



## Book reviews

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Robert M Entman, *Scandal and Silence: Media Responses to Presidential Misconduct*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012; x + 256 pp., ISBN 978-0-7456-4763-0, €21.60/£17.99 (pbk).

**Reviewed by:** Rodney Tiffen, *Department of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney, Australia*

One of the trickiest explanatory problems in social science is accounting for non-occurrences. In media analysis, explaining why what the analyst thinks was a newsworthy topic was neglected, in unskilled hands, easily becomes a querulous argument which shows the critic's biases more than an enlightening analysis of how the media works. It easily degenerates into a vegetarian critique of the media's carnivore consensus, or an argument that there ought to be more Marxist perspectives when covering political issues and so forth.

Explaining why some potential presidential scandals are stillborn while others gather great intensity is the difficult task that Robert Entman sets himself in this book. Much of the conventional wisdom pictures the American media as scandal hungry. Works about investigative reporting celebrate, most famously, the determined and courageous work of the *Washington Post* on Watergate (Downie, 1976; Protes, 1991). In a much more critical vein, commentators such as Larry Sabato (1991) picture the news media as in a feeding frenzy covering scandals. (Sabato's detailed work is more nuanced than the general propositions at the core of his book.) But whether done with a positive or negative gloss, the picture is fundamentally misleading. As Entman demonstrates, the US media frequently shrink from pursuing contentious stories. Too often 'the mainstream media are more concerned with minimizing pressure than clarifying truth' (p. 106).

Entman takes as his key problem 'why some accusations of misconduct receive high-magnitude attention whereas other charges of similar gravity do not' (p. 129). To understand why some frames become dominant and others dormant (p. 13), why some scandals gain momentum and others do not, Entman deploys what he calls the *cascading network activation model*, which emphasizes the complex feedback loops between strategic elites (such as government and opposition party leaders), news organizations and the public – how each responds to the other.

His analysis of the vastly contrasting coverage of apparently similar scandals leads to interesting and pertinent observations. For example, he shows how Dan Quayle, Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1988, and Bill Clinton in 1992 both received

very heavy negative coverage of the way they avoided the draft during the Vietnam war, but George W. Bush in 2000 escaped very lightly. The media had very strong evidence of adulterous behavior by several presidential candidates and hopefuls – George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, John Edwards and John McCain. By far the heaviest treatment of sex scandals in their election year was of Bill Clinton. According to Entman, a large part of the reason for this was that there was a woman, Jennifer Flowers, who was publicly accusing Clinton of having an affair with her. Republicans paid her around \$100,000 for going public with her accusations (p. 59). Nevertheless, as Entman argues, the media had very strong evidence in several other cases, but had a ‘disinclination to pursue presidential sex scandals unless other forces in the system [promoted] that choice’ (p. 84). John McCain, in particular, was fortunate in not having his history of adulterous affairs exposed, and, in front of journalists who didn’t report it, abused his wife in crude terms that would have severely punctured his presidential prospects if it had become public.

Perhaps the starkest contrast in the book is between the coverage of the pre-presidential accusations of business scandals against Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. As Entman reminds us, the real estate dealings of the Clintons and their business partners in the so-called Whitewater scandal received intense coverage, and led to the appointment of a special prosecutor, Republican zealot Kenneth Starr; but after an investigation costing \$45 million, no prosecutions or adverse findings against the president’s business deals followed.

In contrast, Entman details the story of George W. Bush, who had been a director of Harken Energy Corporation, holding his shares because of loans from friends of his father. In 1990 Bush sold his shares for \$850,000, which was the basis for his personal fortune. He invested it in the Texas Rangers baseball team, and later when the team was sold he made \$16 million. Apart from the way family connections eased his path at each point in his business career, when he made the crucial sale in 1990 he was guilty of illegal insider trading. When Bush sold, he and other directors knew of financial problems that would have an adverse effect on the share price when they became public as they did two months later. Entman’s analysis shows that the only time this threatened to receive heavy attention was in mid-2002, when the collapse of Enron made it newsworthy, but it quickly disappeared. There was almost no media follow-up to the ‘smoking gun’ revelation by the *Boston Globe* that a lawyer had warned Bush it would be illegal to sell when he did. It was also clear that he had not made the proper disclosures and statements to the regulator, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). In contrast to Clinton, Bush, despite his far greater guilt, suffered virtually no political damage. The case ‘also supports the theme that media do not eagerly shift themselves into high-scandal gear’ (p. 155).

Indeed in Entman’s book, George W. Bush emerges as the main beneficiary of what he calls ‘blocked scandals’. Entman describes how in 2004, CBS’s *Sixty Minutes* and its star reporter Dan Rather carried a story about George W. Bush’s service in the National Guard, service which, thanks to personal connections, he undertook to avoid the draft. When he went to begin a course at Harvard, he was obliged to report for duty and serve out his last nine months in the Massachusetts National Guard. Dan Rather produced a memo which claimed that he never bothered to do so, but then conservative bloggers

claimed that the memo's typeface had been produced with more modern technology than existed at the time. Rather and his producer still maintain the documents were genuine, but under immense pressure, CBS disowned them. In any case, Entman states that no documentary evidence of any kind has ever shown that Bush actually did his Massachusetts service. However, the Bush/Guard scandal morphed into the Rather/memo scandal (p. 118), now recalled as 'Rathergate' and resulting in the veteran correspondent's bitter exit from the network.

Entman concludes that part of Bush's success here and in other scandals was the ferocity of his team's attacks on the 'liberal' media. Are the media afraid of the liberal media charge? The term *conservative media* is rarely heard, and yet Entman shows quite a bit of evidence that the US media tend to cover Democrat scandals more assiduously than Republican ones. Similarly Entman thinks that 'Democrats' skill at manipulating the scandal process also seemed inferior to the GOP's level of proficiency' (p. 185).

In the last chapter there is a sensible discussion of normative standards that might bring more consistency and principle in what scandals are deemed to be reportable, although in my view, it is abundantly clear that such principles – especially in the age of Fox News and the Tea Party – will never impact on journalistic or political practice.

Scandals are politically important, and the media's and the political system's capacity to expose and root out corrupt practices is a central part of enforcing accountability. But the media's treatment of scandals is erratic, and there are very few rigorous analytical studies which focus on this erratic role. The exploration of how news media coverage interacts with political processes is perhaps *the* central issue in political communication, but too many evade it by retreating into methodological safety. This book combines insightful theoretical analysis with interesting empirical research, and is a major contribution to the field.

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Beatrice Quarshie Smith, *Reading and Writing in the Global Workplace: Gender, Literacy, and Outsourcing in Ghana*, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012; ix + 206 pp., ISBN 978-0-7391-3784-0, US\$61.78 (hbk).

**Reviewed by:** Wincharles Coker, *Department of Humanities, Michigan Technological University, USA*

*Reading and Writing in the Global Workplace* is an exploratory study of gendered literacy practices associated with outsourcing in Ghana. Based on a carefully reflexively constructed ethnographic research design, Quarshie Smith (2012) offers a comprehensive account of the workplace literacy practices of Ghanaian women working for two

US-based outsourcing companies in Ghana. The book argues that literacy practices in these settings are not neutral but motivated by ideological, economic, and political proclivities. She draws on Appadurai's (1997) concepts of 'scapes' and 'flows' to examine the effects of globalized workplaces in relation to traditionally gendered institutions in Ghana. The work is largely situated within ongoing discourses of literacy as social practice, outsourcing, globalization and the feminization of labor, and their implications for work by Ghanaian women. Bearing in mind that context illuminates ethnographic research, the author sketches Ghana's educational, cultural, and political history in order to situate her work 'within the immediate work environment, but also within the larger cultural, social, and historical milieu' (p. 24). The book makes a significant contribution for grasping the dynamics of the politics of labor, globalization, and negotiations offered by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The study shows that Ghanaian women working in Client Technological Industries (CTI) and Client Data Network (CDN) outsourcing companies have developed functional literacy skills such as medical, accounting, and information retrieval literacies. According to Quarshie Smith, these skills enable the women to think of themselves as 'imagined citizens' of the United States, the home of their clients. The author also remarks that as part of the women's resolve to maximize productivity at their workplaces, they engage in all sorts of communicative practices including approximating the American accent of English, translating their clients' accents into their local Ghanaian languages such as Twi, Ga, Ewe, or Hausa to aid comprehension, and brainstorming amongst themselves some key terms and vocabulary they do not understand. Quarshie Smith also notes that the women at these workplaces are strong in enacting their identity, agency, and resistance. She observes that despite the power structures at play in these companies, the poor working climate of Ghana, and the difficulty in landing a job in the country, her participants are resolute in demanding fair wages and good conditions of service. Underlying the book's thesis is this silent, tacit emphasis on the unfair treatment meted out to Ghanaian women in outsourcing.

To a large extent, the author maintains a clean bill of self-reflexivity throughout her research. Prior to undertaking the project proper, Quarshie Smith embarks on a complete academic soul-searching exercise in order to identify how her 'herstory' has affected her world-view, and how she could position herself vis-a-vis her biases. In the preface, she throws beams of light on the axiological thrust of what it means to write about other people's experiences. This presents the educational developments of the researcher and her shift from positivist research to what appears to be a response towards the interpretive turn. The author goes at length to clinically situate her multiple identities – a Ghanaian and yet an African American, a woman, and a scholar – and how these enactments weigh heavily on her ways of seeing and interpreting the world given that the business of self-reflexivity is to identify a space of particularity. Worthy of mention is how she confronts the polemic of doing ethnographic research vis-a-vis 'the critical triple crises of representation, legitimization, and praxis' (p. xviii).

Also worth commending are her tenacious access-to-field site negotiation strategies. These discussions are captured in Chapter 5 ('Multi-Sited Ethnography and Hybrid Spaces'), which paints in loving detail how she troubles the canons of ethnography. Since she works in *hybrid spaces*, that is, offline and online workspaces, she realizes the

inadequacy of the concept of ‘fieldsites’, and so she refashions the ethnographic research process in order to capture the nuances of complexities her field affords. As she inquires, ‘When one studies a work community with ethnographic practices, what adaptations should be made to traditional research practices?’ (p. 72). Her sharp sensitivity to self-reflexivity runs throughout the entire data gathering process. For example, in gaining approval from the Institutional Review Board of her university, she deemed it appropriate to design her project description flexibly with the latitude it deserved. Moreover, such tough questions as ‘Are traditional ethnographic strategies adequate in studying these work-spaces even if one does not gain access to the whole web of virtual networks? Under these conditions in which one access is gained, what constitutes a participant observer stance? How does a researcher protect company confidentiality in situations where identifying the country where the research takes place may be enough to lead to company identification?’ demand the attention of the research community.

Another strength is the rich rigor and resonance with which Quarshie Smith describes the field site, field scene, and research participants. As expected, the author gives detailed biographical accounts of her focal participants – educational background, ethnicity, religion, marital status, professional development, and career goals – as well as the cliques of camaraderie they had developed. Also, data gathering materials like interviews (formal and semi-structured), artifacts, field notes, analytic memos, observation commentaries, and photographs are thoroughly discussed and interspersed with the I-voice of the researcher plus excerpts of interview transcripts obtained from the participants. She also uses texts available from public online spaces of CTI and CDN, documents, records, and memos. Interviews at both field sites amount to 1440 minutes and 357 pages over a period of six months. She also redevelops data categories, based on her reflections on the interview transcripts and observational field notes, while ensuring multivocality. Again, her negotiation with the gatekeepers of CTI and CDN demands not only commendation, but also emulation. Here, too, Quarshie Smith is overtly tactful in recognizing the key role of situational ethics in such matters. For example, she admits that it was far more difficult gaining approval from ‘power brokers’ at CTI than it was at CDN in view of the fact that approval involves a chain of dynamics and power in the organogram of a company.

The author sincerely admits her methodological challenges. The first relates to her attempts at understanding the community’s practices from its own perspective. This was important to her so that she would not unnecessarily distort the experiences of her informants. Second, the extent to which her researcher identity could obfuscate the research process also needs careful consideration. Although she admits that her insider knowledge of the Ghanaian culture was an added advantage, she also notes that she had to be ‘cognizant of the danger of drawing on previous knowledge to make decisions about the meaning and significance of behaviors and patterns in the data collected’ (p. 87). Such a stance raises some ethical issues: the agony of identifying the host country where the research was underway (i.e. Ghana) and also the country of origin of the foreign companies (in this case, the US), and maintain confidentiality. Such agony emanates from Quarshie Smith’s resolve to be ethical.

One concern is how the book adds to or challenges current literacy practices. While it is certainly the case that the author adds her voice to the ongoing discourse in literacy as

cultural or social practice (Street, 1995), it appears that her work offers little to research in new literacy practices. Corio et al. (2008) state that new literacy concerns literacy practices afforded in digital and online spaces. This is exactly what the author's fieldsites represent: they are paperless. Arguably, such studies need to be thoroughly enmeshed in theories of new literacy, and Quarshie Smith does meaningfully draw on information communication technologies literature. But how does her work, for instance, speak to or problematize Kevin Leander's (2008) 'Toward a Connective Ethnography of Online/Offline Literacy Networks'? In this case, the author's discussions of information communication technologies may be useful to the emerging field of new literacy, but may do so in less direct ways.

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Stephanie Schnurr, *Exploring Professional Communication: Language in Action*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013; xiv + 234 pp., ISBN 978-0-415-58583-8, €30.99 (pbk).

**Reviewed by:** Chit Cheung Matthew Sung, *Department of English, Lingnan University, Hong Kong*

*Exploring Professional Communication: Language in Action* by Stephanie Schnurr is one of the latest additions to the study of professional communication and a much welcome book which looks at communication in professional settings from an applied linguistic perspective. Designed as an introductory level textbook, the book consists of eight chapters, each of which covers a different aspect of professional communication.

Chapter 1 introduces readers to the field of professional communication. It discusses how transactional and relational aspects of professional communication take place and overlap during both frontstage and backstage encounters. Chapter 2 is concerned with genres of professional communication, including both spoken and written genres. By using a wide range of examples, including sales promotion letters, job applications, classroom exchanges and patient–doctor interactions, the author shows that the genres which are conventionally used to perform certain functions not only vary across different workplaces, but also across departments and working groups within the same workplace. In the chapter, the notion of 'genre' is also explored with reference to several theoretical frameworks, including English for Specific Purposes and the New Rhetoric. Chapter 3 explores the relationship between professional communication and workplace culture.



Schnurr examines some of the differences in the communicative patterns in different workplaces, that is, how members of different workplaces choose to communicate and interact with each other. In her thoughtful discussion of workplace culture, Schnurr draws on several well-known theoretical frameworks of organizational culture, including the models by Edgar Schein and Geert Hofstede, as well as the notion of 'community of practice'. Chapter 4 discusses national culture and politeness at work. The author takes a critical stance towards the concept of 'culture' and points out the dangers of stereotyping and over-generalizing the behaviours of particular national and/or cultural groups. She also cautions against treating culture as the default explanation for a wide range of workplace phenomena. In the chapter, politeness theory (including the concepts of 'face') and the framework of rapport management are also introduced to examine intercultural encounters. In Chapter 5, Schnurr moves on to the complex issues of professional identities at work, particularly how identities are enacted and constructed through professional communication. In particular, the author explores various concepts such as 'power' and 'role' in relation to identity construction in the workplace. At the end of the chapter, Schnurr introduces several important approaches to analysing language and identity, namely, social constructionism and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) five principles of identity construction. In Chapter 6, the author focuses on gender identities and gender stereotyping at work. Two specific ways in which gender identity is enacted in workplace communication are discussed in detail in the chapter, namely, gendered speech styles and gendered discourses. Schnurr shows that gender stereotypes are often reflected in workplace communication and that gender stereotyping may have implications for discriminatory perceptions and treatment of women professionals at work. The chapter ends with a lucid discussion of critical discourse analysis for investigating the relationship between language, gender and power in the context of workplace communication. Chapter 7 deals with leadership discourse, particularly how leadership is performed in spoken interactions and how both transactional and relational goals are achieved. It also introduces several key concepts in leadership studies, including asymmetrical constellations of leadership, co-leadership, distributed leadership and shared leadership. In the final section of the chapter, several micro-analytical approaches to the study of spoken discourse, namely conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, are introduced. The author also convincingly argues for the use of a discursive approach to analysing leadership at the micro-level.

Chapter 8 brings the book to a close by providing a brief overview of the contents of the book. In particular, it points to the importance of the need to examine more closely the interactions between the various issues of professional communication discussed in the book. Schnurr also suggests that further research is needed in the investigation of culture in professional contexts, given that much of the present research tends to stereotype the communicative behaviours in workplace interactions.

On the whole, *Exploring Professional Communication* is a well-written and solid text which introduces a wide range of prominent issues in professional communication. Clearly, the book has greatly benefited from the insights gained from the author's own research and expertise in professional communication. With the tasks in each chapter which help readers reflect more deeply on the issues concerned and relate theory to practice, the book is an excellent introductory textbook for both undergraduate and

postgraduate students. Furthermore, given the abundance of well-chosen examples, its accessible language and engaging style, the book will also appeal to researchers who may be new to the field of professional communication. One noteworthy strength of this book is that rather than presenting one single research method for the study of professional communication, the author adopts a multi-method approach to analysing the selected examples in the book. Another strength of the book is the wide range of authentic discourse examples drawn from different contexts, including corporate, educational and legal settings. One minor quibble, however, is the slight imbalance of written and spoken discourse examples in the book, with considerably more of the latter than the former. Additionally, a section on workplace computer-mediated communication would be desirable for the textbook, given the important role of computer-mediated communication in the workplace in the era of digital technology. I would also have liked a chapter on Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF), in light of the increasing use of English as a contact language in multicultural professional workplaces. However, despite these minor drawbacks, Schnurr's book will no doubt serve as an excellent textbook and an invaluable resource for any courses which deal with workplace communication, organizational communication and professional discourse. I would also recommend it to any researchers who are interested in discourse analysis and professional communication.

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Charlie Beckett and James Ball, *WikiLeaks: News in the Networked Era*, Cambridge: Polity, 2012; x + 198 pp., ISBN 9780745659763, €18/£14.99.

**Reviewed by:** Catherine Maggs, *Department of Media and Communications, University of Sydney, Australia*

Charlie Beckett and James Ball's *WikiLeaks: News in the Networked Era* adds to the growing number of journalistic and academic texts on the whistle-blowing website and media organization WikiLeaks. It is part journalistic account of WikiLeaks' history and part scholarly analysis of its implications for mainstream journalism, but is more successful at the former than the latter. The book is written to have broad appeal and in this respect it provides an engrossing read. It is not intended for an academic audience but it would be useful for scholars who are new to and interested in the issues and dynamics of WikiLeaks and journalism practices. Beckett is a former journalist and the current director of POLIS, a media think-tank at the London School of Economics. Ball is a journalist at *The Guardian* newspaper and one-time data analyst at WikiLeaks.

The bold claim 'WikiLeaks is the most challenging journalism phenomenon to emerge in the digital era' (p. 1) introduces the book, but the concept of networked news is at the core of their argument. Beckett (2008) has written previously about the emerging concept of networked journalism in his book *SuperMedia: Saving Journalism so It Can Save the World*. For the authors, the main question is not whether WikiLeaks does journalism



(the authors believe it does), but what journalism is becoming and WikiLeaks' place in this environment. These are interesting ideas that would benefit from a deeper level of analysis and more robust empirical connections. Structurally, the book is organized into four chapters. Each chapter provides a chronological history of the WikiLeaks organization and its meaning at particular points in time. There is an emphasis on the authors' view of its challenge to both media and political power and also on the challenges that WikiLeaks faced as a disruptive journalistic phenomenon.

In Chapter One, Beckett and Ball argue the initial phase of WikiLeaks saw it evolve from an open-source participatory publisher of whistle-blower documents to a hybrid form of alternative media. The chapter covers the early history of WikiLeaks, from its emergence in late 2006 to the release of the *Collateral Murder* video in April 2010. The authors attempt to ground WikiLeaks in the practices of 'hacktivism' (p. 16), but their cursory consideration of this area lends little analytical value to the book. There is a missed opportunity to explore the influence of the philosophical foundations and cultural ethics of software hacking as it developed in the computer labs of MIT and Stanford in the 1960s and 1970s. During this first phase of WikiLeaks' existence, the authors suggest it developed a stricter editorial control of its product culminating in the edited video of *Collateral Murder*. By discussing some of the significant leaks, they seek to present how WikiLeaks was a challenge to both alternative and mainstream media and government power. The book is not wholly successful in demonstrating the challenge to alternative media, in part, because alternative media is a broad category and difficult to define. The authors rely on the ultimately unhelpful definition of alternative media as being anything that diverges from mainstream media (p. 27).

WikiLeaks' challenge to mainstream media is more apparent and cogently argued. Economic restrictions and editorial competition from emerging forms of digital, citizen-generated journalism provide the basis for the authors' central argument in the book; that WikiLeaks is part of a broader shift in the changing nature of journalism, from a product-based hierarchical mass structure, to a process-based networked system. What distinguishes WikiLeaks from mainstream media for the authors in these early years is the ability to exploit its 'stateless' nature (Rosen, 2010). Indeed, the authors suggest that WikiLeaks has been more a legal revolution in media than a technological one (p. 3). Operating without a permanent location or formalized structure, the WikiLeaks organization has withstood legal challenges to its publishing model, although it has suffered from financial and commercial sanctions.

In Chapter Two, Beckett and Ball argue that the unprecedented scale of the release of the US military war logs and diplomatic cables, and WikiLeaks' collaboration with mainstream media outlets, such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *Der Spiegel*, produced an 'astoundingly successful series of acts of journalism' (p. 47) but highlighted the 'mismatch of principles, practice and purpose' (p. 47). The authors demonstrate how WikiLeaks was networked into mainstream journalism through its complex and, at times, uneasy collaboration with legacy media organizations. The arrangement allowed WikiLeaks to expand its audience and to draw upon the professional resources of its partners. Importantly, it provided a multi-jurisdictional publishing structure that could mitigate individual state attempts at censorship. The networked collaboration raised important questions regarding the responsibility of

journalism to hold power to account, to tell the truth, and to avoid harm (pp. 69–82). The privileges enjoyed by mainstream media in terms of access to power can ‘inhibit independence and a risk-taking critical approach’ (p. 78). The publication of the war logs and diplomatic cables ‘exposed the limits of some conventional media in holding power to account’ (p. 80).

The authors argue that where previously WikiLeaks had been relieved of mainstream media’s reconciliation of privilege and responsibilities, the new collaboration forced WikiLeaks to integrate journalistic practices of verification (notwithstanding the *Collateral Murder* video) and redaction. They criticize WikiLeaks’ ‘informal’ (p. 73) method of validating documents that ignores the ‘wider responsibility to objectivity and context’ (p. 73). One of the most problematic areas of WikiLeaks for Beckett and Ball has been its lack of organizational transparency and accountability: ‘It criticizes governments and mainstream media for their lack of openness. It claims to be a transparency organization but it is not fully transparent itself. It is arguable that WikiLeaks should be more, not less, accountable than those it critiques’ (p. 82). They warn that failure to do so will result in a lack of credibility, public support and editorial sustainability.

Chapter Three places WikiLeaks within the struggle for an open internet and engages in wider discussion regarding the issues of freedom and control in the digital era. The extra-legal attacks on WikiLeaks’ technical infrastructure by Amazon, Paypal, Visa, Mastercard and others after the ‘Cablegate’ disclosures, underscore the concern that indirect corporate actions threaten unrestricted digital communications as much as government censorship (p. 94). As New York University’s (NYU’s) Clay Shirky (2011) surmised, these actions reminded us that the ‘Internet is not in fact largely a public sphere, it’s a corporate sphere that tolerates public speech’. Yet WikiLeaks was able to move hosting providers and be successfully mirrored on a number of other websites. Beckett and Ball identify two obstacles to WikiLeaks’ success and the replication of its model in closed countries such as China and Iran (p. 114). First, the very restrictive control of internet architecture impedes the ability of leakers to provide information, and of websites, such as WikiLeaks, to avoid censorship. Second, the absence of independent mainstream media to disseminate stories reduces their impact and lasting significance.

The final chapter discusses the inherent instability of disruptive journalistic ventures such as WikiLeaks. It presents the use of social media in the Arab Spring as evidence of alternative forms of political communication that compare with WikiLeaks. The argument is unconvincing, primarily because these networks were not collecting and publishing restricted documents. They were not dependent on whistle-blower sources. However, the authors do illustrate the value of social media’s decentralized and networked capacity to facilitate and coordinate collective action that challenges power. The future of WikiLeaks is uncertain. For Beckett and Ball, WikiLeaks’ challenge to power rests on its ability to connect to established mainstream media organizations. In their news media ecology, legacy media retains its primary importance.

*WikiLeaks: News in the Networked Era* provides a well-written and interesting account of WikiLeaks’ history. It is less satisfying on a theoretical and conceptual level, as it does not enlist media theory in understanding the philosophical dimensions of networked news or in assessing the differences in the journalism practised by WikiLeaks and mainstream media organizations. The book does deliver a

stimulating generalist introduction to WikiLeaks as a journalistic endeavour and will also engage readers who are interested in questions of journalism's future without expecting ready answers.

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