

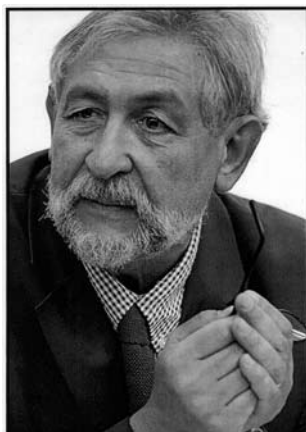
學術對談

## 「媒介事件」概念的演變

對談人：丹尼爾·戴揚、邱林川、陳韜文

統稿：邱林川、陳韜文\*

翻譯：鄺芯妍、邱林川



丹尼爾·戴揚 (Daniel Dayan)

「有趣的不僅是新媒體的主動和喧嚷，與舊媒體的大異其趣，而且兩種表現更有分工之勢。舊媒體展現事件，新媒體作回應。回應中央媒體(包括如媒體事件試圖製造大規模共識的極端情況)，新媒體往往尋求自己的接收空間、回應空間。換言之，新媒體的角色似乎站在公眾一邊。」

---

\* 邱林川和陳韜文分別是香港中文大學新聞與傳播學院助理教授及教授，後者並為本刊主編。

## 丹尼爾·戴揚教授簡介

丹尼爾·戴揚擁有人類學、比較文學、符號語言學和電影研究學位，曾在美國史丹福大學、法國索邦大學和高等社會科學研究院修讀，並於羅蘭·巴特指導下取得美學博士學位。戴揚曾是多間大學的講師、訪問學人和教授，任教大學包括：巴黎第二大、巴黎第三大學——新索邦、耶路撒冷、特拉維夫、史丹福、莫斯科——RGGU、米蘭、列日、南加州大學(安娜堡傳播學院)、巴黎政治研究學院、奧斯陸大學、賓夕法尼亞大學和日內瓦大學。

戴揚於1975年至1976年獲邀加入美國電影學會研究與出版委員會。1988年起，他於巴黎國家科學研究中心工作，二十年來擔任研究負責人和高等社會科學研究院馬歇·牟斯學院的研究員。1999年至2004年，他是歐洲科學基金會媒介研究計劃會員。2000年，他是洛克斐勒基金比勒基奧中心的駐院研究員。2001年，他是「英國學術研究評估」媒介研究外聘專家。2005年，他是希伯來大學高級研究學院的駐校研究員及賓夕法尼亞大學安娜堡學人。2006年，他是挪威卑爾根大學的自由言論訪問教授。2007年和2009年，他是紐約社會研究新學院的漢斯·施派爾訪問教授。

戴揚參與編輯多份學術期刊，包括*Hermes*、*Quaderni*和*Cahiers de l'audiovisuel*。他撰寫的書中章節與期刊文章有七十多篇。近作包括《恐怖奇觀：恐怖主義和電視》(*La terreur spectacle: Terrorisme et télévision*) (巴黎INA De Boeck出版社2006年出版，2009年譯為葡萄牙文)、《電視：由觀眾到公眾》(*Televisao: Das Audiencias aos Publicos*) (與Jose Carlos Abrantes合著，里斯本Livros Horizonte出版社2006年出版)、《擁有奧運：新中國的多種敘述》(*Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China*) (與Monroe Price合編，密歇根大學出版社2008年出版)。戴揚現在的研究，主要是在可見性社會學(sociology of visibility)的框架下探討與媒介倫理相關的議題。

QC：邱林川、陳韜文

DD：丹尼爾·戴揚

## 「媒體事件」的學術淵源和演變

QC：您與卡茨 (Elihu Katz) 1992年合著的《媒體事件》，風靡華人傳播學者，尤其是該書的中文版於2000年面世後，影響更鉅。此書因何緣起？埃及總統撒達特於1977年出訪耶路撒冷後，你們如何構思此書？為什麼會有「歷史現場直播」的意念？

DD：這本書起初是探究一種新的外交手法，也就是撒達特訪問耶路撒冷的媒體外交。卡茨向我挑戰，建議為撒達特每天的表現作分析，以展示符號語言學可以如何應用。這一連串的記錄變成一個大型計劃，最後我們發展出各自的議程。卡茨認為媒體事件建構出意想不到的新受眾群體，這些群體的出現吊詭地「強化」事件的影響，而非「限制」它們。

在我而言，傳統以來，電視在歷史書寫的角色一直備受議論，班哲明的《歷史哲學論綱》、巴特的《歷史的論述》和《事件的書寫》對此均有論述，還有其他學者的論述，如德塞都 (Michel de Certeau)、利科 (Paul Ricoeur) 及懷特 (Hayden White) 等。電視成為歷史圖像論述新的演繹者，操控「表達性事件」(expressive events) 的定義(何謂「表達性事件」請見下文)。

QC：您最近的文章〈超出媒體事件：幻想破滅、脫軌、衝突〉(Dayan, 2008)，D字頭韻 (Disenchantment, Derailment, Disruption) 似乎取代了1992年的C字頭韻：挑戰、征服、加冕 (Contest, Conquest, Coronation)。為何會有這個改變？此一概念化的發展，可否說是《媒體事件》出版後，您對各方反應的回覆？還是跟全球傳播系統的普遍轉變更有關聯？這是源於您在法國的觀察，抑或有其他原因？

**DD:** 多謝你們留意到「挑戰、征服、加冕」和「幻想破滅、脫軌、衝突」之間的對稱。

驟眼看來，有人會認為這是一個假對稱，「挑戰、征服、加冕」是敘事常規，屬於共識性媒體事件類型以下的附屬類型。「幻想破滅、脫軌、衝突」則並非敘事，而是特定的組織和接受形式。「幻想破滅」反映當代大眾的犬儒，而當媒體將事件組織成暴力事故而非協商的機會時，「脫軌」和「衝突」的情況便會出現。

不過，倘若超出技術層面，如你所言，三C和三D對應兩個獨特的媒體事件模式。首一模式是有關整合和共識，另一模式則不但鼓吹異見，甚至「創造分化」。

由一個模式走到另一個模式，固然是確認1992年一書忽略了媒體事件的某些範圍。但是，與塗爾幹派社會學者相反，我認為共識性媒體事件的確存在，只不過其類型隨着時間而演變而已。2009年的媒體事件跟八十和九十年代自然有所分別。

其實，研究恐怖主義事件(可參看我2006年的《恐怖奇觀》)令我發展出比媒體事件更闊的理念：「表達性事件」。這意味着事件在其表達過程中既可有共識，亦可以分化，因此1992年模式的媒體事件並不至完全消失(如奧巴馬的就職禮就仍屬共識類事件)，但是這類媒體事件不再獨霸天下，而是要和其他事件共存於同一媒體空間中。

容我簡單回顧一下1992年的三種敘事類型：挑戰、征服、加冕。要涵括今日社會的「表達性事件」，我會加上兩個附屬類型，第一個與「抹黑」有關，如凱里(James Carey)所言的排斥、羞辱和革除；第二個則是「確認」，如真相與和解。抹黑主導了本世紀早年的事件，這可能是因為事件本身被視為抹黑(如Daniel Pearl被斬首)，或因為「脫軌」和「衝突」後，事件變成「抹黑」。

**QC:** 在您1992年著作中，有關媒體事件的主要實證參考是衛星電視。近年，更多的衛星節目來自拉丁美洲(如telenovelas肥皂劇)、中東(如半島電視台)、南亞(如Zee TV)和東亞(如CCTV國際)。

瑟蘇 (Daya Thussu) 認為這種新形式是建基於「地理語言區」。從全球角度而言，衛星電視是否變成一種瓦解的力量？抑或您始終認為衛星電視是融合全球社會最包容和有效的工具？

**DD:** 卡茨和我有一個經常被忽視的觀點：媒體事件確有達致國際整合的野心，但它在實際中是否成功，則是另外一回事。很多事件以全球作構想，但實際成功卻僅限於某些「國族社群」(communities of nations)。有些國家選擇去共享某一慶典，但其他國家可能只將該慶典降格作簡單新聞處理。換言之，即使在從前，媒體事件也有內外之分。

我同意瑟蘇所言「地理語言區」對新興衛星電視的重要。而且，由於我認為科技本身並沒有內在的意識形態，所以衛星電視變成一種瓦解的力量並不稀奇。這可能會發生在挑戰或革除的情況，甚至乎不在這些情況下：現在，同一事件可以既是慶典式媒介事件，同時也可是哀悼性媒介事件。

## 科技、中國和新的公共模式

**QC:** 互聯網和流動電話在社會無孔不入，傳播環境在過去十年轉變良多。這些新興的傳播模式如何影響你對媒體事件的看法？我們應該用哪些理論及方法學的工具，以分析虛擬世界裏的歷史時刻和集體記憶？

**DD:** 我剛剛為此寫了一篇題為「分享和展示」的論文，並將會刊登於2009年秋季的《美國政治與社會科學院學刊》(*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*)。文章是關於一種公共模式，這種模式可以說和電視同體，牢牢繫於中心。但是這種模式漸漸為另一新的公共模式取代，這是因為中央和邊緣的界線已為新的媒體所模糊。

博客和一些網頁便屬於後者，它們反過來跟主流媒體、有「中央和邊緣」之分的媒體、想像集體的媒體進行對話。博客作者

往往打亂中央電視對集體的想像，勇於挑戰官方壟斷的形象。他們清楚表明大眾也可以是表演者，大眾也可以是自己形象的創始人。比如撒達姆之死，有官方的處決潔本，同時也有流動電話兼網絡的形象幻滅版本。新公共空間的特徵便是散佈各式各樣互相對抗的、不協調的影像。

不過，有趣的不僅是新媒體的主動和喧嚷，與舊媒體的大異其趣，而且兩種表現更有分工之勢。舊媒體展現事件，新媒體作回應。回應中央媒體(包括如媒體事件試圖製造大規模共識的極端情況)，新媒體往往尋求自己的接收空間、回應空間。換言之，新媒體的角色似乎站在公眾一邊。

**QC:** 您跟普賴斯(Monroe Price)編輯的新書《擁有奧運》在北京奧運前出版。如今觀察過今次奧運，不只在北京，甚至世界各地發生的事件，比如2008年4月的聖火在巴黎傳遞的情況，您認為2008年奧運是特別的媒體事件嗎？如不，原因何在？

**DD:** 我們特地選擇奧運前出版此書，因為我們願意冒險：到運動會來臨，我們是對是錯便會揭盅。事實我們是對的(起碼我如此認為)。整個北京奧運不論前、中、後發生的事件，都屬於「幻想破滅、脫軌和衝突」。歐洲群眾**幻想破滅**，認為奧運純粹是政治事件；事件**脫軌**了，由慶祝中國變成抹黑其在西藏的行動；而有關方面千方百計要做到的正是預防**衝突**的發生。雖然參賽選手仍在爭勝和落敗，但是他們的表現幾乎反而變得次要了。

至於聖火傳遞，我親眼目睹事件**脫軌**的情況，先是在倫敦博物館附近，然後是歐洲之星火車內，站滿示威者和官員，最後在巴黎。

## 跨學科取向和個人學術經驗

**QC:** 您的學術訓練是屬於跨學科性質，包括人類學、比較文學、符號語言學、美學和電影研究。這是法國學者，起碼是您這一代人的

典型道路嗎？呼籲跨學科研究幾近成為陳腔濫調，您認為傳播研究是否已經屬於跨學科？

**DD:** 不，這不是法國學者典型的道路，只不過是我事事好奇。我在1968年是博士生，當年的法國大學很死板，你很早便要選擇專科，除非是特別的精英班，你可以同時修讀哲學、歷史、文學、拉丁文和語文的學士課程。我在亨利四世中學讀過這類課程，但它只有古典學科，而我對電影、人類學，以及其後的符號語言學均有濃厚興趣。

因此我除了在索邦大學讀書，也在高等社會科學研究院取得學位。該院聚集了一班特立獨行的教授。人類學是於巴黎人類博物館的地庫講授，導師全部赫赫有名：李維史陀(Claude Levi-Strauss)、巴斯替德(Roger Bastide)、勒華古杭(Leroi-Gourhan)、梅彌(Albert Memmi)和讓·魯什(Jean Rouch)。同時，羅蘭·巴特(Roland Barthes)正為文學研究引入全新的研究取向。這群迥然不同的學者有一共通點(除了民族精神學家巴斯替德)，他們全都研究影像。我因此為自己找出一條較系統的治學之路。

真正跨學科的時刻其實是和卡茨合作時間始的，面對如此優秀的實踐者，我才發現以社會學研究電視的潛力無窮，但我對社會學的認識卻如此有限。我於是奮起直追。我相信影響是互相的，卡茨初初為敘事邏輯的取向所吸引(所以才有「挑戰、征服、加冕」)，然後則對符號語言學有興趣。這或許因此令他後來對其「媒介效果」研究進行修正，轉而採取媒介接受理論(reception theory)的取向，所以後來才有《意義的輸出》。

當我和卡茨互相學習對方的概念工具時，人類學其實提供了一種共同語言。大概正是因此，《媒體事件》一書才會如此強調李維史陀和維克托·特納(Victor Turner)。

**QC:** 對華人知識界而言，羅蘭·巴特是二十世紀最具影響力的歐洲理論家之一。您和他曾經一起工作，當時情形是怎樣？您在做什麼？這些經驗對您的學術發展有影響嗎？

**DD:** 大致上我和羅蘭·巴特的交往有三個層次，其一是朋友，因為我們都曾在同一療養院治療肺病。當時的病友還包括加繆(Camus)，因而有同病相憐之感。其二，1966年他是我的論文導師。其三，1967至1968年，他則是我的上司。他聘請我於國家科學研究中心當助理。當時他和社會學家埃德加·莫蘭(Edgar Morin)一起工作。

巴特是值得尊敬的朋友，他明白我對索邦教學的不滿，因此給我文章閱讀，又不時給我早期的論文下評語。

他也是慷慨的上司，即使我們並非常意見一致。我的研究助理工作涉及實地考察街頭對話的結構。為了記錄韻律變化多端的對話，我倚靠歐文·戈夫曼(Erwin Goffman)的方法，然而巴特對戈夫曼興趣不大(但後來我認識戈夫曼，他對巴特則十分有興趣)。

巴特卻是個不好應付的論文導師。因為他正正挑戰論文的理念，稱其為一種「非作者」(unwriterly)的類型。他自己更拒絕呈交畢業論文(該論文後來成為《時尚的論述》)。

其實巴特的角色是要顛覆，所以他不能把自己放在權威的位置。他對我的影響並非來自論文的評語，而是他的文章。而且對我影響最大的倒不是他的名著《神話學》或其他關於語言環境的文本(此類文章大大運用了「猜疑的詮釋學」[hermeneutics of suspicion])。真正對我至今仍有影響的主要著作其實是：一、《S/Z》；二、《歷史的論述》(這引發我對J. L. Austin的興趣)；三、《事件的書寫》。後者以1968年學生運動為題材，對《媒體事件》影響深遠，而「表達性事件」的概念亦因此而起。

最後一點，我曾修讀電影研究，巴特曾有一陣子是戲劇總監。如果要攀附上來，巴特曾和布萊希特(Brecht)一同學習，而布萊希特曾與班哲明共事。如此說來，巴特影響我的東西，恐怕大部分來自班哲明。



## 戴揚著作選

- Dayan, D., & Katz, E. (1992). *Media events: The live broadcasting of history*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dayan, D. (2006). *La terreur spectacle: Terrorisme et télévision*. Paris: INA De Boeck.
- Dayan, D. (2008). Beyond media events: Disenchantment, derailment, disruption. In M. Price & D. Dayan (Eds). *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China* (pp. 391–402). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

ACADEMIC DIALOGUE WITH PROF. DANIEL DAYAN

## **Media Event as a Concept and its Evolution\***

**QC:** Jack Linchuan Qiu & Joseph Man Chan

**DD:** Prof. Daniel Dayan

### The intellectual origins and evolution of “media events”

**QC:** Your 1992 book *Media Events* co-authored with Elihu Katz is very influential among Chinese communication scholars, especially after the publication of the book’s Chinese version in 2000. Could you tell us about the context of that book? How did the two of you conceive it initially after Anwar Sadat’s journey to Jerusalem in 1977? What led to the idea of “the live broadcasting of history”?

**DD:** The book started as an exploration of a new form of diplomacy, the type of media-diplomacy illustrated by Sadat’s trip to Jerusalem. Elihu Katz challenged me at the time to show what semiotics could do, by proposing a day-by-day analysis of Sadat’s performance. This chronicle led to a much larger project to which each of us brought a specific agenda. In the case of Elihu Katz, Media Events were constructing new and unexpected types of reception communities, whose existence paradoxically led not to “limited,” but to “intensified,” effects.

---

\* Jack Linchuan Qiu is an assistant professor in the School of Journalism and Communication, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, where Joseph Man Chan is a professor. The latter is also the Chief Editor of the Journal.

In my own case, television was questioned within a long tradition of reflection on the writing of History, involving Benjamin's *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, Barthes's *The Discourse of History* and *The Writing of the Event*, de Certeau, Ricoeur, Hayden White, etc. Television appeared as the new performer of historiographic discourse and the new institution in charge of defining "expressive events" (see below for what I mean by "expressive events").

**QC:** We noticed in your recent work, "Beyond media events: Disenchantment, derailment, disruption" (2008), the D-words have seemed to replace the C-words of 1992, i.e., "Contest, Conquest, Coronation." Why does this happen? Is this development in your conceptualization a response to feedback you have received on *Media Events* or is it related to more general transformations in the global communication system? Is it rooted in your observations in France or maybe due to some other reasons?

**DD:** Thank you for noticing the symmetry between "Contest, Conquest, Coronation" on the one hand and "Disenchantment, Derailment, Disruption" on the other.

At first glance, one could be saying that it's a false symmetry. "Contest, conquest, coronation" are narrative formulae, subgenres within the general genre of (consensual) media events. "Disenchantment, derailment and disruption" do not concern narratives, but specific forms of organization and reception. "Disenchantment" concerns the cynical nature of contemporary publics. "Derailment" and "disruption" take place when the organization of an event becomes a matter of violence rather than an opportunity for negotiation.

Yet, you are right in your perception that beyond this technical aspect, the three C's and the three D's correspond to two distinct models of media events. In the first case the model speaks of integration and consensus. In the second case, the model actively promotes not only dissent but "schismogenesis."

Switching from one model to the other model was not merely a matter of acknowledging dimensions of media events that had been overlooked in the 1992 book. Rather than agreeing that consensual media events never existed (except in the mind of Durkheimian

sociologists), I believe that they did exist. Yet there has been a historical evolution of the genre. Media events in 2009 are no longer what they used to be in the eighties or nineties.

In fact, studying terrorist events (see my 2006 book, *La Terreur Spectacle*) led me to develop a notion much wider than that of media events: the notion of “expressive events.” Expressive events may be either consensual or dissensual depending on the case. This means that media events corresponding to the 1992 model have not altogether disappeared (as evidenced by Obama’s inauguration) but that they share the media event space with other sorts of events.

Let me briefly return to the three narrative forms we introduced in 1992: *Contest, conquest, coronation*. To account for the full range of today’s “expressive events,” I would add two subgenres to that list. The first concerns events that perform “stigmatization” (like the rituals of exclusion, humiliation or excommunication discussed by James Carey). The second consists of events that achieve “recognition” (such as many “truth and reconciliation” rituals). Events of stigmatization have tended to dominate the early years of this century, either because they were directly conceived as such (e.g., the beheading of Daniel Pearl) or because they became *stigmatizations* following “derailment” or “disruption.”

**QC:** In the 1992 book, your main empirical reference for media events was satellite TV. In recent years, more satellite TV programs are originating from Latin America (e.g. telenovelas), the Middle East (e.g. Al Jazeera), South Asia (e.g. Zee TV), and the Asian Pacific (e.g. CCTV International). Daya Thussu contends that these new patterns are based on “geo-linguistic regions.” Does this mean, globally speaking, satellite TV is also becoming a disintegrating force? Or, do you think it is still the most inclusive and most powerful tool for worldwide social integration?

**DD:** There is a point made by Elihu Katz and me, which was not really picked up by commentators. It contrasted the international integrative ambitions of media events to their actual success. The ambitions of many events were global, but in fact they often succeeded in enlisting no more than mere “communities of nations.” Some nations do elect to share a given celebration, whereas other nations have demoted the

very same celebration to a brief treatment in the news. In other terms, media events, already then, involved an inside and an outside.

I would agree with Daya Thussu on the importance of “geo-linguistic” regions for the new players of satellite TV. And, since I believe that technology does not come equipped with a built-in ideology, I do not see why satellite TV would not become a disintegrating force. It could be so in the case of rituals of challenge or excommunication, but even in their absence: today, the very same events can lend themselves to celebratory media events and to rituals of mourning.

## Technology, China, and a new model of publicness

**QC:** Marked by the proliferation of the Internet and mobile phone, the communication environment has been transformed in the last decade. How do these new means of communication contribute to your recent thinking on media events? What are the theoretical and methodological tools that we should consider in analyzing historical moments and collective memory that are taking shape in cyberspace?

**DD:** I just wrote an essay on this subject entitled “Sharing and Showing,” which will appear in the fall 2009 issue of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The essay is about a certain model of publicness, which is consubstantial with a type of television firmly anchored in the center. This model is losing ground to another model of publicness, made possible by media that blur distinctions between centers and peripheries.

Enacting the latter model, certain blogs or websites adopt a role that consists in talking back to the major media, to the media of “center and periphery,” to the media of the imagination of the collective. Bloggers tend to disrupt the role of central television in the imagination of the collective by daring to challenge the monopoly of official images. They make clear that members of the public can be performers as well; that members of the public can be the initiators of their own images. Think of the double death of Saddam Hussein, of the official sanitized version of his execution, and of its

infamous cellphone-cum-web-site, version. What characterizes the new public sphere is this proliferation of antagonistic demonstrations of discordant images.

Yet, what is interesting about the role adopted by the new media goes beyond the conflictual relationship between their active, vociferous performance and the prior performance it talks back to. It is the simple fact that a division of labor has been established between performances that come first and performances that respond to them. In regard to the media of the center (and to their extreme form: media events) the role which the new media have invented for themselves most often consists in settling for the space of reception, the space of response. In other words, the new media seem to have adopted a role which is that of Publics.

**QC:** The new book you co-edited with Monroe Price, *Owning the Olympics*, was published before Beijing Olympics. After observing the actual unfolding of events, not only in Beijing but also elsewhere and before the games — such as the international Torch Relay that included the confrontation in Paris in April 2008 — do you think the 2008 Olympics is an exceptional “media event”? If so, how? If not, why?

**DD:** We did choose to publish the book before the Olympics because we liked the idea of taking risks: we ran the risk of being proved right or wrong by the turn of events. In fact we were — I believe — proved right. The whole story of the Beijing Games, before, during, and after the actual competitions, was one of *disenchantment, derailment and disruption*. *Disenchantment* of the European crowds, who saw the Olympics as a purely political event. *Derailments* of the events, involved turning what was meant as a celebration of China into the stigmatization of its role in Tibet. Extraordinary measures were taken against the possibility of *Disruption*. In the middle of all this, athletes were still winning and losing, but their performances had become almost secondary.

Concerning the torch relay, I was able to watch the unfolding of *derailment* attempts first hand, first in London near the British Museum, then in the Eurostar train, which was full of both officials and protesters, and finally in Paris.

## Interdisciplinary approaches and personal intellectual experience

**QC:** We noticed that your academic training is very interdisciplinary, including anthropology, comparative literature, semiotics, aesthetics, and film studies. Is this a typical path for French scholars, at least those of your generation? We hear the call for interdisciplinary research so often that it has almost become cliché. Is communication research already interdisciplinary enough?

**DD:** No, it is not a typical path for French scholars. It probably speaks of my own curiosity.

I was a Ph.D. candidate in 1968. Before 1968, French universities were extraordinarily rigid. You had to choose your specialty very early, except in specific elite programs where you could be simultaneously trained at B.A. level in many disciplines (philosophy, history, literature, Latin, languages). I attended such a program at Lycée Henri IV, but it concerned only classical disciplines. Yet I was immensely interested in cinema, in anthropology, and later in semiotics.

This is why, besides studying at Sorbonne I also took degrees at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, which regrouped a number of maverick professors. Anthropology was taught in the basement of Musée de l'Homme in Paris by an extraordinary group of teachers: Claude Levi-Strauss, Roger Bastide, Leroi-Gourhan, Albert Memmi, Jean Rouch. At the same time, Roland Barthes was introducing totally new approaches to literary studies. This very diverse group of teachers had one thing in common: except perhaps for Bastide (an ethnopsychiatrist), all of them studied images. In a way I had invented for myself a coherent curriculum.

The truly interdisciplinary moment came when I started working with Elihu Katz. In front of such a brilliant practitioner, I realized the enormous potential of a sociological approach to television, and how little sociology I knew. I have tried to make up for my ignorance since. I believe that the game of influence was reciprocal. Elihu Katz was first seduced by narratologic approaches (hence “contest, conquest, coronation”), and then, by semiotics in general. This is

perhaps what led him to reformulate his “effects” approach in terms of reception theory (see, for example, his *The Export of Meaning*).

Interestingly, while Elihu Katz and I were learning to use each other’s conceptual tools, anthropology offered a common language. This is perhaps why Claude Levi-Strauss and Victor Turner are so prominently present in *Media Events*.

**QC:** Among Chinese intellectuals, Roland Barthes is among the most influential European theorists of the twentieth century. Could you also tell us a little about your work experience with him? What did you do at the time? Does it help shape your scholarship?

**DD:** I had roughly three different experiences with Roland Barthes. First, and for a few years, he was a friend. (We had been treated for a lung disease in the same sanatorium, and there was a feeling of solidarity between former inmates, who included also Camus). Then, in 1966 he became my dissertation adviser and for one year (1967–68) he was my boss (He hired me as an assistant at CNRS where he worked at the time with sociologist Edgar Morin).

As a friend, Barthes was wonderfully respectful. He understood why I was dissatisfied with the teachings offered in Sorbonne, and he helped me by giving me texts to read and by commenting on my early papers.

As a boss, he was also quite generous. But we did not always agree. My job as his research assistant consisted in doing field work on the structure of street conversations. In order to record conversations that were often polyphonic, I relied on Erwin Goffman. Barthes turned out not to be interested in Goffman (while Goffman, whom I met much later, expressed a vivid interest in Barthes).

As a dissertation adviser, Barthes was quite difficult, because he challenged the very notion of a dissertation ( an “unwriterly” genre). He himself had refused to submit his own dissertation (which became the *Discourse of Fashion*).

In a way, Barthes’ role was to subvert, and he could not bring himself to a position of invested authority. This is why Barthes’ major influence on my work did not come from his advice, but from his writings. Rather than *Mythologies* or the texts on connotation, heavily indebted to a “hermeneutics of suspicion,” the major texts by



which I am influenced to this day are: (1) *S/Z*; (2) *The Discourse of History* (that started my interest in J. L. Austin), and (3) *The Writing of the Event*, a seminal text about the student revolts of 1968, which has direct implications for *Media Events*, and on the notion of “expressive events.”

A last point: I studied film and cinema. Barthes was a theater director for a while. If I play the game of filiations, I find it interesting that Barthes studied with Brecht, who once worked with Benjamin himself. Thus, what influenced me most in Barthes, had probably a lot to do with Walter Benjamin.

## Selected Works by Daniel Dayan

Please refer to the end of the Chinese version of the dialogue for Daniel Dayan’s selected works.