The Structure of Social Communication and Media Change[1]

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1. Introduction

Recently, drastic changes in the whole media milieu have risen as a matter of primary concern in academia as well as industry. Examples include the crisis of print media, particularly newspapers, the rise of internet media, and the convergence between broadcast and telecommunication media, name a few.

And there go such questions as natural sequences: What are the causes of these complicated changes in media? Where are these changes headed? A popular way of seeking answers for these questions is to turn to technological developments such as digitalization, the movements of media entrepreneurs, and policy interventions that try to shape the media to particular social-political values. They, however, more often disclose the limits of techno-logical, market, and even policy determinism and do little to fully explain media change phenomena in a fundamental sense.

For example, let's consider the question of why people spend a lot of time watching TV. An easy (but completely tautological) answer would be that it is because TV is a family-oriented entertainment medium that is easily available at home. A more proper way of approaching this question would be to ask, why TV became a medium that could be conven-iently viewed at home in terms of technology, industry, and policy. In other words, concern-ing the development of a specific form of a medium, the question becomes what is the fundamental factor that guides or drives the technological developments, the industrial movements, and the social institutionalization of the medium. If such a factor were to exist, this would become the matter of prime importance to consider in explaining the emergence and change of media. This paper assumes the existence of such a factor, and considers it to

be none other than "communication."

Media undergo changes reflecting changes in communication. That is because media, themselves, are essentially means to mediate communication. In order to theorize the changes in media, therefore, it is essential to consider the basic directions in which social communication is changing.

For this line of discussion, this paper introduces the concept of "the structure of communication." It refers to the totality of infinite numbers of various forms of social communication. To get to this concept of the totality of social communication, the discussion starts off with the basic forms of communication. Then will follow the theorization of how these basic forms together compose the combinational totality of social communication. Lastly, this paper will discuss how the structure of communication transforms historically and will attempt to explain the changes of media based on it.

2. The Forms of Communication

Explaining a particular phenomenon begins by distinguishing the basic forms that make up the phenomenon. So does the discussion of the structure of communication. However, to distinguish the basic forms of communication is, by no means, an easy work. Think of the infinite number of communicative acts in everyday life. Is it possible to systematically classify these countless acts of communication?

1）The distinction of Forms

Previous communication research distinguished the communication phenomenon in diverse ways, according to such criteria as communication objective, the sign, the type of medium, the number of people participating in communication, the communicative situation, etc. (Cha 1987, pp.40-50). The mostly widely accepted way of distinguishing the forms of communication, however, has been to distinguish them as interpersonal, group, and mass communication, by considering a number of interrelated factors, such as the number of people participating in a communicative act, the communicative situation, the type of medium, and the direction of communication altogether.[2]

Interpersonal communication, also known as face-to-face communication, indicates communication that takes place at the smallest (two persons) interactive unit of a dyad. Most communication occurs in this dyadic situation. Even communicative acts that occur within a larger group often involve a number of dyadic communication in which the partners keep

changing (Adler & Rodman, 2006, p.7). Therefore interpersonal communication can be compared to the basic cell unit of all types of communication.

Group communication refers to communication that occurs among more than two people. This is often divided into small group communication and large group communication. Small group communication refers to a communicative phenomenon that occurs within the scale of small groups, such as family, friends, colleagues, etc., where the members interact directly and actively one another. The biggest difference between a group and dyad lies in the fact that, in a group with more than two members, the members can form a coalition against the other(s) in the group. Accordingly, group dynamics such as pressure on the minority to conform to the majority appear. Depending on the group dynamics, an individual can say or do things that he or she would not do individually. Moreover, it's common to have a leader within a group who has important decision-making influence. Therefore, a group itself contains a unique identity more than an aggregate of individuals.

Large group communication refers to communication phenomenon within a group of such scale that it is difficult for the members to actively interact with all the other members. Communication within large groups takes on characteristics of being one-way, institutional-ized, and public. An extreme example of this is mass communication. The term "mass" refers to the "lonely crowd," among whom prevail mutual anonymity and little social exchange. Mass communication refers to one-way large group communication aimed at this mass group via mass media. As a historical phenomenon that emerged as a dominant social communica-tion form in the 20th century, it has been rapidly declining with the recent development of media that promote individualistic communicative practices.

The meanings of personal communication, group communication, and mass communi-cation, examined above, are self-evident, and clearly reflect the communication phenomena in everyday life. However, this type of distinction among forms lacks theoretical coherence and rigor and has the limitation of being unable to account for all forms of communication. The distinctions among interpersonal communication, small group communication, and large group communication are clear. However, in the case of mass communication, it is unclear why the largest group suddenly takes on the unique property of being a "mass." A more appropriate term might be "the entire social group" or, simpler, "society."

A bigger problem with this type of distinction is that it ignores communication that occurs between subjects of different scales, such as that between an individual and a group, or that between an individual and a large group (society). For instance, if one were to follow

this method of distinction, it would become unclear where to include such examples as the anonymous letters aimed at public institutions, traffic lights on the street, and signs in parks forbidding people to step on the grass, as well as practices of wire-tapping carried out by intelligence agencies.

Then, what would be a better method to distinguish the countless number of diverse communication phenomena? If we were to accept the currently dominant method of distinguishing the communication forms into personal, group, and mass communication, but only after 1) making clear the theoretical distinction between small group and large group communication and; 2) taking the communicative interaction between a communicator and a receiver as the basic unit of communication, we could have a model of communication forms as seen in ⟨Diagram 1⟩.

In this diagram, each row represents the communicator while each column represents the receiver (or audience). Both the communicator and the audience are distinguished among individual, group, and society.

"Individual" refers to a subject who engages freely in personal behavior based on his or her personal needs and desires, while "group" and "society" refer to subjects who engage in structured behavior that becomes more oriented towards public objectives or needs. When one considers society to be a group of the largest scale, the term "group" encompasses "society." However, when a group has a scale of significance or importance from the perspective of the entire social membership, we can call this "society"; if it does not, "group."

In ⟨Diagram 1⟩, cell 1, 5, and 6 that apply to the diagonal line represent a sphere where interaction between social actors (subjects) of equal position (individual-individual, group-group, society-society) occur. Cell 2, 3, and 6 represent the sphere of upwardly aimed action where the subject interacts with the upper-level subjects of group or society. As a sphere where the individual or group challenges the structure at the top (i.e. regulations, value systems, customs, culture, ideology, etc.), the initiative for change of the upper structure occurs here in the upwardly aimed sphere of action. In contrast, the cells on the lower left side (4, 7, 8) indicate the sphere of downwardly aimed action where the subject interacts with the lower-level subjects of group or individual. These cells represent the sphere where the previous structure is reproduced, maintained and expanded. The point of a balance in the midst of the endless conflict between "change" and "stability" within these spheres can be said to be the cells along the diagonal line.

Diagram 1. Forms of Communication

	audience		
	individual	group	society
communicator — individua	1	2	3
group	4	5	6
society	7	8	9

Even though individual, group, and society are presented as if they are easily distinguishable in this diagram, it is difficult to make such distinctions in real life. Not only does such individual, who acts completely freely according to his or her desires, not exist, the boundaries between society and group are also unclear. In many cases, the individual-group-society is entangled in one subject. No matter how much one acts and communicates from an individualistic position, there exists a mixture of both group and society within the subject of "I." Conversely, no matter how much public and social an action, there lie both individualistic and group factors within that action (Giddens, 1998, p.110). All people participate in the processes of social interaction and communication as the performers of role pluralism (Parsons, 1977, p.170).

2) The Forms of Communication

The entire spheres of social interaction and communication that a subject performs as an individual, group, and society are shown in ⟨Diagram 1⟩. For the sake of convenience, the 9 basic forms of communication will be examined in terms of the levels (identities) of subjects as communicators.

(1) Individual Communication

Individual communication refers to the process by which the individual (the sender) expresses his or her private needs or desires to another individual, group, or society, or the process through which the individual, group, or society (receiver) come into contact with secretive private desires. Individual refers to factors that construct "I" or that construct "difference" and "discrimination" between oneself and others, that one is physically born with as well as one acquires socially such as sex, age, race, appearance, body or health condition, residence, status, educational background, income, family relations, friends, neighbors, work, political attitude, religion, etc..

i. The Communication between Individual and Individual

One can refer to the communication between individual and individual as the first form of communicative act where the individual is the communicator. Corresponding to this is the communicative act that occurs in Cell 1. This is communicative act that occurs within purely personal life or the sphere of private interactions. Even though the purest private conversation between an individual and individual, interpersonal communication, or point-to-point communication, is included in this sphere, also included is the interaction between an individual and a non-individualistic subject such as para-social interaction where a person takes a broadcast news anchor as a personal conversation partner.

Interpersonal communication begins from the process where the existence known as "I" meets another "I." At this time, the first meeting between "I" and another "I" appears in the shape of the largest category surrounding each subject. Accordingly, the encounter with another person cannot be considered, in the purest sense, a meeting between an individual and individual, but is, rather, what often gets called social conversation, involving a meeting between structure and structure, or standpoint and standpoint (Hartsock, 1997).

The relationship between "I" and another "I" unfolds as a gradual process that is commonly known as a social penetration process (Altman & Taylor, 1973). At first, the interaction between two individuals often takes the form of a "script," involving either everyday or standardized pattern of conversation. With the development of the relationship, an interaction can take place, involving more open expression of personal desire either through self-disclosure or narration of personal history. Through this type of process, the interpersonal relationship can develop from a standardized interaction into an interpersonal communicative relationship, in the true sense of the word.

This type of relationship also develops dialectically (Baxter, 1988; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). As someone who wants to be connected even as he or she wishes to be free, who possesses the desire to disclose things even as he or she wants to hide him or herself, the individual is one who wants things to be predictable even as he or she pursues new things. The essence of the communicative act that occurs between individuals can be seen to be an interactive process of trying to find a delicate sense of balance or control between these types of conflicting desires.

ii. The Individual Talking to the Group

The second form of communicative act with the individual as communicator is that between an individual and a group. That is the communicative act that occurs in the sphere of Cell 2. This refers either to the expression of personal desire by a subject with an individualistic identity towards a group (or a group-oriented subject), or to the group listening to the personal opinion of the individualistic subject. This type of communicative act where the individual unit of desire or will is expressed towards the group becomes the starting point of communication aimed upwards for change in the social structure.

The expression of opinions by individual members of a group takes the form of this type of upwardly aimed communication. This is where individualistic expression based on individual character and preferences can be accepted by group participants, and personal stories from the private sphere can be publicly acknowledged. In this cell, each individual gets training in clearly expressing his or her demands and in improving his or her communicative efficacy. However, from another perspective, when an individual expresses personal opinions in a group with particular common goals or interests, he or she can be seen much like an immature child or a new employee who doesn't know his place, thus provoking a negative reaction. Accordingly, individual members of a group often experience a communication apprehension in stating their personal opinions. There are also not a few cases where groups block the possibility of this type of act through the inclusion process or rites of passage-the means by which an individual is integrated into a group. Accordingly, the group member gradually ends up either restricting his or her speech aimed at the group, or engages in strict self-monitoring when speaking. Members, who occupy the lower rungs of a hierarchical group, especially, learn to express themselves better and usually take the position of being listeners than speakers.

iii. The Individual Speaking to Society

The communicative act between individual and society is the final form of communicative act where an individual is the communicator. This refers to the communicative act in the sphere of Cell 3. Society, both the largest category of group and the ultimate space where a subject's difference rests, is also the ultimate structure where I, as an individual, need to interact with others in order to fulfill my needs as an independent entity. This type of communicative act, targeted at society, directly links, in a vertical manner, the base part of the social structure with its uppermost part.

Acts of personal opinion, emotions, personal life, and desire expressed towards the entire society are seen as immature, risky, and anti-social, and, therefore, prohibited. Even though this is, structurally speaking, the same difficulty that an individual encounters when he or she aims to communicate upwards, its degree can be seen to be, at least, a level deeper. That is because it is 1) difficult for the individual to connect to society in order to communicate (as, in many cases, the channel for communication, itself, does not exist); 2) difficult to fully express oneself or be taken seriously (as one's opinion is dismissed or denounced as a trivial expression of private desire, personal opinion, nonsense, or politically biased); and 3) one can, in fact, suffer real damage from the communicative acts. Accordingly, in many societies, these types of expressions are not only taboo but also structurally prohibited. However, even before this public interdiction occurs, the individual, more often than not, self-censors him or herself. Accordingly, the social expression of one's personal identity rarely happens unless safety (through measures such as anonymity) is ensured.

Cell 3 is also the sphere where society lends its ear to the individual. A properly functioning democratic society has mechanisms for upwardly aimed communication that enable it to incorporate individual desire. Examples include secret voting, democratic procedures that incorporate individual opinions, research that ensures anonymity for its informants, mechanisms to capture public opinion, and rituals of religious confession. The state also employs secretive measures such as wire-tapping and surveillance to listen in and watch the private lives of individuals.

(2) Group Communication

A group relies on the shared elements of its members to create a sense of bonding. When these shared elements increase, the sense of group bonding becomes stronger. However, if the membership criteria become too strict, the group can become smaller. Conversely, if the

criteria for membership become too loose, even though the group can expand to include diverse members, its sense of bonding can become weaker. Different from the individual subject, the group subject refers to an "I" who thinks and acts as a member of a group. Even though this subject is closely related to the individualistic identity, it also displays characteristics completely different from an individual, in terms of making sense of reality or making decisions (Janis, 1982). A formal organization strengthens the group identity of its members through organizational culture, symbols, consciousness, and rites of passage, etc. In fact, many of the things that I recognize as an individual traits (such as attitudes, ways of thinking, value systems, ways of beautifying oneself, cultural preferences, manners of conversation, and habits of eating, etc.) often reflect the group that I am part of.

i. The Group Speaking to the Individual

One can discuss the communicative act between the group and individual as the first form of communicative act where the group is the communicator. This applies to the communicative act in Cell 4. This refers to the act when a group subject expresses a collective manner of understanding or collective logic towards an individual who engages in free and personal thinking.

This form of communication can be said to normally appear during the process of incorporating new members, or maintaining and strengthening group bonds. The essence of the act, which forms the starting point for this type of communicative act, is conformity. The channel through which a group talks to the individual can be generally divided into public and non-public. Public channel refers to public forms of gathering public opinion, discussion, and decision-making. Even in a case where an individual adopts an upwardly-aimed channel in order to express his or her opinion towards the group, these channels, in fact, limit the agenda and forms of discussions to the needs and objectives of the group, thus ensuring that, in many cases, these channels function as means for the group to communicate downwards with the individual. The example of a non-public channel is organizational culture. This type of non-public channel serves the role of strengthening group conformity by allowing the group to penetrate deep into the everyday lives of the group members. At times, this type of non-public channel can surpass the public channel in terms of its power and influence (Park, 1994).

ii. The Communication between Group and Group

The communicative act between group and group can be considered the second form after a group becomes a communicator. This applies to the communicative act that occurs in Cell 5. This refers to the situation where a group subject communicates with another group subject. Once again, this can be divided into communication that occurs between members of the same group and group communication that occurs between members of a different group. Park (1996) classified the first situation, where the percentage of exclusive communication between members of a group is high, as endogamy, and the second situation, where the percentage of open communication between members of different groups is high, as exogamy.

Rhee called the sphere where communication between groups occurs as the "interacting sector" (2005, p.59). According to him, the important communicative acts in this sphere include "greeting (recognizing the other)", "struggling," "negotiation," and "lawsuits," where the parties involved reach a compromise in terms of their needs.

However, this type of perspective has the danger of restricting this communicative form between groups to formal and instrumental interactions. That's because it understands the meaning of group as one of partisanship. However, the true meaning of group is fundamental identity, network, and community, where our present selves have their origin. Accordingly, it is more appropriate to view this form of communication as one of everyday interaction and conversation, where we spend most of our lives, rather than a field of instrumentally pursued interests.

Most social actors think, interact, and communicate on the basis of a (small) group identity. From that perspective, this form of communication can be considered as the origin or center of all communicative forms, and deepen into the personal communication or expand into the social communication. With the development of modernization, this communicative sphere has become weaker. The recent cultural trends that emphasize region, gender, preference, identity, and diversity can be seen as efforts to revive this excessively shrunken group interaction and communication.

iii. Group Talking to Society

The communicative act between group and society can be considered the last form where the group is the communicator. This applies to the communicative act that occurs in Cell 6. This refers to the act where the group subject expresses group interests or related opinions to society and the society lends its ear to the expression of the group subject.

This applies to most of the formal communicative acts based in groups aimed outwards. The essence of group act, which becomes the starting point for this type of communicative act, is the cliquish pursuit of interest. Examples include the corporate pursuit of profit, politicians' pursuit of power, and the corporation or organization's pursuit of its interests. From a political or economic perspective, this is an effort to change the position of the group within a social structure.

In its essence, the communicative act that the group aims at society is the same as a well-calculated lie. The representative examples include a politician's speech or advertising. Accordingly, to question the truth or falsehood of this type of communicative act is an overly naive perspective; the important thing is not the truth or falsehood, itself, but the "degree." Group acts or speeches become, from the beginning, the objects of public regulations and the group endlessly tries to package its identity as a socially beneficial one to escape these regulations. This type of "instrumentality" or "craftiness" becomes the first characteristic to distinguish their communicative act.

The chief means (channel) through which a group expresses itself towards society is the press or mass media, which can reach the entire country. Since the availability of these channels is limited, the struggle surrounding them is fierce. The efforts to access these channels sometimes take radical forms (especially on the part of socially-oppressed or outlawed groups) such as illegal strikes, illegal occupation of public institutions, self-immolation, etc.. In most cases, however, they take the form of ordinary publicity efforts aimed at the press.

(3) Social Communication

Society is the largest category of large group. The social is something that is most universal and ultimate. As the largest identity that a subject can internalize, the social identity also possesses the highest moral value. Accordingly, the communicative act, in which society is the communicator, has the largest impact and the most rigorous form.

i. Society Talking to the Individual

The first form of communicative act, in which society is the communicator, is the communicative act between society and individual. This applies to the communicative act that occurs in Cell 6. This is the sphere where the most universal, powerful, and moral subject applies norms, moral values, ideologies, public duties, the diffusion of public information, and education to the individual with the most personal desires. Within this process, there is

endless conflict between social structure and personal freedom. This type of communicative act, targeted at the individual, directly links, in a vertical manner, the uppermost part of the social structure with its base.

This type of communicative act can be better described as a command rather than an interactive conversation. As an act that is conveyed to individuals who consider and evaluate ideological goals or values that are ultimately negotiated according to diverse personal desires, it becomes, more important than anything, to convey this information in a manner that is both authoritative and accurate. Accordingly, this type of communicative act takes the forms of laws, regulations, common sense, establishments, culture, educational content, and public signs that are characterized by rigor, public nature, one-sidedness, and force. However, this type of communicative act is not limited to public acts but also includes behavior such as frowns of disapproval by citizens, who have internalized public values (consciousness of social order), in observing anti-social behavior.

The everyday communicative acts that a public subject aims at an individual are often mediated through institutionalized media or press. Within this process, the media, itself, sometimes becomes the public communicator, actively reproducing information or news, agenda, opinions, social norms and values. The individual thus becomes cultivated as an entity, which acquires its social identity, not through the direct experience of society, but through the media (Gerbner, 1967; Gerbner, et.al, 1980).

At the same time, the individual, who is caught between public values and private desires, resists and searches for means to escape social control. This appears as dominant decoding, negotiated decoding, or oppositional decoding of the messages (Hall, 1980, 1983, 1992).

ii. Society Talking to the Group

The second form of communicative act in which society becomes the communicator is the communicative act between society and group. As a communicative act that occurs in Cell 8, this refers to the communicative act by the social subject, which pursues the largest category of universal interests, aimed at group subjects, who think and act within personal social relations.

Included in this sphere are acts such as the citizens' expression of their will towards certain political groups through voting or press, regulatory policies of national institutions to govern private organizations, the roles of press as watchdog of socially important groups.

This type of communicative act is the starting point of downwardly aimed communication that reproduces the social structure.

Among the public, public organizations, and the press, which can be considered social subjects, the most fundamental and universal social being is the public. Both public organizations and the press receive their public mission from them. However, there is an element of ambiguity within the mandate of the press as a social subject. The idea that this group has transcended its partisan interests, as a social subject, has its basis more in ideology than fact. Still, the communication aimed at society often takes the form of the press→public organization→the public, with the public, themselves, becoming the object of surveillance and enlightenment by the press.

A basic way for social subjects to legitimate their communicative acts aimed at private groups is by appealing either to national interest or public interest. These types of ideological values are not fixed but determined historically and politically, sometimes strongly reflecting the interests of a particular group (Youn, 2005, p. 28). Accordingly, the legitimacy of these values constantly becomes an object of controversy and challenge.

iii. The Communication among Social Subjects

One can consider the communicative act between society and society as the last form of communicative act with the society as communicator. This is the communicative act that occurs within Cell 9. This applies to the communicative act that accompanies the interaction of subjects who either pursue the most universal values or interests. One can consider the public sphere as discussed by J. Habermas, in the most ideal senses of those words, as being equivalent to this form of communicative act. This is a communicative sphere where anyone can participate, where no one is accorded a privileged status, and where problems can be solved through rational debate.

This type of social communication is, at once, the final destination point that all upwardly aimed communication strives to reach, as well as the starting point for all downwardly aimed communication. This is the uppermost and ultimate control center of whole social dynamics.

3. The Structure of Communication and Its Change

The structure of social communication is defined as the combinational totality of the diverse communicative forms examined above. Below, this paper will examine what this

structure means and how it changes historically.

1) The Integrated Structure of Communication

Based on the discussion above, 〈Diagram 2〉 attempts to organize the total structure of communicative acts. The individual, group, and society are not separate properties within a subject, but rather combined as the complimentary conditions through which a subject is formed. Moreover, the individual, group, and society, as tightly and inseparably linked properties of a subject, develop together through a complex and dynamic process of mutual interaction which occurs simultaneously both upwards and downwards.

Let's examine the integrated structure of social communication, composed of a mixture of all the 9 cells, operates. The 3 cells which occupy the central diagonal line (1, 5, 9) are ones where horizontal interaction and communication occur among equal level subjects. This is where the multi-level interaction and communicative acts of social subjects occur in a stable manner. Within this context, each cell can be called the spheres of individual, group, and social life.

The cells that surround them (2, 4, 6, 8) are those in which upwardly or downwardly aimed communication occurs, causing change in this situation of structural stability. Through the complex upward and downward interaction in this cells a normally functioning society develops dialectically as stated by Giddens (1984).

The normal type of upwardly-aimed interaction typically unfolds in the following order: the sphere of personal life (1) --> the sphere of individual/group communication (2) --> the sphere of group interaction (5) --> the sphere of group/society communication (6) --> the sphere of social interaction (9). The downwardly-aimed process, meanwhile, unfolds in the following order: the sphere of social interaction (9) --> the sphere of society/group communication (8) --> the sphere of group interaction (5) --> the sphere of group/individual communication (4) --> the sphere of personal life (1). However, the interaction aimed upwards and downwards can unfold much more drastically. The spheres of vertical interaction (3, 7), where the individual subject and society become directly linked, can be included in this category. In contrast to the normal process of interaction examined above, the interaction and communication that occur within these spheres display elements of chaos, abnormality, crime, deviance, taboo, provocation, subversion (cell 3), and command, force, oppression, order, and education (cell 7).

In general, the status of healthy communication in a society that functions normally

is one where the spheres of life (1, 5, 9) are stable, the normal upwards and downwards communicative process in cell 2, 4, 6, 8 is operating smoothly, and the possibility of radical communication (3, 7) are open. A society where the sphere of life is weak is unstable, and, conversely, a society where the sphere of normal interaction is weak, to be stagnant. A society where the sphere of radical communication either doesn't exist or is repressed is inflexible, whereas a society where these same spheres are over-active to be chaotic.

〈diagram 2〉 The Structure of Social Communication

		receiver	
	I	G	S
I	• private life sphere • interpersonal communication • private conversation, telecommunication	•sphere of individual/ group communication •expression of private desire towards group	• sphere of crime, deviation, taboo, breaking rules • expression of private desire towards society
G	•sphere of group/individual communication • group conformity • persuasion, inclusion, interpellation towards individuals	• sphere of group interaction • inner−group interaction • interaction, negotiation between groups	• sphere of group/society communication • advertisement, public relations, speech of politician • instrumental communication
S	•sphere of governance • delivering law, order, civic duty, public information, social norms	•sphere of society/group communication • delivering public judgment regarding the behavior of group− interest seeking	• sphere of social interaction • ultimate public sphere, ideal press, deliberative democracy

2) The Structural Change of Communication

The structure of social communication changes historically. The changes go on in two dimensions in terms of the size and composition of the structure. The actual changes in structure are assumed to reflect the compound changes of these two dimensions.

One can consider the structural characteristics displayed by each historical period to be dependent on the particular situation of a social subject who initiates social interactions or communicative acts as an individual, group member, and social member,.

(1) The Communicative Structure of Pre-Modern Society

With the members of pre-modern, that is, traditional community-oriented society, having weak individual identities, in contrast to having strong group identities, it is assumed that the development of a social identity to overcome the scale of traditional community is also weak. They are no other than the so-called "good neighbors," who think and act from the perspective of the community, rather than expressing their individual desires; who privilege the norms of community, in considering it more important to listen to the opinions of others than to express their own opinions; and who thus privilege listening over speaking. <Diagram 3> shows the communicative structure in this pre-modern society.

In this diagram, the most notable characteristic is that the sphere of group interaction and communication (Cell 5) is in an enlarged state. In contrast, the spheres of individual life or communication (1), and the spheres of social interaction and communication (9) show a state of immaturity. Moreover, spheres 3 and 7, which can be considered the spheres of radical communication, are not developed. One can thus say that the communicative structure of society, composed of pre-modern communicators, with, overall, a very strong sense of small group-ism, is in a stagnant state from the perspective of individual and society, even though it is stable within the scale of small group life.

〈diagram 3〉 Communicative Structure of Pre-Modern Society

		receiver	
	I	G	S
—	1	2	3
communicator G	4	5	6
S	7	8	9

(2) The Communication Structure in Transition Periods

With the process of modernization, the pre-modern society and its members start to display different characteristics. The most important element of transitional change is the weakening of the dominant form of community-oriented group-ism within traditional society. There are three possible scenarios for change.

The first is one where the individual identity of the "good neighbor" becomes stronger but his or her social identity remains weak, with him or her thus becoming a "partisan." That is, while the individual subjectivity that refuses to be a member of a group develops, the consciousness of being a public remains under-developed. The identity of the group or society becomes overshadowed, with the over-development of the individual identity. Collective life and communicative stability found in traditional society collapse rapidly, while the social and communicative norms, needed to replace them, are not established yet. <Diagram 4> shows the structure of the communicative act that occurs in this situation.

In contrast to the over-expansion of personal interaction and communication, the most notable element in this diagram is the shrinking of the group communication (5) that used to be dominant in 〈Diagram 3〉. Sphere (9), which corresponds to social interaction, the construction of social norms, or social communication, also shows a degree of retardation. This speaks to a situation where the expression of one's opinion or desire is prioritized over paying careful attention to the opinions or statements of the other. From the standpoint that personal desires and divided interests are prioritized over upholding community norms, which values ties with others, this is a situation where speaking becomes dominant and listening subordinate. It is situation where opposing opinions are ignored and excluded, where it is noisy but communication is absent. Even though political reality appears hyper-politicized from the outside, the paradoxical situation of de-politicization is, in fact, occurring. As a society where anyone can freely open their "lips" but the "ears" remain closed, even the so-called public sphere deteriorates to a private sphere. Because there is no debate, only verbal sparring, true debates become bound to fail. As a result, there is an increased tendency to follow irrational impulses rather than reasoned reflection.

〈diagram 4〉 Communication Structure in Transition Periods 1

communicator \ receiver	I	G	S
I	1	2	3
G	4	5	6
S	7	8	9

The Second scenario of change is one where one's identity as a member of society becomes overactive while his/her individuality remains weak. People in this scenario reveal social existence without an individual identity. They are unable to express free will and are mobilized as a member of general public, a member of an ethnic group, a viewer, and a consumer. 〈Diagram 5〉 shows the communicative act that occur in this type of transitional situation.

〈diagram 5〉 Communication Structure in Transition Periods 2

communicator \ receiver	I	G	S
I	1	2	3
G	4	5	6
S	7	8	9

In this situation, where the members of a society are unable to achieve freedom as autonomous individuals, they become capable of only passively listening to the messages

delivered vertically from the state organizations through the media. This type of situation manifests itself in two ways. The first way is through an authoritarian, anti-democratic political order. Due to the coercion of an authoritarian system, the ears of individuals become mobilized to listen exclusively to centrally administered bureaucratic messages, and truth becomes difficult to uncover. Due to external political pressure, mouths remain closed. The second way is through social alienation and distrust. In a society where trust is weak, it becomes not only difficult to effectively express one's thoughts to other people, it also becomes difficult to listen attentively to other people's thoughts (Park, Sung Gwan, 2005, pp. 122-123).

When this type of situation progressively worsens, individuals become isolated from each other and the conditions for communication become even weaker. Where people are neither able to "hear" nor to "speak," a situation of communicative absence where people are, in fact, unable to engage in meaningful conversation with each other evolves.

When these two directions of changes occur simultaneously appears the possibility of the third scenario. That is the individual and social identity of a subject becomes over-active throughout society while his/her communal identity becomes weak. People who are preoccupied either with the pursuit of personal or family interest, and who reveal strong nationalistic or totalitarian tendencies at the same time, can be an example of these trends. This phenomenon is typically observed throughout what is popularly termed, "compressed modernization" process when the growth of civic virtues could not keep pace with the rapid process of growth-oriented modernization, leading to extreme politicization, and individualization of social members (Lee 1999; Iwabuchi, 2007).

〈Diagram 6〉 illustrates the communicative structure in such a situation of compound changes. The following tendencies become simultaneously active in this situation: private communicative acts between individual and individual (1), chaotic and disorderly communicative acts (3), the interference and control of the state (7), and the passionate expressions of nationalism and patriotism (9). Meanwhile, the spheres 2, 4, 6, 8, which link the normal upward and downward communicative interactions become weak. This indicates the prevalence and routinization of the extreme and unstable communicative interaction between those who challenge the existing dominant structure upwardly and those who aim at forcefully regulating and oppressing this movement downwardly, in a situation where normal interaction and communicative acts do not function properly.

〈diagram 6〉 Communication Structure in Transition Periods 3

	receiver		
	I	G	S
I (communicator)	1	2	3
G	4	5	6
S	7	8	9

(3) The Ideal Structure of Communication

The starting point of modernism philosophy is to assume the possibility to overcome the type of transitional situation discussed above, and to achieve the ultimate stage of modernity. 〈Diagram 7〉 illustrates the communicative structure in this ideal situation. This is a situation in which the balance among individual, group, and social identities are harmoniously and resiliently achieved.

In this ideal communicative situation, all forms of communication appear and interact in the most ideal manner. With vertical and horizontal communicative interactions among individual, group, and society operating in their optimal state, a situation develops where human desires can be maximally fulfilled. With people freely expressing themselves, and with people listening carefully to others, a smoothly circulating communication system begins to take shape in which both listening and speaking occur without any problems.

Within this situation where all thoughts are spoken and all speech is heard, an ideal deliberative democracy takes root. From the standpoint of political theory, this type of ideal communicative situation, in which liberalism and communitarianism achieve a sense of balance and harmony, can be termed "the situation of liberal communitarianism" (Habermas, 1995) in which the pursuits of individual freedom and communitarian values are both optimized. In this situation, diverse forms of community that can be considered the sphere of voluntary cooperation and networking are activated by people with awakened consciousness, while the collective oppression or interference against any unique individuality are minimized.

This is a state in which desires that erupt from the lower social sphere achieve a

harmonious relationship with the sphere of upper structure; a state which is most normative yet free; a state in which disturbance and deviance are widely tolerated, even as control and command are both trusted and operate effectively; a state in which the differences between individuals or groups become the basis for diversity, not discrimination; a state in which the individual, group, and social structure at the top becomes connected and achieves an ideal balance; a state which is stable yet also open to change; a state in which progressive and conservative elements achieve balance, and a state in which the interests of the majority are guaranteed even as the rights of the minority groups are respected. In other words, it's a utopian social situation in which individualism and the contradictory elements of communitarianism develop dialectically to achieve a sense of balance and integration. This situation is one where all spheres of social communication become active and achieve balance.

⟨diagram 7⟩ Ideal Structure of Communication

communicator \ receiver	I	G	S
I	1	2	3
G	4	5	6
S	7	8	9
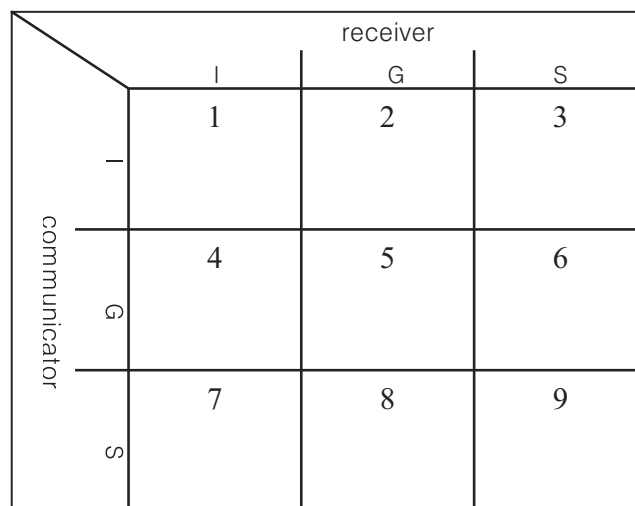
4. The Evolution of Media

With communication as the basis of its existence, media changes as communication changes. Below, this paper will analyze the forms and development of media, relying on the discussions of the structure of communication and its change.

1) The Essence of Media

In the most basic sense, media is considered as the mediator of communication. In case of using C to mediate a conversation between A and B, all the means, procedures, and

people associated with this mediation, can be called media. More generally, in the case of using the mid-stages of C, D, E...etc. for A to ultimately communicate with B, all the communicative acts that apply to the mid-stages can be considered a form of media that mediates the communicative acts between A and B. Accordingly, among the communicative acts that we engage in, most are less communication in the basic sense of the word, than a practice of media function, and, therefore, we are less communicators than media. In this sense, the procedures at the levels of individual, group, and society, aimed at instrumental and not ultimate means, are all media. For example, a politician is a form of media who represents sovereign power, with the ultimate aim of enabling the political system to put democracy into practice.

From a narrower perspective, however, the media is defined as an institutionalized body that professionally mediates communicative interactions. As people's interaction and communicative ability develop from an individual to the level of group and society, the media, which carries out either a part or the whole of the necessary factors, or process necessary for this communication to occur, gets to develop. With the communicative relation between society and individual, group, and society evolving into one between media and individual, group, and society, the previous relationship between communicator and communicator is disappearing, leaving behind only the communication between communicator and media, or media and media. The purest definition of media refers to the person who directly conveys the communicator's message, or the person who simply acts as the information holder's representative. In this case, media is considered the same as the concept of channel, or the material means to deliver a message signal. However, in many cases, media acts as a communicator rather than being a simple proxy for the original information holder. Within this context, the term "mediatization" (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Schulz, 2004), rather than "mediation," better illustrates the nature of media as an organizational entity with its own particular form of understanding and evaluating the world, rather than being simply a "route" or "outlet."


2) The Form of Media

Even though media is often associated with large institutionalized media, it is not always limited to that. When we consider media as referring to a third party which mediates communication, it is natural that media can intervene in all of the complex forms of communicative act that occur between individual, group, and social subjects. When we examine the

meanings derived by each form of media from its communicative function (i.e. the kind of communicative act that it mediates), rather than from its technological particularity (which is, in any case, is disappearing with the convergence of media technologies), we can achieve a more integrated understanding of media.

This paper classifies media into three basic forms; point-to-point media, broadcasting, and printed media. Point-to-point media is media that either adjusts the personal desires between individual and individual, or mediates their interaction or communicative acts. In contrast, the media, which performs the role of mediating the interaction or communication between society and society, is broadcasting. Between these two extremes is the printed media, including the newspaper.

〈diagram 8〉 The Relationship between media and Communication Structure
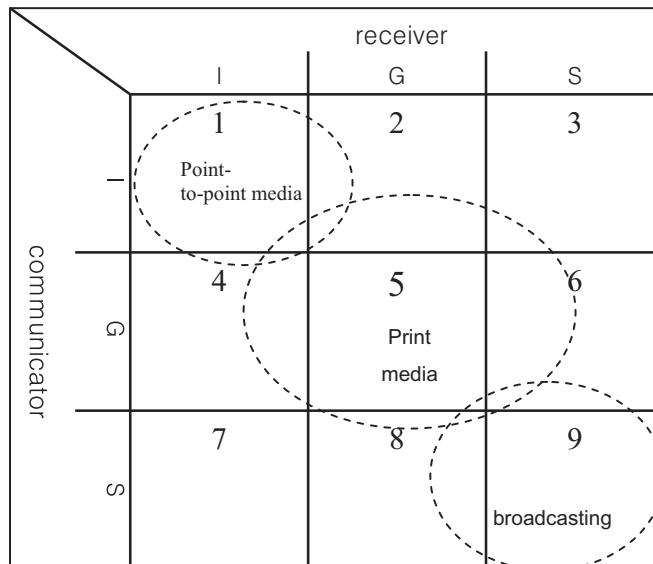
(1) Point-to-point media

Point-to-point media has its basis in communication, which controls the delicate interaction between individual and individual. Accordingly, point-to-point media has developed to reflect the need and form of personal conversations, which possess the characteristics of intimate exchange, required by individuals, and, following that, informal and personal needs between individuals. The representative examples are mail or telephone, which provide the channel for communication but leave completely open the occurrence of the communicative act and its contents.

Point-to-point media, in the ideal sense of the word, only guarantees the connection between the conversational parties and doesn't interfere with the actual form or content of the conversation. In fact, point-to-point media, in the ideal sense of the word, is considered medium = channel, which maximizes connective possibilities while maintaining, with utmost strictness, the freedom and confidentiality of the contents. Within this context, conversation or the sending and receiving of mail are considered a private issue, and behavior such as spying or eavesdropping on these types of conversation or correspondence is considered an invasion of privacy of the gravest order. Similarly, in the case of phone conversations, eavesdropping on another's phone conversation, no matter how well one knows that person, is considered socially inappropriate, and in the case where one inadvertently overhears another's conversation, one is expected to practice what Goffman has termed "civil inattention."

Point-to-point media has developed in such a manner as to increase the security of these communicative acts. Let's examine telephone as an example. Traditional "plain old" telephones are limited in secrecy and connectivity. The points of communicative interaction are limited in space and, even if one is connected, an open exchange can be difficult due to the presence of other people.

The development of telephone can be said to alleviate these limitations. Telephones in one's home or office to public phones, cordless phones that one can use freely while moving around the house, home phones with two or more circuits, and, most importantly, the development of personal mobile phones are all examples of the development of point-to-point media to the direction of liberating the user from censorship and control, as well as from the limitations of time and space--in short, expanding the sphere of free private communication.

(2) Broadcasting

Broadcast media is central to the communicative sphere, which satisfies the desires of social members to communicate with society. The broadcasting system that we're familiar with began to develop in late 19th century, becoming the dominant social media in the mid-20th century.

If point-to-point media enables the communication of the most private desires, the broadcast media enables communication of public need. Thus, in contrast to point-to-point media which developed reflecting the form, needs, and desires of private conversations, broadcasting developed to ensure the form and objective of public communication which occurs everyday in a

regulated manner. Thus, in contrast to point-to-point media, broadcasting predetermines, in the strictest manner, the number of communicative acts, as well as their form and content. With the time and order of broadcasting strictly predetermined, anything that deviates from this is considered the gravest social blunder.

Until recently, the broadcasting media has been characterized by one-directional universal delivery of signal (Youn & Kim, 2006). The subject towards which they aim to deliver the message, through diverse programs, is the largest category of social community. Accordingly, broadcasting emphasizes the need to uphold community value systems and minimize deviance. These values are often expressed as "public interests" (Youn, 2005, pp. 58-92). In this context, broadcasting is a media through which society and society engage in reciprocal communication.

Within a purist sense of media, the intervention of personal factors is considered an invasion of public-ness and thus restricted in broadcasting. Thus, in broadcasting, in the purist sense of the word, the individual identities of communicators and receivers completely disappear. Therefore, in contrast to point-to-point communication, in broadcasting, the mediating function of media (i.e. channel) becomes minimized while media itself functions as a communicator.

(3) Print Media

From the perspective of media's communicative function, print media refers to diverse forms of media which lie between point-to-point media and broadcasting. That is, it has an intermediate character, possessing the characteristics of point-to-point media which mediates communication between the private desires, and broadcasting, which mediates the communication of most public nature.

Therefore, from the perspective of the communicative actor, print media encompasses diverse communicative acts of the individual and group, individual and society, group and group, and group and society. However, the more a print media is public and structured, the more it shows characteristics similar to broadcasting. The example is the newspaper. Like broadcasting, the newspaper creates content aimed, copied and distributed for large groups of social receivers, and the form of communicative act (the frequency of publication, editing, the format of each article, delivery, etc.) and content also follows strict principles or rules.

Conversely, print publishing shows similar characteristics to point-to-point communication. The example is the book, which is freely published for a particular group, who might

have particular ideas, desires, and interests, relatively indifferent to the setting. Magazine occupies an intermediate role between the book and newspaper, while mook (magazine + book), which possesses the characteristics of an irregularly published magazine or a regularly published book, is a print publishing medium, which possesses the intermediate form of both magazine and book.

To summarize, the intermediate position of print media, which is neither point-to-point media nor broadcasting, becomes the fundamental reason for the endless debate around the freedom and responsibility of the press, and the indeterminate and multiple identities of the journalists. This ambiguity also closely related to the crisis of newspaper.

3) Media in transition

The media is not a fixed entity but changes dynamically overtime. From this perspective, new media is not a proper term (Gitelman & Pingree, 2003, p.12). In fact, with all media constantly developing in new ways, rather than remaining in their original form, all media are, in a way, new media. This applies even to what is often called old media--newspaper and broadcasting. Within this context, it's appropriate to replace the expression "new media emergence" with "media change." Below, this paper will examine the crisis of the newspaper, media change phenomenon that has recently become of most concern.

The decline in the position of the newspaper as a medium is no longer news. Whether in terms of the number of readers, the amount of time people spend reading the newspaper, or their public influence, the decline in the position of the newspaper has been observed worldwide for quite some time.

Rhee and Choi (2005, pp.8-10) summarize the causes of the crisis of newspaper in three ways based on Korean case. First is the functional replacement hypothesis that views the decline in the reading of the newspaper as being closely related to the usage of other media. This refers to the emergence of new news medium such as the internet. In an era of diverse media, with newspaper readers being able to read news through other media, the usage of newspaper naturally decreases.

Second is a hypothesis of newspaper's provision of low value. This view considers the decline of newspaper as being a problem of its quality. If the usage of newspaper is declining, that is a consumer choice. In other words, that is because the newspaper is not fulfilling the demands of the market. This hypothesis assumes, in a similar vein, that a newspaper can overcome the crisis in declining readership and subscription if it engages in rational

restructuring of increase quality and price competitiveness.

The third hypothesis is the crisis in the impartiality of the newspaper. Even with the change in the distribution of political power within Korean society towards a progressive direction, the ideological positions of important newspapers have not kept up with this change, creating a gap between the political position of the press, and the public. This has, in turn, provoked a social-wide controversy over the partiality of major newspapers, resulting in a crisis of faith in newspapers and their commercial crisis.

Rhee and Choi's discussion is comprehensive enough in examining the crisis of the newspaper. Especially notable is the third hypothesis, which tries to connect the crisis of newspapers with changes in political topography.

However, in diagnosing the fundamental reason for the newspaper's crisis, their analysis still lacks elaborateness. Such explanations as the functional replacement among the media, the flaws in the management, or lack of ideological adaptability, can be applied to any media that is undergoing a crisis. If this analysis is to be meaningful, it needs to further explain, why there was a functional replacement and why there was a lack of ideological adaptability in newspaper. This paper argues that one can provide the most valid and fundamental analysis on the essence of the crisis faced by the newspaper media and its future direction of development, from the context of the structure of the macroscopic communication structure and its change.

〈diagram 9〉 Media Structure in a pre-modern society
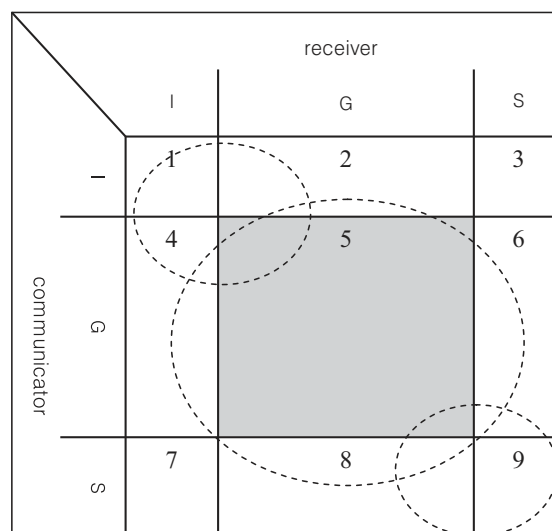
〈diagram10〉 Media Structure in a Transition Period
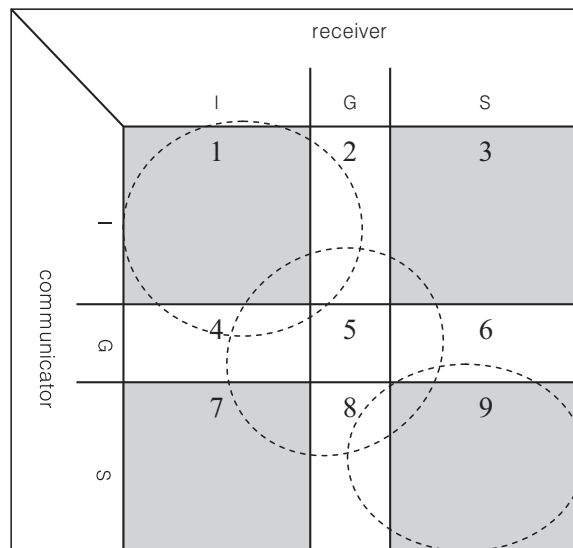
       〈Diagram 9〉 and 〈Diagram 10〉 show the relationship between the change in the structure of communication, and the change in the media position of the newspaper. First, 〈Diagram 9〉 shows the positions of point-to-point media, broadcasting, and newspaper within the pre-modern society's communication structure where the group communication sphere (5) occupies the biggest proportion. The newspaper occupies the leading position as a media that most broadly covers the structure of social communication.

       With the progress of modernization, where the individual and social identities of a subject become extended, this situation changes as shown in 〈Diagram 10〉. In contrast to the weakening of group communication sphere (5), individual and social communication spheres expand, and point-to-point and broadcasting media develop accordingly. The newspaper comes to confront a situation of a weakening media base. Within this type of situation, abandoning the role of a political media within the existing group-oriented communicative sphere, newspaper starts exploring the possibility of penetrating into the expanding sphere of individual communication (1) or the sphere of social communication (9). The growth of low-quality press appealing to the masses, commonly called "yellow paper," or the partisan paper engaging in hyena journalism can be said to be the results of these adaptive strategies. The increase in alternative, anti-establishment press, which challenges the existing order or authority, as well as press which clings to the existing authority can be seen to be the result of efforts by the newspaper to adapt to a transitional situation, with bloated spheres of radical communication

(3 and 7).

As the progress of history towards modernization continues, the social communication structure will, as a matter of course, overcome the entanglements of the transitional stage and all spheres of communication will progress towards achieving a state of balance (Diagram 7). In this situation, the newspaper media (rather than referring to the traditional print medium of newspaper, refers more to the media which mediate the spheres of group communication) will pass the factional/popular media stage to have the opportunity to ultimately revive into an ideal political media of community. The recent cultural tendencies emphasizing region, gender, culture, preference, identity, and diversity can be seen as the soil in which this type of media can take root.

5. Discussion

The objective of this paper was to explain the complex and dynamic changes of media in more fundamental, comprehensive, and human-centered ways. Media is defined as the mediator of communication. Then, the changes in communication would dictate the changes in media. Therefore, to analyze the changes in media, we need to understand the basic directions of changes in social communication. This was the basic assumptions from which this paper started off. In other words, this paper placed the communicative factors at the center of media discussion.

To get to the basic understanding of the structure of social communication and its changes, this paper discussed the forms of communication, then moved onto theorizing the structure of social communication as their combinational totality and its historical changes. The theorization of the different forms of communication, the comprehensive communication structure and its change, media's concept and forms, and the change in media following the structural change of communication, suggested in this paper, is largely based on hypothetical conjectures. It is the author's belief, however, that one can achieve a more holistic understanding of media phenomenon in this way.

The key concept in this research is the structure of communication. Previous discussion of communication divided the forms of social communication into individual communication, group communication, and mass communication, treating and discussing each form as a separate academic subject. Discussion on the macro concept of communication structure was practically non-existent. In this vein, the discussion on the structure of social communication in this paper, the author believes, can become a crucial starting point towards a discussion of

the macro structure of communication.

In the latter part of this paper, starting from the basic assumption that human communication is the raison d'etre of medium and, accordingly, that the media will reflect the changes in human communication, this paper analyzed the recent changes in media phenomena. To summarize, in the entire communication structure, the point-to-point media is usually the means to mediate individual-individual communication, print publishing to mediate group-group communication, and broadcasting to mediate society-society communication. The changes in each of these communicative bases will result in changes in media.

If that's the case, what are the nuts-and-bolts behind the entire communication structure which dictate its current composition and direction of change? The answer depends on the theoretical or philosophical characterization of the social subjects as communicators. If the author were to summarize his position related to this in one word, it would be "modernism." The essence of this view argues that despite the pathologically tangled problems in social communication that appear in the transitional period, progress based on the strength of human reason will continue, as we are headed towards rational communication.

A notable difference with the current generation of media users (commonly known as digital native, P-generation, internet discourse public, etc.) is the fact that many are active communicators (Rhee, 2005b). Possessing more channels than previous generations, they use them to create and discuss issues. Of course, majority of them are the zealots, the foolish, and the shallow, who possess neither the virtues of pre-modern neighbors nor citizens. The large majority of their communicative acts are not in the least of high quality, not going much beyond impulsive cries. When observing the communication practices in the internet space, the concern that the quality of communication, politics, and democracy would decline is more than real.

However, there are also signs that the potentials of communicators in the contemporary world are growing. Despite the disorder and disrespect of norms, still people bring up public agendas of importance at a historically unprecedented degree. Majority of people are impulsive, immature, and have little patience, don't know how to listen to others, and don't know how to properly speak to others. Nevertheless, they foreground the importance of communication more than anything and actively practice it. In this sense, the historical subjects of our time seem to reveal the virtues qualifying themselves as communication natives.

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2 Besides, the internal cognitive process of perception, analysis, memory, and synthesis in a person is often called as intra-personal communication.

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