Introduction:

Towards hybrid media events of terrorist violence?

Media, Event and Terror

In the post 9/11 era, collective, mediated imaginations in the West have been formed around a dichotomous perception of enemities between the supporters of the free world and the Islamic terrorists who are seen as threats to the Western values of democracy, freedom of speech and liberty. This media narrative, epitomized in acts of violence marked as terror, has permeated an awareness of the global audience and has stirred extensive public reaction in the global media. In this special section, we set out to study how these disruptive incidents of violence become events in today’s digital media environment; and what does this media-saturated eventization imply as we try to interpret those forceful actions and their historical, cultural, social and political significance of our contemporary digital lives. In this introduction, we wish to review some of the early debates in theorizing the relationship between terror, media and event.

We take our inspiration from the work of Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz (1992), and suggest certain new conceptual ideas to further develop our understanding of the present-day media spectacles of terrorist violence.

One of the key starting points in unfolding the dynamics between terror, media and event in the present world is the book Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History (1992) written by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz. In that book, the authors Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz introduce the idea of media event as a special genre (including ‘coronations’, ‘contests’ and ‘conquests’) that is powerful enough to interrupt the everyday media flow (with its ‘coronations’, ‘contests’ and ‘conquests’), bringing the TV viewers into touch with society’s central values, and
invite inviting the audience to participate in the event (Dayan and Katz, 1992Ibid., 5-9). The common denominator among events for in the this original work is the how the media performance connected ceremoniality connected with social cohesion brought about the media performance. In Through the vibrant scholarly debate that has followed the book’s publications the main strengths of the theory of media events’ enduring strength has have been seen in its insightful articulation of the role of media rituals role of the media induring certain exceptional moments in modern society (see e.g. Couldry, Hepp, and Krotz, 2010). The main criticisms again of the theory have addressed (i) the assumed ceremonial and integrative functions of media events, (ii) the attempt to exclude any exclusion of disruptive or traumatic events from the focus of their theory, and (iii) the strong focus on television and broadcasting, which may result in inadequate study of global, web-based media events (Cottle, 2006; Couldry, 2003; Fiske, 1994; Hepp 2015; Kellner, 2003; Nossek 2008; Rothenbuhler, 2010; Scannell, 1995; Scannell 2014; Sreberny, 2016).

Dayan and Katz have responded to these critiques of their original theory of media events and have re-adjusted their ideas in different public forums. In the article “’No more peace!’ How Disaster, Terror and War Have Upstaged Media Events,” Katz and Liebes (2007, 2010) suggested that the focus of analysis should be shifted from conquests, contests, and coronations to disaster, terror, and war. According to Katz and Liebes (2007, 157):

“We believe that cynicism, disenchantment, and segregation are undermining attention to ceremonial events, while the mobility and ubiquity of television technology, together with the downgrading of scheduled programming, provide ready access to disruption. If ceremonial events may be characterized as ‘co-productions’ of broadcasters and establishments, then disruptive events may be characterized as ‘co-productions’ of broadcasters and anti-establishment agencies, i.e. the perpetrators of disruption.”
Furthermore, Katz and Liebes suggested that marathons of terror, natural disaster, and war—media disasters—should be distinguished from media events as a separate genre. These mediatized disasters have become far removed from the ceremonial roots of the original formulation of media events (Cottle, 2006; Liebes, 1998; Liebes & Blonheim, 2005). In addition, in his article "Beyond Media Events: Disenchantment, Derailment, Disruption," Daniel Dayan (2010) also revised his thinking about media events. For him, the “macabre accoutrements to televised ordeals, punishments, and tortures” and the emphasis on “stigmatization and shaming” in today’s mediatized public events have caused media events to lose their potential to reduce conflict; instead, they “foster divides, and install and perpetuate schisms” (Dayan, 2010, 26-27).

In this new geopolitics and media ecosystem, media events tend to lose their distinct character and instead migrate towards other genres. New media events are no longer clearly differentiated entities, but exist on a continuum. Dayan (2010, 27) suggests this “banalization of the format” produces what he calls “almost” media events. Dayan reminds us that the pragmatics of media events have changed as messages have become multiple, audiences selective, and social networks ubiquitous. Dayan (2010, 27) summarises the difference between televised, ceremonial media events and media events of contemporary media circumstances in the following manner:

Interpersonal networks and diffusion processes are active before and after the event, mobilizing attention to the event and fostering intensive hermeneutic attempts to identify its meaning. But during the liminal moments we described in 1992, totality and simultaneity were unbound; organizers and broadcasters resonated together; competing channels merged into one; viewers gathered at the same time and in every place. All eyes were fixed on the ceremonial centre, through which each nuclear cell was connected to all the rest.\(^2\)
Dayan leaves the reader in a state of skepticism. For him, in today’s “contested territory of media events”, the most likely consequences are disenchantment and the loss of the “we” — the most critical functions of media events — are the most likely consequences (see also Dayan 2006). 

In the following rest of this essay, we wish to reflect upon those two intellectual replies offered by Dayan (2010) and Katz and Liebes (2007) and discuss in conversation with the articles in this special section against those thoughts. In line with Katz and Liebes, we argue for the significance of the violent media event as a special genre, but Yet we emphasize the need to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the kind of violence in question and related motivations associated with it to hence better address the complexity of the relationship between media, event and terror in the present condition conjuncture. In addition, we wish to point to the significance of Dayan’s (2010) idea of the loss of “we” and discuss how that loss might affect our thinking about the workings of violent media events in the future.

We start with Barbie Zelizer’s article in which Seeing the Present, Remembering the Past: Terror’s Representation as an Exercise in Collective Memory. In this piece Zelizer examines the idea of media events in the framework of time and memory. She reflects the sense of the present and liveness in media events. She and argues for the necessity to consider those mnemonic patterns that frame our interpretations of the present as we experience terrorist violence converted into an event in the media. Her own empirical reflections draw on the Cold War era and the type of war bellicose-mindedness inserted in that historical period.

Zelizer’s important insight into the temporality of media events and related schemata of interpreting terror and violence resonates well with Peter Hervik’s article Ten Years after the Danish Muhammad Cartoon News Stories: Terror and Radicalization as Predictable Media Events. Hervik He claims that the 2005 Muhammad cartoon crisis in Denmark continues to function as a discursive reference point for any new violent media events of about terror in the present circumstance today. This mnemonic scheme operates with a certain spatial-racial logic and, thus,
enforces racialized and nationalistic politics of exclusion. Hervik’s article can, then, be interpreted as an empirically founded commentary on the discursive logics present in present contemporary media events of terror, one that s in a certain political constellation and nows how those logics impact media events as performances of dividedness and distortion, rather than unity and solidarity.

In the article that follows, titled ‘Communicating Terror: Mediatization and Ritualization’ Xi Cui and Eric Rothenbuhler grab onto the communicative logic and the related cultural meaning-making of ‘terrorism’ in today’s violent media events of terror. The authors emphasize the need to de-naturalize the connection between media and terrorism. They and underline how terrorism is always embedded in the processes of mediatization and ritualization of those events. Cui and Rothenbuhler remind the reader of the significance of re-thinking classical media event theory in the framework of cultural categories such as: ordinary vs. exceptional, chaos vs. order, and the argument how the dynamics between those categories continue shaping our socially shared perceptions of terror in society much beyond the television era.

Although, from a different perspective – that of political communication, Stuart Price continues with the theme of categorizing terrorism in the media event. In his article, he discusses the instability of terrorism as a linguistic category. He uses Germanwings plain plane crash in 2015 as an empirical example to illustrate his argument of terrorism as an unstable category. In Price’s view, media organizations, as well as executive authorities, are key players in making decisions over how to categorize different violent incidents and whether to classify them terrorist attacks or not. This instability and unpredictability associated with categorizing terrorism does not come without consequences. Instead, it may lead to many counterproductive outcomes and bring about social instability in society. This is a serious observation and resonates well with Hervik’s argument of media events may further racialization in those media events. Price and Hervik remind us that we need to be more aware which events we call
terrorist events, on which ground we do make our classifications, and what kind of implications may follow of those decisions.

The last article in this special section is by Marwan M. Kraidy. In his article, Terror, Territoriality, Temporality: Hypermedia Events in the Age of Islamic State, Kraidy takes the reader back to the theme of temporality, but discusses positions it in relation to terror and territoriality as a relational and affectively intense idea. Moving from the idea of disruptive media events by Katz and Liebes (2007), Marwan Kraidy emphasizes the globality of media events and suggests a new concept to more accurately describe the present-day networked and mediatized eventized terrorist violence: the hypermedia event. These events in Kraidy’s perception are best explained as contentious, emergent, fragmented, and bottom-up events. As do most of the authors in this special section, Kraidy uses Muslim-Islamic terrorism as an example to illustrate his argumentation. This emphasis on Muslim-terrorism pertinently reflects the current understanding of the where the media locates locus of violence, but also where we as scholars must in the present-day violent media events as well as the demand to give more emphasis on the critically analysis of the presumptions assumptions associated with this social fact.

The interview of Daniel Dayan in this special section provides a critical reflection on the development of media event theory and its current relevance in re-thinking today’s globalized spectacles of terrorist violence.

Three strands for Hybrid media events

In the remaining space of this introduction, we wish continue the debate on the complex relationship between media, event, and terror and by introducing hybridity as yet another angle to approach this issue. In addition to acknowledging the significance of temporality and related
mnemonic patterns (Zelizer, Kraidy), networked, relational territorialities (Kraidy), and the discursive politics applied to categorize violence in question (Hervik; Cui and Rothenbuhler; Price), we suggest a more detailed focus on the hybrid dynamics between the different actors, platforms, and messages which and how they circulate during today’s violent media events. As the pThis leads us to the issue of hybridity. Scholar of political communication Andrew Chadwick (2013, 3) notes, that hybridity can be seen as “something like an ontology”, a theoretical disposition providing us with a possibility to ask and answer new kinds of questions about “the nature of contemporary society”, with violent media events a case in point here. We define hybridity through the work of three authors.

In his earlier work, Marwan Kraidy (2005), takes a communicative perspective on approach to hybridity and discusses hybridity-it in the context of culture, international communication, and media. He emphasizes that cross-cultural contact is often the prerequisite for hybridity, since it is about ‘fusion of distinct forms, styles, or identities’ (Kraidy 2005, 9). In his understanding work, the contact can be either movement of cultural commodities, such as media programs and cultural exchange through the media, but also the movement of people, all count as types of contact that lead to hybridity. Both of these carry ideas and practices, giving way to hybridization. Kraidy’s approach, however, reaches beyond culture, when he points out that “politico-economic considerations shape current day hybrid media” as “the pervasiveness of hybridity in some ways reflects the synchronization of world markets” (Kraidy 2005, 9). What is more, Kraidy notes that hybridity is fully compatible with globalization.

Anthropologist Bruno Latour’s perception perspective on hybridity is two-fold, or rather two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, he talks writes about that how the distinction between nature and culture/society in modern Western, modern thinking thought is counterintuitive and counterproductive. On the other hand, he emphasizes the hybridity between human and non-human actors. In the book-length essay his famous book-length essay We
Have Never Been Modern (1993), he calls for an anthropological approach to the Western societies, an approach that would see beyond the institutionalized distinctions of institutions in that define the modernity of West. Latour uses media here, and the newspaper in particular, as an example of the institutionalized compartmentalization, newspaper in particular. His essay begins with a description of reading Le Monde, in which the world is neatly separated into sections: science, politics, economy, law, religion, technology, fiction. Rather than on the media, Latour’s harshest critique, however, focuses on academic thinking. He sees that the problem is reserved for the different ‘fiefdoms of criticism’ in academia: the epistemologists focusing on facts and insisting on the reality of facts, the sociologists obsessed with power structures, and the collective and deconstructionalists fixated on the constructed and discursive borders. His Latour’s practical solution is the Actor Network Theory (ANT), that would is a look practical solution at (hybrid) to investigate the hybrid networks of actors—human and non-human—in the seamless fabric of nature-culture. For him, all of these actors that are simultaneously real (like nature), narrated (like discourse), and collective (like society) (Latour 1993, 6).

Already mentioned Andrew Chadwick’s (2013) then starts from the perception that hybridity is about blending institutional boundaries and roles. Chadwick (2013, particularly) considers the relationship between mass media (as in journalism) and politics, particularly around elections. His analysis is also tightly knit with the Anglo-American context, and his concept of hybrid media system also reflects an Anglo-American, this particular socio-geographic-historical context. In other words, his approach is to “provide an empirically informed interpretive account of key aspects of systemic change in the political communication environments of Britain and the United States” and states that these countries “now have what are now best characterized as hybrid media systems” (Chadwick 2013, 3). In this context, in his work, hybridity reflects the means the integrated roles
the so-called older and newer media institutions’ play in political communication, a phenomena he studies through in these two countries. He positions himself in studying the systemic characteristics, and aims at looking into how the logics of older and newer media practices intertwine and how newer media practices interpenetrate practices of both the older media and politics.

As can be seen from these different aspects to hybridity, the concept has been used in different ways in relation to media and communication. The three discussed approaches might have to some degree While these authors’ notions of hybridity have different epistemological premises, and thus making their combined applications combining their usages somewhat challenging, they also have commonalities. There are, however, also similarities. All three writers acknowledge the question of hybridity of culture, they acknowledge hybridity across different domains of society, and they approach hybridity as a phenomenon that connects and combines different elements and objects into new existences. These ideas inspire us.

What we wish to do here then, is to take inspiration from each of these three writers (Chadwick, Kraidy and Latour), and apply them in ways relevant to our case: the question with a series of questions about of global, media events of terrorist violence. How does the From Latour, we can adopt the idea of hybridity between human and non-human actors, the networks of seamless fabric of nature-culture, which is demonstrated in our contemporary media environment that intertwines technology, human action and discourses? Kraidy will help us in discussing the How do power relations in the global, hybrid cultures and world of international communication and media, imbalances, in part caused by simplified perceptions of the relationship between the West and the Rest, as well as in providing us with the tool of critical transculturalism, which gives a possibility allow us to focus on power in intercultural relations through allow us to integrating agency and structure into international communicational analysis. How does Chadwick’s an empirically grounded idea of hybridity of in the media system helps us give an analytical view of
the empirical data consisting of hybrid materials of both transitions and relations between older and newer media outlets. Towards these answers, we offer the We will, however, step back from Chadwick’s emphasis on old and new media logics, as well as the systemic approach, and use the concept hybrid media environment instead of system. In our perception, environment, unlike system, more accurately refers to the type of flexibility and openness necessary to understand the floating dynamics at play in today’s flow of intensified and eventized event-making violence.

To put it short, we argue that in the hybrid media environment, media events also become hybridized. The blurring of production and consumption, dispersal of channels and platforms, and the segmentation of audiences create new complexities to the media events of terror and accentuating questions of speed, timetemporality and territoriality related to violent media events. The revenue logic of a hybrid media event differs clearly from the revenue logic of traditional media events (both ceremonial and disruptive). Unlike in the era of mass communications, when communication flowed from one to many, a hybrid media event is based on a sharing economy that favours news that quickly attracts mass attention through a many-to-many communicative flow (see also Bennett and Segerberg 2013). New practices and technological properties of social media platforms create possibilities for sharing, recommendation and liking just to mention some as new media practices that challenge and induce changes to professional media organizations which are also utilizing these social media practices in many ways. Furthermore hybrid media events of violence are often also sites of informational manipulation, conspiracy theories, as well as propaganda (see e.g. Sumiala et al., 2016).

Circulation The circulation and acceleration of violence

All of these three writers, Latour, Kraidy and Chadwick, give special focus to the circulation of actors and messages associated with the hybrid, to the movement of actors, messages
and meanings, and the direction and speed of that movement. In the process of circulation, the actors and messages themselves may change from time to time, and sometimes it is very hard to predict the direction of change. Contents that evoke strong emotions and that reinforce existing prejudices are ideally suited to this kind of circulation. It seems that we are only beginning to understand how the relations of the intertwined actors get formed and changed in the figurations of the hybrid media event (e.g., Couldry and Hepp 2016; Vaccari et al. 2015).

With the changes happening in the media environment, the revenue logic of a hybrid media event differs clearly from the revenue logic of traditional media events (both ceremonial and disruptive). In contrast to the era of mass communications when the direction of communication flowed from one to many, a hybrid media event is based on a sharing economy that favours news that will quickly attract large volumes of attention. Its logic is based on a many-to-many relationship (see also Bennett and Segerberg 2013). Contents that evoke strong emotions and that reinforce existing prejudices are ideally suited to this kind of circulation.

This all takes us back to Dayan’s (2010) question of the loss of “we” in present day violent media events. We argue that the accelerated speed of circulation in today’s hybrid media events has a tendency to contribute to quick, stereotypical interpretations of the reasons and consequences of events. For example, metonymic connections between freedom and West and Islam and terrorism are instantly activated. The Western “we” live in the anticipation of the next hybrid media event of terrorism. This expectation creates a crisis mode that can be – and has been – used as a justification for increasing control, surveillance and limitations to civil rights in ‘The Free World’. The paradox of countering terrorism then, is that it ends up realizing the aims of terrorists themselves: by increasing fear and insecurity, and by limiting freedom of democratic societies. What follows, we claim that the media event theory needs to begin to take more seriously those accelerated circulations of violence and how those patterns of thought that draw on our mnemonic schemes are used (and by whom, for which purposes) in
today’s intensified global communication of violent media events. This special section attempts to push intellectual work in the direction to ask who is the “we” in those accelerated circulations of violence, in those patterns of thought in our mnemonic schemes, and in global communication of violent media events. T and hence, hopefully, make us more aware of the possible futures of unstable instability and unpredictability but at least we are aware of the instability associated with those trends in violent media events of global terror.

References


