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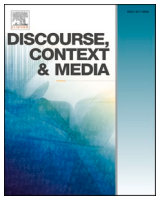

Editorial: The changing shape of media dialogical networks

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This article collection brings together one theoretical and six original research articles that mobilise, in different ways, the concept of media dialogical network. The latter is an empirically based, original conceptualisation of the fluid concept 'discourse' that provides a fresh view on contextualisation practices in a variety of media and represents mediated communication (through the network idea) in ways that foreground agency and social organisation in meaning-making processes. This makes the concept relevant to specialists in ethnomethodology, discourse analysis, researchers in media and communications studies, as well as scholars addressing social problems in particular domains of life, such as those covered by the articles presented in this collection.

The genesis of the collection goes back to a small panel at the 2019 *Conference of the International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis* (IIEMCA) in Mannheim. A larger panel was then organized in Prague at the *Third International Conference on Sociolinguistics* – planned for 2020, but postponed twice due to the COVID-19 pandemic and eventually held two years later (see Sieglová, 2023). Sociolinguistics is a broad church incorporating sociological and linguistic approaches (as implied by the phrase socio-linguistics), conversation analysis (and perhaps even ethnomethodology, see Gumperz and Hymes, 1972), and welcoming authors at home in communication, media and journalism studies, as well as those interested in rhetoric. A broad theoretical and methodological spectrum characterised the Prague panel and is reflected in this collection too. Readers will therefore find that the articles, written by sociologists, linguists, anthropologists and specialists in communication and media studies, are sensitive to different aspects of communication and adopt slightly different working definitions of the dialogical network, depending on the authors' disciplinary backgrounds. But since the concept is central to each and every text, we start by explaining in broad terms what it means and how it has been developed.

1. The concept of the dialogical network

The concept of the dialogical network (DN) is designed to study complex communications that typically occur in mass and social media, but not just there (see Leudar and Nekvapil, 2004, or Nekvapil and Leudar, 2003, for a summary). Their most important characteristic is their spatially and temporally distributed character – participants do not all meet face-to-face. For instance: a minister makes a statement at a morning press conference; an opposition politician responds with a critical remark on Twitter in the afternoon; the minister responds to that criticism with rebuttals and counterarguments in a television interview in the evening. These statements and criticisms, rebuttals and counterarguments may initiate further 'branches' of a DN if reported in several mass and/or social media together with comments by journalists and other social media users, or – at a further remove – by actors journalists recruit, notably experts and analysts positioned as 'independent' or 'authoritative'. The media contributions are networked in that newspapers report what has been said at a briefing or posted on social media, and radio and television refer to newspaper reports or social media statements. The second important characteristic of a DN is that many contributions are duplicated or multiplied – several actors may make the same point but formulate it somewhat differently, and certainly do so in different contexts. This may have consequences. One is that, being multiplied, comments, agreements or challenges made in the media become more likely to be noted, acquire gravitas and get responded to. Another is that one claim will become more and more meaningful – multiply meaningful – as it gets connected to a variety of contexts. The third important characteristic of a DN is that due to multiplication, something new may emerge in the network. In other words, multiplication in DNs may generate emergent meanings. For example, a DN developing around a controversial topic can incubate a meaning of 'opinion polarisation' if it accumulates a multitude of contributions representing opposing positions or arguments. The emergent meanings

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being noted and used by DN participants may inform the further development of DNs.

Most recently, drawing on premises of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, Leudar and Nekvapil (2022: 292) provided this definition of DN:

> Dialogical networks (DNs) are sequentially-organised communications which supervene on face-to-face interactions. They are spatio-temporally distributed, and the parts of sequences are multiplied in that they consist of similar contributions by different participants. Due to such multiplication, these parts of DNs have emergent meanings that are different from those of the individual contributions composing them. DNs are not coincidences; they are participants' accomplishments, resourced by shared conversational practices such as formulation, speech reporting and membership categorisations.

This definition conceptualises the dialogical network as a members' phenomenon, to use the ethnomethodological term, or a phenomenon taken from the emic perspective, referring to what might be heard in (linguistic) anthropology. This means that researchers examining a DN avoid the so-called bird's eye perspective on a phenomenon (vom Lehn, 2014: 108, following Livingston, 1987), which can be assumed only by an all-knowing and ubiquitous expert enumerating the 'interaction nodes' of the networks in full, for example. Instead researchers are interested in observable local patterns, in what's happening here-and-now hinging on the understanding and relevancies of particular discourse actors anticipating immediate or not too remote developments of the DN.

2. Dialogical networks in history

The DN concept was worked out in the framework of empirical studies of media as they functioned in the UK and the Czech Republic in the 1990s (see, e.g., Leudar, 1998; Leudar and Nekvapil, 1998; Nekvapil and Leudar, 2002). Since then, however, political, social, and cultural conditions, including various properties of media, have changed dramatically in most countries, and these changes have affected the shape of DNs. For example, in the 1990s there were not many happenings in DNs during the very first day of the existence of a DN and one week seemed to be an appropriate analytical unit both for researchers and members (see, e.g., Leudar and Nekvapil, 2008, and the subtitle of their paper: "A week in the life of a dialogical network"). In contrast, current DNs may take a distinct contour during just one day (see Leudar et al., 2018, and the title of their paper: "A day in the life of a dialogic network").[1] One of our students recently submitted an interesting seminar paper dealing with just the first hour of the existence of the dialogical network initiated by the announcement of the appearance of the first patient with COVID-19 in the Czech Republic ("An hour in the life of a media dialogical network"). As noted by Kaderka et al. (2018) and Hájek et al. (2019: 174–201, 275–277), current DNs become cloudy and labyrinthine in just a few days. New technological enablers of rapid, extensive multiplication and associated changes in journalistic work practices might also contribute to the rise of 'emergent properties' in DNs, which is why we recently added this notion to their main characteristics (see Leudar et al., 2018).

Current DNs can be contrasted with the situation in the media landscape of the 1950s. Tvrdá (2022) demonstrated that in the former Czechoslovakia many newspaper exchanges had essentially the same spatially and temporally distributed character of contemporary DNs and displayed similar structural features, but there were noticeable differences too: DNs in the 1950s were structurally much simpler, almost invariably consisting of only two turns, such as 'criticism' and 'acceptance of criticism', while the second-pair part of sequences was delivered after a much longer period of time. Her analysis of these historical DNs showed that their structural properties had been based on the political culture and socioeconomic regime of the polity, a different role for journalists (less active in linking dialogical events) and on the technological possibilities of mass media of the time, which did not allow for more immediate reactions of the kind we observe nowadays and seem to have encouraged a longer 'memory' of dialogical events, such that a months-old statement had a greater chance of being reprised in a DN than would be the case today. Only in the 1960s did the DNs start to assume a slightly more complicated shape (Tvrdá, 2022, 2023).

3. Dialogical networks in various fields of practice

The aim of this special issue is to grasp DNs as a changing phenomenon depending on the current configuration of societies and technologies enabling new communication practices. Contributors deal with DNs formed in various fields of practices such as politics, journalism, the judiciary and museum exhibitions, and in the political, social, and cultural conditions of countries such as Germany, France, the Czech Republic and Japan, as well as transnational DNs. Though the concept of DN has been elaborated in Europe and is used particularly there, it is employed in the various articles of this collection for the analysis of controversies happening elsewhere or even worldwide (Korenaga and Ogawa, 2023, this collection; D'hondt et al., 2021, this collection; see also Klaus et al., 2008; Nekvapil and Leudar, 2006). On the other hand, a prevalence of European authors and themes is in harmony with the emphasis on 'dialogism', a concept grounded in (East) European thinking (see, esp., Bakhtin, 1981). While using the DN concept as the main theoretical-methodological framework, the authors of individual contributions deal with particular social issues provoking a controversy or address particular theoretical-methodological features of the DN concept and thus contribute to its development (such as the place of narrative analysis in the DN approach).

In the rest of this introduction we first summarise how the individual contributions use the concept of DN when dealing with a particular social issue. To conclude we then pick out two cross-cutting themes which all of the contributions to this special issue touch on in one way or another: *reformulation* and *speaker selection*. They represent key theoretical and methodological issues for DN studies as well as points of contact with other approaches in discourse analysis, conversation analysis and communication studies. By considering the particular contribution of the DN approach to understanding reformulation and speaker selection, we are hence able to illustrate its use value to scholars in other fields; but we also focus on these themes to highlight limitations and unresolved questions, which enables us to make some suggestions for future research in DN studies.

4. Dialogical networks in individual contributions

Baumgartner et al. (2021, this collection) are concerned with the social function of journalism and journalists' mediating role in the emergence of social reality and pursue this interest by comparing and attempting to integrate the DN approach with the German mediated social communication (MSC) approach. They argue that both approaches respond to a neglect of dialogicity in studies of mass communication, in other words an excessive dominance of the 'transmission' paradigm. The basic building block of the MSC approach is *exchange*, and it assumes that in complex societies the key interactive or communicative exchanges for democracy are mediated by journalism. It shares with the DN approach a focus on how journalists not only relay but reformulate sources' statements, repeating and rearranging them and highlighting relevancies as they mediate exchanges (or construct DNs). Both approaches likewise emphasise the interchangeability of speaker

[1] A book-length analysis done by Oddo (2014), though based on a different theoretical-methodological framework, also demonstrates the analytical relevance of a single day in the 'life' of a particular media discourse.

and addressee positions according to the communicative situation. But the MSC approach also takes into account such factors as the carrying capacity of media channels, which has an independent constraining effect on *speaker selection* (independent of the need to be selective in order to reduce social complexity in the interests of society-wide dialogue): in this respect it retains a key principle of the transmission paradigm. The MSC approach also shows how some typical dialogical networking practices such as glossing (multiplying voices by use of formulae like 'there are some concerns') are problematic for 'social orientation' and for the ability of ordinary people and marginal groups to recognise their voices as 'communicatively represented' in the news. The concept of communicative representation is a useful reminder to DN analysts and practitioners of the kinds of methodological and normative questions they might ask (themselves) about the definition of the spatial and temporal boundaries of dialogical networks.

D'hondt et al. (2021, this collection) reappropriate the term DN to refer to "the dialogical potential of the mediated interactions" as distinct from any "actual corpus of networked statements". Their aim – investigating the international criminal trial of Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi, a Malian Islamist who appeared before the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague – was to stick as close as possible to the ethnomethodological and conversation analytical principle that dialogicity is a members' phenomenon and avoid reification. They thereby forego any claims to exhaustivity in the reconstruction of DNs in favour of a more dynamic conception in which dialogues transcend any 'site' due to the way that participants construct 'threads of relevance' between events and thereby actualise their dialogical potential. Importantly, however, their model retains a special place for site-based dialogicity: what happens in institutional settings like courtrooms is not just submerged in DNs that encompass and extend site-based talk. Instead, they hold together yet apart two *dialogical orders*: a translocal dialogical network and a local dialogical site, each of which has a different dialogical format and extent (one more institutionally constrained, the other more open-ended) as well as different rules for claiming and granting access. The two orders "exist largely independent of each other, but at crucial points they are also partly entangled". In the case examined, they show how "the crimes with which al-Mahdi was charged at the dialogical site (the destruction of the [Timbuktu] shrines) were originally designed as a move in, and hence derived their meaning from, a mediatized, translocal dialogue, that is, from a dialogical network.".

For Ansar Dine, the jihadist group to which al-Mahdi belonged, destroying Timbuktu's Islamic shrines and publicising its actions was a way of demanding access to a DN from which it was excluded as an 'addressed audience', according to D'hondt et al. (2021, this collection). Another way of looking at what happened is to say that these actions gave Ansar Dine a *tellable positionality* in the international media (albeit one never recognised by the ICC). The notion of tellability, borrowed from narratology, is introduced by Smith (2022a, this collection) to make sense of the distribution of *speech rights* in DNs according to normative assumptions about knowledge circulation and actors' communicative capacities. Drawing on communicability theory (Briggs and Hallin, 2016) but distinguishing narrative tellability from routine reportability, he shows how a DN can unfold through a series of trade-offs between tellable and reportable positionalities. Since these trade-offs are often a matter of explicit, metapragmatic co-orientation, they can be traced to reveal dialogical networking as a members' practice with its own moral order (an ethics). The main analytical technique Smith mobilises is to focus on reportability-tellability transitions in the sequential organisation of DNs, which are usually moments of multiplication since they constitute key 'events' in the evolving 'story' of the network. They are often also moments of *reformulation*: in one case, for example, a psychiatrist tries to speak reportably (as an expert on mental illness) but not tellably (refusing to answer a journalist's questions about a controversy in the news); critics in the media (correctly) anticipate the reformulation of his general comments by one side to suit their interests. In doing so, they reposition him as tellable, attributing to him the role of 'useful idiot' in a political controversy. At one level, the example shows the folly of believing one can control how one's words will be used 'downstream' in a DN. At another, it shows how the distribution of speech rights and agency in DNs – key aspects of what D'hondt et al. refer to as the dialogical order – is not just variable between local and translocal scales of action, but also revisible as DNs evolve in a recursive manner via members' ethical monitoring and moral sanctioning.

The question of "who may legitimately contribute to public discourse on what kind of stage" is also an object of inquiry in Porsché's (2022, this collection) 'contextualisation analysis' (the analysis of member practices of contextualisation, not an analysis which aims to provide context). Beginning with multimodal conversation analysis, Porsché observed interactions that occurred at the press conference opening an exhibition, then traced the "drawing, or not drawing, of connections" in the coverage of the exhibition by journalists and the reception (or use) of these reviews by the public and museum staff during guided visits and by writing in the guestbook. He shows that take-up of enunciations (recontextualisation) operates in both directions – quotations and positions from the mass media are made present on the floor of the exhibition and fragments of interpersonal communication overheard in the museum find their way into journalistic copy. Dialogical networking is grasped from a process analytical perspective (focusing on processes by which previous speakers get *selected* and positioned in subsequent dialogue), which shows how the more visible part of the DN (the mass mediatised portion) exists "on the same plane of social interaction" as dialogical networking practices of more local extent, each with its own distinct material constraints and modal affordances. By ethnographically witnessing events upstream of what we would have called the DN on the basis of discourse analysis alone and mapping some of its downstream traces, Porsché offers fresh insights into how DNs are generated and then pushed (partially reified) into circulation. In contrast with D'hondt et al.'s distinction between the dialogical order of translocal networks and local sites, Porsché argues that different interaction orders intersect in the generation of *particular* DNs. In his hands, a DN is a hybrid phenomenon, constituting "a case and context specific mix of professional design, laypeople's constructs, and practices of networking.".

Like Porsché, and unusually for DN studies, Kaderka (2023, this collection) goes upstream in the news production process thanks to ethnographic access to the complete preparation of a 'story' through to its broadcast. He argues that the DN approach provides a natural bridge between production and reception studies because producers and consumers alike orient to the news *as* a DN: "the dialogical network is a public good to which both newsworkers and recipients relate". In the case of newsworkers, he was able to observe how a journalist's preparation of her TV report involved highlighting action verbs like 'refused' and 'decided' in a press release, which already implies an orientation to the story as a DN, while in the case of sources, unused footage revealed a dialogical networking 'literacy' in the shape of an awareness that they would be *reformulated* by both journalists and subsequent speakers. Kaderka's study is also valuable in showing how a dormant DN is revived when new developments make an old story relevant again, a phenomenon implicit in the idea of a DN as an interaction extended in space and time through discursive action (and therefore in principle always extendable at the initiative of new or existing participants) but rarely studied. Making an update newsworthy involved the recontextualisation of new material by projecting backwards and forwards. Hence the two key tasks were to reconstruct the DN's history exploiting the resources available in the in-house 'archive' (automatically accorded relevance) and to get new speakers to project ahead towards a resolution by voicing likely 'consequences' or 'sanctions' derived from the newly-found 'object'. In the case studied this was a press release considered rather dull in itself, but which was used to provoke 'interesting' responses from new speakers invited to give 'consequential interpretations' (telling us what one text means by saying *what it means we have to do* – a process Smith (2022b) has called interpretive

metatextualisation). In other words, a narrative (as well as dialogical) transformation was necessary to resuscitate a once-closed DN.

Korenaga and Ogawa (2023, this collection) use the DN approach to investigate one of the recurring questions around open, participatory or collaborative journalism: how does personal experience get turned into a 'newsworthy' public issue? How do "participants in journalism make their personal experiences readable as public issues"? If participants in DNs are always in some sense *negotiating relevancies*, Korenaga and Ogawa show how one DN, mediated by journalists as interviewers and film editors, was actively constituted to negotiate the epistemic and deontic status of an issue whose 'publicness' or 'newsworthiness' was initially disputed (even by one of the makers of the Japanese documentary they analyse). In effect, relevancy was constructed by the dialogical links within and between programme sequences and the selection and 'transportation' of participatory content submitted online by viewers. Journalists thus made each scene of their programme respond to natural dialogical expectations created by the preceding scene, notably by making visible the *absence* of any suitable category incumbent for the first conversational pair part, then filling the absence not in the reported world, but at the level of the programme's dramaturgy by conjoining a new filmed sequence. This conjunctive networking practice produces *formulation shifts*: one actor "formulates [another's] statement differently […] so that it engenders appropriate meanings in the negotiation of problems". What is novel is the recursive relationship the authors demonstrate between reformulation and multiplication: not only does reformulation happen when contributions are multiplied; many of the reformulations multiply the authorship of statements through linguistic alteration, rising in generality or "programmatic relevance" as a particular concern becomes 'everyone's' concern and an individual problem a 'social problem'. Multiplication in DNs allows for reformulation and translation recursively constitutes multiplication.

Homoláč and Mrázková (2021, this collection) investigate DNs as a vehicle for glocalisation – the local contextualisation of global events. The authors thus present us with a week in the life of a *Czech* DN concerning Greta Thunberg's speech at the 2019 UN Climate Action Summit. They show how the affordances of digital communications technology enable this dis/re-embedding process, as local politicians used social media to react to a highly visible global event, but did so predominantly to position themselves in local polemical dialogues about green issues, climate activism or intergenerational conflict. This local frame is accentuated by online news portals which visualised (and thus actively co-constructed) the emerging DN by reproducing politicians' social media posts 'in dialogue' with one another on the page, using screenshots or hyperlinks. But strategies to make things topical did not always emphasise the local context: public service TV news coverage, for example, recontextualised local polemics by referring back to the UN summit and its agenda, aided by a selection of speakers that featured journalists, activists and scientists rather than politicians. Homoláč and Mrázková show how two mechanisms of DN segmentation reinforce one another: competition between isotopes (one more global, closer to the UN summit agenda, the other more local and party political) overlaps with distinctions between types of media (audiovisual versus written, tabloid versus serious news, public service versus commercial) with very different standards for credentialising speakers in a DN, notably concerning the status of social media posts from people who may be local celebrities but are not 'topically' relevant. The way in which Thunberg herself was (dis)qualified by means of category attribution (e.g. activist, child, mentally ill person) served as a useful analytical instrument for understanding the logic of DN translation, integration and segmentation because it determined the *selection of subsequent speakers* as her speech was glocalised.

5. Future directions

5.1. Reformulation: ventriloquial practices in DNs

The 'dialogue' in the name 'dialogical network' was never intended to be fetishised. In fact, the approach was briefly called 'distributed discursive networks' in the early days of its development (see Leudar and Nekvapil, 2022: 38). But tracing the sequential structures of DNs is more than a way of mapping distributed dialogue: it is a way of apprehending the distributive power of dialogue, i.e. one (though by no means the only) way of specifying the organising properties of communication (Cooren and Taylor, 1997; Cooren, 2000). As Cooren (2020) has argued, when speakers react to what has been said they perform a dialogical translation of another statement, but in doing so they also assure the conditions of its diffusion. The motto 'all publicity is good publicity' is one common way of expressing this insight: even if you reject a demand or denounce a claim (to cite two of the most common adjacency pairs analysed in DN studies) you contribute to the transmission or dissemination of the demand/claim.

There are thus close affinities between the DN approach and the ventriloquial approach developed by Cooren and colleagues from the 'Montreal school' of communication. The concept of ventriloquation, which has an obvious parallel with Bakhtin's concepts of polyphony and heteroglossia (Cooren and Sandler, 2014), is based on an observation that speaking, say, as a representative of an institution means that the speaker ventriloquises the 'voice' of the institution, and vice versa, it is the institution that makes the person speak its 'voice'. Authorship and authorisation are thus shared with the figures (the term ventriloquists use for their dummies) invoked or made present (by implication from elsewhere and elsewhen). Ventriloquial studies therefore make the assumption that dialogue is intrinsically dislocal (Cooren and Fairhurst, 2009) and *trans*-situational (Cooren, 2020) and that its organising properties (especially the way authority is produced) are closely linked to this feature. The concept has been used notably to study the problem of *reformulation*, with Cooren et al. (2023: 60) noting how "ventriloquation can be observed when politicians denounce reports in which they say they are misquoted. Moreover, adversarial ventriloquation is a well-known, albeit understudied, communicative act that partisans use to make politicians or other public figures look bad by making these figures say things they later say they never said. In this age of deepfakes, these forms of adversarial ventriloquation become more and more difficult to debunk, and they therefore deserve to be studied through a lens that is able to unveil their underlying communicative dynamics." A phenomenon of longstanding interest to discourse analysts (Maingueneau, 1996; Peytard, 1993) and conversation analysts (Heritage and Clayman, 2010), reformulation is given a new slant in DN studies through the concept of multiplication. The multiplication of similar contributions by different participants in response to an earlier discursive event changes the meaning of that event and hence 'reformulates' the earlier contribution so that its author loses control over how their speech acts (see Smith, 2022a, this collection), especially if the reformulations discursively multiply the force of a statement (see Korenaga and Ogawa, 2023, this collection). In an age dominated by social media, and an increasing reliance on social media by journalists for speaker selection (see Homoláč and Mrázková, 2021, this collection), reformulations can quickly propagate (and continue to mutate) through rapidly-evolving DNs.

A combination of the two approaches could be used to provide a

perspective interplay on the dynamics of 'communication gone sour' (Peters, 1999: 1)[2] in the course of such formulation shifts. Ventriloquation provides a more close-up and fine-grained perspective, focusing on what is done (the sense effects produced) when a voice from elsewhere is made present 'here-and-now'. DN analysis is more attentive to the open-ended recontextualisation of discursive events whose 'emergent properties' only become visible – to members and analysts alike – when they trace networked sequential structures as they unfold, ideally across multiple modes of communication (see Porsché, 2022, this collection). DN work could thus enrich a ventriloquial study by providing a broader picture which brings into view some of the mediating, summarising and contextualising work performed by the likes of journalists (see Kaderka, 2023, this collection); whereas ventriloquial work could enrich a DN study by unpacking the direct interactive effects (ideally using multimodal analytical techniques) of the production of presence at a distance.

5.2. *Speaker selection: cross-media distinctions and the ambiguous authorship of DNs*

Among the key findings of Kaderka's (2023, this collection) study was that typification practices based on genre knowledge enable journalists to make routine decisions about *speaker selection*. In the case of his TV journalists, these practices were rooted in their orientation to an institutionally-established genre repertoire. This is an important insight into how DNs are practically assembled. It implies that, in TV news-making, decisions about speaker selection often precede (and may pre-empt) the qualification of speakers in the news report. By contrast, Homoláč and Mrázková (2021, this collection), who studied written news reports, argued that speaker qualification determines next speaker selection in the presentation of DNs on the page or screen. Often there is a natural coincidence between selection and qualification: once a story has been assigned to the genre of 'political report' a TV news reporter knows that they have to interview someone from the government and the opposition and it also becomes natural to qualify the speakers in these terms; however, where several possible qualifications are available (e.g. to describe Greta Thunberg as a climate activist, a girl or someone with Asperger's syndrome) work practices that impose a planned sequentiality at an early stage may close down the freedom of choice of the scriptwriter in terms of available category devices, which will have knock-on effects for the emergent meaning of the DN and hence the self-selection (or self-exclusion) of potential subsequent contributors. Since next speaker selection (as well as *previous* speaker selection) is a key structural aspect of DNs, it is vital that future research digs deeper into how the work practices of specific types of media affect the decisions journalists make about who follows or precedes whom in the presentation of news stories and at what stage these decisions get taken.

More philosophically, these contrary (apparently medium-specific) findings beg the question of what it means to 'author' a DN. How much is authorship really a distributed, collective phenomenon and how much is authorship appropriated or enclosed either by powerful gatekeepers like influential journalists and media organisations or, *de facto*, by the routines, procedures and technological tools that impose decision-making moments and thereby pre-format the way participants orient to news as a dialogical network? The DN approach, which ought to have an in-built bias against single-medium analysis, offers a distinct way of examining the ambiguities of authorship (and hence authority) caused by the entanglements between traditional news media, like television, and online social media (explored in different ways in this collection by Korenaga and Ogawa, 2023, and Homoláč and Mrázková, 2021). We encourage scholars to use it to intervene in debates about the implications of these entanglements for democracy.

[2] According to Peters (1999), technological mediation, starting with the telegraph and the radio, 'refitted' the old term 'communication' in a completely new way that at once created the utopia of perfect communion and awoke fears about communication failure: "such media made 'communication' possible as a concept in the first place, with all its misfires, mismatches, and skewed effects" (ibid.: 6).

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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