#### TRANSFORMING COMMUNICATIONS - STUDIES IN CROSS-MEDIA RESEARCH

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Caja Thimm Mario Anastasiadis Jessica Einspänner–Pflock

# MEDIA LOGIC(S) REVISITED

Modelling the Interplay between Media Institutions, Media Technology and Societal Change



### Transforming Communications – Studies in Cross-Media Research

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We live in times that are characterised by a multiplicity of media: Traditional media like television, radio and newspapers remain important, but have all undergone fundamental change in the wake of digitalization.

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Caja Thimm · Mario Anastasiadis Jessica Einspänner-Pflock Editors

# Media Logic(s) Revisited

Modelling the Interplay between Media Institutions, Media Technology and Societal Change

> palgrave macmillan

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## Media Logic or Media Logics? An Introduction to the Field

### Caja Thimm, Mario Anastasiadis and Jessica Einspänner-Pflock

In 1979, David Altheide and Robert Snow developed the concept of *media logic*. Originally following the idea of creating a theoretical framework to better understand mass media formats and the media's impact on institutions and social behavior, the focus was on the mass media system of television, radio, and newspapers and its power to influence and even transform society. Although the authors primarily concentrated on the functionalities and implications of media logic in the political sphere, their overall objective was an analysis on how "social institutions are infused with media considerations" (Altheide, 2011, 122). From a critical perspective on mass media, their main argument was about an "underlying media logic that dominates our increasingly mediated (or mediatized)

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social order" (ibid., 119). In this sense the original media logic concept can be understood as a term for media-infused formal and informal rules entailing multiple transformations in the social world. On that basis, the interrelation of technology, institutions, actors, and formats of media was at the core of media logic and its formative impact on society.

As the media landscape as such has changed dramatically since the early days of research on media logic, the concept has become an important approach in communication and media studies and has just recently evoked new research activities. Its strength lies in the combined assessment of theorizing and empirically analyzing the features of media and media formats in their consequences for both individual and institutional contexts. For this reason, a large part of research resting on the media logic framework addresses the core question if, and how far, different societal fields change due to the formal and informal rules of a media logic, which also can set the direction of social behavior and perceptions.

While the more traditional perspective focuses on the influence of media institutions and the respective media logic on other systems and societal fields, a socio-constructivist approach discusses the role media logic plays for social interaction, media appropriation, and media usage. On both levels, extensive theoretical and empirical research deals with the interplay between media and other social domains, such as politics (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Klinger & Svensson, 2015; Landerer, 2013; Meyen, Thieroff, & Strenger, 2014), culture (Siapera, 2010), journalism (Dahlgren, 1996; Korthagen, 2016), or sports (Duncan & Brummett, 1987). In European communication science, the media logics approach is also being discussed within the framework of *mediatization* (Krotz & Hepp, 2011; Hepp, 2012; Couldry & Hepp, 2013). In this respect, media are regarded as 'modifiers of communication' (Krotz & Hepp, 2011, 137), while the model of media logics is seen as a concept which helps to understand how mediatization processes come into place.

#### 1.1 Media Logics in a Digitized World: A New Plurality of Logics

The advent of new technologies, the rise of the networked media, and a constant emergence of new media applications and platforms call for a reconsideration of the media logic concept. Nowadays, in an increasingly digitized, globalized, and networked world, powerful media structures and technologies influence people's daily routines in many respects. Digital media have become embedded into many human activities. This multifaceted media environment calls for a new and critical reflection on the media logic approach in order to include the paradigm shift from curated media to user-generated media content, just to name one of the most decisive parameters of technology change. In an era of technology as "disruption," we need to ask more precisely where these disruptions occur and how the subsequent changes can be described. Regarding the present media landscape, we can see the integration of media in various social contexts and an increasing complexity of the resulting consequences. So more than ever, this development calls for critical reflections on the idea of a single mass media logic. One major challenge, both for theoretical and empirical perspectives on the concept, is to reflect on the diversity of several media logics at play instead of focusing on one single, mass media–related logic. Overall, a variety of (partly overlapping) media logics seem to be in effect—especially against the backdrop of digitalization and the "power of the internet."

The ubiquity of the internet and networked media does not only influence people's communicative practices in their private and professional lives, but media environments themselves are changed, transformed, and further developed by their appropriation in various social and cultural contexts: Human actions redefine and reconfigure the media themselves, another unprecedented technological development. Particularly, social media pose questions as to what the formal and informal rules of digital media formats will develop into (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013). While the internet can empower users to connect with peers and engage as critical consumers or politically active citizens, they also, to some extent, change the media environment by means of their individual actions and interests. At the same time digital media can have critical implications for the formation of a public sphere, as discussed in the course of the filter bubble (Pariser, 2011) or echo chamber effects (Sunstein, 2001; Vaccari, 2012). Furthermore, the internet brings the logics of algorithms and filters into play (Klinger & Svensson, 2015), which are mainly programmed and controlled by commercial organizations and institutions.

Not only the growing importance of platform and networked media, but also the partial loss of relevance of curated mass media content in favor of personalized content, calls for a reflection. The challenge is to describe more precisely what and how the media logic concept can contribute to the understanding of mediatization processes with numerous media technologies, formats and actors blending into one another. Remodeling, adapting, and maybe deepening the concept media logic for the digital age consequently poses an important challenge, in order to better understand the interplay between media and media related institutions. Hence, one of the aims must be a better understanding of mediated social control means in a digital environment of ubiquitous connectivity, all-embracing digital networks and more and more fragmented forms of media usage.

This challenge was taken up by the contributors of this book, who all reflect on the concept of media logics from their specific perspective. Some employ a very critical position; others regard in more detail how the concept should be developed and changed in order to grasp the new role that digital networked media play in people's lives all over the globe.

#### 1.2 CONTENT OF THE BOOK

The volume presents findings from the conference "Media Logic(s) Revisited: Modeling the Interplay between Media Institutions, Media Technology and Societal Change," which took place at the University of Bonn (Germany, Department of Media Studies) in September 2015. Researchers from various disciplines, such as media and communication studies, sociology, political science, and philosophy provide insights into their theoretical and empirical perspectives on the media logic approach. Consequently, the aim of the book is to contribute to the ongoing debate about media logic in the light of current developments at the intersection of traditional media, digital media, and its different forms of appropriation.

The first part of the book focuses on theoretical perspectives on media logic. After having conceptually refined his original approach of media logic, **David L. Altheide** opens the discussion in part one of the book by presenting the concept of the *Media Syndrome*. He emphasizes the prevalence of media logic in our social life and argues that global political events today become mediated and are shaped by media formats. By that, they are a resource for another level of mediated experience, through which our sense of reality is altered as we become oriented to the mediated.

The strong influence of the media logic concept especially applies to the context of mediatization related research because it draws attention to the actual modalities by which a certain social domain becomes mediatized. In Chap. **3**, **Friedrich Krotz** draws a theoretical line between media logic and mediatization by discussing and systematically analyzing the relation between both approaches. In this course, he argues that both approaches share some similarities, but are very different regarding their conceptual starting points and facets of media. The media logic approach originally focused on the influence of TV on the mediation of political communication, which is one of communication studies' most central concerns, while the mediatization approach focuses on media change and its consequences for everyday life, culture, and society in a much broader sense. Even though Krotz emphasizes how helpful the media logic approach can be to analyze how TV and mass media transform political communication, he also raises the question whether and how far the term logic might be misleading.

From an institutionalist perspective on mediatization, **Stig Hjarvard** discusses in Chap. 4 how various forms of media logics contribute to social interaction and how the logics of social network media can be conceptualized as a part of mediatization allowing a further integration of system world and life world. He underscores his position by an empirical analysis of social network media and their role in face-to-face interactions.

In Chap. 5, Mikkel Fugl Eskjær proposes a re-interpretation of the concepts of media logic and mediatization based on systems theory. His focus in particularly is on the notion of structural coupling. It is argued that mediatization as structural coupling allows for a plurality of media logics. This is also being applied to a case study of the mediatization of six Scandinavian NGOs. On the basis of six in-depth interviews with communication directors of Danish NGOs it is discussed in what ways organizations adjust to media demands or rather strategically integrate media logics into their communication plans.

**Caja Thimm** discusses in Chap. 6 the interconnectedness of technology, user behavior, and culture based on a critical assessment of the concept of "technological determinism." She redefines the concept of media logic within the context of interactive media and offers a systematic approach for the analysis of media logic and media usage. Thimm's concept of "media grammar" is based on the idea that media form their own grammar in a specific environment with their own affordances that relate to certain usage patterns. By drawing on the example of Twitter, it is shown that an approach to new media logics needs to take into consideration users' creative appropriations of technology. Thimm thus concludes that the pragmatics of technology can be seen as a baseline in order to understand the character of the digital society. In Chap. 7, Katrin Döveling and Charlotte Knorr focus on a meta-analysis perspective on media logic. They discuss how the interdependencies between different systems and corresponding structures, logics, and actors, can be conceptualized and which theoretical and empirical consequences result. Further developing the concept of media logic, a systematic approach is conceptualized which outlines the interdependencies of producers, users, and consumers as networked transactions in a network society. The chapter elaborates different concepts of media logics focusing on interactivity as a central category to integrate various media logics perspectives.

The second part of the book deals with theoretical as well as empirical approaches to media logics in different societal contexts such as institutions, politics, and news media. Firstly, **Jens Schröter** emphasizes in Chap. 8 the importance of the concept of mediality for analyzing media logics. According to Schröter, one should not conceptualize media as a system of its own, as proposed by a systems theoretical perspective, in which mass media form a subsystem of society. Rather, it has to be taken into account that all institutions are fundamentally based on media infrastructures. The chapter draws on the example of nations, their medial infrastructure of identity documents, and the historical development of defense policy as the media monopoly of the state.

In Chap. 9, Evelien D'heer conceptualizes social media logics as network media logic by empirically analyzing politicians' presentations on social media platforms in the run-up to the 2014 federal elections in Belgium. Drawing on an analysis of 19 electoral candidates' Facebook and Twitter accounts, as well as on in-depth interviews with them, she finds that politicians not only adapt their messages to appeal to journalists but also try to negotiate between online popularity and the presentation of their political views. This means that the presentation of a more "human" self and dialogue with citizens is balanced with the instrumental usage of social media in favor of politicians' candidacy.

In Chap. 10, Daniel Nölleke and Andreas M. Scheu introduce and discuss the concept of perceived media logic against the background of mediatization theory. The authors argue that, in order to analyze mediatization as a facet of social change, it is necessary to focus on peoples' perceptions of what constitutes media logic. After developing their theoretical perspective of mediatization as a pull process, the chapter demonstrates, based on qualitative data gathered in 36 in-depth interviews with experts from politics, science, and health, how various perceptions of media logic are in effect. Chapter 11 deals with the question of news media logic and its different characteristics. **Maria Karidi** examines the development of media reality constructions as they appear over time, as well as between online and offline channels. Based on theoretical concepts of actor–structure dynamics and drawing from a quantitative content analysis of German newspapers and TV programs, as well as online news websites, Karidi finds that German news media tend to be more commercially oriented in 2014 compared to 1984–1989 as they integrate more aspects of conflicts, celebrities, scandals, negativity, and personalization within their reportage. The author concludes that the altered (media) structures and constellations might have significant consequences for the opinionforming process in Germany.

Based on the theoretical background of the structural change of the public media sphere, **Mirco Liefke** in Chap. 12 analyzes German TV news coverage during the Ukraine conflict in 2013–2014 arguing that mass media's monopoly of coverage has begun to sway and its inherent logic has changed and adopts to new circumstances. He demonstrates how established mass media face new challenges caused by an ongoing structural change of the public sphere by applying Harvey Sack's apparatus of *Membership Categorization Analysis* (MCA) to the analysis of TV news coverage.

In Chap. 13, Tales Tomaz uses a techno-philosophical approach to discuss digital media logics. It is argued that not only our comprehension of human life nowadays has been simplified to algorithmic processes due to the emergence of big data but that algorithms are becoming "the real". The discussion draws on a review of Heidegger's and other philosophers' work on the logic of the being and the logic of the real, both based on the mathematical. Main argument of the author is the idea that the mathematical is at the core of Western thought.

In the course of these thirteen chapters various theoretical and empirical perspectives on media logic are being discussed, showing that the concept is a vital part of media and communication research.

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# Theorizing Media Logics



## The Media Syndrome and Reflexive Mediation

David L. Altheide

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Contemporary life has been transformed by the media and its embedded logic, rhythms, and content. We are caught in a perpetual and rapidly evolving media wave breaking toward the edge, a vortex that is guiding and defining our experiences and changing how we think of ourselves and others. It is a crisis of order and meaning fueled by media logic, expansive information visual technology, and fear that has taken us to the edge of what is familiar and is eroding trust and social order. During an appearance on a US "fake news show," The Daily Show (July 21, 2015), President Obama got serious about the role of the media in our time:

I think that what is understated is the balkanization, the splintering of the media generally, so it is hard for us to get one conversation, you've got folks who are constantly looking for facts to enforce their existing point of view as opposed to having a common conversation, and I think that one of the things we have to think about is how do we join in a common conversation about something other than the Super Bowl. (cc.com)

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Increasingly, we are not just programmed, but are a program-or at least parts of one or more-and guide and evaluate our social performances in popular culture terms and criteria, most of which, reflect the mass media as well as social media. I call this the "media syndrome": The media syndrome (MS) refers to the prevalence of media logic, communication formats, and media content in social life. The media syndrome might include individual personas and identities, social issues, and political actions that are modeled on media personalities and characters that are situated in entertainment oriented public and popular culture scenarios that are depicted and constituted through media logic, including information technology and communication formats (Altheide, 2016). The cumulative impact of more than fifty years of massive communicative changes is that our media have become more instant, visual, and personal. This is a change in our world, and it has fundamentally changed the global order. Modern living is situated in mediated contexts of communicated experience that conveys emotionally-charged meanings of relationships, contested desirability, personal and social crises, and conventional narratives. Consider individual identities: A Twitter app, "Live On," promises that "When your heart stops beating, you'll keep tweeting" (liveson.org).

The app operates by mining one's tweets and then applying an algorithm. It is not only individuals who can gain immortality through the media syndrome, but entire countries, like Kosovo, can gain legitimacy, if not official existence, through digital communication formats. Despite Kosovo's five-year struggle for independence, neither the United Nations nor the European Union would recognize its sovereignty. But Facebook did when its software permitted users to identify themselves as citizens of Kosovo. Deputy Prime Minister, Petrit Selimi, stated, "Being recognized on the soccer pitch and online has far greater resonance than some back room in Brussels." And Kosovo is not alone: other regions seeking independence and recognition, such as Catalonia and the Basque region in Spain, and Palestine, have their own Facebook domain names:

The Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, lauded the move, through a spokesman, telling Wafa, the Palestinian news agency, that Google 'put Palestine on the Internet map, making it a geographical reality.' (Bilefsky, 2013)

Social realities are bound up with the communication order operating at the time. Events are defined culturally through a process of symbolic construction, including putting parameters or brackets around various actions, decisions, policies, that constitute an "event." But more importantly for our purposes, events are given meaning through symbolic communication to audiences, who, in turn, interpret and selectively edit certain features, aspects, and nuances of the event. Consider a few examples.

In November 2014, the Sony Corporation was hacked by an organization "Guardians of Peace," a North Korean pseudonym, which revealed internal emails, released trailers of movies in production, and threatened more damage and even violence if a comedic movie, "The Interview," about a plot by the CIA and a journalism team to assassinate the President of North Korea, was shown. One character stated, "It's the first rule of journalism: give the people what they want." Sony pulled the movie from theaters, despite President Obama's caution against giving into international censorship and blackmail. The movie was shown a few days later to large audiences, including a substantial Video On Demand audience.

Popular culture entertainment logic has sustained the Discovery Investigation Network as it slides into low-budget reenactments of horrific crimes slathered in sexual goo, a kind of "murder porn," being shown in 100 million homes in 157 countries. Such programming builds on the popularity of a host of crime shows in the USA, such as NCIS, CSI, Law and Order, etc., but at a fraction of the cost. So weird is the audience receptivity to murder porn, that a Southpark episode had its miscreants concerned about parental viewing: "the vile and despicable trash that our parents are watching on cable television." The network president claimed that this brand is well on its way: "if we can be a place where viewers can consistently know that regardless of the hours, regardless of the day, that they will always be able to flip to this network and know that they are going to get a story of the mystery, crime, suspense genre." (Emily Steel, January. 4, 2015).

Horrific diseases in other countries are seldom seen on American news reports, but Ebola was different. Devastatingly lethal in several west African countries (e.g., Liberia, Sierra Leone), Ebola had claimed only one US citizen, whose symptoms were misdiagnosed during a visit to an emergency room, and who was sent home. But this got a lot of media play. Despite clear statements that it could only be transmitted through exchange of bodily fluids, hundreds of images of dead Africans led some politicians to quarantine US medical workers, who returned from treating patients abroad. Ebola virtually disappeared from US news reports by the end of November 2014, despite its expansion in West Africa.

Analysis of the coverage of Ebola and other problems suggests that more information has produced little understanding. While the emphasis is on American culture, the arguments about entertainment and the implosion of our information order seem to be globally appropriate. We have a lot of news, but little understanding of the world and each other. Indeed, I suggest that our social condition reflects our media condition. I argue that this is because of the organization, structure, and use of the mass media and media logic. Information technology has greatly changed, but so has the culture that embraces and reflects it. The foundation of media logic, mediation, and mediatization has taken center stage. As communication scholar Marian Adolf stated:

Society, then, exists mainly as a mediatized representation or itself (if it ever was something else)...it is the media that offer us new ways and means and new spaces and temporalities of communicating. We cannot theorize mediatization without the media, and a notion of what is they are doing to communication. (Adolf, 2013, 160–161)

The mass media and the information technologies and formats that transport and emphasize images, sounds, narratives, and meanings are crucial components of this meaning-making process. The mediation process involves the construction and use of media logic to provide order and meaning in the mass communication process that will be anticipated, understood, and shared by various audiences. As many scholars have noted, "effective communication" is a bit circular, where the messengers-such as journalists or policy makers-take into account the audience members' awareness, familiarity, sophistication, and preferences for certain kinds of messages over certain media. The trick, then, is essentially to give the audience a wholesome batch of what they expect, along with sprinklings of something new-the "newsworthy" event in question. And once the new combinations are set forth, widely accepted, and even institutionalized in future practices for journalists, on the one hand, and audiences, on the other hand, they basically become a kind of a gateway for how later events and issues will be set forth. Increasingly, certain events funneled through media logic (new technologies and formats) become gateways to other mediated events. Thus, communication and meanings become reflexive.