they differ in how they handle references. The McAnany book has what one would expect—a traditional reference list plus index; the journal features reference lists for each of the individual essays but has no common reference list nor an index.

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

Bisbal, Marcelino, and **Jesús María Aguirre** (Eds.). *Encrucijadas de la Comunicación en Venezuela*. [*Communication Crossroads in Venezuela*]. Caracas, Venezuela: Centro Gumilla, 2015. Pp. 500. ISBN: 978-980-403-105-2; depósito legal: lf-90920150701562. e-mail: bidandco@gmail.com; web: http://www.bidandco.net.

The editors presented this book, *Encrucijadas de la Comunicación in Venezuela*, during the Conference for Researchers in Communication (INVECOM) that took place at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (UCAB) between May 27–29, 2015. The book is published on the 40th Anniversary of the "*Comunicación*" quarterly of Jesuit Centro Gumilla. According to the compilers, Marcelino Bisbal and Jesús María Aguirre, this book is the fruit of the tenacious work of a group of researchers from UCAB and UCV (Universidad Central de Venezuela) in cooperation with other organizations in the communication field. It fills a gap in the knowledge about today's situation of communications in Venezuela.

The 13 authors that enhance the project address two precise objectives, as they are explained in the preface. On one hand, they fill a vacuum about the media situation and networks of social communication in Venezuela; this knowledge is necessary for any professional. On the other hand, they offer a useful instrument for teaching and other activities during the process of preparing social communicators and network managers.

The title of *Crossroads* arises from the situation of uncertainty of communications in a country where speedy technological changes have crossed with the politics of a self-declared "revolutionary" government. The main sections study classical themes, like the politics of communication; the economy of communication; the democratization of communications; cultural consumption, reception, and its mediations; the crisis of journalism; and other important topics, like freedom of speech, the role of alternative communications, and digital trends.

In addition, some chapters are added that study other topics that are of interest for the entrepreneurs in the field; typically today these themes are studied but very little. This speaks badly about private enterprises, like organizational communication, social responsibility, and advertising communications.

The final part of the book closes with a "map and agenda of research in communications." This includes

the historical framework of the research on this field and the new open ways on the exploration of Internet and social networks. An exhaustive appendix of addresses on specialized digital reviews enriches this book as a colophon. With no doubt this will become a landmark among area publications. The elegant design achieved by Bid@Cod editorial with a frontspiece by the plastic artist Víctor Irazábal makes this book a masterpiece.

—José Martínez de Toda, S.J.
Centro Gumilla
Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (Caracas)

Carty, Victoria. *Social Movements and New Technology*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2015. Pp. xv; 224. ISBN: 978-0-8133-4586-4 (paper) $30.00; 978-0-8133-4587-1 (eBook) $19.99.

In June of 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States legalized gay marriage. This decision, derided and celebrated in many quarters, was very conspicuously noted on Facebook. Many users (as many as 26 million, according to the *Washington Post*) changed the background of their profile picture to include a transparent overly of the rainbow flag symbolic of the gay rights movement. With a few quick keystrokes, Facebookers showed their support for, well . . . something. Such an endorsement is but one small, and in this case very simple, way that information and communication technologies (ICTs) influence the ways that the public mobilizes itself for a cause. Victoria Carty address the influence of ICTs through a series of recent social movement organization (SMO) case studies. She provides an overview of social movement theory, and then draws from the cases to explore the constitutive power and effects of technology on the ways people organize themselves to promote or protest public policy.

Carty situates her cases studies squarely in the framework of social movement theory. Her central question is, as she puts it, "Do the case studies of contemporary social movements in this book give us reason to update or modify traditional social movement theories, and if so, how and why?" (p. 19). The author dedicates her first chapter to an overview of social movement theory and a definition of social movements (from Tarrow, 1998) as a "sustained collective articulation of resistance to elite opponents by a plurality of actors with a common purpose" (pp. 6–7). Here she provides an overview of resource mobilization theory, cultural theory of social movements, interstitial locations theory, and others. The natural conclusion of this overview is that, regardless of the explanatory power of a theoretical framework, each is affected by new technologies and new social movement theories are likely to arise.

The author opens the case studies section with analyses of MoveOn.org and the Tea Party. Carty lays out the strategies used by MoveOn.org and the Tea Party to frame their image and organize themselves, particularly in recent elections. Regarding MoveOn .org, Carty argues that new social movement theory shows how movements function in a virtually leaderless manner through email, text, and other technology. She traces MoveOn's growth away from its origins surrounding the Clinton/Lewinsky scandal to embrace liberal causes in general. Similarly, the conservative Tea party also illustrates new social movement theory as it functions as "an assembly of roughly affiliated groups consisting of supporters rather than members in the traditional sense" (p. 71).

Carty's second set of case studies focuses on the Middle East. She precedes contemporary cases in the section with an overview of the Green Revolution in Iran marked by protests against Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Ahmadinejad's government attempted to severely limit electronic access to ICTs as participants drew from the technologies to organize themselves. She analyzes elements of the Arab Spring as they occurred in 2011 in Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. In these analyses, the author describes the conditions that led to the organized resistance, and she provides an analysis of the methods and impacts of the ICTs on the movements. She consistently refers to the social movement theory laid out early in Chapter 1 such as cultural theory and resource mobilization. Importantly, the author does not discount the role of organizers on the ground as part of the public sphere. Instead, she highlights the role of technology as it both accounts for new social movement trajectory and feeds existing theory.

The Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement in the United States has been one of the most celebrated and vocal movements in the U.S. in some time. One of Carty's purposes in this case study, as with the others, is to draw from it to help enrich existing theory in social movements, namely resource mobilization: "It shows that physical forms of protest in real communities are the main driving force in struggles for social

change, which are assisted in key ways by new information technologies and media" (p. 131). A significant outcome of this case is the importance of framing techniques to social movements such as "We are the 99%" in reference to the economically underrepresented majority in the United States. Her conclusion is that Occupy Wall Street was not born on the Internet but rather through an informal collectivizing of financially disadvantaged young people who began to assemble publically, and that "digital technology was a driving force behind the OWS campaign because the shared stories provided citizens with a sociological imagination" for perceiving and sharing their realties of their social and economic injustice (p. 138). Though most in the U.S. would regard the origins of OWS to be at Zuccotti Park in lower Manhattan in September of 2011, Carty provides a strong overview of the origins of the movement among the Indignados (and anti-austerity movement) in Spain and Mexico. Each movement was driven largely by tech-savvy youth.

Carty completes her cases study section with an overview of movements involving students: the "Maple Spring" protest in Quebec against rising tuition costs in Canada, the Occupy Student Loan movement in the U.S., and the DREAMERs movement. This chapter has the most complete application of social movement theory, yet the author continues her pattern of providing the background and nature of the causes of the movements, and she includes analysis of how both human (or physical) resources were mobilized along with ICT resources.

In her final chapter, "The Digital Future of Social Movements," Carty lays out several claims that might be considered both conclusions from the cases and the basis for future research. She underscores the significance of digital media (as opposed to mainstream media) as one of the most significant mobilizing factors for SMOs. This, in turn, provides an expansion of the public sphere. In addition, the SMOs no longer need to rely on mainstream media, because much of a movement's activities are shared in real time by electronically well-equipped participants. Though some SMOs may not be full movements, their power as "flash campaigns" is still influential. Carty also argues, and consistently does so throughout the text, that technology is neutral, and the potential to draw from or censor/block technology exists for both protestors and authorities (usually governmental bodies). Finally, Carty identifies another theme that was seen consistently through the case studies: "Wired activism does not replace, but rather adds to, traditional forms of protest activity" (p. 181).

Carty is purposeful in her descriptions of the process in which the protesters are engaged, the extent to which modern ICTs have impacted movements, and the role that theorizing has on our understanding of the movements and on how movements inform theory. Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere, though not an explicit theoretical driver, provides an undercurrent for the author's analysis. Each chapter concludes with a brief "Theory Toolkit" to summarize theoretical implications for students. The success or failure of any of the movements discussed in Carty's text may ultimately be measured by the extent to which they met their goals, or are still in existence after measures have been taken to ensure their success or failure. Regardless of success, both traditional movement formation tactics and new technologies were at the heart of their existence in the first place. As a survey of several movements, the author raises some questions that may frame deeper analysis into any of the movements examined in her text or the inevitable movements yet to come.

—Pete Bicak
Rockhurst University

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DiStaso, Marcia W. and **Denise Sevick Bortree** (Eds.). *Ethical Practice of Social Media in Public Relations*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014, Pp. 251. ISBN13: 978-0-415-72753-2 (cloth) $140.00

Social media have increasingly become focal points in the everyday life of individuals and in the everyday operations of organizational life. Thus, social media increase the visibility of organizations in ways that require an examination of what governs the systems of principles employed by different organizations in various relationships. In *Ethical Practice of Social Media in Public Relations,* the contributors explore

four broad areas—transparency, social media policies, corporate social responsibility, and ethical frameworks. This is the third book in the Routledge Research in Public Relations series. The edited book is divided into four parts.

Part 1, "Transparency and Online Identities" has four chapters. In the first chapter, "Openness and Disclosure in Social Media Efforts: A Frank Discussion with Fortune 500 and Philanthropy 400 Communication Leaders," Richard D. Waters presents a research study that uses in-depth interviews with 25 communication leaders to answer three exploratory research questions. One significant finding from the research was:

> that although one-third of practitioners still define openness and disclosure by demonstrating a willingness to discuss organizational-level matters, there is an increasing recognition that social media are aiding in organizational openness. Disclosure, on the other hand, remains a sensitive situation in regard to their social media presence. Two concepts that have been closely linked in public relations practice are now showing signs of separation in social media. (p. 16)

Chapter 2, "Considerations Regarding Ghost Blogging and Ghost Commenting" by Tiffany Derville Gallicano, Thomas H. Bivins, and Yoon Y. Cho, offers another study in which the researchers "conducted audience research to explore the extent to which blog readers expect ghostwriting on the corporate, politician, and nonprofit blogs they read" (p. 25). A research company was used for data collection. The researchers found that "a fair number of blog readers expected ghost blogging for CEOs and politicians, not many blog readers approved of the practice" (p. 29). In addition, "a small percentage of people who read nonprofit blogs expected ghost blogging, and a large number disapproved of the practice" (p. 29).

In Chapter 3, "Bank of America's Facebook Engagement Challenges its Claims of 'High Ethical Standards,'" Marcia W. DiStaso "discusses ethics related to corporate social reporting." The researcher conducted a content analysis of Bank of America's Facebook page to answer five research questions related to the Bank's corporate social responsibility (CSR) focused Facebook account in 2011. "This study found that the public was much more likely to post their negative comments when the content in the posts was related to Bank of America and less likely when they were engagement seeking" (p. 45).

Chapter 4, "Natural or Not? A Case Study of Kashi's Viral Photo Crisis on Facebook," by Hilary Fussell Sisco, is a case study designed to answer the research question: "How did Kashi utilize social media to responds to an unethical accusation?" (p. 52). The study shows that "Kashi's initial response to consumers on its Facebook page fit all the recommended criteria of crisis management 'best practices,' but may not have been thought through enough from an ethical perspective to minimize the mounting social media backlash" (p. 59).

These four chapters bring to the forefront some key ethical considerations related to effective relationships. A primary premise is that online identities can be as permanent as offline ones and thus deserve some attention at the offset to define best practices that take the consistency of online and offline identities seriously.

Part 2 "Social Media Policies," has two chapters. Chapter 5, "Private Conversations on Public Forums: How Organizations are Strategically Monitoring Conversations and Engaging Stakeholders on Social Media Sites," by Tina McCorkindale, uses semi-structured interviews of 16 individuals who manage some aspect of social media in their organization. Results indicated a trend to go against the literature that suggests that organizations still use one-way communication without a strategy (p. 77). The researcher found that "this was not the case with the organizations represented by the interview participants. All organizations were very strategic in how they monitored and engaged in social media" (p. 77).

In Chapter 6, "To Tweet or Not to Tweet: An Analysis of Ethical Guidelines for the Social Media Engagement of Nonprofit Organizations," Marcus Messner clearly articulates the results of a national web-based survey. Specifically, the study concluded "the ethical guidelines of nonprofit organizations are more concerned with the overall social media engagement of the organization than the day-to-day operations of individual platforms" (p. 91). In addition, "the theme that emerged from the responses is that it is most effective for the social media engagement an organization when management and staff make a collaborative effort to develop ethical guidelines" (p. 91).

Although the number of publicly available social media policies may be limited, this part of the book could do more to discuss ethical considerations related to brand and reputation strategies.

Part 3: "Corporate Responsibility," has four chapters that "looked at the ways companies are engaging in CSR communication in social media" (p. xxviii).

Chapter 7, "Social Media as a CSR Communication Channel: The Current State of Practice," by Kati Tusinski Berg and Kim Bartel Sheehan, focuses on three research questions. Two studies examining Facebook were used to answer the questions. The studies demonstrate that companies use social media for many branded promotions but that "firms do not regularly use social media to share Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities with external publics" (p. 107). In Chapter 8, "Corporate Social Responsibility in Environmental Crisis: A Case Study of BP's YouTube Response to the Deepwater Horizon Crisis," Denise Sevick Bortree presents a case study that examines the ways in which BP used more than 20 videos on its YouTube channel to communicate its corporate social responsibility and to promote its restoration efforts during the environmental crisis (p. 111).

In Chapter 9, "Nestlé and Greenpeace: The Battle in Social Media for Ethical Palm Oil Sourcing," W. Timothy Coombs uses the case study approach to provide insights into how to select both an effective and ethical response by illustrating an ineffective and ethically questionable response using the Nestlé- Greenpeace case (p. 136). In this case, Greenpeace had launched a social media campaign against the food giant, releasing a parody of its ad for the KitKat brand that highlighted the rain forest destruction by palm oil plantations used by Nestlé. In Chapter 10, "Coca-Cola, Community, Diversity, and Cosmopolitanism: How Public Relations Builds Global Trust and Brand Relevance with Social Media," Nneka Logan and Natalie T. J. Tindall also use the case study approach. Specifically, the case study employed a qualitative content analysis to provide "a compelling way to understand both the theoretical and practical implications of Coca-Cola's Expedition 206 campaign" (p. 150). If corporate social responsibility is viewed as a form of corporate self-regulation, then these chapters clearly identify unique intersections of ethics and company expectations within different types of organizations.

Part Four, "Ethical Frameworks for Communication," has five chapters designed to highlight some of the frameworks for analysis of ethical content. "The authors in this book explore some of these frameworks to better understand how social media communication may be following or flouting these guidelines" (p. xxix).

In Chapter 11, "The Dialogic Potential of Social Media: Assessing the Ethical Reasoning of Companies' Public Relations on Facebook and Twitter," Angela M. Lee, Homero Gil de Zuñiga, Renita Coleman, and Thomas J. Johnson "analyzed the ethicality of public relations practitioner's edited comments on Facebook and Tweets to add the dimension of behavior to the broader studies of the ethical reasoning of public relations practitioners" (p. 160). The researchers answered research questions related to three theories—Excellence Theory, TARES test, and Baker's Trustworthiness. In Chapter 12, "Journalists and Corporate Blogs: Identifying Markers of Credibility," Kirsten A. Johnson and Tamara L. Gillis report a study in which they used focus group research to answer a research question "to understand how mass media professionals perceive the credibility of corporate blogs as potential sources of news" (p. 183). They designed focus group questions around the tenets of perceived credibility—believability, accuracy, trustworthiness, bias, and completeness. In Chapter 13, "Authority Crisis Communication vs. Discussion Forums: Swine Flu," Päivi M. Tirkkonen and Vilma Luoma-Aho also used the TARES-framework. Specifically, the researchers use qualitative content analysis in order to examine "the discussion taking place around the global pandemic swine flu and its vaccines in Finland in the fall of 2009" (p. 199). They "distinguished five dilemmas affecting communication where citizen and authority focus differs" (p. 200).

Chapter 14, "Government Gone Wild: Ethics, Reputation, and Social Media," by Kaye D. Sweetser, focuses on three cases. Sweetser used a variation of Plowman's case study data analysis process to analyze media coverage and user comments on media article for all three cases (p. 206). The researcher found that media coverage and public response across each of the three scenarios was unequal (p. 209). Finally, in Chapter 15, "Understanding the Ethical and Research Implications of Social Media," Shannon A. Bowen and Don W. Stacks report a study that uses two mini-cases to "propose several ethical research standards based on a deontological approach focused on social media research" (p. 217).

Each chapter offers challenging discussion questions and suggestions for additional readings. The book also includes a subject index.

Overall the editors were successful in introducing multiple layers of ethical considerations in relation to social media. The editors were purposeful in stating

"the cases and content in this book look at only the most popular social media channels, including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and blogging" (p. xxx). A major strength of the book is the variety of research methods used by the contributors. Thus, the book would serve as an excellent book in a communication research course, as well as public relations ethics and research courses.

—Jennifer F. Wood
Millersville University of Pennsylvania

Duck, Steve. *Rethinking Relationships*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2011. Pp. 232. ISBN 978-1-4129-5876-9 (paper) $60.00.

Steve Duck begins his book, *Rethinking Relationships* with this sentence: "If this book 'works,' then by the time you reach the end of it, you will think about relationships in an entirely new way" (p. 1). His use of the word "think" is the key to this promise. Duck describes relationships as the "synapses between self and society" (p. 24). He wants us to move away from thinking of relationships as choices based on our emotions. Having taught interpersonal communication over many years, at different levels, and with different texts, I am intrigued by the implications.

To build this new vista, Duck combines interpersonal communication with Kenneth Burke's contributions to the field of rhetoric. Specifically, this rethinking requires that we understand five concepts: episteme, personal order, social order, communication as presentational, and rhetorical vision. We begin with relationships as ways of knowing, or epistemic. We must understand our own episteme, others' epistemes, and how epistemes can change. Also, we need to understand personal order and social order (Chapter 2). A personal order is made of the values and priorities of each person that index his or her personality. A social order is public opinion. Duck's view of communication is presentational, seeing communication as performance and spin, as opposed to representational because "communication is always spin; always persuasive; always rhetorical, argumentative, and position oriented" (p. 18). Since he sees all interaction as performance, rhetoric is central, and specifically rhetorical vision, or the way we depict our "values, preferences, and opinions" (p. 18) in our talking and acting in the world. With these five concepts explained, or in his words, "favored," our ability to rethink relationships is on the horizon.

The usefulness of Duck's book for interpersonal communication is that it offers a different ways of seeing interpersonal communication as well as the ways rhetoric can combine with it. For example, much of the first and last part of *Rethinking Relationships* is a good review of attachment theory, symbolic interactionism, implicit theories of personality, attribution theory, social construction, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the rhetorical situation, the power of language and metaphor, and nonverbal communication. In Duck's work of renaming, in his way of describing theories, and in his combining different strands of research and disciplinary areas, he could make clear what was previously unclear for some. When I teach the interpersonal course, for example, I talk about language and listening as efficient ways to discover a lot about people and therefore improve the quality of interacting. Duck is saying this too, but with different descriptions and with sometimes different selections of research that could deepen or advance knowledge for some.

Duck's writing is clear and his own personality (personal order) is present and colloquial. *Rethinking Relationships* reads like a letter from Duck to you, his friend in need of some conceptual coaxing. He knows what you think because you are like his students who hold these "old" common assumptions about relationships. For example, Duck begins one paragraph with, "Let me guess that you see relationships as involving social and biological urges, emotions, feelings, self-disclosure, and intimacy" (p. 1). Because of this clear, approachable, friendly style, upper-division interpersonal communication students might enjoy *Rethinking Relationships*.

The book does veer into new and unusual territory halfway through Chapter 5, "Sense and Sensuality: The Relationship Between Sexual Activity and Knowledge of the World." Whereas many interpersonal texts cover attraction, Duck is way beyond attraction. He dwells on sexual activity. "[T]he most personal enactment of relationships (sexual activity) is constructed by your social order" (p. 117). Sex is a way of knowing, an episteme, and therefore connected to knowledge. Here is an example of how Duck's book could give people a different way to consider foundational topics. For example, he discusses concepts such as high codes and low codes of language use in the context of the experience of sex. "Dirty talk," for example, is low code. Duck also discusses the mental and physical necessity of moving into a fantasy world and out of a material one during sex. It is here that Duck's inter-

disciplinary approach is clear. He draws on different sources and explains that relationship researchers and sexuality researchers do not mix to discuss each other's work. He briefly covers sexual epistemics of Jehovanism, Gnosticism, and Naturalism to show how the social order matters to "inappropriate" sexual relationships like affairs. In this section, Duck prompts readers to question why the social order (public opinion) passes judgment on what sorts of passionate display are acceptable. He complicates possible answers by listing reasons like the social order's regulating of sex, confining it to private spaces because sex is emotional and emotions are private. Another reason is that if sex is public, the social fabric could unravel due to envy. Another reason is the ever-popular argument that minors have to be protected. Duck uses sex as a lens to explain how communication traffics on a symbol system. For example, Duck shows how when we assign sex relational meaning, it is symbolic and therefore action and not motion, not "an animal reflex activity." The meaning we assign can be positive, an act of love, or negative, a symbol of power and control. Add some of Duck's personality where he quips (and I tense), "yet like pizza, even when it's bad, it is still pretty good, relative to a bowl of plain rice" (p. 122), and the concepts are explained. Since gender violence is so prevalent, his claim about bad sex being good will alienate some of his readers.

Rethinking Relationships could be a useful supplemental resource for an advanced interpersonal class but not a class in rhetoric. Duck sprinkles discussion prompts throughout each chapter. Some are designed to broaden discussions about the topics he covers introducing ethical issues or media issues. In the chapter on sexuality Duck supplies this prompt:

> Queer theory is proposing new approaches to a social order of heteronormativity that essentially destabilize assumptions about relationships and how they may be embodied or performed. Several social scientists have used Queer Theory to explore the ways in which heterosexual norms are often subconsciously queer, counternormative, disruptive and challenging to the social order. (p. 139)

Duck also supplies exercises students could do.

Does Duck make good on what he promises the book will achieve? Yes and No. In the end, *Rethinking Relationships* might more precisely be named, *Thinking Relationships* or *Renaming Relational Thinking*. Duck takes what is commonly understood—relationships as choice and emotion—and complicates, broadens, introduces research and theory as ways of thinking about relating. This is the process of education and as a result, students may have learned to interact more consciously. One would certainly be more aware of the power of social norms and be able to describe what happens now when "speakers [have] the chance to rub their personal order up against the social order, and hence to contest or conform with it" (p. 193).

—Heather Crandall
Gonzaga University

Holtzhausen, Derina and **Ansgar Zerfass** (Eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Strategic Communication.* New York and London: Routledge, 2015. Pp. v, 596. ISBN 978-0-415-53001-9 (cloth) $205.00; 978-0- 203-09444-0 (e-book) $164.00.

Derina Holtzhausen and Ansgar Zerfass' edited collection addresses the interdisciplinary nature of strategic communication through a series of four key areas of emphasis. This book provides an admirable selection of stand-alone articles about the origins and disciplines of strategic communication. The handbook is best suited for graduate level instruction or for advanced academics interested in learning more in-depth about this emerging discipline. The editors note that this book is the "first comprehensive review of research in the strategic communication domain" (p. xxiv).

Much of the book consists of examples and concepts surrounding the strategic communicators' never-ending quest to change attitudes and behaviors of their public(s) whether through public relations, advertising, organizational communication, leadership, and more. In addition, the impact of a variety of communication channels are considered—especially the impact of social media.

The four key areas of emphasis in this handbook include conceptual foundations of strategic communication (eight chapters), institutional and organizational dimensions (again, eight chapters), implementing strategic communication (six chapters), and domains of practice (15 chapters).

This book provides an excellent resource for an in-depth look at the way that the discipline of strategic communication came into being through the chapters in the first key area of conceptual foundations. Holtzhausen and Zerfass begin the discussion with a

look at strategic communication as "an umbrella concept embracing various goal-directed communication activities" (p. 3) and provide an historical record of definitions of strategic communication from its early beginnings in government and military. The authors highlight one of the components of the definitions—that of the public vs. private sphere and controlling public dialogue—as being inherent to the role of strategic communication.

Other chapters in this handbook detail in depth many of the concepts from the first chapter. Howard Nothhaft and Hagen Scholzel examine strategic communication by using Clausewitz as a way to connect organizational strategy and communication campaigns to government and military operations. The authors connect strategy with conflict, winning, prevailing, and discourse to alter the behavior of their target(s). Reading Clausewitz's book, a strategic communication manager can better understand "*what to concern yourself with when concerning yourself with strategy*" [italics in original] (p. 19).

Simon Mobert Torp considers organizational communication in terms of participation and effectiveness. He provides the roots of communication to rhetoric and reviews communication in light of the great philosophers of ancient Greece to present day. The discussion centers on persuasion and moves from rhetoric to speaking well to ethos, pathos, and logos, to trust and strategy. The author considers how the public makes decisions and includes examples throughout history.

Similarly, Gunter Bentele and Nothhaft's Chapter 4 centers on the public sphere. Their discussion reviews the power and control over the public sphere as it continuously changes throughout history. In Chapter 5 Charles Self discusses strategic communication with regard to John Dewey and Jürgen Habermas' research about the public sphere and dialogue and connects this to his own research on network semiotics. Continuing with networks, Lindsay Young and Willem Pieterson provide a discussion about the results of their network analysis of the communication flows of a government organization. The authors found much of interest to communication professionals interested in learning more about the way that network analysis can aid a communication process, including determining the best communication channels and information seeking habits. Priscilla Murphy discusses the way the message created by strategic communicators may be affected by the external environment, especially network ties, in Chapter 7. The author explores the idea that in addition to the traditional examination of a target, a professional should also consider the strength of the target's network ties, including the type of tie, multiplexity, and contagion.

Oyvind Ihlen and Piet Verhoeven discuss the use of social theories as a way to expand research in the strategic communication field. The authors claim that the use of social theories can help strategic communication managers legitimize their organization to the public. In addition the authors argue that the use of social theory will help strategic communicators to understand the way that messages are influenced by and also influence the greater society.

The second section of the handbook offers insights into "Institutional and Organizational Dimensions" beginning with Chapter 9 where Magnus Fredriksson and Josef Pallas discuss institutional work with regard to strategic communication. They argue that strategic communicators work toward stability for their organizations which leads their constituencies to see the organizations as legitimate, ethical, and successful. In addition, the authors argue that in doing so organizations are merely mirror images of each other as they conform to the social expectations. However, the authors argue that strategic communicators and organizations have the ability to be independent and can alter the structures given their expertise and knowledge.

Kim A. Johnston and James L. Everett present cultural influences on strategic communication in Chapter 10. The authors explore the ability and effectiveness of strategic communicators to respond to the environment based on their organizational cultural competencies. In Chapter 11 Helle Kryger Aggerholm and Christa Thomsen examine the role of polyphony in management team meetings. The authors discuss their case study which shows that the multiple voices present can lead to inconsistencies with the way manager's present information to employees. This, in turn, can present uncertainty and confusion, and adversely influence employees.

Marlene Marchiori and Sergio Bulgacov (Chapter 12) provide a discussion about the communicational practices that occur when strategizing in organizations. As the authors unpack this important concept they state that "communication is a process of interaction and the negotiation of meanings" (p. 198). This becomes a guide for strategizing. In Chapter 13 Patricia Riley, Gail Fann Thomas, Rebecca Weintraub, Allison Noyes, and Stephanie Dixon relate strategic communication to the concept of good governance. Upon expert inter-

view analysis "an executive course in communication and governance was developed along with a five-year program to build capacity and sustainability in governance reform" (p. 207). The chapter focuses on the development and assessments of this course.

Emanuele Invernizzi and Stefania Romenti examine the use of the Entrepreneurial Organization theory in strategic communication in Chapter 14. In doing so, the authors point out four components of strategic communication which align with the four dimensions of Entrepreneurial Organization Theory including gatekeeping and networking, orientation to innovation, transformative leadership, and visioning and enactment. These are compared to the four components of strategic communication which include aligning, energizing, visioning, and constituting. This combination of components builds what the authors call the entrepreneurial communication model. In Chapter 15 Finn Frandsen and Winni Johansen discuss the role of communication executives in strategy and strategizing. The chapter begins with a short debrief on several dichotomous approaches to thinking about strategic communication. These dichotomous relationships are then discussed within the disciplines of public relations, corporate communication, and strategic communication. The authors end the chapter with an analysis of the literature about communication executives' roles, competencies, identity, and legitimacy.

Chapter 16, by Kirk Hallahan, explores organizational goals and communication objectives in strategic communication. Hallahan begins the chapter by reviewing the modernist and postmodern perspectives and then makes an important distinction between organizational goals and communication objectives. These are two very important concepts that students and practitioners often confuse. Further, Hallahan indicates that executives point to marketer's and communicator's lack of competency to establish measurable goals. Hallahan brings to light information based in the advertising discipline that views organizational goals as a "prerequisite" for communication objectives. Both should satisfy the organizational goal; however, the organizational goal cannot satisfy the communication objective.

Part 3 introduces a different line of research with a focus on implementation. To begin, Kelly Page Werder explores the scholarship of messages in strategic communication in Chapter 17. In doing so, she explains several strategies used by strategic communicators to yield different results with their public(s). Finally Werder posits a reconceptualization of several hypotheses offered by other theorists to bring the field of strategic communication closer to building a theory of strategic communication messaging in organizations. In Chapter 18 Kenneth E. Kim uses framing as a tactic in strategic messaging. The author considers two studies conducted in health care and considers positive versus negative message frames as well as societal versus individual message frames. Findings suggest a variety of tactics depending on need (political, healthcare, and other campaigns). For example, in the healthcare field findings suggest that positive message frames were more effective than negative message frames for preventative medicine, and individual versus societal message frames were more effective in Western countries.

In Chapter 19 William L. Benoit explores messages that can be used by strategic communicators for image repair. The author is careful to distinguish image repair as a subset of crisis communication because crisis communication involves much more than just image repair. Benoit explains that strategic communicators are concerned about the image of their organization as well as managing public opinion about the image to keep the organization in good standing with its public(s). Often organizations face challenges with their image due to a variety of reasons. The use of messages to improve the good standing of the organization that faces a threat to their image because of some unfortunate behavior (embezzlement, spokesperson behavior, etc.) is considered image repair theory. The article concludes with a discussion about assumptions of the theory, considering the audiences for the repair messages and the creation of a crisis response plan. Janis Teruggi Page considers semiotics with visual messages in strategic communication in Chapter 20. Teruggi Page begins with an explanation of the theories of Gestalt psychology, cognition, and semiology and moves into semiotic analysis. Further she uses an ad campaign from Abu Dhabi city in the United Arab Emirates to exemplify the way a semiotic analysis applies to messages within a strategic communication campaign. In this campaign Teruggi Page finds that the visuals used "function to legitimate and sustain the cultural identity of the marginalized female within a society of uneven power relationships" (p. 327).

Relationships are considered as a cultivation strategy for strategic communication in Chapter 21 written by Eyun-Jung Ki. The author reviews the existing six strategies from the literature that can be used to

produce positive relationship outcomes. They include access, positivity, openness, sharing tasks, networking, and assurances. Further the author discusses the need for new scholarly research in this area and provides several ideas for future research. Overall Ki asserts that relationship cultivation strategies should be used to develop and maintain a positive relationship with organizational public(s). In Chapter 22 Jesper Falkheimer and Mats Heide explore participatory communication through social media. The authors do so by beginning the literature review with a nod to the history of the field and then move on to describe the participatory nature of strategic communication, as for example, the way that the newspaper industry provides new ways for readers to participate in the creation of the newspaper. Next, Falkheimer and Heide consider research conducted on social media as a two-way form of communication and its impact on the control organizations have about their messages.

The fourth and final section of the Handbook explores domains of practice in the field and consists of 15 chapters. Chapter 23 investigates institutionalization of organizational values and procedures in public relations and is written by Robert I. Wakefield, Kenneth D. Plowman, and Alex Curry. The chapter begins by addressing the pros and cons of institutionalization within organizations and asks whether or not public relations should become institutionalized, citing legitimacy as a major positive outcome. To study this the authors conducted a case study of a variety of organizations whose senior public relations executives were replaced. Specifically the authors wanted to know if the new executives made significant changes to the operations of the public relations program and, if so, whether the changes were associated with positive or negative outcomes. Results of the multiple case study suggest that institutionalization is beneficial in some instances. Other issues, such as factors leading to institutionalization are also addressed. Tino G. K. Meitz and Guido Zurstiege examine the concept of *doing* [sic] strategy in the domain of advertising. The authors define strategy as it is used in advertising and provide a brief historical review of account planning. Then Meitz and Zurtiege provide an analysis of the way that strategy can be used to influence the advertising agency and client relationship as well as the vastly different groups of experts working in an agency.

Chapter 25, written by Spiro Kiousis and Jesper Stromback, provides a consideration of the role of strategic communication in the political communication domain. In their article, the authors present chief conceptual orientations and theoretical perspectives. In their review Kiousis and Stromback provide a conceptual model of stakeholder engagement, specifically looking at a continuum between relationship cultivation and reputation management. Issues of agenda building, issues management, framing, and crisis communication and management are further explained as components to this continuum. The next chapter, 26, focuses on strategic communication in Canadian government and is written by Kirsten Kozolanka. The author looks at the role of the audience as a commodity. In addition Kozolanka asserts that recent scholarship shows a connection between marketing communication and political communication resulting in a new term, political marketing. She finds that political marketing "can be used for electoral success" (p. 399); however, it commodifies citizens as consumers (p. 407). From the critical perspective used in this article, therefore, governments should be cautious with the use of political marketing and consider greatly the ethics involved.

In Chapter 27 Constanze Rossman explores campaign development in strategic health communication. The literature review details several dimensions of considerations for each health communication campaign including the health domain, stakeholders, target group(s), intent of health promotion or prevention, campaign outcome, positive versus negative messaging, message types, and channels of distribution. The remainder of the chapter explains the main and sub components of the strategic health campaign including a formative evaluation, audience segmentation, campaign goals, strategy, implementation, and evaluation. Cheryll Ruth Soriano considers strategic activism for democratization and social change in Chapter 28. Using a critical approach, the author explores the way minorities use online space(s) to meet their needs, tell their stories, and have a voice where they are otherwise unrepresented. Using case study findings, Soriano asserts that while these groups do use online spaces for these needs, many of their would-be public(s) are uninformed about their presence and, as such, the underrepresentation of the minorities is reinforced. However, results from the case studies show that at least the organizations studied have strategically communicated to their publics and in doing so have "achieved organizational growth through their online experiences" (p. 436).

In Chapter 29 Martin Loffelholz, Claudia Auer, and Alice Srugies take into account the relationship of strategic communication and public diplomacy to offer a new theoretical perspective. The authors begin with a literature review of public diplomacy, strategy, and strategic communication to identify the strategic dimension of public diplomacy. Finally the authors determine the use of the dimension in practice by exploring various case studies from a variety of countries and regions. The results vary by country and region, showing that there is not a one-size-fits-all solution for effective public diplomacy strategy. In fact, the authors list a number of impeding factors to the strategic conduct of public diplomacy. Andreas Schwarz and Alexander Fritsch examine strategic communication in international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) in Chapter 30. Despite the need for INGOs to establish and sustain legitimacy and achieve their goals—largely through communication, the research is sparse. The authors report on their goal to uncover how INGOs implement and control public relations activities and manage and plan across cultural and international influences. Findings indicate that INGOs can be considered strategic. However, many INGOs face extreme resource issues and thus cannot dedicate staff to solely work on issues of public or strategic communication. Many times the CEO is faced with these items and as such the impact is lessened. The authors suggest that these organizations align with other multinational corporations, nongovernmental organizations or "form networks with other civil society organizations" to share the responsibilities for public or strategic communication (p. 475). In addition, findings indicated that culture was taken into consideration when making strategic decisions.

Chapter 31 looks at terrorism as strategic communication and is written by Liane Rothenberger. First she considers terrorism as a form of strategic communication—specifically propaganda. Next the author reviews case studies as a way to apply strategic communication concepts to terrorism. Rothenberger argues that terrorism is a form of strategic communication because the terrorist group seeks "legitimation and power" through "stating objectives and communicating causes" (p. 494). W. Timothy Coombs and Sherry J. Holladay explore strategic intent and crisis communication in Chapter 32. Since crisis communication is strategic in that it uses strategy to limit the "harm a crisis inflicts on an organization and its stakeholders," the authors explore expected outcomes of crisis communication on the organization and stakeholders as well as the coalescence of crisis communication and four types of strategic communication.

In Chapter 33 Mats Eriksson considers crisis communication and the role of improvisation using a case study of an airline facing airspace closure for several days. The traditional approach of crisis communication—thought to be rigid and restricting to strategic communicators—is considered in light of a newer approach to crisis communication using improvisation. Results indicate three understandings in light of a crisis: (1) communicators will use the traditional and newer approaches under different circumstances; (2) communicators used to operating as the "commander-in-chief" will need to reconsider their role as an "improvising real-time director" (p. 516); and (3) communicators will need to reconsider strategy in light of the uncertainties that currently face them. Juliana Raupp tackles risk communication in Chapter 34. She creates a conceptual framework for the role of strategy in risk communication. A conclusion indicates that risk is different in each situation and as such communicators should embrace "strategic ambiguity" as it is "essential to organizing . . . and facilitates organizational change" (p. 529).

The focus of Chapter 35 is strategic communication during organizational change focusing on management issues. The chapter is written by Rita Jarventie-Thesleff, Johanna Moisander, and Mikko Villi. The authors use sense making to understand the different organizational practices. They define organizational change and then consider communication challenges during organizational change by examining the differences between top-down and emergent change efforts. Next the authors share their view of strategic communication as a sense making activity for organizational change efforts. The authors recommend that middle managers focus on corporate branding as a connection between all change efforts initiated top-down. Finally, the authors argue that managers must create and sustain communication plans that support continuous change in organizations. Bobbi Kay Lewis and Cynthia Nichola focus on social media and strategic communication in Chapter 36. The authors maintain that the majority of the theories used in social media research include social information processing theory, uses and gratification theory, relationship management theory, agenda setting or framing theory, and diffusion of innovations theory. Next the authors consider the top five ways in which organizations currently use social media to further their

mission. These include (1) managing the internal communication by giving employees a voice in the creation of social media guidelines as well as the use of social media to provide valuable information to customers; (2) using corporate social responsibility tactics to grow a loyal fan base and place the consumer at the center of focus; (3) formulating a solid crisis communication plan as this is the fourth-most used resource during an emergency; (4) using public relations to engage their public(s) in a two-way conversation; and (5) building and sustaining a brand community by facilitating engaged consumers. To conclude, the authors assert that communicators need to be open to the changes that social media bring to our organizations, specifically, the loss of complete control of the messaging about the organization. Developing a community of practice can help our organizations to continually learn, share knowledge, and develop strong relationships with their public(s).

The final chapter, written by Juan-Carlos Molleda and Sarabdeep Kochhar, explores global strategic communication. The authors first define global strategic communication and then provide a glimpse into the way that multinational corporations plan, implement, and manage the global strategic communication programs by reviewing a case study. In doing so the authors consider the coordination and control of these programs through the integration of activities and the assessment of performance. In addition the authors consider the standardization and localization of these programs through consistency and consideration of local traditions.

This Handbook is an excellent resource for understanding the foundations of strategic communication as well as how these foundations have evolved throughout the history of the field. The contributors offer many definitions for concepts within strategic communication as well as strategic communication itself. Additionally, the Handbook is an excellent resource for a greater understanding of the multiple domains of strategic communication. This discussion can also prove helpful for academic departments trying to determine new or conceptualized areas of curriculum. Each chapter has a references and authors section. As an emerging field, many articles offer ideas for theory development as well as ideas to further research. Overall the Handbook's greatest advantage is the focus on the way that strategic communication impacts its public(s).

—Stacy Smulowitz
The University of Scranton

Murrell, Colleen. *Foreign Correspondents and International Newsgathering: The Role of Fixers*. (Routledge Research in Journalism). New York and Milton Park, UK: Routledge 2015. Pp. 176. ISBN 978-0-415-73335-9 (cloth) $140.00; 978-1-315-84847-1 (e-book) $106.00.

The book throws light on a little researched area of foreign reporting. The "fixer" is the person who works behind the scenes assisting the foreign correspondent working in a strange and even hostile environment. While the fixer is most known as a translator—both in terms of interviewing local news sources and in translating the local media—the fixer also provides logistical support such as making contact for the correspondent with local news sources and assisting him or her over bureaucratic obstacles.

Colleen Murrell argues that the fixer has a more significant role than the research literature has so far given because he or she also provides the correspondent with story ideas, as well as analyzing the local situation. In an age when news organizations are less inclined to leave a full time foreign correspondent abroad for a long period and more inclined to fly them in and out as "firefighters," the fixer's role appears, therefore, even greater today particularly given the dearth of knowledge by foreign reporters in a particular situation.

As a former journalist-turned-academic Murrell brings to the book an intimate knowledge of the ways and means of news gathering. She deals with such questions as who controls the story—the correspondent or the fixer—and, cautioning against giving the fixer "excessive influence" on the final story, concludes that notwithstanding the fixer's important role, the final story remains with the correspondent.

But sadly what had the potential to be a significant work abounds with methodological difficulties. It loses its value because of the book's limited perspective and even more, a limited research base.

The outgrowth of a doctorate at an Australian University, the author's research rests on interviews with Australian and British foreign correspondents and fixers, and takes as a case study Iraq and Indonesia. Had the author interviewed correspondents from other, different types of countries including the U.S., and those in closed countries characterized by heavy bureaucracies like China, and by less common languages including in India and Africa, it would have provided a more comprehensive account of fixers.

Incredulously, the book draws upon only five interviews and fixers (in addition to the 20 interviews with the correspondents). Moreover, only television correspondents were interviewed. It would have been constructive to draw a contrast between the work of the fixer in television and that in other media including those assisting newspaper, radio, and news agency foreign correspondents each with their specific work procedures and styles.

The book lacks an historical section of how the profession of the fixer evolved over the decades.

Even more missed is the virtual absence of discussion about future patterns in foreign news gathering with social media. Fixers are not too distant from latter-day citizen journalism—which has become a key feature of foreign newsgathering today.

A sociological study of fixers would have undoubtedly benefitted from quantitative surveys of correspondents and of fixers respectively—not instead of the qualitative interviews but in addition to them—in order to produce data on the subject. The author explains away the absence, arguing that "journalists are skeptical or critical of surveys, and do not mail answer them due to pressure." Clearly, had the sample to such surveys been large enough, an adequate number of responses could have been generated—offering the reader an authoritative sociological portrait of the fixer, and foreign correspondents' attitudes to the institution.

—Yoel Cohen
Ariel University, Israel

Ohlsson, Jonas. *The Nordic Media Market 2015: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden*. Göteborg: NORDICOM, 2015. Pp. 76. ISBN 978-91-87957-05-5 (paper) 250 Kr., €25.00.

Part of the Nordic Media Trends series, this large format volume provides a data-driven overview of the news media in the Nordic countries. Ohlsson notes that while previous publications in the series have worked extensively with statistics, "The present publication uses a somewhat more qualitative approach, as it analyzes current trends in Nordic media development against previous characterizations of the Nordic media landscape" (p. 7).

Acknowledging the impact of information and communication technologies (ICT)—which affect traditional borders, the reach of the media, media costs, and even global outlook—the report offers a comparative analysis across the five Nordic countries. Ohlsson structures this report against the theoretical model proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Noting that parts of the model have become outdated by the ICTs, Ohlsson focuses on four aspects that Hallin and Mancini identified: "(1) the involvement of the state in the media market, (2) the market position of the press, (3) the political parallelism of the press, and (4) the market position of the public service broadcasters" (p. 12).

Given the importance of local context, Chapter 2 sets out an economic overview of the Nordic region from the perspective of the press or media industry. Economic recovery from the worldwide financial crisis dominated the last decade, with different Nordic countries recovering at different rates. Within this picture, the countries show strong penetration of broadband (from 87%–95%), smart phones (63%–73%), and tablets (28%–61%). Advertising markets also grew during the period, with the largest share in each country held by newspapers, followed by television and direct mail.

Chapter 3 surveys media policy in each of the countries. The countries have different models for funding public broadcasting, both in terms of the method (license fees, taxes, advertising, etc.) and amount of funding. Ohlsson notes the ongoing deregulation of commercial broadcasting as an important change in policy. One aspect that stands out—at least to this U.S. reader—comes along with what Hallin and Mancini termed the "democratic corporatist media system" followed in the Nordic countries: state-funded press subsidies. These occur either in terms of direct support (grants given to the press) or in terms of indirect support such as lower VAT levels.

Chapter 4 turns to the specific focus of the report, the Nordic newspaper industry. Though the number of paid-for newspapers has remained relatively steady in every country except Finland, each country did show a decline in newspaper sales, particularly after 2009. Ohlsson also points out a different trend in free newspapers, like the *Metro*, whose namesakes also appear in many other European countries. The circulation of these papers rose quickly but then fell somewhat with the financial crisis. In this context, Ohlsson then provides a detailed discussion of the business model of newspapers in the region; for each country he also reviews figures on the concentration of ownership. He identifies four trends: a turmoil in the industry, a decrease in newspaper owners (that is, the concentration of ownership), a retention of Nordic ownership

(that is, a resistence to foreign ownership), and a decrease in political party ownership of the press.

In Chapter 5, Ohlsson turns to the Nordic broadcast industry. Television still holds a strong position, with viewing time increasing by up to 15% between 2005 and 2010 (p. 47). More recently, however, television viewing has declined slowly due to competition from digital services—whether streaming of on-air content or web-based like YouTube. Not surprisingly, given the increase in viewing time, revenues from television have risen. As noted in Chapter 3, public broadcasters still receive public support, further strengthening this sector. Radio, however, faces a decline, with listeners turning more and more to online music services. In a summary, Ohlsson offers this important observation:

> To some extent . . . the traditional dichotomy between the press and television is anachronistic. Because the Internet is gradually evolving into the main battlefield between legacy media and new challengers, the customary medium typology (press, TV, and radio) is becoming increasingly less valid. Newspaper websites are carrying TV segments and even regular TV programs, and the websites of broadcasters are filled with blogs, columns, and written news articles. . . . Thus, it may be more accurate to talk about the shifting power relations of text media and visual media. (pp. 56–57)

In his concluding chapter, Ohlsson returns to the four aspects identified by Hallin and Mancini and draws conclusions about each, clustered around key questions such as "Is the Nordic press still strong? (p. 60) or "Is Nordic public service broadcasting still a competitive force?" (p. 61).

Though the report focuses on the Nordic media market, it presents an analysis that would well serve other countries. The questions Ohlsson poses could, with appropriate changes, guide a penetrating examination of the media markets in other regions.

The book contains extensive bibliographies of books, reports, and documents; web-based resources; and databases. In addition to a multitude of charts and tables in each chapter, it also presents a detailed appendix of the circulation of paid-for newspapers, a list of newspaper groups by country, a list of commercial broadcasting groups, top media web sites, media companies by revenue, and domestically controlled media companies.

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

Reference

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

O'Neill, Brian, Elisabeth Staksrud, and **Sharon McLaughlin** (Eds.). (2013). *Towards a Better Internet for Children? Policy Pillars, Players, and Paradoxes*. Göteborg: NORDICOM, 2013. Pp. 335. ISBN 978-91-86523-72-5 (paper). 280 Kr, €31.00.

NORDICOM's comprehensive volume, *Towards a Better Internet for Children? Policy Pillars, Players, and Paradoxes*, edited by O'Neill, Staksrud, and McLaughlin, provides much needed context and evidence for informing current discussions related to maximizing the potential of the Internet for the world's children. The volume includes contributions from members of the 33 countries that form the EU Kids Online network, an organization created in 2006 to monitor and analyze children's and parents' experiences of the Internet across Europe, with the goal of "strengthening knowledge about this fast-moving environment in order to inform policy on safer Internet practices" (p. 12).

The editors organize their volume in three parts, identified in the subtitle of the text: *Policy Pillars, Policy Players, and Policy Paradoxes*. Within each of these parts, common themes connect the individual contributions: a) a commitment to the ideal of self-regulation—or, as described in one chapter, co-regulation—whereupon stakeholders outside of the industry provide critical input on policy; b) multi-stakeholder involvement, including the contributions of parents, educators, NGOs, children, and the industry; c) the crucial role of research in informing policy; and d) recognition of the importance of the broader political context within which policy decisions are made. The interweaving of themes throughout the volume helps connect the chapters, illustrating how similar children's and parents' uses and concerns are across different European cultures.

The strength of this volume lies in its scope. With the common objective of promoting children's safety in online activities, the contributions provide historical background and research evidence about a variety of policy alternatives used in various European countries. Authors address both the universal challenges inherent in attempting to assess and control a global medium, as

well as challenges and opportunities within unique cultural contexts. The chapters provide historical background and well as current evidence, and each includes the authors' perspectives on the future.

It is clear from reading the contributions that there is no single *right* solution. Further, there is no single way of *perceiving issues*. Rather, the authors detail the complicated nature of defining risks, assigning responsibility for preventing and/or addressing them, and activating appropriate interventions. For example, in the chapter on Internet Hotlines, O'Neill addresses the challenge of defining and quantifying illegal online "child abuse material." He cites differing legal definitions of "child," the current phenomenon of "sexting" (where youth share explicit pictures of themselves online), as well as the popularity of legal online pornography as the backdrop against which parents, industry, and policy makers operate.

In the same vein, Leen d'Haenens and Liza Tsaliki's chapter ("Risk Versus Harm: Children's Coping Profiles") outlines a variety of active and passive coping strategies children employ when they encounter online risks. Their data suggest that children's strategies reflect their individual experiences and feelings of self-efficacy more than their cultural backgrounds. But the authors note that policy responses to children's risky online behavior are likely to demonstrate an ethnocentric bias, reflecting differing cultural perspectives on children.

The contributors draw from rich sources of evidence to describe children's online activities, parents' and educators' attitudes toward the Internet, and the motivations and actions of the various policy actors. The first section of the book details the adoption and effectiveness of a variety of policies: filtering and content classification tools; Internet hotlines; awareness strategies (sometimes called "Media Literacy training") targeting children and caregivers; regulatory and self-regulatory policies.

The second section of the book describes the roles of the different policy players: government regulators, industry, NGOs, schools, parents, and kids themselves.

The final section of the volume addresses some paradoxes inherent in policy decision-making. D'Haenens and Tsaliki (Chapter 13) address the challenge of accurately assessing "risk of harm" online vs. simply "risk." The former is something to be reduced, while the latter is typically encouraged. Andrea Duerager, Sonja Duerager, and Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink (Chapter 14) emphasize the tension between protecting children and invading their privacy inherent in surveillance technologies and practices. Uwe Hasebrink and Bojana Lobe (Chapter 15) address the challenge of policy making in a multicultural context. And McLaughlin (Chapter 16) applies a child empowerment lens to explore the tension between rights and restrictions.

The only weakness of the volume is that the contributions can seem somewhat repetitive. As standalone articles they are comprehensive and accessible. But since they all address the same time period and the same objective, the historical background sections of each chapter are often very similar. But a variety of perspectives are offered, and the richness of the data presented in each chapter help overcome this one weakness. This text is a worthy contribution to our growing understanding of how best to fashion sensible policy for the digital future.

—Katharine E. Heintz
Santa Clara University

Sotirin, Patricia J. and **Laura Ellingson**. *Where the Aunts Are: Family, Feminism, and Kinship in Popular Culture*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013. Pp. 252. ISBN 9781602583306 (cloth) $34.95.

If you have ever been curious about the role of legal, biological, or voluntary aunts, pick up *Where the Aunts Are*. This book gives a feminist perspective on the power of women, especially that of aunts, as reflected in popular media; further, it discusses the flexible role of aunts in the nuclear family.

Aunts can be like a mother and not like a mother in many ways. The authors note that:

> We are drawn to the contrary characterizations of the aunt as a popular culture figure over the past few years. The aunt has been portrayed as both powerful and weak, wise and dotty, lustful and prim, socially liberated and constricted. This rich legacy carries over to aunts in popular culture today. (p. 6).

With ongoing changes in what represents a nuclear family, aunts are able to step into larger roles in the family. However, the expectations of the roles that aunts will fill can be questionable to a feminist perspective. The book explains, "because aunting is not as explicitly defined or disciplined as mothering in contemporary culture, popular culture performances of aunts offer more critical latitude for questioning the appeals of post-feminist discourses" (p. 12). The typi-

cal roles of aunt characters that media consumers see can be misleading. These stereotypical aunts contribute to the continuous rejection of the significant, powerful, and essential practices and beliefs of feminism and post-feminism.

Chapter 1 explains the common comparisons of aunt and mother. Using characters such as Auntie Em in *The Wizard of Oz* and Aunt Bee from *The Andy Griffith Show*, the book highlights the typical roles of aunts. In media, when aunts are rarely shown outside of the home, are not the main focus of the story, and have to give up their careers to take on children as a replacement for the mother, it hurts women's equality. This chapter also focuses on the historical role of black aunts, using examples from media such as *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, *The Jamie Foxx Show*, *The Bernie Mac Show*, and Tyler Perry's *House of Payne*. The book examines black womanhood, slavery, and class status shown in media with cliches of aunts in everything from maternal instincts and skilled cooking to sassy personalities and care taking. All of the aunt figures in this first chapter have room for feminist alteration, in which the authors delightfully partake.

Chapter 2 transitions into a deeper discussion of the history of black aunts, previously known as mammies. The authors take a step away from their media work to find black mammy figurines in Southern souvenir shops. They state that, "Their familiarity is a reminder of the all-too-ready assumption that African American women are 'naturally fit for servitude'" (p. 37). All forms of mammie artwork combine race, gender, and class into forms that are all too well known and all too untrue.

Chapter 3 defines of two types of aunt figures, the neo-traditional maternal aunt and the malevolent maternal aunt. The neo-traditional maternal aunt is an aunt that, "Most clearly enacts the injunctions inherent to post-feminist cultural messages that children, family, and a good man are key to women's fulfillment" (p. 59). The malevolent maternal aunt, "draws on the legacy of childhood anxieties over the bad mother" (p. 59). This chapter gives examples of typical situations that many feminists struggle to overthrow—women gaining empowerment through motherhood and marriage at the expense of their careers. *Raising Helen, No Reservations, Mostly Martha*, and *Three Weeks, Three Kids*, are all examples of media products that the authors analyze in this chapter. The authors fight the thought that a woman's destiny lies in the marriage market rather than the job market. The book states that there is, "a post-feminist paradox: women have choices, but only the right choices will do" (p. 67). Women are not free and do not go unpunished by society when they choose the wrong choice.

Wisdom and witchcraft form the theme of Chapter 4. This chapter uses media examples to explain its concepts, such as the television series *Bewitched* and *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*; the popular novels, *Practical Magic* (later produced as a film), *A Discovery of Witches*, *Island of the Aunts*, and the story *Auntie Claus*. The text goes into detail about the role of aunts as wise and magical beings. How they teach their wisdom and how they use their power plays a part into how the audience judges them. This chapter embraces powerful women. It states problems that women face with their power, such as, "By many measures, successful women are still women who manage to act like men while looking and sounding like women" (p. 88). The authors hold women accountable for showing their strength and success by being women and not falling under the list of duties that society places upon them.

Chapter 5 explores the subject of eccentric aunts. The media examples in this chapter are *Arsenic and Old Lace*, *The Wide Widow*, and *A Series of Unfortunate Events*. When confronted with eccentric women, or madwomen, we want to know why they are the way that they are. The reader can see patterns of exaggerated anxieties, strict discipline, perfection, and high expectations women face that drive them mad and make them ill minded. The authors write, "For us, the mad aunt inspires creative and collective directions that can contribute to a feminist agenda for social justice and that introduce ambivalences into the classic feminist case against the chains of equivalence binding women to home and domesticity" (p. 114). Breaking those chains is what this chapter is all about.

The final chapter explains the image of the aunt and how it is used in consumer products to sell the emotional connections of mothering and friendship that aunts hold in society. Companies, regardless of their reasoning behind including "aunt" in their name, all strive to apply what we think aunts bring to a family to their products and marketing. The book states that, "The aunt image offers cultural assurances that we deserve to get what we desire regardless of effort or merit—you don't have to be the best, work hard, or be needy to receive the bounty of the aunt's gifts and affection" (p. 127). In this chapter, the social and ethical costs of referring to aunt products as efficient,

domestic, trustworthy, family-friendly, and guaranteed to create happiness are analyzed.

As a conclusion, the book states that, "The small transgressions of aunts in popular culture are easily overlooked. By drawing them out, we have attempted to demonstrate that feminist concerns and perspectives remain critical to the ways we understand everyday life and to our hopes for social change" (p. 133). Through revising the popular aunt implications, this book tears down stereotypes of aunts as women who are confined to the home and who are defined by age, femininity, class privileges, and the media in everyday life. This book is both concerned for the images of aunts in media and also applauds their popularity that touches everyone in some way. I hope that you enjoy this book, *Where the Aunts Are*, as I did; and don't forget to celebrate aunts, women, and progressive feminist change every day.

—Laura Marie Pope
Santa Clara University

Terzis, Georgios (Ed.). *Mapping Foreign Correspondence in Europe*. (Routledge Studies in European Communication Research and Education). New York and Milton Park, UK: Routledge Publishers, 2015. Pp. 346. ISBN 978-0-415-71900-1 (cloth) $140.00; 978-1-315-86296-5 (e-book) $108.00.

Research about foreign correspondents is surprisingly small. Whereas there are innumerable analyses of the content of foreign news in mass media research, the work of the foreign correspondent has received surprisingly little attention over the years despite his or her central role in gathering foreign news. With much of the limited research on foreign correspondents carried out in the U.S. context, a study of foreign correspondents in Europe is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature. What makes Terzis' edited book, *Mapping Foreign Correspondence in Europe*, noteworthy is that almost all the research so far has dealt with the foreign press corps in a single country.

The book examines foreign press corps in 27 European countries, each comprising a separate chapter. The 27 countries examined include such minuscule foreign press corps like those in Malta, Ireland, Estonia, and Hungary. Inexcusably, the foreign press corps in Russia—surely one of the largest and most important in Europe—is not included. Nor does the book explain this absence.

Each chapter discusses how the local political situation influences the make-up and work of the foreign press corps. Given its base as the headquarters of the European Union, it is perhaps no surprise that Brussels has one of the largest foreign press corps on the continent and offers an instructive case study about foreign reporting and multilateral diplomacy. The single country chapter studies vary from those having a solid academic base to some which are little more than anecdote-laden journalistic pen portraits.

Terzis, of Vrije Universiteit Brussels, and himself a foreign correspondent in Brussels for Greek media, sent a questionnaire to foreign correspondents in 27 European countries—with questions ranging from the type of media organization, the reporters' linguistic ability, the topics covered by the reporter, to official sources consulted. With the same questionnaire having been circulated, the results produce a unique body of data.

The writer of these lines takes issue with Terzis' claim that London is the "the biggest foreign press corps in the world," because the U.S.—with large foreign press corps in Washington and New York as well as elsewhere in the U.S.—is leaps and bounds ahead of London (Cohen, 1995).

The editor's concluding chapter provides informative up-to-date trends about foreign correspondents. These include that foreign correspondents today are more likely to be freelancers rather than a correspondent working full time for a single news organization as in the past. A larger set, 36%, work in the print media, 27% each in broadcast media and news agencies respectively, and 4% in more than one media type.

The single country chapters provide little or no information about current and future trends about Internet website foreign reporters. True, Terzis' survey did find that 300—or 6%—of the foreign correspondents surveyed work in social media. But overall, the book remains unnecessarily based in the age of the traditional media—despite the role of social media in foreign news gathering today.

—Yoel Cohen
Ariel University, Israel

Reference

Cohen, Y. (1995). Foreign press corps as an indicator of international news interest. *Gazette, 56.*

Briefly Noted

Eide, Elisabeth, Risto Kunelius, and **Angela Phillips** (Eds.). *Transnational Media Events: The Mohammed Cartoons and the Imagined Clash of Civilizations*. Göteborg: NORDICOM, 2008. pp. 290. ISBN 978-91-89471-64-1 (cloth) 280 Kr., €30.

This collection of essays explores international responses to the controversial publication of cartoons of the Prophet by a Danish newspaper. The contributors reflect a truly international research team, coming from 15 countries. After collecting data in the form of "country reports," they began a process of reflection on the publication and the various reactions—all documented here. Individual essay titles provide a good sense of the scope of the volume. The editors divide the book into three sections: after general introductory chapters, they group "professional issues" and "crossing boundaries."

In the introductory section, the three volume editors—Elisabeth Eide, Risto Kunelius, and Angela Phillips—begin with a review of the debate, "Contrapuntal Readings. Transnational Media Research and the Cartoon Controversy as a Global News Event." Peter Hervik, Eide, and Risto Kunelius follow with a chronology, "A Long and Messy Event," and Amin Alhassan offers a kind of content analysis of the cartoons in "The Twelve Cartoons. A Discursive Inquiry."

The second section examines the professional responses and responsibilities in five essays. Hervik considers editorial duty in "Original Spin and Its Side Effects. Freedom of Speech as Danish News Management" while Kunelius and Alhassan examine ideology in the newsroom: "Complexities of an Ideology in Action: Liberalism and the Cartoon Affair." Phillips contributes "Who Spoke and Who was Heard in the Cartoons Debate?" Karin Becker asks about the impact of images, so clearly demonstrated in the cartoons, in "The Power of Pictures in Journalistic Discourse: As News, as Commentary, as Art." Finally Stephanie Craft and Silvio Waisbord weigh the differences in coverage about foreign news in "When Foreign News Remains Foreign: Cartoon Controversies in the U.S. and Argentine Press."

The last section identifies some of the ways in which parties to the controversy could not understand each other as well as some of the causes for those sometimes cultural blockages. Eide begins with "The Loop of Labeling: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Cartoon Crisis" while Ibrahim Saleh explicitly tries to shed light on the blind spots in "The Bubble World of Polarization: Failing to Realize the Blind Spots in the Cartoon Controversy." Oliver Hahn's essay, "Pictures Travel, Discourses Do Not: Decontextualization and Fragmentation in Global Media Communication," considers the differences between word and image. Carolina Boe and Hervik consider the argument made by some scholars and editors that the publication of the cartoons was meant to lead to greater integration of the Muslim populations in Europe in their essay, "Integration through Insult?" Phillips and Hillel Nossek examine press coverage of different aspects of the controversy in "Ourselves and Our Others: Minority Protest and National Frames in Press Coverage" while Kunelius and Nossek offer another perspective on how international news works, "Between the Ritual and the Rational: From Media Events to Moments of Global Public Spheres?"

Finally, John Durham Peters concludes the volume with an afterword, "In Quest of Ever Better Heresies" in which he reflects on the recursive nature of free speech. He comments, "Many of the most important cases are not about substantive issues but about the principle of free speech itself" (p. 275). In this light he discusses the roots of free speech, the attempt to universalize it, and the cultural differences in attitudes towards free speech.

Kotilainen, Sirkku and **Sol-Britt Arnolds-Granlund** (Eds.). *Media Literacy Education: Nordic Perspectives*. Göteborg: NORDICOM, 2010. Pp. 188. ISBN 978-91-86523-00-8 (paper) 240 Kr., €25.00.

Noting that "Digital culture offers different relationships with media to the ones that have existed earlier" (p. 7), the editors present this volume, published by the International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth, and Media in cooperation with the Finnish Society on Media Education as an attempt to review media education research and practice in the light of the digital world. They organize the work in two parts: essays examining children and youth media literacies and essays outlining changes in media literacy education in the Nordic countries.

After the editors' general introduction, the book consists of 14 chapters. In the first part, Ola Erstad offers a brief review of media education, "Media Literacy and Education: The Past, Present and Future," while Ingunn Hagen outlines the new situation facing media literacy educators in "Children and Young People in a Changing Media Environment: Some Challenges." The next three

essays are more theoretical: Sol-Britt Arnolds-Granlund, "Conceptual Considerations in Media Education"; Reijo Kupiainen and Sara Sintonen, "Media Literacy as a Focal Practice"; and Niina Uusitalo, "Constructing Media Literacy as a Civic Competence."

As noted, the second part of the volume presents case studies based on activity in the Nordic countries.

- Sirkku Kotilainen and Leena Rantala: "Civic Media Education Supports a Public Voice for Youths" (Finland)
- Øystein Gilje, Lisbeth Frølunde, Fredrik Lindstrand and Lisa Öhman-Gullberg: "Mapping Film Making across Contexts: Portraits of Four Young Film Makers in Scandinavia"
- Ole Christensen and Birgitte Tufte: "Media Education—Between Theory and Practice" (Denmark)
- Stefán Jökulsson: "Creativity in Media Education: Merging Different Mindsets" (a comparison of Western and Eastern approaches)
- Kadri Ugur and Halliki Harro-Loit: "Media Literacy in the Estonian National Curriculum"
- Karin Forsling: "Teachers Using an Expanded Text Concept and Media Pedagogy for Children with Dyslexia" (Sweden)
- Mari Maasilta: "Finnish Media Education and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: What Did We Learn on the Crossing Borders Project?"
- Soilikki Vettenranta: "Global Mediagraphy: A Teaching Method in Media Education"

The book concludes with reflection by Per Lundgren on new directions for media literacy education, "Future Sights: International Media Literacy Education. A Nordic Viewpoint."

Allern, Sigurd, Henrik Bødker, Martin Eide, Epp Lauk, and **Ester Pollack** (Eds.). New Nordic Journalism Research: Challenges and Perspectives. *Nordicom Review, 34* (special issue), 2013. Pp. 167. ISBN 978-91-86523-83-1 (paper). No price given. Individual articles available as PDF files at http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/publikationer/nordicom-review/nordicom-review-special-issue-2013

No one disputes how much new technologies have changed the communication industries, leading to economic realignments, work-flow adjustments, new employment policies, and global impact. This reality has become highly apparent in journalism. Since Nordic universities offer many programs in journalism, the Nordic Research Network in Journalism Studies established a forum to regularly bring faculty, students, and practitioners together to develop contacts and research ideas for this new journalism world. Describing this issue, the editors write:

> An editorial committee of senior researchers invited current and former PhD students in the network to propose articles, in most cases related to their doctoral projects . . . . The present volume of *Nordicom Review* represents a selectiion of these papers, chosen by the editorial committee after a meticulous peer review process. The prime criterion for the selection was novelty of the ideas and approaches presented in the papers. (p. 8)

The 11 articles range from those that look at financial realities to those that examine new methods in journalism. Several of the articles examine the growth of online news and the increasing shift to digital journalism. "The Nordic countries still have a strong printed press compared with most countries in the world" (p. 8), but even this faces declining readership in the face of online resources. Another challenge from the online world touches on news values and the tabloid-style appeals expected by the audiences.

The full list of topics and articles includes Jonas Ohlsson, "Boardroom Empires? A Study of Ownership Influence in the Swedish Press"; Nina Kvalheim, "News Behind the Wall: An Analysis of the Relationship Between the Implementation of a Paywall and News Values"; Jannie Møller Hartley and Christoph Houman Ellersgaard, "Mapping Online Journalism in Transition: Exploring an Analytical Model"; Magnus Danielson, "'Shaming the Devil!' Performative Shame in Investigative TV-journalism"; Brita Ytre-Arne, "Changing Magazine Journalism: Key Trends in Norwegian Women's Magazines"; Maarit Jaakkola, "Diversity through Dualism: The Balancing Principle as an Organizational Strategy in Culture Departments of Newspapers"; Jens Barland, "Innovation of New Revenue Streams in Digital Media: Journalism as Customer Relationship"; Aske Kammer, "Audience Participation in the Production of Online News: Towards a Typology"; Carl-Gustav Lindén, "A Small Exclusive Circle: An Institutional Approach to Business News"; Kari Koljonen, "The Shift from High to Liquid Ideals: Making Sense of Journalism and Its Change through a Multidimensional Model"; and Helle Sjøvaag, "Journalistic Autonomy: Between Structure, Agency and Institution."