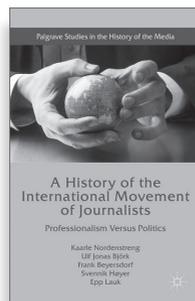


Book Reviews

Editor: Ragnhild Mølster, Nordicom Norway

Kaarle Nordenstreng, Ulf Jonas Björk, Frank Beyersdorf, Svernik Høyer, and Epp Lauk
A History of the International Movement of Journalists: Professionalism Versus Politics
Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 274 p.



Today, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) is the leading international organisation of journalists. It counts around 600,000 members in 139 countries, and calls itself “*the global voice of journalists*”.¹

The process leading up to the IFJ’s success started with a congress in 1894. Since then, its history is filled with short-lived organisations and political conflicts. Parts of this history are told in this book, consisting of four long articles written by five Scandinavian and one German scholar. As a whole, it is a tale more about failure than success and that is what makes it interesting.

One of these failures is the collapse of the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), which was the biggest international journalist organisation in the world until 1990. The former director of the IOJ, the Finnish media professor Kaarle Nordenstreng, was the director of the IOJ for 14 years. He is the leading figure in this book project and, in some ways, this is a loser’s tale about his own past.

An important task for a professional organisation is to produce the profession’s ideology. Logically, the first chapter is a condensed presentation of the development of professional ideology among journalists from the 1890s

until today, written by the Norwegian, Svernik Høyer, and his Lithuanian colleague, Epp Lauk. This chapter is a gem, one of the best presentations of the topic available. Høyer and Lauk have managed to present their complex subject in a clear, nuanced way, without the heavy Anglo-American bias common in such presentations. It is recommended to any lecturer planning a syllabus.

It could be said that, in the beginning, there was talk. The first international journalist organisation, the International Union of Press Associations (IUPA) (1894-1914), was established by a congress in Antwerp in 1894, and continued to arrange journalist congresses until World War I. The IUPA paved the way for an endless row of organisations and committees, which left a strip of obscure abbreviations, such as the PCW, the IAJA, the FIJ, and the IFJAC behind them. Luckily, they also left archives.

The IUPA did not manage to get much done, but in his chapter on its congresses, Ulf Jonas Björk shows how already in 1894, the themes of their endless discussions were surprisingly modern: how to make journalism a respected profession; how to educate journalists, and how to establish an international code of ethics? In 2016, it is time to

ask whether such questions are possible to answer. Perhaps they are of the naturally disputed kind. Perhaps it is time to replace them.

The IUPA became a victim of World War I, and was replaced by the even weaker, United States-based Press Congress of the World (PWC) (1915-1926). The PWC was defeated by inner contractions. Both IUPA and PWC showed how deeply the journalistic field was divided, between journalists and publishers, commercial news organisations and idealists, different political directions, and between Europe and the United States.

In 1926, the League of Nations intervened in the journalistic field through the International Labour Organization (ILO). The result was the *Fédération Internationale des Journalistes* (FIJ) (1926-1940), the first modern international press organisation. The FIJ was based in Europe, and its members were journalists' trade unions. It promoted a liberal press theory, concentrating on the professionalisation of journalists. The FIJ had limited success: it managed to create an international press card, and established an international press tribunal to enforce an international press code. The only problem was that only a few used the card, and the tribunal never started working. In the 1930s, the FIJ became paralysed by the political conflicts of the time but it survived until 1940.

In his chapter on the FIJ, the German, Frank Beyersdorf, presents a study of the themes and arguments in the troubled organisation. The chapter is detailed, and must be read slowly to avoid getting a headache but the right reader, who is probably a researcher, will find a treasure trove. Beyersdorf documents early historical examples of almost every thinkable ideological and practical conflict.

The IFJ was established in a decade when the American press developed the fundamentals of today's liberal press ideology and press ethics. The FIJ was Europe-centric, and the European discussions on the topic were different from those in the United States. In this way, the history of the FIJ can be read as a correction to today's standard tale of press history, which is heavily oriented towards the United States.

In the optimistic year of 1946, the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) (1946-1997) was established as the direct successor to the FIJ, supported by the United Nations and with a secretariat in Prague. This choice meant trouble. In 1948, the IOJ was split because of the communist coup in Czechoslovakia. The Western journalists' unions left, and the IOJ became a Soviet-oriented organisation. In 1952, the Western journalist organisations established the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) (1952-). The Cold War would split the journalists' international organisations for four decades.

Kaarle Nordenstreng's tale of the struggle between the IOJ and the IFJ fills the last chapter, and to most readers this might be the most interesting one. Nordenstreng is walking a fine line. As the former president of the IOJ from 1976 to 1990, he writes the story of his own achievement, his organisation's success and failure, and portrays its main antagonist. This is definitely not the last word on these conflicts but Nordenstreng is clear about his position, and knows this topic better than anyone else.

The IOJ and the IFJ were supported by their respective superpowers. The Soviet support to the IOJ was relatively open, while the IFJ was independent on paper. In 1967, it was revealed that the IFJ received secret support from the Central Intelligence Agency. Nordenstreng tells that the IFJ stopped this immediately. The IOJ got its own relative economic independence in a strange way: in the 1960s, the organisation was allowed to build its own capitalist island inside communist Czechoslovakia, with a publishing house and translating agency employing more than 200 people. Best of all, the IOJ was allowed to keep the profits.

The IOJ and the IFJ had different views on press freedom. The IFJ defended a liberal standpoint. The press should be free from any government influence, with no ideological obligations. The IOJ advocated a 'responsible' view, where journalists should work for peace and coexistence, two typical words in the more pleasant part of communist vocabulary. The journalist could not act independent of ideology, and the press should keep a balanced relationship with state power.

The IOJ expanded beyond the communist bloc through alliances with liberation movements in the third world. Journalists from the liberated colonies flocked together under the umbrella of the IOJ, which could offer resources and arrange congresses. As a result, the IOJ became the world's biggest journalism organisation.

Nordenstreng is eager to tell how hard the IOJ tried to build bridges between East and West, and this also was his own personal motive.² He presents the IFJ as a stubborn antagonist, rejecting all invitations for ideological reasons. On this point, his analysis looks somewhat naïve. By the end of communism in 1989, the IOJ collapsed like a house of cards. The organisation staggered on until 1997 and today, the remains of the IOJ are found in some cardboard boxes in Prague and Amman, Jordan, in addition to Nordenstreng's own publications.

After the collapse of communism, the IFJ grew rapidly to its current position as the leading journalism organisation, defending the rights of journalists and disseminating a liberal view of press freedom. The story of these 25 years is mentioned briefly in Nordenstreng's account, but probably deserves its own chapter.

One can be critical of Nordenstreng's priorities and analysis, but he is relatively fair, and tells a story that is seldom told. His article is a good starting point for a fruitful

debate about the effect of the Cold War upon journalism. In addition, he makes a valuable theoretical point in his conclusion:

It is naïve and self-deceptive to believe that international journalists and their associations could ever be completely apolitical. (p.180)

This conclusion is not only supported by the conflict between the IOJ and the IFJ: the history of international journalist organisations from 1894 until today tells the same story of journalism's intrinsic link to politics and state power. It is impossible to avoid these links, but journalists can relate to them in different ways. The professional ideology, which dominates the press in free countries today, is only one possible version of this relationship. This book tells us how it changed, and that it probably will change in the future.

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Notes

1. <http://www.ifj.org/about-ifj/> 07-04-2016
2. <http://blexkom.halemverlag.de/promoting-democracy-and-equality/> 07-04-2016

Graham Murdock and Jostein Gripsrud (Eds.)

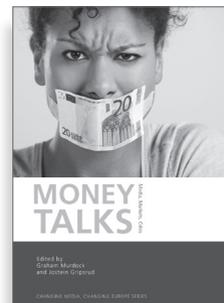
Money Talks: Media, Markets, Crisis

Bristol: Intellect, 2015, 200 p.

“Crisis is a process of struggle, including struggles over its definition”. This paraphrase of Antonio Gramsci on page 192 summarises the argument presented in *Money Talks; Media, Markets, Crisis*, edited by Graham Murdock and Jostein Gripsrud. The book analyses

the way political elites, the media, cinema, and the public make sense of, and talk about, the economy and the world of finance in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 financial crisis.

The book consists of four parts, each examining how finance is discussed in a dif-



ferent setting: *insider talk* examines the language of financial insiders and political elite; *news talk* examines financial news in the mainstream and financial press; *screen talk* consists of two chapters about the portrayal of the financial world in documentaries and movies, and *everyday talk* consists of a chapter exploring how Europeans make sense of the antecedents of the financial crisis and possible solutions.

A central theme in the book is the discourse battle between two different ways of talking about, and making sense of, the world of finance. On the one hand, there is the neoliberal economic ideological view, with an emphasis on striving for economic growth and minimum regulation. This view has grown in popularity since the 1970s and became the dominant way of looking at the economy and the world of finance in the years leading up to the crisis. On the other hand, we find a counter-narrative, which sees this neoliberal way of thinking as the cause of the crisis, and questions the basic assumptions upon which the financial system is built. Instead of austerity, this counter perspective would like to see the consequences of the crisis addressed by “*privileging social justice and ecological sustainability over economic growth as the measures of economic success.*” (p. 9).

Given the severity of the financial crisis, one could have expected that 2007-2008 would function as a critical junction, bringing the counter-narrative to the core of elite, media and public discourse. The empirical chapters in this book, however, show that this is not what happened. On the contrary, throughout the book, the analyses show that talk about the crisis is skewed towards the insider neoliberal perspective, leaving a critical, citizen perspective largely absent. Studying the communication networks within London’s financial district, Aeron Davis, for example, shows that the narratives which dominate these networks legitimise and help to maintain the dominant market ideology. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the other chapters exploring how elites discuss finance.

One could argue that the mass media are a more likely place to find alternative ways

of understanding and making sense of the financial crisis. After all, the media have a normative obligation to be critical towards the dominant discourse and present a balanced account of the crisis. The four chapters exploring news talk, however, show that the media, in general, do not live up to these ideals. Analysing the way media in the United States and Great Britain cover economic growth, Justin Lewis and Richard Thomas found little criticism of the ‘growth is good’ paradigm. Likewise, Jostein Gripsrud shows that attention to causes and consequences of the crisis and the related moral dilemmas are largely missing from crisis coverage in the mainstream media. Ironically, the crisis seems to have strengthened rather than challenged the insider-oriented perspective on finance in the media. George DeMartino shows that, because of the crisis, economic resources became scarcer, leaving less money for alternative, critical reporting.

Surely, we would find more critical perspectives if we moved away from the mainstream media, looking at movies and documentaries, for example? From the movies and documentaries analysed in the book, there is again limited support for this. Although often critical of bankers, these movies generally do not question the fundamentals of the market. This is well illustrated by Anja Peltzer’s analysis of Oliver Stone’s movie *Wall Street* and its main character, Gordon Gekko. This movie exemplifies how the failures of the financial market are attributed to individual responsibilities rather than flaws in capitalism or the financial system. The movies and documentaries which did provide a more critical perspective were mostly unsuccessful in reaching a mainstream audience. The movies which did reach a broad audience largely fail to connect Wall Street to the personal lives of ordinary citizens.

These citizens are the focus of the final empirical chapter of the book, analysing how Europeans make sense of the economic crisis and possible solutions. This chapter shows how complex and diverse people’s constructions of the crisis are. Each of the empirical chapters does a great job laying bare and describing the narratives and discourses which

people use to make sense of the financial crisis. From a wide variety of perspectives, and using different analytical approaches, the chapters illustrate how uneven the perspectives are in the discourse of the crisis. The introductory and closing chapters by Murdoch provide a good link between the media perspective and the broader economic and financial context. Several authors engage in a highly interesting normative discussion on what public discourse on finance *should* look like. The normative starting points come mainly from the public sphere perspective, but also draw on discussions of how best to inform the monitorial citizen (see, for example, the chapters by Jostein Gripsrud, and by Andreas Hepp et al.).

Reading the book will surely raise new questions for the readers. A first important question is *why* the financial crisis did not lead to more attention paid to alternative perspectives on the economy. The book's main strength is in describing the prevalence of an insider, neoliberal perspective, rather than giving a theoretical explanation for this. A second important question which the book raises is related to the interplay between the discourses used by economic elites, mainstream media, cinema, and the public: *how* do these discourses affect one another? The book leaves these relationships largely untouched. Such connects could have been discussed with reference to

concepts from media sociology or public opinion research, such as *the propaganda model*, *indexing*, Hallin's *spheres of consensus and deviance*, or the *spiral of silence*. The interconnection between media and elite discourse on the one hand and public discourse on the other is especially interesting and could have been more developed. Of course, this limitation is somewhat inherent to an edited volume. To systematically address these interconnections would require a different setup.

The book does not hide its critical perspective on capitalism and the discourse surrounding it. In the concluding section, the authors explicitly argue that they see it as their task to speak out and take part in public debate on how to make sure public communication on finance becomes more inclusive. The book provides a good starting point for this discussion. Without doubt, the book will inspire further analyses of the interplay between elite, media and public discourse in the aftermath of the financial crisis.

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Kaarle Nordenstreng and Daya Kishan Thussu
Mapping BRICS Media

London: Routledge, 2015, 272 p.



It was Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs who first coined the term BRIC in 2001, referring to the geo-political alliance of the emergent national economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. By 2010 South Africa had been invited to join the group. The BRICS mem-

bers are all developing or newly industrialized countries and were distinguished by their large, fast growing economies. More recently, the crisis afflicting many emerging market economies have called into question the growth model of the BRICS nations.

It may further be argued that an inherent weakness of the BRICS concept and hence of the point of departure of the anthology *Mapping BRICS Media* is that the five countries are different in just about every respect, including demography, level of income per head, economic structure, system of governance and – their media systems. Few of the contributors to *Mapping BRICS Media* seem to actually believe in BRICS as a coherent and strategic alliance either. Several of the chapters call into question the utility of trying to see the BRICS countries as anything other than a somewhat ad hoc grouping of nations that are at least as different as they are similar. As Colin Sparks puts it in his chapter, the use of the BRICS category can obscure more than it reveals. Sparks nevertheless stresses the concept's powerful rhetorical significance, owing to the clear label it puts on the involved nations. And as we know, a great acronym is important to all branding and may very well explain some of the concept's success.

The merit of the analysis of BRICS in Kaarle Nordenstreng and Daya Kishan Thussu's *Mapping BRICS Media* is exactly that it presents valuable critical discussions of BRICS, and whether it at all can be called a geo-political alliance. Most of the contributors underscore the major limitations of the BRICS platform. An exception is Yuezhi Zhao, who in her chapter expresses a hope that the BRICS may gradually turn itself into an engine of growth for the global South. Zhao uses the BRICS cable project as an interesting illustration of the BRICS cooperation. The five countries had already begun thinking about a global internet without USA as its center, when the Snowden revelation about the extent of US surveillance provided the impetus to propel the issue. The BRICS cable was planned completed in 2015, but today, a year after the due date, the cable is still not completed and there no longer appears to be an active discussion about its creation.

The anthology outlines how the structure of the media systems in the BRICS five countries is similar to that in other developing countries. Television is very widely available whereas newspapers remain a niche product for the edu-

cated elite. In terms of the internet too, no single, clear discernible pattern unites the BRICS nations or distinguishes them from many other countries. In the case of the BRICS countries all major media depend primarily on commercial revenues, particularly advertising income, which invariably relates to the scale and structure of an economy. Advertising expenditure is concentrated amongst the relatively small group of people enjoying high incomes. The overall media market is likely to be polarized between generic material that reaches a relatively poor mass audience and a more diversified media serving niches within the wealthy elite. Extreme differences between the rich and the poor, societies marked by corruption and social injustice is a common trait of the BRICS nations, as for many other nations.

As a whole, *Mapping BRICS Media* describes the significant trend away from US-centric production and English language dominance towards multi-centric media systems – the international system revolves no longer around a Western/US centric basis only. Due to the considerable development that has taken place the last years, the one-way vertical flow of international television programs from US to the rest of the world has been encountered by multiple and horizontal flows. However, as the book also shows, this has more to do with the weakened US global media actor than with the role of BRICS as such.

Hence, more than being about the BRICS the book is about the limitations and even partly the irrelevance of the BRICS. Nevertheless, the focus on BRICS, does permit as Joseph Straubaar reminds us in his chapter, a focused study of five countries' media in a political-economic context that throws light on the more general dynamics of global media developments in recent years. Part two of the book offers exactly such focused studies of the five countries in question. It presents timely and good analyses of the current media systems of each country, written by authors originating from the respective countries. The chapters illustrate for instance how the importance of the dominating family-controlled private conglomerates in Brazil; the rise of the digital media /social networks in the context

of globalization and growing fragmentation of the Russian society; the impact of the rapid expansion of media for instance from the economic liberalization of India in the 1990s – where the newspaper market has grown to become the largest in the world followed by an enormous growth of mobile telephony; the logic inherent in China's state-controlled system and how the rise of grassroot media is giving voice to social forces that are reconfiguring the media landscape; and South African media ownership and concentration, competition and black empowerment are discussed.

The third and last part of the book offers comparative perspectives. Comparative communication research has become increasingly important in a rapidly globalizing media world and the south-south perspective of the BRICS framework offer a valuable frame for such undertakings. To look at the BRICS journalists comparatively is for instance a most interesting endeavor – here the BRICS frame seems less 'forced' and more relevant – it is productive to look comparatively into the possibilities and challenges of the media sphere in a selection of nations from all corners of the world. However, as the book *Mapping BRICS Media* shows, there is very little intra-BRICS media exchange and most of the BRICS nations continue to receive international news largely from Anglo-American media.

The fact that one could easily construct other groups of nations, perhaps with less catchy acronyms, to better capture the economic dynamic of the "rise of the rest" does not necessarily weaken the good analyses of five countries on three different continents in the so-called global South, which inhabits 43 % of the world's population (China 20 % and India 18 % respectively). Due to this important number it does of course matter for the rest of the world both how they perform economically and how the media function in these nations and many of the deliberations provide interesting dimensions to discussions about theoretically unpacking different concepts such as 'global' and 'transnational', or about reshaping internet governance and challenging cyber-sovereignty. The impor-

tant point raised by Straubhaar that while the position of the BRICS countries may look emerging to the core nations, they may seem very well established and even dominant to others should not be underestimated. This reader even finds that this positively could have been developed further. Do the BRICS countries herald a new opening for a more democratic media scene? Or are they as Patrick Bond argued in his book *BRICS: An Anti-Capitalist Critic*, which came out more or less at the same time as the book under review, 'sub-imperialists'? Bond's point is that BRICS must be seen as a phenomenon rising within the framework of global capitalism that is increasingly predatory. To have employed such an approach for instance to see what happens in the regions when the one big powerful global actor is weakened and regional superpowers expand, would have been a highly relevant point of discussion in this context. All five countries share complex relations with their respective regions, partly due to their preponderant economic and military position relative to other states. Yet, none of the five member's regional leadership project is uncontested, and this aspect would have been a very interesting one in relation to media systems, infrastructure, power and influence, but is not discussed in any detail in the contributions to the book.

Perhaps the most useful part of the concept of the BRICS, and of *Mapping BRICS Media* is, as Hamish Mc Rae in *The Independent* once pointed out, that the concept makes us aware of the ongoing "seismic shift in power". The centuries-old domination of the West is passing and a more multipolar world seem to appear,

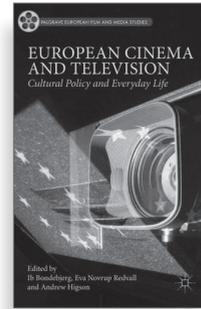
and even though BRICS may not be the most viable concept, its' focus on the evolving multi-polarity, also within the media systems, is indeed productive.

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**Andrew Higson, Eva Novrup Redvall and
Ib Bondebjerg (Eds.)**

*European Cinema and Television: Cultural Policy and
Everyday Life*

London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 256 p.



The collection entitled *European Cinema and Television. Cultural Policy and Everyday Life*, edited by Ib Bondebjerg, Eva Novrup Redvall and Andrew Higson, is a product of the HERA financed (European Union), rather large international project known as Mediating Cultural Encounters through European Screens (MeCETES). The project is a Belgian, British and Danish ‘co-production’ which commenced activity in 2013. According to its website, the scholarly objective is to ascertain ‘how films and television drama enable audiences to encounter other European cultures, the conditions under which those fictions are produced and circulate within Europe, and their consequences for the project of cultural integration, identify [sic] building and diversity.’

Besides traditional academic outputs such as books, articles and chapters, the project has also nurtured a highly informative blog, regularly updated with a wide range of materials occasionally authored by outside scholars, independent of the core project group. In addition, several conferences and workshops have been organized. These have been highlighted by the noticeable participation of a line of industry professionals, policy-makers and non-academic commentators. In this way, productive encounters and discussions have been facilitated between individuals in professions that, even if symbiotically related, can otherwise be rather inaccessible to each other.

The book’s contributors are predominantly media and communication scholars but also include the occasional sociologist, cultural geographer, film studies person and even one official at the European Commission. Television – and especially the public broadcast

drama variety – appears to be somewhat more in focus than film. Similarly, rather recent events take precedence over historical ones, while western and northern Europe receives considerably more consideration than audiovisual activities taking place in the eastern part of the continent (there is, nevertheless, a stimulating chapter about Eastern European *auteurs*’ relationships to the West by the prolific Ewa Mazierska).

This presentation is not meant to be harsh; it only wishes to underline that with a title signaling *European Cinema and Television* and just a single book volume at the editors’ disposal, there is only so much ground that can be covered. Large areas of relevance and interest obviously had to be omitted and certain priorities had to be made. With these provisions in mind, it may be suggested that the book and its thirteen contributors in various ways attempt to engage themselves precisely with the research project’s stated intentions as quoted above.

The introduction takes as its starting point the complex notion of ‘unity in diversity’ – adopted as the official motto of the EU in the year 2000. Elsewhere this has been termed the ‘double occupancy’ paradox while, corresponding with the EU motto, implying how the people of the European Union are at once European constituents and simultaneously citizens of a number of different and particular nation states. Moreover, the issue of identity is dealt with in several of the individual chapters. Accordingly, several authors refer to various studies which point out that national identification most often takes precedence over the recognition of oneself as European. People in the union do not readily identify

with some sort of common cultural heritage and a feeling of cultural identity. This lack of identification with the larger European project, is furthermore frequently one of the explanatory factors for one of the book's pervasive themes. Consequently, and as was rather known previously, Europeans do not encounter or consume film, media and television products from other European nations nearly as often in their everyday lives as they see and consume their own domestic products and American fare. For now, at least, we are stuck with what two of the editors (and similarly authors) lament as the 'weak structures for transnational production and distribution in Europe [...] major barriers to securing greater cultural integration' (p. 235), or as the third editor alternatively puts it, 'Europe itself has little purchase, little meaning in terms of cultural identities or values' (p. 148).

A majority of the chapters take a single nation as their case study, focusing either on television or film while inquiring into various layers of European, or in many cases more particularized, transnational connections, such as for instance the close cooperation going on between the sparsely populated, marginally located Scandinavian countries ever since the creation of the Nordvision venture between public service broadcasters (at the time, the only ones allowed) in 1959.

There are two entries concerning the UK. And as this review is written with the countdown to the EU referendum as a backdrop, it is impossible not to read the respective accounts as a sort of synecdoche, with the limited perspectives on the film industry and among policymakers providing a mirror of the larger population, relevant to the larger international political arena. Andrew Higson hence explains how a certain Euroscepticism pervades both film industry and film policy dealings. Incentive programmes during recent decades have accordingly been preoccupied with getting inward investment from the Hollywood studios so that the big budget, revenue attracting and work generating Harry Potters, James Bonds, Nanny McPhees and Wallace and Gromits can keep on coming. Furthermore, it is pointed out that for those Brits with

global aspirations, looking westward is where the opportunities are located and how, paradoxically, the backing of an American studio probably offers the easiest mode of access to the deeply fragmented European markets. Perhaps cynically, Higson concludes that British cooperation with Europe, while underlining the non-involvement in Eurimages is, in the end, simply a series of funding opportunities and markets to be exploited. Tim Edensor, in his chapter on the mediatization of British national space, similarly suggests '[t]he national sense of Britishness is partly constituted by the habitual consumption of American popular cinema and music [...] but to a much lesser extent, by European media forms, which are generally contextualized as exotic and distinctively foreign' (p. 73).

A few of the chapters, in turn, exude a specific national allegiance as the basis for the argument. Of these, one is concerned with the complex and intangible notion of a European identity as seen through the European Capital of Culture initiative and hardly mentions film and television at all. Two entries, meanwhile, are descriptions of and inquiries into the not so transparent field of European audiovisual policy as introduced by the EU and the Council of Europe. Presumably written before the EU's Digital Single Market initiative became a reality in May 2015, they both touch upon what are at present widely discussed issues regarding the failure to remove internal barriers regarding the consumption of and trade in, amongst other things, audiovisual products. On the one hand, there is the EU single market supposedly guaranteeing the free movement of goods, capital, services and people. On the other hand, however, there is geo-blocking, territorial restrictions regarding distribution and a trade still governed by copyright and licensing practices that do not recognize the EU as a single territory, effectively introducing internet censorship, severely limiting availability and underpinning digitally enforced price discrimination. Despite the abovementioned initiative, the signs indicating a path towards an emerging single market for digital services have been scarce. The potential of transnational devel-

opments with culture moving online appears unfulfilled in the end.

European Cinema and Television: Cultural Policy and Everyday Life is a substantial work in many ways. It provides data, detailed descriptions of practices and regulative policies as well as some of their consequences in the complex, fragmented, transnational, occasionally successful, but ultimately somewhat disordered, film and television landscape of Europe. Consequently, the majority of the book's contributors provide accounts of weakly financed initiatives, of the occasional unforeseen consequences of certain programmes and of funds being allotted in ineffective ways. Yet, despite this criticism, there is limited inquiry regarding whether public policymaking, continued protection from US competition and sustained public financial support really provide effective tools as such with regard to the future development of this vital economic and creative sector. One text accordingly cites suggestions concerning how policies have tried to 'protect' the media sector while at the same time making it 'competitive', but it glosses over the circumstance of whether such contradictory policy goals are compatible in the end.

Almost fifteen years ago, American economist Tyler Cowen put forth a pessimistic examination of European film in the era of globalization. Particularly, he centred on the growing public intervention in the form of protection and increased economic support from the 1950s and onwards. Cowen sum-

marized his argument: 'As for European film, its best hope is to rediscover an economic and cultural dynamic that combines both commercialism and creativity. Such a dynamic will require reliance on international markets and global capital, and is unlikely to flourish in a narrowly protectionist setting'.¹

As it basically asks for more global transnational cooperation, fewer trade barriers and less support, Cowen's analysis may seem controversial and politically challenging. Still, and though limited to film, it appears relevant and finds its parallels in viewpoints presented in several recent publications on European film and television. Nonetheless, it represents a critically questioning perspective that is not given any real voice in the collection under review. That said, *European Cinema and Television: Cultural Policy and Everyday Life* represents an authoritative and significant contribution to the increasingly studied field that is the industries and regulative frameworks of European film and television.

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Note

1. Tyler Cowen, *Creative Destruction: How globalization is changing the world*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 101.