

contribution to analyses of gender and class, and, in particular, of the abiding and ambivalent fascination with 'upstart' working-class women.

Reference

Bourdieu P and Wacquant L (2002 [1992]) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Rodney Benson

Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge; New York, 2013; 280 pp.: £60.00

Reviewed by: David Smith, *Loughborough University, UK*

Shaping Immigration News presents the results of a timely study into the way in which immigration has been represented over the past few decades in the news media of the United States and France. Across Western Europe and North America, the proportion of international migrants as part of the overall population has gradually risen to between 10% and 15%, a development which in many cases has come alongside a highly politicised and emotionally charged public debate, as mediated by national news media. France and the United States provide fairly typical examples of these broad developments, while also clearly having their own individual histories of immigration and their own particular news media landscapes. How far audiences are enabled by the news they consume to make sense of immigration processes and patterns should be of ongoing concern to citizens and scholars alike, and it is centrally this concern that drives Rodney Benson's comparative study.

It becomes apparent early on in this book, however, that immigration news provides merely the lens through which a more general set of theoretical questions are being asked about what kind of journalism is required to best serve normative democratic goals. This is not to say, however, that this wider concern trivialises the attention placed upon the particular features of the French and US immigration debate. In fact, one of the strengths of the work is how Benson is able to immerse the reader in the issue-specific features of the immigration coverage encountered through his study, while using his findings to advance a compelling argument that certain forms of journalism are in general enabled or constrained by a number of 'field-level factors', regardless of the subject at hand.

The first chapter provides the rationale for the study and introduces the key methodological and theoretical concepts by which the news coverage is assessed throughout. Hence, by several pages in, the reader is already familiar with the 16 institutional fields from which various speakers quoted in the news emerge and the 10 categories that Benson believes comprise culturally available immigration frames. These 10 frames are organised within three categories depending on whether they relate to portrayals of immigrants as 'victims', 'heroes' or 'threats', a simplification which is further extended in some later analyses when 'victim' frames are combined with 'hero' frames and compared with 'threat' frames in an essentially pro- versus anti-framework.

This reduction seems a slightly odd decision, not least given Benson's early assertion that the 'ongoing debate about whether news coverage is pro-immigrant or anti-immigrant misses the point' (p. 1) but also because it negates the initial success in providing nuance, because victim frames seem to provide the analysis with an interesting ambivalence between pro- and anti-perspectives and because the interesting finding that 'hero' frames are vastly outnumbered by 'victim' and 'threat' frames is somewhat lost among other (no less important) findings.

The first chapter also introduces the details of the news sample, which is analysed through a large-scale content analysis and spans comparable periods of peak coverage in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s within agenda-setting newspapers and national TV news programmes in each country. For the latter time period, the author adds public television channels and elite, mass market and financial newspapers to the sample in order to maximise the opportunities for comparison within and across national contexts. The content analysis is reinforced throughout by qualitative analysis of selected texts; excerpts from interviews with dozens of journalists, activists, politicians and scholars; and observations of editorial meetings at several news organisations, all of which add considerable depth to the author's analysis.

The second chapter is devoted to an outline of the various theoretical concepts crucial to the author's field approach, and how these concepts relate specifically to the American and French contexts. Field analysis is proposed as a useful theoretical model due to its ability to bridge macro-societal factors with micro-level factors, through a focus on mezzo-level factors which help to explain how the field of journalism is shaped. Together, these factors characterise the major differences and similarities between the fields of journalism in each country. Benson's field analysis takes into consideration three distinct elements: position, logic and structure. First, field position refers to the proximity of the journalistic field to market or non-market (i.e. civic) poles and is therefore associated with the autonomy or heteronomy of news journalism from state or commercial pressures. Taking positional factors into account is important since such factors help to evaluate the extent to which market-supported or public-supported news can help to secure a democratic public sphere overall – a key question that is recurrently returned to throughout this book. Second, field logic is constituted by historically shaped dominant practices of the field (or 'rules of the game') which 'refract' the field's position. News formats are an important discursive manifestation of field logic, and Benson focuses in particular on differences in the forms that newspaper content takes between French newspapers and US newspapers in order to demonstrate differences in the normative qualities of the news in each country. For instance, the multi-article, multi-genre and multi-desk 'debate ensemble' format of a number of French newspapers (as well as, interestingly, the *NewsHour* programme found on the US public service broadcaster PBS) is shown to enable a significantly more 'multiperspectival' debate than the 'dramatic narrative' format of most US journalism. Third, field structure encompasses both the ecology of the press in terms of competition between news outlets as well as habitus affinities and disaffinities between journalists and their sources and audiences, which are said to contribute to differences in the depth and treatment of the coverage of various social groups. In terms of habitus, Benson notes that journalists in both countries tend to be drawn from an elite educational and cultural background, which he claims gives them an 'upper-middle-class spirit of

noblesse oblige' (p. 198) at odds with that of a wide section of the population and immigration restrictionists, whose perspectives are relatively marginalised in the news in both countries. Unfortunately, however, Benson makes little of his potentially vital observation that immigrants' rights groups are 'far better funded ... than their restrictionist counterparts' (p. 198), a detail surely worthy of further consideration into how such sources likely have to work at attracting the attention of journalists, regardless of habitus affinities.

Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the main patterns found in the content analysis of the US debate and the French debate, respectively. Chapter 3 details how US news focused decreasingly on jobs and the global economy and increasingly on racism, public order and humanitarian concerns. Similarly, Chapter 4 outlines how humanitarian and public order frames persisted over time in French news, as well as the decline of the racism frame and the ascent of the integration and national cohesion frames. In each chapter, the author relates these patterns to key features, changes and influences within the journalistic fields of both countries. Chapter 5 briefly draws together these findings to explain the major similarities and differences between the two countries.

Along with Chapter 7 ('What Makes for a Critical Press?'), Chapter 6 ('What Makes News More Multiperspectival?') incorporates a wider range of newspapers in order to explore the extent to which news features multiple and critical perspectives in France and the United States, and therefore, how far these aspects of coverage in both countries fit with normative democratic ideals of a plural and critical public sphere. Chapter 8 asks 'Does the Medium Matter?' and explores how immigration news on TV may differ from newspaper coverage, as well as the differences between French and US TV and public and commercial TV in terms of multiperspectival and critical news. This chapter also provides an analysis of the drama, emotions and tempo of TV news.

The final chapter reviews the importance and the dynamics of field factors in relation to a review of the major findings. The chapter then addresses how elitist, deliberative and pluralist models of democratic debate might be achievable given various field configurations, and on these grounds, the author makes a set of recommended reforms for journalism in general and for immigration journalism specifically. Whether Benson's suggestions are adopted or not, *Shaping Immigration News* is an important comparative study which offers scholars a valuable theoretical approach to uncovering the normative democratic pretensions of news media systems across various contexts.

Philippe J Maarek

Présidentielle 2012: une communication politique bien singulière, [The French Presidential 2012: A Very Singular Political Communication], L'Harmattan: Paris, 2013; 240 pp.

Reviewed by: Paul Baines, Cranfield University, UK

This text on the 2012 French Presidential election is important because it offers a unique perspective on the French election, namely, the communication campaigns of the presidential candidates. Maarek has long been ploughing the furrows of political marketing, both in the French and American contexts and in the English and French languages. There are few, but not no, competitors to this text. Evans has written *The 2012 French*