

to have for crimes of a sexual nature. It may be that the concept of moral panic, with its emphasis on revulsion for those who may be threatening the established order, does not do justice to the sense of ambivalence and ambiguity that surrounds such crimes.

Jürgen Gerhards, Mike Schäfer, Ishtar Al-Jabiri and Juliane Seifert, *Terrorismus im Fernsehen: Formate, Inhalte und Emotionen in westlichen und arabischen Sendern*, VS Verlag: Wiesbaden, 2011; 260 pp.: €39.95

This is an excellent comparative study of how different broadcasters – CNN, Al Jazeera, BBC, ARD and RTL – represent terrorism, or better, four acts of mass-casualty terror perpetrated by groups linked to Al Qaida: Madrid in 2004, London, Sharm el-Sheikh and Amman in 2005. These market-leading broadcasters are not only based in different countries and cultures but are also funded in a variety of ways. These broadcasters and the differences between them are used to analyse the validity of four theories of journalistic production in general and the reporting of terrorism in particular: (1) that representations are nationally specific and are embedded in national contexts and concerns; (2) that representations are part and parcel of a ‘clash of civilizations’, with Arab broadcasters exhibiting profoundly different evaluations of terrorism than western ones; (3) that representations of terrorism will depend on how the broadcaster is funded; and (4) that processes of globalization mean that all broadcasters basically represent terrorism in the same way.

The authors conclude that the formats of the broadcasters resemble each other closely and all basically pursue a model of ‘Anglo-American’ journalism of objectivity and clearly differentiating between information and comment (one wonders how Anglo as opposed to American this is). There may be small differences between the news channels (CNN and Al Jazeera) and the general channels BBC and ARD (for example, the news channels had a broader spectrum of forms of news) and between public broadcaster ARD and the privately funded RTL (for example, RTL is less formal) but these differences are marginal in comparison to the similarities.

The results are more complex when it comes to comparing the contents of the reports and explaining similarities and differences. All channels gave the same level of significance to the events, the same information was conveyed, the same images were used and the negative evaluation of the acts were the same, if of different degrees of vehemence of condemnation. Such results surprised the authors given the ideological differences between the broadcasters that one would assume would affect the reporting of such events. The most important factor in explaining this similarity is that there was international elite consensus in attitudes towards these attacks and the broadcasters mirrored this consensus. It is only when international elites are divided (for example, with reference to the war in Afghanistan) that differences appear between broadcasters.

Nevertheless, there were some ‘hidden’ differences between the broadcasters: while using the same world political conflict frame (‘war on terror’ frame) as CNN, Al Jazeera spent more time explaining the motives behind the acts of terror in contrast to the two-dimensional approach of CNN that tended to demonize the perpetrators. BBC and ARD in contrast tended to depoliticize the acts, seeing them as acts against

humanity (read shared universal values) by individuals (presumably in an attempt to avoid a 'clash of civilizations' frame). RTL, on the other hand, though using the same 'war on terror' frame as CNN and Al Jazeera, tended to report in a sensationalist manner on the victims themselves (and especially German victims) and their suffering, in the hope of increasing audience share. The authors are left with something of a conundrum in that the similarities between the broadcasters suggest the presence of a 'world culture' as a consequence of globalization, and yet CNN and Al Jazeera, on the one hand, and the BBC and ARD, on the other, use different frames that suggest that a world culture is absent.

Divina Frau-Meigs, Jérémie Nicey, Michael Palmer, Julia Pohle and Patricio Tupper (eds), *From NWICO to WSIS: 30 Years of Communication Geopolitics. Actors and Flows, Structures and Divides*, Intellect: Bristol, 2012; 240 pp.: £45.00 (hbk), £24.95 (pbk)

The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) have attracted substantial scholarly attention and received several book-length treatments. None of the existing literature, however, has made an attempt to bring these two major events in the global history of international communication together and provide a comprehensive analysis of the continuities and discontinuities between them. This is the niche that Divina Frau-Meigs and co-editors sought to fill with their edited collection.

The book is divided into three sections, each focusing on a distinct period in the history of global media policies. The first section maps the key developments that gave rise to the NWICO and the controversies surrounding it, discusses the role of the key international actors including UNESCO, the International Telecommunications Union, the United Nations and the international news agencies, as well as provides a useful genealogy of debates surrounding key concepts such as the 'right to communicate' and the 'free flow of information'.

The second section, focusing on the period between the 1980s and 2000, is possibly the most original and insightful. It deals with a period marked by major political changes as well as key developments in information and communication technologies that displaced the NWICO's agenda and brought fundamental changes to political discourses surrounding information and communication. Julia Pohle's contribution traces the shift from a techno-deterministic perspective on informatics to a more socially sensitive perspective that sees information technology as an instrument of human interaction, while Robin Mansell provides an overview of the changing notions of development in discourses of major international organizations.

The last section tackles developments after 2000, tracing the continuities between the WSIS and NWICO and identifying the emergence of new issues and actors in the realm of global media policy. Particular attention is paid to the rise of civil society actors, ranging from various non-governmental organizations to labour unions, artists and researchers. This section also provides a useful introduction to some of the ongoing processes of change affecting the socioeconomic arrangements, legislation and regulation of international communication flows.