

on which they proceed to dwell: "So why is broadcasting but not newspaper publishing regulated and subsidized in many countries?" (p. 307). The authors seem to deem this unequal treatment economically illogical and they leave the learner hanging without an adequate answer to their question, which would of course require recourse to means other than empirical and quantitative research. Non-scientific or normative economics is a more fruitful approach to understanding some industries, and that undoubtedly includes the media. A more balanced approach might serve students better in their quest to understand how—and why—things work in media businesses.

Despite this shortcoming, *Media Economics: Applying Economics to New and Traditional Media* is a milestone in this country's communication literature. Its format, which sees each chapter open with a list of questions relevant to the topic followed by examples of industry application ample to illustrate the concepts introduced, should engage the interest of most students in this important and often neglected subject. Hopefully it will find its way onto reading lists in Canadian schools of communication and journalism. Supplemented, of course, by some readings on newspaper economics and normative theory.

Reference

Hoskins, Colin, McFadyen, Stuart, & Finn, Adam. (1997). *Global Television and Film: An Introduction to the Economics of the Business*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Marc Edge

Thompson Rivers University

Global Electioneering: Campaign Consulting, Communications, and Corporate Financing. By Gerald Sussman. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005. 262 pp. ISBN 0742526925.

With all due respect to T. S. Eliot, I do not know whether I have measured out my life with coffee spoons, but I have certainly measured it out with elections. As an American by birth, I can better recall where I have been in life by thinking about U.S. national elections. It started when I stayed up late to celebrate when a fellow Roman Catholic and trade union supporter won the 1960 election and it descended into a near abyss in 2004 with the second coming of "W.," which found me lying in bed after midnight refreshing my laptop screen over and over again in the faint hope that the Ohio vote total might shift to Kerry and make W. a one-term failure like his dad. Moreover, for as long as I can remember, elections have meant controversy. Did JFK steal the state of Illinois, where apparently the dead were an important voting bloc, and Texas too, where LBJ literally controlled the election machinery? Did W.'s people see that there were plenty of ballot boxes in the rich White neighbourhoods of Ohio, leaving Black voters and students to line up for the equivalent of a full work day just to cast a vote? Did Bush's buddies at Diebold cook the count with software that turned Kerry's exit-poll enthusiasm into another Democratic Party wake? Any temptation to react with Canadian smugness needs to be tempered by recent election results here, which demonstrated that you can win a riding for the losing party and join the cabinet of the winning party, which was crushed in that same riding. Or, even better, make it to Cabinet, as public works minister, no less, by passing on the election (too much work), buying land, and getting appointed to the Senate.

Yes, elections have always been controversial, and it is tempting to conclude that nothing has changed. But as *Global Electioneering* demonstrates with great breadth and careful scholarship, a lot has changed, and there is a lot for citizens and for communication scholars and practitioners to be concerned about.

In examining the entire election process worldwide, including funding, consulting, communication, and the use of new technology, Sussman has taken on a big project. But he is the right person to do it. Gerald Sussman is a political scientist who has spent years writing about media and new technology. He is currently Professor of Urban Studies and Planning and Speech Communication at Portland State University. In the book, he succeeds in describing how global capitalism in the post-Cold War era has changed the election process. Specifically, he shows how the extension of industrial principles and processes into spaces of life not previously incorporated or socially acceptable, what he calls hyperindustrialism, changed elections worldwide. The book begins with the U.S. and then examines how the U.S. has exported its election model to much of the rest of the world.

The basic thesis is that elites are worried about the international expansion of the public sphere and have mobilized the tools needed to manage it. Taking a cue from the 1975 report of the Trilateral Commission, which argued that the world needed to rein in "the excesses of democracy" or lose its representative institutions to anarchy or totalitarianism, contemporary government, corporate, and academic elites have re-fashioned the electoral process to create a managed public sphere.

The book begins with an overview of political communication in an age characterized by global markets, global corporations, and new, globe-spanning communication and information technologies. From there it explains the fundamental transformation in electoral politics. The American political campaign was once a craft; it rewarded skill in the rough-and-tumble of personal relationships, mobilizing support one face at a time in meetings at the door, in churches, in union halls, and in the many voluntary associations that, as de Tocqueville described, were filled with the people of this "nation of joiners." But now Americans, as Robert Putnam (2000) tells us, are "bowling alone," spending more hours than ever in front of screens, and political campaigns have taken full advantage. Specifically, drawing on his work in labour analysis, Sussman demonstrates that elections have shifted from a craft to an industrial model. They are run by large companies that specialize in campaigns, selling their services to parties, organizations, and candidates, who are forced to raise large sums from corporate donors to pay for their services. Companies provide the same range of services that would go into marketing a new car, perfume, or beer, but they use a slightly different jargon: market research becomes polling; public relations becomes strategic information planning; product placement becomes a campaign event; and testimonials become endorsements. Like in industrial production, some campaigns can work under the old Fordist model of mass production/mass consumption, but increasingly they require the post-Fordist skills of customized production for niche markets. Whichever approach is used, as Sussman demonstrates by drawing on his extensive knowledge of new media, all forms of marketing, for perfumes and for candidates, now require a massive screen presence, including television, of course, but also increasingly the multimedia technologies of computer communication.

Sussman's book is especially valuable because it demonstrates the global spread of the U.S. model of hyperindustrial electioneering, replacing the craft and local specificities of national election practices in Canada, the U.K., Europe, and Japan. With the full support of the U.S. government and major transnational companies, organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy spread the gospel of this elite-managed public sphere to control democracy's "excesses" in Latin America, the nations of the former Soviet Union, and increasingly Asia and Africa. Although much of the book focuses on the structure and process of global electioneering, refreshingly, it adds profiles of some of the key figures, such as Karl Rove and George Carville, who have built this new system. Readers may feel that more attention could have been paid to the failures of the new system, which demonstrate that having the resources and strategies to manage the public sphere does not always

guarantee success. (Witness Latin America, whose electoral systems have produced many left-of-centre victories in the early years of the new millennium.) Nevertheless, *Global Electioneering* provides a clearly written and very well-documented analysis in the tradition of some of our best political communication research. The discussion of much-needed reforms that concludes the book will offer students if not a roadmap out of this abyss, at least suggestions to help them design their own map.

References

Putnam, Robert D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Vincent Mosco
Queen's University

Network Culture: Politics for the Information Age. By Tiziana Terranova. London, UK: Pluto Press, 2004. 184 pp. ISBN 0745317480.

There have been numerous texts written in the aftermath of the dot.com crash that have reinterpreted the crippling economic collapse with critical hindsight. Such texts tend to re-evaluate the euphoric energies that built Silicon Alley and Valley and re-situate the utopian visions of the new economy in an attempt to comprehend what went wrong. Tiziana Terranova's 2004 work *Network Culture* is written at a post-dot.com conjuncture, when e-mail, discussion groups, e-zines, and blogs are everyday informational tools used *en masse*. In this respect, Terranova is not concerned with any one historical event; she is not engaged in an analysis of a singular juncture in the history of information technology. Instead, Terranova is concerned with the "terrain of the common," an aspect of contemporary culture that "arises out of affective investments and works through an inventive and emotive political intelligence on the . . . terrain of the contemporary politics of communication" (p. 157). Moreover, Terranova's interest in the terrain of the common is tied to a specific cultural formation she terms "network culture," which she observes to be "characterized by an unprecedented abundance of information output and by an acceleration of informational dynamics" (p. 1).

Proposing that the book is "an attempt to give a name to, and to further our understanding of, a global culture as it unfolds across a multiplicity of communication channels but within a single milieu" (p. 1), Terranova builds a theoretical platform, in the Deleuzian and Bergsonian tradition, from physics and biology, computing and cybernetics, and philosophy, privileging process over structure and non-linearity over linearity. Accordingly then, the title of the book, *Network Culture: Politics for the Information Age*, is somewhat misleading. Instead of interrogating the relations of power governing information technology and practices surrounding the Internet, Terranova is more concerned with the processes and the non-linear sequence of events that have assembled into this cultural moment she defines as network culture.

The book is organized into five chapters: 1) Three Propositions on Informational Clusters; 2) Network Dynamics; 3) Free Labour; 4) Soft Control; and 5) Communication Biopower. The chapters, which are subdivided into sections, overflow with material groundings and theoretical frameworks to support Terranova's description of network culture. The first chapter offers a historical analysis of information theory, highlighting the foundational theorists and their works, with a focus on the innovations carried out at the Bell Labs during the 1940s and 1950s. The second and third chapters provide a contemporary examination of network culture, focusing on the material and socio-economic conditions that developed over the last 30 years. In particular, chapter 2 discusses the key moments in the structural evolution of the Internet, and chapter 3 interrogates the funda-