myths and stereotypes have 'lengthy pedigrees' (1982: 48). They are not simply a conse-quence of neoliberalism and market fundamentalism. Likewise, Jones talks of the racializ-ation of the white working class without recognizing that this process also has considerable pedigree, with the urban poor being regarded as 'a race apart', or racially degenerate. Again, reference to the work of writers like Daniel Pick (*Faces of Degeneration*, 1993) and William Greenslade (*Degeneration, Culture and the Novel*, 1994) would have enabled Jones to show that his racialized white working class of the early 21st century has precedents in the social Darwinism and eugenicist thinking of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This historical foreshortening aside, there is much to recommend in Owen Jones's engagement with the critical questions of poverty and class relations in contemporary Britain. It is clearly written, avoids jargon, is consistent in argument, and makes most of his key points well. What does become occasionally tiresome is a tendency to repetitive-ness, with these key points coming up over and over again yet not adding incrementally to the development of an argument. This is not meant to suggest that Jones doesn't hit his targets; he does, and for the most part accurately, whether this is today's class composition of parliament – what happened to the old-fashioned working-class politi-cian? – or the weaknesses and blind-spots of liberal multiculturalism. It is rather that the tendency weakens the sense of forward movement in the book, creating an impression of randomness in the order of the chapters, and even at times of the book beginning to go round in circles. This is a shame, because a more concerted quality of progression, and a more streamlined approach, would certainly have improved the book. It should neverthe-less not detract from Jones's achievement here. He has produced an important and worth-while book that skewers middle-class contempt for working-class people, and argues passionately against class hatred as the last acceptable social prejudice. The book is not simply an attack on prejudice, for it recognizes that ultimately 'it is not the prejudice we need to tackle; it is the fountain from which it springs' (p. 12). Jones does both, taking us beyond chav-bashing, contemptible though it is, and placing it analytically within the wider social causes of such stereotyping. He shows that these lie primarily in the grow-ing social inequalities in Britain, the increasing segregation between places and com-munities, and the shifts in the balance of power that have left working-class people more and more unrepresented and without an effective presence in the public sphere.

Reference

Golding P and Middleton S (1982) *Images of Welfare: Press and Public Attitudes to Poverty.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Mia Consalvo and Charles Ess (eds)
The Handbook of Internet Studies, Wiley-Blackwell: Malden, MA and Oxford, 2011; 498
pp.: £120.00 (hbk), £28.11 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Jan AGM van Dijk, *University of Twente, The Netherlands*

Internet studies is a field aiming for recognition. The field is claimed most clearly by the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) with its annual conferences. However, in this

2011 collection of authors confessing to be part of it, neither the editors nor the other authors have succeeded in clearly defining it. Editors Consalvo and Ess claim that they 'seek to study the distinctive sorts of human communication and interaction facilitated by the Internet' (p. 1). A few lines on, they 'define Internet studies to include CMC as facilitated through the Internet' and declare it is barely two decades old. Is this not plain old communication science, readers will ask themselves?

In one of the first chapters Barry Wellman makes a second attempt to define the field arguing that it is visible in two 'opposing – but complementary – trends'. The one is 'bringing together scholars from the social sciences, humanities, and computer sciences' (p. 21). It has become institutionalized in the AoIR. The other is 'the incorporation of Internet research into the mainstream conferences and journals of their disciplines, with projects driven by ongoing issues' (p. 21). This dual contemporary appearance of Internet studies is part of the third age of the field that is marked by a shift from documentation to analysis, according to Wellman. The first age started somewhere in the 1990s at a time of Internet euphoria marked by *presentism* (the world had started anew with the Internet) and *parochialism* (people looked at online phenomena in isolation, not linked to the offline world). After 1998 the second age of Internet studies arrived in which the ideological fight between Internet utopians and dystopians changed into systematic documentation and large-scale surveys of users and uses.

This very sketchy, arbitrary and methodologically oriented history of Internet studies is not able to define it as a particular (inter)disciplinary field. From the collection of chapters in this Handbook it becomes evident that it is primarily *social scientific* with an attempt at multidisciplinarity or interdisciplinarity. Surely, it is not a technical discipline marked by computer science. Reading the chapters one arrives at the impression that it is more sociology and communication science than economy and psychology. Paradoxically and perhaps unwillingly, Wellman gives a hint of the future of Internet studies. One of the main conclusions of his contribution and those of others in this Handbook is the following: 'The Internet has become an important thing, but it is not a special thing. It has become the utility of the masses, rather than the plaything of computer scientists.' Just like the Internet has become a part of everyday life, Internet studies will become part of the (inter)disciplines investigating aspects of Internet exchange. Visiting any contemporary scientific conference it is perfectly clear that issues related to the Internet have already become part of the regular or main agenda. The second trend mentioned by Wellman has already won.

To judge the value of this Handbook it is better to turn to the quality of its contributions. This quality tends to be very high. Evidently, the editors have tried to show what Internet studies mean by their selection of issues in the book. The selection is valuable, but arbitrary. Particularly in the second part about the Internet and society, they could have easily chosen a dozen other issues. The editors have seriously tried to weave common lines through the book, such as the importance of the fact that the Internet has become a part of everyday life (at least in the developed world) and that the old dualisms of the 1980s and 1990s of virtual and real, online and offline life, and the dark and bright sides of the Internet have dissolved into integration, nuance and empirical argument.

The first part has a historical and methodological nature. Here in my view the most unique contributions are those of Brügger about web archiving and of Buchanan about

Internet research ethics. Brügger gives an overview of the most important web archives and archiving projects. He also offers guidelines to how web scholars may critically evaluate archived materials as compared to the originals that may no longer be accessible. On the web we are basically dealing with versions. Internet development goes so fast that in the future most likely we will regret that we were so careless in our archiving methods. Buchanan addresses the ethical consequences of the loss of the public–private distinction, research of identities that want to protect their privacy, ownership of data collected on the Internet and the pitfalls of online surveys. So far, ethical considerations have gone top-down, e.g. from user guidelines and ethics boards. In the context of Web 2.0 Buchanan announces research ethics 2.0 that requires a vision of participatory ethical models of a bottom-up nature with a focus of attention on users and communities. Unfortunately, this perspective is not elaborated.

The second part about societal effects contains very diverse issues such as the Internet's impact on language, Internet policy, political discussion, international development as potential empowerment of developing countries, health communication, religion, indigenous peoples and queers using the Internet. To make a whole of this the editors should have been more than brilliant. The most general and longest contribution is Sandra Braman's on Internet policy. This is a wrong title as it is actually about Internet regulation or Internet law. The background of general policies for the Internet developed in society by governments, businesses and communities or organizations of citizens is missing in this chapter and the whole second part. I am thinking about the historical 'decision' of most societies in the previous decades to let the market design, construct, maintain and manage the crucial infrastructure for society shaped by the Internet. A second general issue is the blurring of more or less all societal dividing lines, such as the public–private distinction on account of the Internet causing policy problems in all spheres of society. A third example is the relation between Internet use and inequality. In scattered places in this Handbook problems of access are discussed, but I missed a coherent discussion of one of the most frequently aired topics of Internet studies: the digital divide.

The third part best meets its goals: an overview of the most important cultural aspects of the Internet. It contains chapters about virtual communities and virtual worlds, children and youth (and a special one about teenage life), games, social network sites, pornography, music and the changing landscapes of the media industries. The last topic is about the only one in the Handbook that marginally discusses economic aspects. Quite a gap when one acknowledges the importance of e-commerce and new modes of production, distribution and consumption in the development of the Internet. In his contribution Marschall shows that despite all search for new business models on the Internet, past models of the traditional media are still working pretty well. He suggests focusing research on how users of these traditional media have translated their interests to the new opportunities of the Internet: new forms of interpersonal communication and personalized media.

Nancy Baym adds an interesting missing topic in current research to her contribution about social network sites (SNS). It is the realization that the Internet has moved from not-for-profit spaces to proprietary profit-driven environments. This has immediate consequences for the social networking sites that have in fact become a public utility. When

a company such as Facebook invites their users to go to a competitor because they don't like the service, this seems unacceptable to me. Baym explains why: 'Their incentive is not to help us foster meaningful and rewarding personal connections, but to deliver eyeballs to advertisers and influence purchasing decisions' (p. 399).

Like every other contribution to this Handbook bibliographical references in this chapter stop in 2008. This is a serious problem for a timely topic such as SNS. For example, facts about MySpace in the US and Friendster in Indonesia no longer apply. Apparently, the work taken to finish this Handbook lasted some years. As such, it gives a rich and lasting impression of what 'Internet studies' was supposed to mean in the first decade of the 21st century.

Michael Flynn and Fabiola F Salek (eds)
Screening Torture: Media Representations of State Terror and Political Domination, Columbia
University Press: New York, 2012; 315 pp.: £20.00

Reviewed by: Marita Gronnvoll, *Eastern Illinois University, USA*

The representation of torture, particularly since 2001, has raised a series of ethical questions for those who would critique this practice. This anthology, *Screening Torture: Media Representations of State Terror and Political Domination*, attempts to grapple with some of those questions and, for the most part, does so in a thoughtful, insightful and compelling manner. In the introduction, the editors make the point that popular culture is just one way that many have attempted to 'make sense of the practice' of torture, adding that, for many, 'torture has exerted a "dark fascination" ' (p. 8). To write about torture invites controversy, but as the editors note, 'to invite neutrality is to court indifference' (p. 12).

The anthology is divided into four parts, and 13 chapters. Beginning with Part I, 'Torture and Implications of Masculinity', David Danzig's 'Countering the Jack Bauer effect: An examination of how to limit the influence of TV's most popular, and most brutal hero', recounts his journey in the coproduction of an anti-torture documentary film entitled *Primetime Torture*. Danzig argues that the techniques of torture illustrated regularly on the US television drama *24* were making their way into interrogation rooms as interrogators copied Jack Bauer's brutal, but always effective, methods. This despite the constant refrain from experienced interrogators that torture never produces actionable intelligence. Ultimately, however, Danzig places too much responsibility on the entertainment industry at the expense of eliding structural and policy formations that make possible (even banal) the unthinkable. Lee Quinby's chapter, 'Mel Gibson's tortured heroes: From the symbolic function of blood to spectacles of pain', argues that the pervasive perception of Mel Gibson's films (*Braveheart, The Passion of the Christ,*and *Apocalypto*) as glamorizing torture derives, in part, from the films morphing with the publicity of Gibson's own well-publicized racist and sexist behaviour. Quinby's argument is that Gibson's films indict state-sponsored torture, while simultaneously and problematically suggesting a man is made a hero through the endurance of extreme pain and suffering. In an excellent companion chapter to Quinby's, 'It's a perfect world: Torture, confession, and sacrifice', Michael Flynn and Fabiola F Salek examine the use