



# **Les médias au pouvoir? Étude de la médiatisation de l'administration publique québécoise**

**Mémoire**

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# Résumé

Constitué de deux articles, ce mémoire de maîtrise explore, opérationnalise et mesure le concept de médiatisation dans le contexte de l'administration publique. Dans un premier temps, une revue de la portée de la littérature est déployée afin de souligner les sujets dominants abordés dans la littérature sur la médiatisation du politique, d'identifier des lacunes dans le champ de recherche, ainsi que de mieux comprendre comment les études sur la médiatisation s'insèrent dans la littérature plus large sur la communication politique. Le processus d'examen de la portée indique que : (1) Les études analysant la médiatisation se concentrent davantage sur les acteurs et les institutions politiques. La jonction entre médiatisation politique et administration publique est rarement étudiée ; (2) Les approches utilisées pour étudier la médiatisation de la politique sont principalement qualitatives ; (3) La médiatisation de l'administration publique a été analysée que de manière quantitative essentiellement dans des contextes européens. (4) Les indicateurs utilisés pour mesurer le degré de médiatisation dans l'administration publique diffèrent considérablement entre les recherches.

La seconde partie de ce mémoire s'insère précisément dans ces manques définis en opérationnalisant le concept de médiatisation de l'administration publique et en évaluant son évolution dans la fonction publique à l'aide du cas des ministères québécois de 2003 à 2017. Cette partie vise à répondre à la question spécifique suivante : *Quel est l'évolution du degré de médiatisation au sein des ministères de l'administration publique québécoise ?* Une analyse de contenu automatisée avec apprentissage machine est déployée pour analyser un grand nombre de documents administratifs stratégiques. Deux évaluations de la médiatisation sont comparées : une mesure catégorielle et une mesure de la saillance. Les résultats montrent que l'agrégation de neuf indicateurs, mesurant le concept latent de la médiatisation de l'administration publique, permet de mesurer le concept de manière fiable. Appliquée au cas du Québec, la mesure montre une augmentation du niveau de médiatisation dans tous les ministères. Les résultats permettent de formuler des questionnement concernant l'opérationnalisation de la médiatisation de l'administration publique. L'analyse montre également que la saillance apparaît comme une mesure fiable des données de l'administration publique.

# Abstract

Consisting of two academic papers, this Master’s thesis explores, operationalizes and measures the concept of mediatization in the context of public administration. As a first step, a scoping review of the literature is deployed to highlight the main topics discussed in the literature on the mediatization of politics, to identify gaps in the field, as well as to better understand how studies on mediatization align with the broader literature on political communication. The scoping process indicates that: (1) Studies investigating the association of the political sphere and the news media logics constitute the majority of studies on mediatization while the influence of media logic on the public administration is few studied; (2) Approaches used to study mediatization of politics are mostly qualitative; (3) Mediatization of public administration has been quantitatively analyzed in an essentially European setting; and (4) Indicators used to measure the degree of mediatization are still greatly heterogeneous between studies.

The second part of the thesis fits precisely into these gaps defined by operationalizing the concept of mediatization of public administration and evaluating its evolution in the public service using the case of Quebec’s ministries from 2003 to 2017. This paper aims to answer the following research question: *What is the evolution in the degree of mediatization among Quebec’s Ministries ?* An automated content analysis with machine learning is deployed to analyze a large body of strategic administrative documents. Two evaluations of mediatization are compared :a categorical measure and a measure of salience. The results show that the aggregation of nine indicators—all of which measure the mediatization of public administration—makes it possible to measure the concept reliably. Applied to the case of Quebec, the measure shows an increase in the level of mediatization in all ministries. The results make it possible to formulate questions regarding the operationalization of the mediatization of public administration. The analysis also shows that salience appears to be a reliable measure for data from the public administration.

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# Avant-propos

Ce mémoire de maîtrise intègre deux articles scientifiques rédigés en anglais dont, en date du dépôt initial, le premier a été soumis à une revue scientifique avec un processus de révision par les pairs.

Le premier article est titré *The Mediatization of Public Administration : A Scoping Review*. Le 16 octobre 2019, cet article a été soumis au *Canadian Journal of Media Studies* dans une version identique à celle soumise à la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales.

Le second article, *Media in Power ? An Operationalization and Measurement of the Mediatization of Public Administration*, n'a pas été soumis au moment du dépôt initial.

Pour les deux articles intégrés au mémoire, je suis la seule auteure. Les articles ont été ou seront soumis avec le statut d'un seul auteur, puisque j'ai réalisé entièrement la cueillette des données, leur analyse et la rédaction. L'apport indispensable de mes directeurs de recherche, Thierry Giasson et Yannick Dufresne, a permis de m'aiguiller et m'appuyer dans toutes ces étapes.



# Introduction

Bien qu'ils aient été remis en question auparavant, les effets structureaux de la médiatisation du politique sont aujourd'hui reconnus et les décideurs ont dû s'ajuster à cette réalité (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Brown & Deegan, 1998). Le concept de médiatisation du politique est couramment mobilisé en communication politique afin d'expliquer les effets des médias sur la sphère politique (Strömbäck, 2011; Entman, 2007). La médiatisation du politique dénote des problématiques ou des conséquences concomitantes avec le développement des médias de masse modernes (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). L'avènement d'Internet, entraînant l'hybridation des systèmes de communication ainsi que l'instantanéité des échanges, est central dans ce concept.

L'état du savoir révèle que le concept de médiatisation dans la sphère de l'administration publique est appréhendé de manière divergente dans le champ de recherche sur la médiatisation et il a eu peu d'efforts déployés à l'opérationnaliser. Ce projet de mémoire vise à cartographier l'état des connaissances sur la médiatisation du politique ainsi qu'à décrire empiriquement le degré de médiatisation l'administration publique québécoise.

Cette recherche prend la forme d'un mémoire par article où le concept de médiatisation de l'administration publique est central. Chacun des deux articles comprend sa propre approche méthodologique et ses contributions particulières. Ce format du mémoire par article semble le plus approprié pour structurer l'analyse du concept central sous deux angles. Le premier article présente une étude exploratoire du concept de médiatisation du politique. En utilisant la méthode de la revue de la portée (*scoping review*), cette section dresse un portrait des écrits académiques sur la médiatisation du politique. Cette section du mémoire vise à souligner les consensus dans la littérature sur le concept, à identifier les lacunes dans le champ de recherche, ainsi qu'à arrimer plus largement les études sur la médiatisation du politique dans la littérature sur la communication politique. Le deuxième article est basé sur les conclusions de l'étude de la portée de la littérature sur la médiatisation du politique. Cette section vise à développer une mesure quantitative du degré de médiatisation de l'administration publique québécoise. Pour ce faire, une analyse de contenu automatisée par apprentissage machine (*machine learning*) est déployée pour le codage des données. Ce mémoire a pour objectif de produire une inférence descriptive de l'évolution du degré de médiatisation de la fonction publique en utilisant le cas

des ministères québécois.

## 0.1 Cadre théorique

### 0.1.1 La médiatisation du politique : définitions conceptuelles

La communication politique représente un large champ de recherche à mi-chemin entre les sphères de la communication et de la science politique. Elle réfère au rôle que joue la communication dans le processus politique (Chaffee, 1975). L'étude de la médiatisation de la politique est un des sous-champs de la communication politique. La littérature sur la médiatisation du politique utilise ses propres termes pour décrire le concept de l'influence de la logique médiatique sur les institutions. Le champ de recherche semble restreint alors que les auteurs sont peu nombreux à utiliser le terme de « médiatisation du politique ». Le *scoping review* permet d'identifier les termes et concepts les plus mobilisés dans la production scientifique qui y est consacrée et permet d'observer si ce concept peut être arrimé plus largement à d'autres sous-champs de la communication politique.

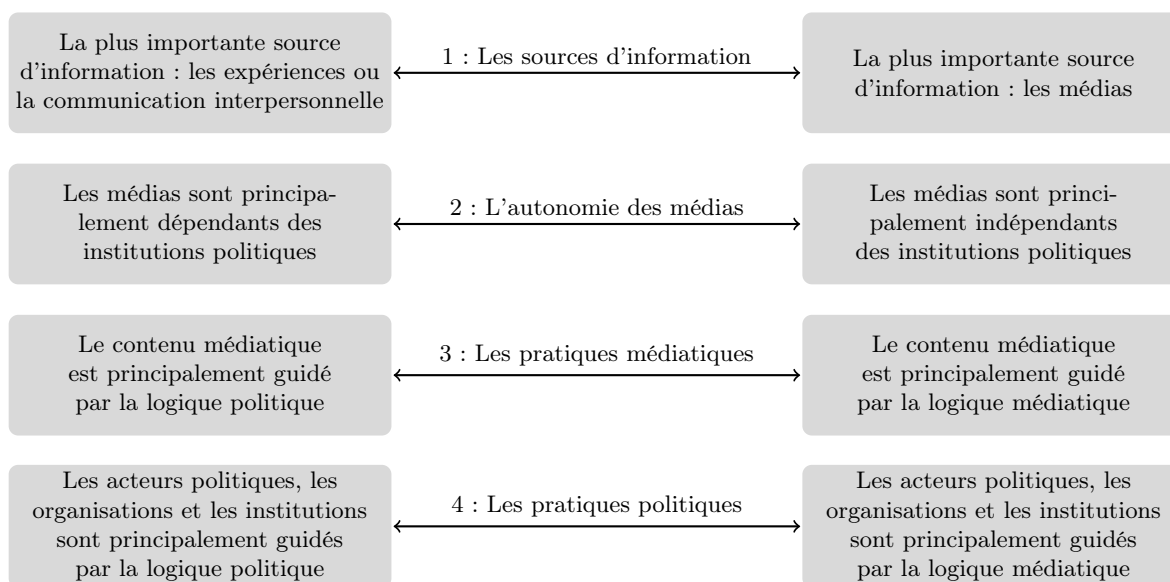
Mazzoleni & Schulz (1999: p.249), dont l'article est largement cité dans la discipline, indique que le concept de médiatisation est associé à des problématiques ou des conséquences concomitantes avec le développement des médias de masse modernes. La médiatisation peut être comprise comme étant un concept intrinsèquement orienté sur les processus (Strömbäck, 2008). Les processus menant au renforcement et à l'expansion de la culture médiatique (Jansson, 2002) sont les objets centraux du champ de recherche.

Le concept de médiatisation du politique est défini comme étant un processus à long-terme menant à une augmentation de l'influence et de l'importance des médias sur la sphère politique (Hjarvard, 2008). Ainsi, le concept réfère à toutes les activités et les processus politiques qui sont altérés, façonnés ou structurés par les médias d'information. La médiatisation du politique fait également référence aux besoins perçus des individus, organisations et systèmes sociaux de communiquer avec ou par les médias (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014). Lors d'une médiatisation du politique, les médias représentent, en outre, la plus grande source d'information et le principal canal de communication entre les gouvernants et les gouvernés (Bennett & Entman, 2001; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Blumler et al., 1999).

Une différenciation est établie avec le terme de « médiation », également utilisé dans le champ de recherche, mais faisant plutôt référence à une signification neutre de tout acte d'intervention, de transmission ou de réconciliation entre différents acteurs, collectivités ou institutions (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999: p.249). Dans un cas de médiation, les médias sont plutôt considérés comme des intermédiaires transmettant un message entre un communicateur et une audience. Ainsi, dans une situation de médiation de la politique, les médias représentent la plus importante source d'information ainsi que le principal véhicule d'information entre les gouvernants

et les gouvernés (Bennett & Entman, 2001). Blumler et al. (1999) présentent les relations entre les médias et les producteurs de messages selon trois périodes de développement historique de la communication politique. Ces trois âges représentent la transition de la médiation à la médiatisation. Dans le premier âge, la sphère politique est moins influencée par les médias qui tiennent davantage un rôle de transmetteur de l'information. Le deuxième âge de la communication politique se caractérise par une volonté de la classe politique d'accroître sa visibilité dans les médias, ce qui les pousse à mettre en place des stratégies de communication. Le troisième âge est celui de la médiatisation du politique. La prolifération des moyens de communication ainsi que l'abondance et l'omniprésence des médias poussent la sphère politique à adapter ses pratiques et activités au fonctionnement des médias (Blumler et al., 1999). Le concept de « médiatisation » est plus pertinent à cette analyse puisque le degré d'influence des médias sur des acteurs et des institutions est observé. Le concept se décline ensuite en quatre dimensions.

FIGURE 0.1.1 – Conceptualisation des quatre dimensions de la médiatisation du politique



Note : Graphique tiré de Strömbäck (2008: p.235)

Les quatre dimensions de la médiatisation du politique (voir *Figure 1.2.3*) ont été développées par Strömbäck (2008) et sont, depuis, utilisées pour catégoriser les types d'études analysant les effets des médias sur la politique. La première dimension de la médiatisation du politique représente le degré auquel les médias constituent la *plus importante source d'information* sur la politique et la société ainsi que le plus important canal de communication des gouvernants vers les gouvernés. Le deuxième aspect de la médiatisation du politique est le degré d'*indépendance* des médias, en termes de gouvernance, par rapport aux institutions et aux acteurs politiques. La troisième dimension représente la proportion du *contenu médiatique* et est guidée selon

une logique médiatique par rapport à une logique politique. Enfin, la quatrième dimension de la médiatisation du politique représente le niveau d'adhésion des *acteurs et des institutions politiques* aux logiques médiatiques (Strömbäck, 2008: p.234).

Deux concepts sont centraux dans la schématisation de la médiatisation politique : la logique politique et la logique médiatique. Le terme « logique » fait référence aux règles formelles et informelles, aux routines ainsi qu'aux principes de raisonnements et d'actions au sein d'une entité (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014: p.14).

La logique politique est décrite comme étant une prise de décision politique et une mise en oeuvre dans un processus institutionnel, collectif et faisant autorité. Lasswell (1950) décrit cette logique comme visant ultimement l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre de politiques dans un objectif de réélection. Concrètement, la logique politique « *includes the processes of winning public support and elections, of distributing political power, of deliberation, bargaining and decision-making, of implementing political decisions and of power as it relates to "who gets what, when, and how"* » (Lasswell, 1950: p.67). Cette logique peut être catégorisée en trois dimensions : 1) les processus de règles et de régulations du système politique ; 2) les processus de définition de problème, ainsi que d'élaboration et de mise en oeuvre des politiques publiques ; et 3) les processus d'obtention d'appuis pour un candidature individuelle, un parti ou un programme politique (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014).

La logique médiatique représente un processus de production de l'information, comprenant un procédé de sélection et un format, menant les institutions à une manière particulière d'interpréter la société et ses enjeux (Mazzoleni, 2008). Ainsi, les différents types d'organisations médiatiques partagent des similarités en termes de pratiques, règles, routines, normes et valeurs (Cook, 1998; Hjarvard, 2008; Sparrow, 1999). Ces règles et procédures peuvent être formelles ou informelles et sont « *often understood as the quasinnatural way to get things done* » (Cook, 1998: p.71) dans la sphère médiatique.

Puisque ce mémoire vise à analyser la médiatisation des institutions de la fonction publique, la logique administrative est introduite à la schématisation. La logique administrative renvoie à l'encadrement organisationnel clair et aux règles formelles qui dérivent de lois et de processus de régulations. Les règles explicitées particulières à une ou à plusieurs institutions (Rhodes, 2000) ainsi que les normes organisationnelles formelles ou informelles sont incluses dans cette logique. Par exemple, le code d'éthique réfère à une norme formelle, tandis que la culture organisationnelle représente une norme informelle.

Ces trois logiques guident, de manière plus ou moins importante, le fonctionnement et les pratiques dans l'administration publique. Aussi, la fonction publique est décrite comme étant médiatisée lorsque la logique médiatique prend une place prépondérante et devient intégrante dans la structure et le fonctionnement institutionnel comparativement aux logiques politiques et administratives.

Le terme « administration publique » est une expression générique référant à l'entièreté des activités impliquées dans l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre des politiques publiques (Graham Jr & Hays, 1993). L'administration publique englobe donc la production des biens et services créés par l'État dans le but de servir les besoins des citoyens. La fonction publique<sup>1</sup> n'est alors pas essentiellement instrumentale. Les décisions et actions du secteur public sont impliquées dans le processus décisionnel du gouvernement. Cependant, comme le définit Wilson (1887: p.10), le concept d'administration publique réside en dehors de la sphère politique à proprement parler : « *Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices.* » (Wilson, 1887: p.10)

### 0.1.2 Contexte québécois

Le cas du Québec présente une série de caractéristiques qui le rendent particulièrement pertinent pour mieux comprendre comment la médiatisation transforme l'administration publique. Initialement, l'administration publique québécoise adoptait un modèle aux caractéristiques keynésiennes, interventionnistes, bureaucratiques et centralisées (Hamel & Jouve, 2006). Ce modèle de gestion publique centré sur l'État s'est vu critiqué par les politiciens et la société civile à partir des années 1970. Notamment, la trop grande influence des fonctionnaires sur la formulation et l'implantation des politiques publiques, le caractère impersonnel des services publics, l'aliénation des fonctionnaires ainsi qu'un questionnement sur la réelle efficacité de l'administration ont été critiqués (Roberge, 2012).

En 2001, le gouvernement de Bernard Landry met sur pied le Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale. La création de cette institution s'inscrit dans une approche de centralisation de la communication du gouvernement québécois. Cette entité du ministère du Conseil exécutif veille à la cohérence de la communication des informations gouvernementales (Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale, n.d.) et, particulièrement, à la centralisation de la publicité. En 2003, le gouvernement libéral de Jean Charest initie une importante réforme de l'administration publique. Sous l'appellation de « réingénierie de l'État », ces transformations dans la structure, les missions et le fonctionnement de l'appareil étatique s'inscrivent dans le courant du nouveau management public (Fortier, 2010). Cette réforme est considérée comme faisant partie des grands travaux de restructuration de l'appareil public dans le cadre de l'instauration du nouveau management public (NMP) (Fortier, 2010; Hamel & Jouve, 2006; Dion, 1986). La communication prend alors une importance accrue dans l'optique de développer des interactions avec les citoyens centrées sur la dimension individuelle (Fortier, 2010). En 2004, le Centre de services partagés du Québec est créé dans le but d'offrir des économies d'échelles pour les organismes gouvernementaux, notamment en termes de ressources informationnelles et de moyens de communication (Centre de services partagés du Québec, n.d.). L'étude de Oui-met et al. (2010) reposant sur un sondage de 1614 analystes des ministères québécois montre

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1. Terme étant utilisé comme un synonyme de l'administration publique dans cette recherche.

que la revue de presse est le document le plus souvent utilisé par les analystes avec la note de service.

Dans son analyse du cas canadien, Aucoin (2012) pose que les partis gouvernementaux font une utilisation instrumentale des ressources des services publics et de l'élaboration des politiques publiques dans l'optique de s'assurer d'un avantage sur les partis d'opposition ; qu'ils s'engagent dans une « Nouvelle gouvernance politique » (NGP). Dans ses recherches observationnelles, Aucoin (2012: p.179) observe quatre caractéristiques principales de la NGP : 1) l'intégration dans l'administration publique d'une gouvernance exécutive et des pratiques de campagne permanente ; 2) la présence du personnel politique partisan dans la fonction publique ; 3) la politisation dans la nomination des plus hauts fonctionnaires de l'État ; et 4) la présupposition, dans la culture organisationnelle, que la loyauté et le soutien du service public pour le gouvernement signifie une nécessité d'être partisan du gouvernement en place. Ces pratiques sont caractéristiques d'une centralisation de la communication. En 2006, le gouvernement de Jean Charest procède à un rapatriement des responsabilités de communication de l'État en centralisant la gestion des directions de communication des ministères et la production des messages de la fonction publique vers le Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale. Le gouvernement libéral de Philippe Couillard complète, en 2014, le rapatriement de l'ensemble des effectifs de communication au sein du Secrétariat (Prince, 2018).

Depuis les années 1990, plusieurs transformations dans les domaines technologiques et médiatiques ont marqué les institutions québécoises. Notamment, le développement des champs de la télécommunication, puis, plus récemment, celui des médias numériques ont forcé les systèmes à s'adapter (Mancini, 1999) et ont pu contribuer à une croissance du phénomène de médiatisation de l'appareil administratif.

Ainsi, les pratiques communicationnelles de l'administration publique québécoise a subi de nombreuses transformations depuis ces réformes s'inscrivant dans la lignée du Nouveau management public et de la Nouvelle gouvernance politique. Dans le cadre de ce mémoire, nous tentons d'observer si ces changements sont l'expression d'une médiatisation de la fonction publique québécoise depuis 2003, donc de l'intégration des logiques médiatiques dans les pratiques, la structure et le fonctionnement de l'administration publique.

### **0.1.3 Question de recherche et hypothèses**

Cette recherche vise trois objectifs principaux : dresser un état du savoir sur la médiatisation du politique, opérationnaliser le concept dans l'administration publique et évaluer l'évolution du degré de médiatisation dans la sphère administrative. En se penchant sur le contexte québécois, nous posons la question de recherche suivante : *Quel est l'évolution du degré de médiatisation au sein des ministères de l'administration publique québécoise ?* L'analyse comprend deux aspects centraux : l'opérationnalisation du concept de médiatisa-

tion de l'administration publique et l'observation de l'évolution du degré de médiatisation des institutions gouvernementales québécoises dans le temps. Ainsi, cette recherche vise à opérationnaliser la quatrième dimension de la conceptualisation de la médiatisation du politique décrite par Strömbäck (2008). Une meilleure connaissance de l'impact de la logique médiatique sur les pratiques de l'administration publique peut permettre de mieux comprendre l'évolution des institutions, leurs objectifs, leurs rôles et leurs défis. Cette recherche vise à analyser l'incidence des médias sur la démocratie ainsi que de contribuer à une réflexion sur les enjeux inhérents à la médiatisation au sein des sociétés démocratiques. Ce mémoire vise à relever l'évolution du degré de prise en compte des logiques médiatiques dans les entités responsables des services aux citoyens et de l'administration de l'État. Une étude approfondie de la médiatisation permet de poser un regard critique sur les enjeux soulevés par les pratiques médiatiques et administratives au Québec.

En mesurant à plusieurs niveaux l'évolution de la prise en compte des logiques médiatiques dans le fonctionnement et la structure administrative, ce mémoire tente de vérifier une hypothèse de recherche principale. L'approche longitudinale permet d'analyser l'évolution de la médiatisation dans le temps. Les diverses transformations, autant dans les structures et le fonctionnement des institutions gouvernementales, ont changé les pratiques de communications dans les entités provinciales. Ainsi, cette étude vise, dans un premier temps, à analyser ces changements dans le temps :

*Hypothèse 1 : La prise en compte de la logique médiatique dans les opérations des ministères augmente dans le temps.*

En termes de communication, la centralisation des stratégies, de la gestion et des pratiques est un indicateur clé de la « campagne permanente », où les pratiques partisans transcendent la sphère politique et influencent l'administration publique. Au Québec, des entités ont été créées afin de centraliser et de maximiser les pratiques de communication gouvernementales. Notamment, le Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale représente l'institution québécoise gérant l'ensemble de l'appareil de communication de l'administration et il relève du ministère du Conseil exécutif, le ministère du Premier ministre. Sa création, en 2006, s'inscrit dans une transformation plus vaste de la gestion de l'appareil administratif québécois. Une sous-hypothèse vise donc à analyser plus en profondeur la centralisation des stratégies, qui représente un indicateur de la médiatisation, en étudiant comment le degré de médiatisation des diverses entités a évolué suite à la mise sur pied du Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale.

*Sous-hypothèse 1.1 : La communication des institutions québécoises se centralise autour du Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale à sa création.*



Avec cette hypothèse, nous croyons que le niveau de prise en compte de la logique médiatique par le gouvernement a évolué dans ses pratiques communicationnelles et sa structure suite à la création de la nouvelle entité au sein du Ministère du Conseil exécutif. Conséquemment, la recherche vise à observer les changements au niveau structurel de la coordination et de la gestion de la communication gouvernementale.

## 0.2 L'analyse de la littérature

Afin de mener un bilan du savoir scientifique à partir d'une approche transparente et systématique, la méthode de la revue de la portée (*scoping review*) est utilisée. Cette méthode se fonde sur une analyse des travaux publiés sur la médiatisation du politique suivant les lignes directrices établies par la *Joanna Briggs Institute* (JBI) afin de créer une cartographie des écrits du champ de recherche jusqu'en 2018. La revue de la portée est définie par la JBI comme un type de revue estimant la dimension et la portée de la production scientifique sur un sujet défini (Joanna Briggs Institute, 2014: p.173). L'objectif principal de cette approche est d'identifier les différents devis de recherche utilisés dans un champ de recherche ainsi que ses lacunes. Quelques chercheurs ont publié des revues de littérature sur la médiatisation du politique permettant, entre autres, d'identifier des caractéristiques communes aux recherches sur la médiatisation (Marcinkowski, 2014). Cette section s'appuie sur une méthodologie reconnue comme rigoureuse, efficace et transparente (Joanna Briggs Institute, 2015) pour synthétiser les travaux du champ de recherche sur la médiatisation du politique en plus de produire un aperçu objectif des écrits d'une communauté complète de chercheurs. Ce *scoping review* permet également de situer plus largement la recherche dans la littérature.

Plusieurs objectifs de recherche ont mené à la sélection de la méthode du *scoping review* pour analyser la littérature.

En optant pour une approche systématique, large et transparente, l'étude de la portée permet de quantifier diverses catégories d'écrits académiques. Il est possible de dégager les consensus dans les conclusions des recherches, mais également des lacunes et des manques dans la production scientifique. Ainsi, l'étude de la portée du savoir scientifique permet de :

- Dégager une définition de la médiatisation faisant consensus ;
- Identifier les chercheurs clés dans l'étude de la médiatisation ;
- Identifier les diverses dimensions de la médiatisation ;
- Analyser la répartition des travaux académiques liés à chacune des dimensions de la médiatisation ;
- Analyser la répartition des travaux académiques selon les devis de recherches utilisés dans les analyses ;
- Repérer les divers indicateurs utilisés pour mesurer la médiatisation ;



— Repérer les différents cas analysés.

La liste complète des références extraites suite aux requêtes dans les bases de données est analysée afin de décider de l'inclusion ou de l'exclusion de chaque source dans le *scoping review*.

Les **critères d'inclusion** sont les suivants : 1) Sujet : Toutes références dont le sujet principal est relié à la médiatisation politique ou administrative ou à l'influence de la logique médiatique sur les acteurs politiques, la politique, les politiques, les fonctionnaires, l'administration, les institutions, le gouvernement ou la démocratie, et ce, dans un État démocratique ; 2) Type de document : Article, livre, thèse de doctorat et communications présentées lors de conférences ; et 3) Toutes les langues.

Les **critères d'exclusion** sont les suivants : 1) Doublons : Références doublées ; 2) Sujet : Références dont le sujet principal n'est pas lié à la médiatisation ou à la logique médiatique dans un état démocratique ; et 3) Type de documents : Articles non-publiés, articles en attente de correction ou de vérification, articles issus des médias d'information, blogs, sites web et critiques de livres.

## 0.3 L'analyse de contenu

### 0.3.1 Définitions opérationnelles et mesures

Ce mémoire de maîtrise adopte une approche hypothético-déductive. En s'inscrivant dans cette posture épistémologique, l'étude suit une démarche scientifique hypothético-déductive. L'objectif premier de cette recherche est de faire une inférence descriptive entre le temps et le degré de médiatisation des ministères québécois. L'objectif de recherche pousse à utiliser une approche longitudinale mixte afin d'observer l'évolution des structures et des pratiques communicationnelles de la fonction publique de manière empirique dans le temps.

#### **Variable indépendante : le temps**

Le processus de médiatisation dans l'administration représente la prise en compte des logiques médiatiques dans les activités et décisions de l'administration publique par rapport aux logiques politiques et administratives. Lors d'une forte médiatisation dans le secteur public, la logique médiatique prend une place prépondérante dans la structure et le fonctionnement institutionnel par rapport aux logiques politiques et administratives. Afin d'observer l'évolution de l'importance de la prise en compte de la logique médiatique dans l'administration publique, l'étude analyse différents indicateurs de la médiatisation sur une base longitudinale. Toutes les dates sont agrégées par année. Ainsi, le temps mesuré par année représente la variable indépendante. Notre recherche s'étend de 2003 à 2017 afin d'observer l'évolution du degré de ces

transformations technologiques et médiatiques ainsi que l'évolution du degré de médiatisation de l'appareil étatique dans le temps.

### **Variable dépendante : le degré de médiatisation de l'administration**

La médiatisation de la fonction publique survient lorsque les activités des organisations gouvernementales sont orientées par la logique médiatique. Ainsi, la mesure du concept latent de la médiatisation de l'administration publique est centrale. Dans les recherches ayant un volet d'analyse quantitative et portant sur la médiatisation de la fonction publique, les chercheurs utilisent différentes conceptualisation et terminologies pour étudier des concepts hautement similaires. Les résultats découlant de ces études sont pareillement dissemblables. Or, comment avoir une discussion dans la communauté scientifique sur le degré de médiatisation quand l'opérationnalisation et la mesure de ce concept ne font pas consensus? La mesure repose, elle-même, sur une théorie et les théories doivent être testées. Le *scoping review* a permis d'identifier les termes et les concepts les plus utilisés dans les écrits en communication politique, ce qui permet de clarifier les liens entre les concepts. Ce mémoire vise à intégrer ces concepts développés dans la littérature pour développer une mesure cohérente et fiable de la « médiatisation du politique » relativement à l'administration publique.

L'opérationnalisation de la médiatisation de la fonction publique représente une importante part de ce mémoire de recherche et sa contribution principale au développement des connaissances dans la discipline. Pour mesurer le concept latent de la médiatisation dans l'administration, une échelle de mesure additive est constituée avec des indicateurs (King et al., 1994) présentant la conformité à la logique médiatique dans les processus gouvernementaux.

Le processus d'opérationnalisation représente la construction d'un modèle formel à partir des observations. Le choix des indicateurs est, tout d'abord, basé sur la théorie de la médiatisation, de la campagne permanente et de la Nouvelle gouvernance politique. La construction de l'échelle additive permet de tester si la mesure établie du concept de médiatisation de la fonction publique est fiable puisque, comme l'expose Young (1984: p.60) « *measurement is theory-testing* ». Cette opérationnalisation est donc une proposition théorique et une conjecture pour représenter la réalité (King et al., 1994).

Les indicateurs empiriques utilisés pour mesurer la médiatisation du politique dans les quatre études relevées dans le processus de *scoping review* sont testés : augmentation du nombre de tâches reliées aux médias dans les emplois des fonctionnaires (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fredriksson et al., 2015), augmentation des ressources financières pour les communications (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2009), augmentation des ressources humaines en relation avec les médias (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2009), augmentation du nombre d'événements organisés pour les médias (Meyer, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2015), augmentation des plateformes de communications (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014), augmentation du nombre de communications

diffusées (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014), augmentation de la position des départements de communications dans l’organigramme organisationnel (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fredriksson et al., 2015), recours à des services externes de consultation en communication (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014), présence de formations aux interventions avec les médias (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014) et présence de veilles médiatiques (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2015)

Dans la littérature élargie sur la médiatisation, plusieurs indicateurs sont identifiés pour aborder le concept de médiatisation du politique. Un indicateur empirique pouvant être adapté pour mesurer le concept dans la fonction publique a été identifié : présence d’une politique claire de réponse aux médias (Robinson, 2001). Également, plusieurs études utilisent l’indicateur de la perception des employés et gestionnaires de l’influence des médias dans l’organisation (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Meyer, 2009; Laursen & Valentini, 2015; Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014; Salomonsen et al., 2016; Schillemans, 2016). Puisque cet indicateur doit être mesuré par sondage ou entrevue, il a été laissé de côté pour des raisons méthodologiques.

Conséquemment, onze indicateurs permettant d’observer la médiatisation de l’administration publique ont été observés dans la littérature.

### **0.3.2 Corpus étudié et stratégie de collecte des données**

Les plans stratégiques, les organigrammes organisationnels ainsi que les rapports annuels de gestion sont analysés pour les 20 ministères du gouvernement du Québec présents entre 2003 et 2017. Les communiqués de presse diffusés entre 2003 et 2017 par ces institutions sont également compilés, mais leur contenu n’est pas utilisé pour l’analyse. Les documents sont recueillis suite à des demandes d’accès à l’information présentées aux diverses institutions à l’étude ainsi qu’à la Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. Le corpus de documents administratifs représente 684 documents (voir la déclinaison des documents dans la *Table 2.1*). Les données sont étudiées de 2003 à 2017 et sont multipliées afin de « *maximizing leverage over research problems* » (Brady & Collier, 2010). Les dates de dépôt sont utilisées pour situer les documents analysés dans le temps. L’analyse observe l’évolution longitudinale des onze indicateurs ciblés dans les institutions incluses dans l’étude.

Le protocole mixte vise à produire des inférences descriptives relatives à l’évolution de la médiatisation dans les ministères du Québec. Pour attribuer des données aux indicateurs appropriés, une analyse de contenu automatisée avec une méthode d’apprentissage supervisé est utilisée.

TABLE 0.1 – Corpus de documents

Institutions	Nombre de documents		
	PS	PAG	OO
Agriculture, Pêcheries et Alimentation	3	15	15
Conseil exécutif	4	15	15
Culture et Communications	4	15	15
Économie et Innovation	4	15	15
Éducation et Enseignement supérieur	3	15	15
Énergie et Ressources naturelles	4	15	15
Environnement et Lutte contre les changements climatiques	4	15	15
Famille	5	15	15
Finances	4	15	15
Forêts, Faune et Parcs	4	15	15
Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion	5	15	15
Justice	5	15	15
Affaires municipales et Occupation du territoire	4	15	15
Relations internationales et Francophonie	4	15	15
Santé et Services sociaux	4	15	15
Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor	5	15	15
Sécurité publique	5	15	15
Tourisme	3	15	15
Transports	5	15	15
Travail, Emploi et Solidarité sociale	5	15	15
<b>Sous-Total</b>	84	300	300
<b>Total</b>	<b>684</b>		

Note :

Données collectées le 3 avril 2019.

Sources : Plans stratégiques (PS), Rapports annuels de gestion (RAG), Organigrammes organisationnels (OO)

## Méthode d'apprentissage supervisé

L'analyse de contenu est déductive, ce qui réfère à l'utilisation d'un système de codage défini *a priori* (Welbers et al., 2017). Les algorithmes développés s'inspirent de la méthode automatisée d'analyse de contenu développée par Hopkins & King (2010), dont le package est nommé *ReadMe*. Par contre, la méthode a été adaptée afin de catégoriser l'entièreté des phrases plutôt que de produire une inférence.

Deux algorithmes sont développés pour catégoriser les 337 318 phrases. Un premier algorithme identifie si une phrase fait référence à un indicateur ou non. Cette première catégorisation est dichotomique et le taux de concordance entre les corpus de formation et de test est de 85%. Un deuxième algorithme catégorise chaque phrase en fonction de sa référence à l'un des onze indicateurs mesurant la médiatisation de l'administration publique. L'approche utilisée pour les deux algorithmes est une méthode d'apprentissage supervisé ; cette méthode fait référence à l'utilisation d'algorithmes qui apprennent à attribuer des données textuelles à des catégories prédéterminées (Hopkins & King, 2010; Grimmer & Stewart, 2013).

Le package *Keras* est utilisé pour la catégorisation et est déployé dans l'environnement logiciel de calcul informatique R. *Keras* est une méthode de calcul d'apprentissage en profondeur,

faisant partie des méthodes d'apprentissage automatisé, qui utilisent des réseaux de neurones artificiels (*Tensorflow*) (Gulli & Pal, 2017). L'algorithme identifie des listes de mots fréquents dans chaque catégorie du corpus de formation.

La classification avec *Keras* implique de coder des séquences de mots (listes) significatives pour chaque catégorie. Ces listes de mots spécifiques dans un dictionnaire, appelés *integers*, sont ensuite transformées en tenseurs (matrices de plusieurs dimensions) qui conceptualisent les liens entre les mots et qui sont introduits dans un réseau de neurones. La catégorisation est basée sur un algorithme dichotomique qui génère 1 (inclus) ou 0 (exclu) pour un vecteur  $x$  de valeurs  $m$  (Gulli & Pal, 2017). La fonction peut être définie mathématiquement comme suit :

$$f(x) = \begin{cases} 1 & wx + b > 0 \\ 0 & \text{si la condition n'est pas remplie} \end{cases}$$

$wx$  est le produit scalaire de  $\sum_{j=1}^m w_j x_j$ , où  $w$  est le vecteur de poids et  $b$  est le biais Gulli & Pal (2017). Plus concrètement, si  $x$  est au dessus de la ligne droite définie par  $wx + b$ , la réponse sera positive et la phrase sera incluse.

Le codage est initialement réalisé par des individus manuellement. Cette étape permet à l'algorithme d'apprendre la catégorisation des diverses données. Pour ce faire, un échantillon de documents représentatifs du corpus est utilisé pour la formation de l'algorithme (King et al., 2013). L'échantillon de formation est sélectionné de manière aléatoire et comprend 9850 phrases, ce qui représente 3% du corpus. Dans cette étape, le processus de codage est itératif. Les règles de codage sont établies initialement, mais un processus d'aller-retour entre le guide de codage (*codebook*) et les données a lieu afin d'identifier les ambiguïtés et les imprécisions (Hillard et al., 2008; Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). L'objectif de cette étape est de créer un système de codage très précis qui pourra ensuite être appliqué à l'ensemble des données.

Les résultats de la classification sont ensuite validés en comparant le codage manuel du corpus de formation avec la catégorisation du corpus de test.

Une fois les phrases catégorisées, la mesure du degré de médiatisation des administrations publiques implique deux composantes appréhendées dans une perspective longitudinale : une analyse catégorique et une analyse quantitative de la visibilité des indicateurs. Les deux mesures sont ensuite comparées.

### Mesure catégorielle

Une analyse empirique évalue la variation de chaque indicateur au cours des années. Pour cette section de l'analyse, l'année 2003 est considérée comme année de référence pour entamer l'étude puisque plusieurs indicateurs représentent une comparaison par rapport à l'année

précédente. À partir des données comprises dans chacune des douze catégories, il est évalué si l'indicateur évolue de manière décroissante (-1), stable (0) ou croissante (1) par rapport à l'année précédente. Les résultats pour chaque indicateur sont ensuite agrégés par année et par institution. Les scores de 2004 à 2017 sont ensuite comparés entre les ministères. Une augmentation de la médiatisation de l'administration publique serait observée si le score global augmente dans le temps. Les différents scores annuels sont également comparés entre les institutions.

### **Mesure de la saillance**

La deuxième partie de l'analyse vise à déterminer si l'importance de la communication dans les rapports de gestion des départements est représentative du niveau d'attention accordé à la logique médiatique dans chaque ministère. L'évolution du score de la saillance est observée entre 2003 et 2017 afin d'évaluer dans quelle mesure les considérations face aux pratiques médiatiques prévalent dans les rapports de la fonction publique au fil du temps. Dans les études en opinion publique, plusieurs chercheurs ont démontré que la prévalence d'un enjeu dans les discours de citoyens ou dans les médias est représentative de l'importance accordée à cet enjeu dans la société (voir pour exemple : Converse, 1964; Taylor & Fiske, 1978; Zaller et al., 1992; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008; Van de Wardt et al., 2014). Cette section de l'analyse vise à observer si, comme en opinion publique, la saillance de la communication dans les rapports de gestion ministériels est représentative du niveau d'attention et de l'importance accordée par les institutions à la logique médiatique. Ainsi, le pourcentage de phrases de chaque document du corpus faisant référence à un des douze indicateurs est analysé.

Pour cette partie de l'analyse, deux indicateurs de médiatisation sont traités différemment : le nombre de communications et la position des départements de communication dans les organigrammes organisationnels. Après une analyse préliminaire du corpus de phrases, nous observons que la saillance ne permet pas de mesurer de manière significative ces indicateurs. Par exemple, le nombre de communications représente la plupart du temps une information qui n'apparaît qu'une seule fois dans les documents, même cet indicateur peut varier considérablement d'une année à l'autre. Ainsi, le nombre de communications a été directement extrait des documents et cet indicateur est mesuré en valeur absolue. L'indicateur de la position des départements de communication peut être observé dans les organigrammes, mais n'est pas exprimée textuellement dans les documents. Cet indicateur a également été exclu de la mesure de la saillance, mais est mesuré qualitativement.

### **0.3.3 L'analyse de l'échelle multidimensionnelle**

Le processus d'opérationnalisation est réalisé par la construction d'un modèle formel dérivé des observations. La sélection et l'intégration des indicateurs à la mesure de la variable de la médiatisation de l'administration publique sont basées sur la théorie de la médiatisation, des

campagnes permanentes et de la nouvelle gouvernance politique. La construction d'une échelle additive permet de vérifier si la mesure établie du concept de médiatisation de l'administration publique est fiable, car, comme exposé par Young (1984), la mesure est un test théorique. Cette opérationnalisation est donc une proposition théorique et une conjecture pour représenter la réalité (King et al., 1994).

Pour constituer la variable du degré de médiatisation du politique, une échelle de mesure multidimensionnelle est créée. L'échelle multidimensionnelle (*multidimensional scaling*) est une notion générique pour décrire une catégorie de techniques ayant pour objectif de trouver le plus faible espace dimensionnel entre différents indicateurs (Shepard, 1962). Chaque indicateur représente une mesure imparfaite d'une caractéristique de la variable latente. La similarité entre les indicateurs est représentée, dans un graphique, par la proximité spatiale entre les points (Shepard, 1962). La fonction des *least squares loss* de Kruskal (1964) est utilisée afin de minimiser les distances entre les objets en obtenant plusieurs configurations successives et en introduisant une régression de la distance entre leurs dissemblances. Cette méthode permet d'obtenir une parfaite monotonie entre les objets (Kruskal, 1964).

Le modèle d'évaluation cumulée (*summated rating model*) est utilisé afin de représenter la variabilité parmi les indicateurs pour la mesure de la variable latente (Spector, 1992). Afin de mesurer la « véritable » dimension sous-jacente de la médiatisation de l'administration publique ( $L$ ), chaque indicateur est associé avec une fonction. Cette fonction représente le tracé de chaque caractéristique de la médiatisation avec une échelle excluant cet élément, appelée *rest score*. Caractérisée en une ligne, chaque fonction est un tracé de  $E(M_j)$  où

- $j = 1, 2, \dots, k$  indicateurs ;
- $M$  est une variable ;
- $X$  est l'échelle formée à partir de la variable.

Le *rest score* peut être écrit comme  $r(j, X_j)$ . Le modèle repose sur le postulat que chaque tracé pour les indicateurs est monotone par rapport à la dimension sous-jacente  $L$  (*monotone homogeneity assumption*) (Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002). La courbe monotone est alors la fonction de mesure de la somme des lignes de tracées :

$$X = E(\sum_{j=1}^k M_j).$$

Le modèle d'opérationnalisation présenté ne se veut pas universel et applicable sans remise en question pour l'étude du niveau de médiatisation de toutes institutions. Comme l'exposent Adcock & Collier (2001), les indicateurs peuvent être ajustés en fonction des contextes spécifiques des études. Les chercheurs soulignent que « *the decision to pursue context-specific approaches should be carefully considered and justified* » (Adcock & Collier, 2001: p.544). Également, l'écart entre le concept analysé et sa mesure à partir d'indicateurs est inévitable dans la plupart des travaux en sciences sociales (King et al., 1994). Cependant, la fiabilité de l'échelle

de mesure est évaluée avec trois indicateurs : la première valeur propre et les coefficients de saturation produits par une analyse factorielle et l'alpha de Cronbach.

L'analyse factorielle modélise les relations de proximité entre les différents indicateurs (Kim et al., 1978). La méthode repose sur le fait de réduire le nombre d'indicateur en facteurs en extrayant la variance commune maximale de toutes les variables. De cette analyse sont extraits la première valeur propre, ainsi que les coefficients de saturation associés à chacun des indicateurs. Puisque l'opérationnalisation de la mesure de la médiatisation est tirée de la littérature, puis testée, cette analyse factorielle est confirmative.

Le test de l'alpha de Cronbach représente la corrélation moyenne divisée par moitié corrigée pour la longueur de l'échelle (Cronbach, 1951). Le test peut être exprimé sous cette forme :

$$\alpha = \frac{k\bar{r}}{1+\bar{r}(k-1)}$$

où  $\bar{r}$  représente la corrélation moyenne.

Ainsi, les deux articles scientifiques présentés dans ce mémoire sont directement liés. Le premier article, *The Mediatization of Public Administration : A Scoping Review*, définit la médiatisation du politique, situe le concept dans la littérature scientifique et identifie des lacunes dans le champ de recherche. Le deuxième article, *Media in Power ? An Operationalization and Measurement of the Mediatization of Public Administration* se base sur les conclusions de la première partie de ce mémoire pour déployer une analyse de l'évolution du niveau de médiatisation en utilisant le cas des ministères québécois.



## Article 1

# The Mediatization of Public Administration : A Scoping Review

### Résumé

Cet article présente une étude exploratoire du concept de médiatisation du politique. Avec la méthode de la revue de la portée de la littérature, les études académiques de ce sous-champ de la communication politique ont été analysées. Cette recherche a pour objectif de souligner les sujets dominants abordés dans la littérature sur la médiatisation du politique, d'identifier des lacunes dans le champ de recherche, ainsi que de mieux comprendre comment les études sur la médiatisation s'insèrent dans la littérature plus large sur la communication politique. Avec cette approche systématique, nous avons cherché à mieux conceptualiser la médiatisation de l'administration publique, en identifiant un consensus sur le concept dans la littérature existante. Le processus d'examen de la portée indique que : (1) Les études analysant la médiatisation se concentrent davantage sur les acteurs et les institutions politiques. La jonction entre médiatisation politique et administration publique est rarement étudiée ; (2) Les approches utilisées pour étudier la médiatisation de la politique sont principalement qualitatives ; (3) La médiatisation de l'administration publique a été analysée que de manière quantitative essentiellement dans des contextes européens. (4) Les indicateurs utilisés pour mesurer le degré de médiatisation dans l'administration publique diffèrent considérablement entre les recherches.

### Abstract

This article presents an exploratory study of the concept of political mediatization. Using the scoping review method, we survey academic writings on this subfield of political communication. This research aims to highlight the dominant topics covered in the literature on the mediatization of politics, to identify gaps in research, as well as to provide a better understanding of how studies on mediatization align within the broader literature on political communication. With this systematic approach, we aimed to better conceptualize the mediatization of public administration, by identifying consensus on the concept in

the existing literature. The scoping review process indicates that : (1) Studies analyzing mediatization focus more on political actors and institutions. The junction between political mediatization and public administration is rarely studied; (2) Approaches used to study the mediatization of politics are mostly qualitative; (3) The mediatization of public administration has only been analyzed quantitatively in European contexts, and; (4) Indicators used to measure the degree of mediatization in public administration differ widely between studies.

**Keywords :** mediatization, mediatization of politics, mediatization of public administration, political communication, scoping review

## 1.1 Introduction

Although they have been questioned before, the structural effects of the media on politics are now widely recognized in research and decision-makers have had to adjust to this reality (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Brown & Deegan, 1998). In literature on political communication, the concept of political mediatization is commonly used to explain the effects of news media on the political sphere (Strömbäck, 2011; Entman, 2007). The mediatization of politics denotes of problems or concomitant consequences of the development of modern mass media (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). The advent of the Internet, leading to the hybridization of communication systems and the immediacy of exchanges, is central to this concept.

The concept is commonly used in political communication to explain the effects of media logic on the political arena (Strömbäck, 2011; Entman, 2007). Studies on the mediatization of politics generally focus either on political actors or on political institutions as a whole, leaving public administration in specific out of the fray. While the link between the political and the administrative spheres is often studied, the link between the public service and the media is considerably less understood. Understanding the influence institutions like the media may have on entities responsible for citizen services and state administration is of paramount importance in democratic societies.

But how is mediatization of politics defined? How much influence do the news media have on the functioning and the activities of political and administrative structures. What has research on this question been able to reveal so far? This paper looks at the academic production on mediatization of both the political arena and public administration. We aim to observe how the concept was apprehended methodologically and, most importantly, how it is operationalized and measured.

In order to produce a systematic and transferable review of the scientific production on mediatization, the scoping review method is used. This exploratory research presents an analysis of all academic work published on the mediatization of politics following the guidelines established by the *Joanna Briggs Institute* (JBI) to create a mapping of this subfield up to August 2018. The method of scoping review is defined by the JBI as a type of review estimating the size and scope of a body of literature on a given topic. The conventional goal of a scoping review is to extract consensus in the literature, to observe trends, as well as to identify gaps and diverging research results. Most existing literature reviews on mediatization are focusing on the identification of common features among writings on mediatization (Marcinkowski, 2014). Our scoping review aims to take a broader approach to portray more widely what we know on the effects of news media logics on political institutions and public administration. This paper is built on the existing literature analyzing mediatization with a scoping methodology, which can be considered as a rigorous, effective and transparent synthesis of the literature (Joanna

Briggs Institute, 2015).

This scoping analysis intends to provide an exhaustive overview of 156 academic publications on mediatization and to objectively describe the work of the entire community of scholars working in the subfield (Joanna Briggs Institute, 2015). A deeper analysis of how the mediatization of public administration is conceptualized and measured in existing research is also presented.

Political communication represents a broad field of research located at the intersection of communication and political science. Political communication refers to the role that communication plays in the political process (Chaffee, 1975). The study of political mediatization is a subfield of political communication. Writings on the mediatization of politics uses their own terms to describe and define the concept of the influence of news media logics on institutions. The mediatization subfield appears to be limited, while only few authors use the term "political mediatization" to referred to media effects on politics. The scoping review makes it possible to identify the most used terms and concepts in the literature on mediatization to observe how these concepts can be aligned with other subfields in political communication.

Our scoping review makes it possible to state several observations about the literature on political mediatization. First, the theoretical definition of the concept appears to be consensual in the literature. However, its operationalization and measurement diverge in the studies. Results from studies attempting to assess the degree of political or administrative mediatization are also divergent. But how can the scientific community discuss degree of mediatization when the operationalization and measurement of this concept do not reach consensus? Second, most studies are focusing on the analysis of the influence of news media on political actors and institutions, while the link between media and public administration remains understudied. This paper aims to define the boundaries of academic knowledge on mediatization. The scoping review also helps to identify avenues for future research in the subfield.

## 1.2 Scoping Review Methodology

### Document Search Strategy

This analysis follows the *Reviewers Manual Methodology for JBI Scoping Reviews* to create an evidence-based mapping of the literature on political mediatization up to August 2018.<sup>1</sup> A three-step search strategy to collect and select relevant sources is used.

First, a manual literature review of over 100 sources is conducted. The documents included in this analysis allowed us to identify the main keywords used in the titles and the abstracts.

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1. The document research strategy has been developed in collaboration with a library consultant in document search strategy development from the Library of Université Laval. The author wishes to thank in particular Richard Dufour for his invaluable help and guidance during the entire research process.

The second step is to create specific search requests with identified keywords in relevant databases. Nine multidisciplinary or specialized document databases were chosen to allow a large scoping of academic texts originating from various disciplines such as political science, administration, communication, economy, sociology and technology. Requests were adjusted to the peculiarities of each document database. Two of the nine research requests are presented in *Appendix A*. All requests in database were executed in August 2018. In order to assure the exhaustivity of our approach, no research constraints in terms of language, type of document or year of publication were used. Here is the summary of the results obtained in each database :

**International Bibliography of the Social Sciences** : 422 results

**Worldwide Political Science Abstracts** : 262 results

**PAIS International** : 43 results

**ProQuest Dissertations Theses Global** : 92 results

**Academic Search Premier** : 535 results

**Communication Mass Media Complete** : 397 results

**Web of Science** : 962 results

**Google Scholar** : 300 results<sup>2</sup>

**WorldCat** 3 716 results

Finally, the third step of the scoping strategy involves the creation of a list of all relevant documents cited in the list of sources found during the second step. This final gathering step allowed us to create a final list of 6,729 sources.

### **Selection Criteria**

The complete list of sources is then analyzed to decide whether to include or exclude each reference in the literature analysis. *Figure 1.2.1* shows the process of reference selection in the scoping review based on the following criteria :

**Inclusion Criteria** are as follows : 1) Subject : Any reference whose main subject is related to political or administrative mediatization or the influence of the media logic on political actors, politics, politicians, civil servants, administration, institutions, government or democracy, and this, in a democratic state ; 2) Type of document : Scientific article, book, thesis paper, and scientific conference paper ; and 3) All languages.

**Exclusion Criteria** are as follows : 1) Duplicated sources : References included more than once ; 2) Subject : Any reference whose main subject is not related to mediatization or the

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2. 60 100 search results have actually been identified by Google Scholar. Because of Google Scholar's peculiarities, we observed a significant decline in the relevance of references after the first 200 request results. Thus, we collected the first 300 references and we believe we have reached saturation.

influence of the media logic in a democratic state ; and 3) Type of documents : Unpublished articles, articles waiting for correction or verification, journalistic articles, websites, blogs, and book reviews.

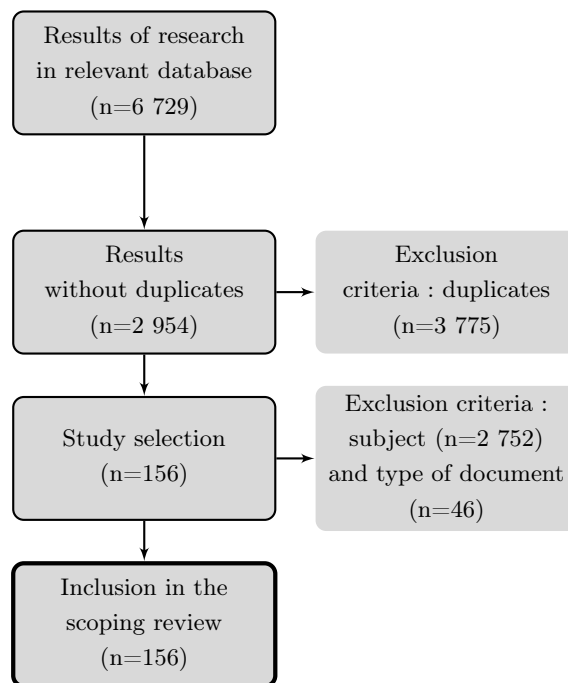
Thus, 156 sources are included in the final reference database used for analysis. Defined characteristics for each reference included are then extracted to identify the distribution of the production according to several relevant aspects, and to create a mapping of the literature on mediatization.

### 1.2.1 How is the Mediatization of Politics Studied ?

First the analysis of the literature has made it possible to identify a consensual definition of mediatization of politics in the field of research. Mazzoleni & Schulz (1999: p.249), whose article is widely quoted in the discipline, indicate that the concept of mediatization is associated with problems or concomitant consequences of the development of modern mass media. Mediatization can be understood as an intrinsically process-oriented concept (Strömbäck, 2008). Processes leading to the reinforcement and expansion of the news media culture (Jansson, 2002) are the central objects of the research subfield.

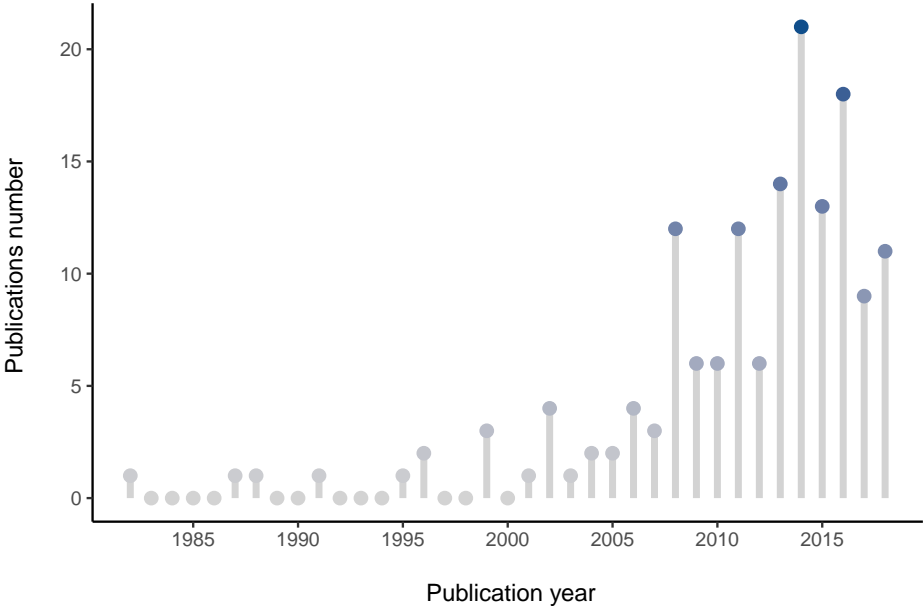
The associated notion of the mediatization of politics is itself defined as a long-term process leading to an increase in the influence of the media in the political arena (Hjarvard, 2008). Thus, the concept refers to activities and political processes that are altered, shaped or structured by the news media logics. Mediatization of politics also refers to the perceived need of individuals, organizations, and social systems to communicate with or through the media (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014). In a mediatization context, news media are also the largest source of information, and the main communication channel between the rulers and the governed (Bennett & Entman, 2001; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Blumler et al., 1999). Mediatization has been studied since 1983 by Litz (1983) who

FIGURE 1.2.1 – Literature Handling Flowchart of Political Mediatization



observes the effect of media logics in the context of a state government policy structure. From the references identified, the mediatization concept is more widely used in the literature since 2008. The body of knowledge on mediatization analyzed in the scoping review process has been expanding in recent years and interest on the concept also seems to be increasing.

FIGURE 1.2.2 – The Study of Mediatization Over Time



n=156.  
 Data extracted as of August 2018.  
 References from the databases International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, PAIS International, ProQuest Dissertations Theses Global, Academic Search Premier, Communication Mass Media Complete, Web of Science and Google Scholar.

A differentiation is established with the term "mediation", also used by political communication scholars, which rather refers to any act of intervention, transmission or reconciliation between different actors, communities or institutions (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999: p.249). In a mediation case, news media are intermediaries between a communicator and an audience. Thus, in the mediation of politics, the news media represent the most important source of information, as well as the main information channel between rulers and governed (Bennett & Entman, 2001). Blumler et al. (1999) present the relations between media and political message producers during three periods of the history of political communication. These three stages represent the transition from mediation to mediatization. In the earliest period, the political sphere is less influenced by the media, which is more likely to act as a transmitter of information. The second age of political communication is characterized by the willingness of the political actors to increase their visibility in the media, which leads them to introduce systematic communication strategies. The third era is marked by the mediatization of politics. News media proliferation and omnipresence are leading the political arena to adapt

its practices and activities to their logics (Blumler et al., 1999). The concept of "mediatization" is more relevant to this analysis since the degree of news media influence on actors and institutions is observed. The concept is then declined in four dimensions.

FIGURE 1.2.3 – The Four-dimensional Conceptualization of the Mediatization of Politics

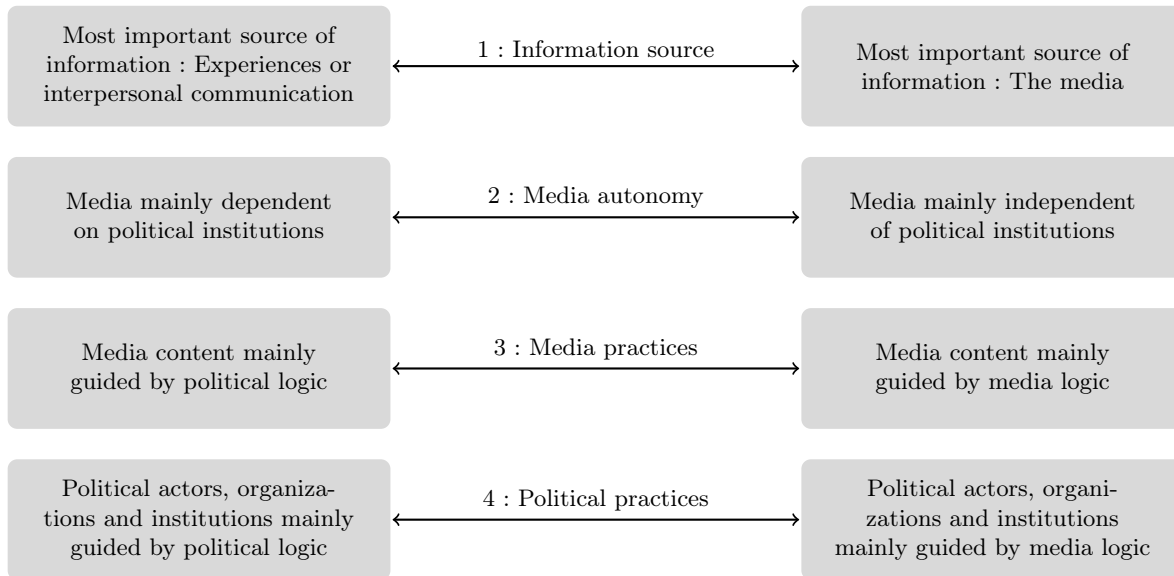


Figure from Strömbäck (2008: p.235)

The four dimensions of political mediatization (see *Figure 1.2.3*) were developed by Strömbäck (2008) and have since been used to categorize types of studies that analyze media effects on politics. The first dimension of political mediatization is the extent to which the media is the **most important source of information** on politics and society, as well as the most important channel of communication between governments and citizens compared to interpersonal communication. The second dimension of the mediatization of politics refers to the degree of **media independence**, in terms of governance, in relation to institutions and political actors. The third dimension is the proportion of **media content** guided by a media logic compared to a political logic. Finally, the fourth dimension of political mediatization is the level of adherence of **actors and political institutions** to the media logics (Strömbäck, 2008: p.234).

Foremost, our scoping review helps define the distribution of the literature on mediatization of politics according to three parameters : each of the four dimensions of the mediatization of politics, the research design as well as the type of institutions or actors analyzed. These three characteristics are explained in this section. Together, they provide a portrait of the literature on mediatization of politics.

The scoping review identifies which dimensions of mediatization of politics are further analyzed. Aspects of mediatization discussed in research questions of the included references were



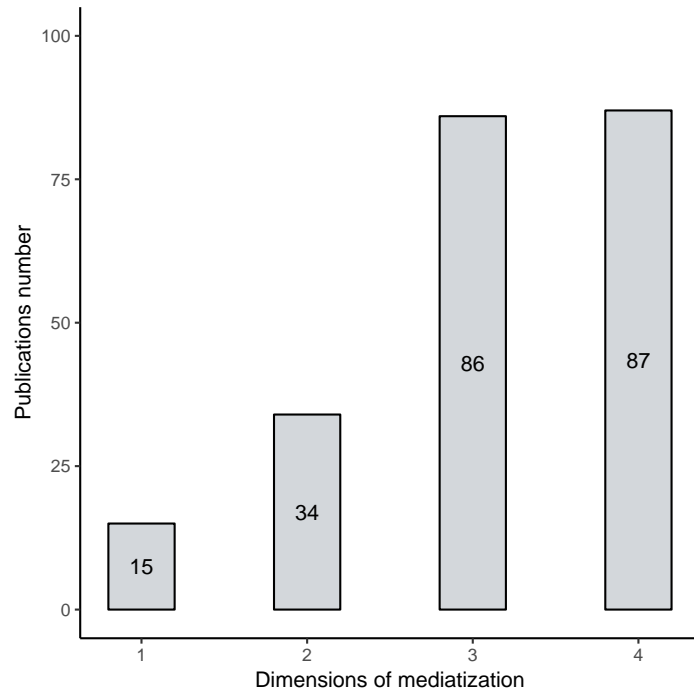
used to observe the prevalence of each of the four dimensions of mediatization in the studies. *Figure 1.2.4* shows the distribution of the dimensions of mediatization in our sample. Dimensions of media practices and political practices are the subject of more research, while dimensions of information sources have been the subject of only 15 researches.

Two concepts are central in the schematization of political mediatization : political logic and media logic. The term "logic" refers to formal and informal rules, routines and principles of reasoning, and action within an entity (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014: p.14).

Political logic is described as political decision-making and implementation in an institutional, collective and authoritative process. Lasswell (1950) describes this logic as ultimately aiming to develop and implement politics with a re-election goal. Concretely, the political logic "includes the processes of winning public support and elections, of distributing political power, of deliberation, bargaining and decision-making, of implementing political decisions, and of power as it relates to who gets what, when, and how" (Lasswell, 1950: p.67). This logic can be categorized in three dimensions : 1) processes of rules and regulations of the political system ; 2) problem-definition processes, as well as the development and implementation of public policies ; and 3) processes of gaining support for an individual candidacy, a party or a political program (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014).

Media logic is a process of information production, including a process of selection and formatting, leading institutions to a particular way of interpreting society and its issues (Mazzoleni, 2008). Thus, the different types of media organizations share similarities in terms of practices, rules, routines, standards and values (Cook, 1998; Hjarvard, 2008; Sparrow, 1999). These rules

FIGURE 1.2.4 – Which dimensions of mediatization do researchers analyze ?



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Data extracted as of August 2018.

References from the databases International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, PAIS International, ProQuest Dissertations Theses Global, Academic Search Premier, Communication Mass Media Complete, Web of Science and Google Scholar.

and procedures can be formal or informal and are "often understood as quasinalatural way to get things done" (Cook, 1998: p.71) in the media-system.

Administrative logic is also introduced to the schematization when studies aim to analyze the mediatization of public service institutions. Administrative logic refers to clear and formal organizational frameworks and rules that derive from laws and regulatory processes. Explicit rules that are specific to one or more institutions (Rhodes, 2000) as well as formal or informal organizational standards are included in this logic. For example, ethical code refers to a formal standard, while organizational culture is an informal norm.

These three logics are guiding, to a greater or lesser extent, the functioning and practices of political bodies and institutions, as well as public administration. Also, public service is described as being mediatized when media logics become more prominent compared to political and administrative logics in the structure and the institutional functioning.

The term "public administration" is a generic notion referring to all activities involved in the development and implementation of public policies (Graham Jr & Hays, 1993). Public administration thus encompasses the production of public goods and services created by the state to serve the needs of citizens. Public service<sup>3</sup> is not essentially instrumental. Public sector's decisions and actions are involved in a government's decision-making process. However, as defined by Wilson (1887: p.10), the concept of public administration lies outside the real political sphere : "Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics set the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices" (Wilson, 1887: p.10).

The scoping review process also highlights the most commonly used research methods to investigate the mediatization of politics. A wide range of research design is used in this literature. Among the works we have reviewed, 24 different designs were developed to analyze political mediatization. These approaches were grouped into three broad categories : "qualitative", "quantitative" or "mixed".

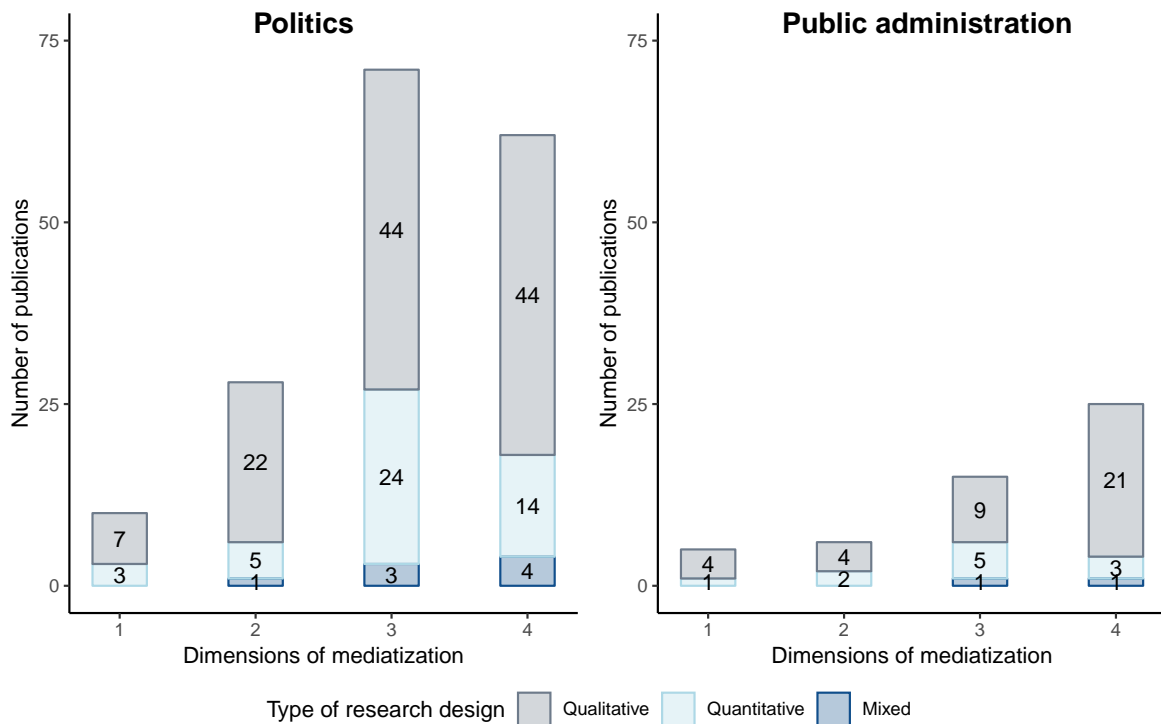
Finally, the 156 reviewed studies were distinguished according to their research subject : whether their objective is to analyze the mediatization of political bodies or of public administration. The concept of mediatization is rarely studied with a focus on administrative institutions and actors. The concept has been applied to public administration by Thorbjørnsrud (2015). This researcher contributed to define the mediatization of public administration and its impacts without, however, operationalizing the concept and observing its effect in a systematic way.

Mediatization of the political and administrative realms are related, but their analysis is carried out separately in the reviewed studies. A limited number of contributions are analyzing the

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3. This term is used as a synonym for public administration in this research.

FIGURE 1.2.5 – Characteristics of the Literature on Mediatization



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Data extracted as of August 2018.

References from the databases International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, PAIS International, ProQuest Dissertations Theses Global, Academic Search Premier, Communication Mass Media Complete, Web of Science and Google Scholar.

degree of mediatization of public institutions. Most of them are case studies. Thus, references were categorized according to their objective to analyze political institutions and actors or public administrative institutions and civil servants.

As *Figure 1.2.5* indicates, there are much fewer researches analyzing the mediatization of public administration (24 % of the studies included compared to 76 % analyzing political institutions). In addition, studies on the effect of media logic are mostly qualitative in design (69 % compared to 26 % of quantitative research and 5 % of mixed-methods). Among qualitative research designs, grounded theory studies, and case studies are the most common.

Furthermore, the scoping review reveals that the mediatization of politics concept is commonly used in political communication to explain the effects of news media on the political institutions and actors. However, the exercise also reveals a lack of research studying the mediatization with an empirical approach. Studies are also focusing on actors and political institutions and the link between media and public administration remains rarely studied. The review also indicates that quantitative studies analyzing mediatization are using diverging indicators to

measure the effects of media logic on practices and functioning of public service and politics.

Finally, our scoping review shows that studies on mediatization of public administration focus solely on European cases. We have identified only four quantitative researches analyzing the influence of media logic on public service. These contributions use the following cases for their study :

**Meyer (2009)** : European Commission

**Esser & Strömbäck (2014)** : Germany, United Kingdom, Austria and Switzerland

**Fredriksson et al. (2015)** : Sweden

**Fawzi (2018)** : Germany

The scoping review process made it possible to precisely identify the boundaries of knowledge in the field of research on mediatization and to highlight some theoretical and methodological gaps. Our next step is to observe where this research subfield is located within the broader political communication literature.

### 1.3 Mediatization of Politics and Political Communication

The literature on mediatization of politics uses its own terms to describe the concept of the influence of media logic on institutions. Although much research across this literature evaluates media effects, scholars use different conceptualizations and terminologies to study what are either highly similar or meaningfully related concepts. Our research aims to integrate these concepts under a coherent theory of the "mediatization of politics" as it pertains to public administration. Our scoping review helps to identify the most commonly used terms and concepts across political communication literature and facilitates the evaluation of where and how the terms are applied in order to ultimately classify links and sketch an integrated theory. Definitions and indicators of the mediatization concept are similar to those from three subfields frequently associated to political communication research : 1) the structural effects of news media, 2) the permanent campaign, and 3) *New Political Governance*.

#### 1.3.1 Structural Effects of the News Media

The literature on media effects provides a partial understanding of motivations behind changes in political organizations. It shows that if political and governmental institutions adapt to media logics, it is largely while trying to counter or minimize their structural effects. **McCombs & Shaw (1972)**'s empirical studies have shown a high level of agreement between news media and voters in their issue assessment during election campaigns, but also outside of election periods. News media are then contributing to shape the political agenda (**agenda-setting**) by focusing on specific issues rather than others in their news coverage. Since citizens' attention

is limited (Miller & Krosnick, 2000), this media effect would be to prioritize the various public issues within the public sphere. Thus, the way the media presents information would influence what citizens consider as significant in public affairs. Academic writings on this question demonstrate therefore that the news media impact individual cognitive patterns and influence citizens' perception of issue importance in a more (Lasswell, 1927; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Bartels, 1993; Zaller, 1996; Brown & Deegan, 1998) or less (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Katz et al., 1974, 2017; Mutz, 2001) significant way. Thus, some studies show a strong media effect on citizens' identification of important issues : "mass media had strong, long-term effects on audiences, based on the ubiquitous and consonant stream of messages they presented to audiences" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006: p.10). Past research has weighed this effect, especially with the two-step-flow theory (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944), the uses and gratifications theory (Katz et al., 1974) as well as the limited effects theory (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Katz et al., 2017).

Media practices can also have an impact on voters' perceptions of political issues. This phenomenon, called **priming**, is described by Iyengar & Kinder (1987: p.63) as a change in the standards used by citizens to build their evaluation of politics and politicians. Often referred to as an extension of agenda-setting, priming occurs when news content suggests to audiences specific questions to assess politicians' and governments' performance (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; Domke et al., 1998: p.11). While agenda-setting means prioritizing issues in news, priming is the fact of highlighting specific aspects of an issue considered by the media as particularly significant (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006). As a result, politicians' and, possibly, public services' concern for high-profile issues could be affected. By explaining issues in a prioritized way, the news media point out which issues need to be taken into account by the public, but also on what criteria politicians and policies should be evaluated (Domke et al., 1998). Elected officials, attentive to population concerns and expectations, could therefore make decisions that are influenced by the news media's information processing.

Furthermore, the information **framing** model has been the subject of several studies on news media's effects. Framing is based on the assumption that the way an issue is portrayed in the news influences the way audiences understand this issue (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006). During the news processing, journalists select a defined way to present a given event to audiences. Lippmann's classic study initially conceptualized this framing effect. Lippmann (1922: p.3) described "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" as two completely different realities. News media influence public opinion by presenting limited information that audiences use to build an image of events. Information sources, images and excerpts from interviews are based on journalistic decisions. The way information is presented is the framing of information; it is what the audience uses to build their representation of reality. Some researchers have criticized the concept of information framing. A more nuanced interpretation of media effect on citizens has emerged by taking into account the audiences' ability to construct their

own understanding of issues (Just et al., 1996; Katz et al., 2017). But even if the framing effect on the audience's perception is not assuredly direct, its effect on their conceptions of politics and politicians is recognized (Iyengar, 1990; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006).

Thus, the importance given to certain events in media coverage can affect the way politicians are governing. We can consider that, in an attempt to reduce or control the effect of news media on citizens, politicians and administrative institutions change their behavior and communication strategies. Mediatization of politics may be a reaction to the medias' structural effects of media.

### 1.3.2 Permanent Campaigning

Former Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin compared state governance to flying a Boeing 747 :

When you fly a 747 over the Atlantic Ocean, you want the nose of the plane to point straight up – if it starts to point down, you have a problem. Once the nose points down for any amount of time, it becomes very difficult to pull it back up. The same applies in government. You never want to let up, to have your eye off the ball because when you start losing public support, it is very difficult to get it back (cited in Vongdouangchanh, 2008: online).

With this comparison, the former Canadian politician explained how the permanent campaign phenomenon – which dictates the actions of many Western governments – really works. This philosophy of governance implies that parties in power regularly monitor public opinion on political issues in order to maintain and build voter support outside of an official election period (Vergeer et al., 2013: p.485). In these systems, rulers constantly appear before news media to testify on the progresses of their projects. As a result, there is little difference between election campaign and state governance ; the staff, tactics and tools used during the campaign follow the winning candidate in elected office and spread through the public administration (Blumenthal, 1980). In this context, importance given to politicians' and institutions' image spread by the news media takes on a special significance (Scammell, 2007). This way of governing means that re-election is a government's primary goal and guides its actions and decisions throughout the mandate.

When making vote choice, citizens are following a process of socio-psychological decision making. Usually, they make decisions by combining information from their personal experience and from the news media, without always doing research, in an intuitive and fast way (Marland, 2016). Information available to citizens when making voting decisions is often limited. The percentage of citizens interested in politics and regularly informed about it is estimated at 33 % in the United Kingdom, 15 % in Canada, and 55 % in the United States (Newman et al., 2017). Thus, in order to develop political communications and a party brand, electoral strategies have been deployed in electoral campaigns during the last decades by focusing on

targeted messages as well as the use of panels and opinion polls (Marland, 2016). These electoral strategies are now integrated into the periods between elections and in the public service functioning. In this context of permanent campaign, governments adopt practices whose aims are partisan and electoral.

According to Savoie (2010: p.96), many factors contributed to globalize and increase permanent campaigning practices in governments, including news media, media blogging, negative election campaigns, the increase of political professionals and spin specialists, the increase of undecided voters, and the spending restrictions introduced during election campaigns but not between polls. Always under journalists' scrutiny, political parties fight a constant battle to prove to voters they are the most suitable to govern. Number of swing voters has also increased during the last decades (Swanson & Mancini, 1996). Chaffee & Rimal (1996) explain that politicians are aware of this phenomenon and they continuously try to influence late vote choices through various persuasion strategies. While professionals of media relations and communications strategic' tools were mobilized before on an *ad hoc* basis during election campaign, they are now at the heart of political organizations' day-to-day routines (Lilleker & Negrine, 2002: p.306).

### 1.3.3 New Political Governance

According to the separation of powers, a government's democratic activities must meet a neutrality standard. Public servants are non-partisan and merit-based employees who provide objective advise to politicians in power and implement policies in an impartial and non-partisan manner. This separation of powers is referred to as the policy/administration dichotomy. In an apolitical administrative system, public service employees have the responsibility to uphold the parliamentary democracy (Marland, 2016).

When permanent campaign practices are reflected in the public service, public administration is characterized by a *New Political Governance model* (NPG). The concept is described by Aucoin (2012) as a public administration model where pressures from institutional and external environments constrain implementation of public policies as well as the delivery of public services in a plural system.

NPG is described as a continuation (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000) or even a product (Aucoin, 2012) of the *New Public Management* model (NPM). NPM is defined as a set of measures aimed to perform a close control of costs and an optimal allocation of resources to provide the necessary, but strictly necessary, public services, as well as to eliminate any expenses that might appear excessive (Hood, 1991). NPM is characterized as an administration model that focuses mainly on results (Hood, 1995). The formal public service organization is then structured to promote an optimal performance in achieving common objectives. Emerging in the 1980s, this model includes several distinctive components : professional management



practices in the public sector, explicit standards and performance measures, a focus on results control, customer-oriented services and quality of services, a public sector disaggregation, the introduction of an external competition in the public sector, the introduction of methods and tools of private management as well as a focus on discipline and parsimony (Hood, 1995; Hughes, 2012). Increasing control over the elected government's policies and programs is also a central NPM principles.

Comparatively, in the New Political Governance model, greater political control pressures the civil service, leading to a politicization of administrative institutions. Politicians are therefore exerting more than a legitimate democratic control over public services. In this model, elected governments make use of public service and governance resources to ensure political and electoral advantage over other (opposition) parties (Aucoin, 2012). The image produced is that of a state apparatus whose corporate identity and visibility must reflect key government themes and messages in information and communication materials so that "overarching goals and the government's priorities for the country are consistently identified and communicated" (Marland, 2016: p.289). The concept of the permanent campaign is inherent to the NPG model. Aucoin (2012: p.179) observes four main features of the NPG : 1) the integration of executive governance and permanent campaigning practices into the public administration ; 2) the presence of partisan political staff in the civil service ; 3) politicization in the appointment of the highest officials of the state ; and 4) the presupposition, in organizational culture, that public service's loyalty and support for the government means a need to be partisan of the government in place.

Media coverage is an external pressure facing governmental organizations in the New Political Governance administrative model. Challenging decisions and monitoring public administration, this pressure from the news media is a factor that may lead a government to do "whatever they deem necessary to stay in power" (Roberts, 2008: p.21). Aucoin (2012) presents the changes in the media economy as a contributing factor to an increased competition between news media businesses. This increased competition is pushing journalists to scrutinize politicians and the government for exclusivity (Aucoin, 2012). To counter the structural effects of the media and to make its mark on the public agenda, the government is deploying media management strategies. When these strategies revolve around a re-election goal, the administrative model can be characterized as New Political Governance.

Concretely, permanent campaign practices are associated with the NPG model of administration. In this governance model, we can observe in government bodies a specialization of professionals in media relations and image management, as well as a centralization of communication management processes within the executive office. These two characteristics of permanent campaign and New Political Governance are strongly linked to the literature on mediatization of politics and are elaborated in the following sections.



## Professionalization of Politics

The professionalization of politics has been the subject of several studies in the 1990s following changes in political processes and the introduction of new professional fields (Mancini, 1999; Blumler & Gurevitch, 2001; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). In a widely quoted article, Lilleker & Negrine (2002) questioned this notion. According to them, the concept describes an increase of professional jobs within the political sphere, a task specialization as well as an increase in experts like communication professionals, image managers or analysts in political organizations (Lilleker & Negrine, 2002: p.99). The "professionalization" term can therefore be used generically to refer to these changes in the processes of political influence optimization and of mediatization control.

Mancini (1999) presents professionalization of the political and public sectors as a result of the development of telecommunication, and, more recently, of digital media, which forces systems to adapt. The political arena is described as a victim of the professionalization in other sectors (Gibson & Römmele, 2001: p.34). In reaction to changes in media practices, politicians and government organizations need to use specialists in new communication tools to quickly spread and adapt their messages to the needs of journalists (Gibson & Römmele, 2001). This adaptation, marked by the immediacy of communication, is described as necessary for political and administrative bodies in order to be able to progress successfully in a transformed media system :

Today, the parties and candidates who are the most timely, who can respond with the greatest speed to current events, to their adversaries, and to the themes chosen by the mass media are those who win elections. (Mancini, 1999: p.239).

Consequently, the evolution of communication and strategic processes brings novel needs and objectives to political institutions. These changes translate into the use of a diverse range of professionals with expertise in media, surveys, marketing and public relations. While the work of government experts is specialized, complex and is using specific jargon, professionals of media relations sort this information to highlight key aspects in a simplified message (Marland, 2016: p.287).

Voter volatility may have contributed to the increasing of the use of marketing professionals in campaign strategies, before spreading to everyday practices in governments, and then, in public administration. With the accentuation of voters detachment from politics, tactics gradually turned to a conception of voters as consumers in search of a product rather than loyal political partisans (Vergeer et al., 2013: p.480). According to Hallin & Mancini (2004), citizen-oriented political organizations have morphed into media and marketing-oriented parties. Blumler et al. (1999) describe the ideal advertising of a party or a government as shaping the media environment so that journalists focus only on specific chosen issues, messages and spokespersons. For journalists, this narrower information choice poses an independence problem, which en-

courages them to look for ways "to stamp their marks" on political news (Blumler et al., 1999: p.215). While the political area is developing strategies to optimize communication efficiency, specialization in the journalistic field is also increasing. In order to protect themselves from the influence of political communication strategies, journalists may attempt to develop specific political expertise that allows them to better interpret and evaluate information provided by political and administrative staff (Charron, 1994).

This professionalization in the fields of public relations and communication within governments also contributes to concentrate the public information release at the center of their executive.

### **Communication Centralization**

In recent decades, ministers' offices have grown in terms of resources and political staff, not only during election campaigns, but also in everyday practices. Power has focused more on politicians occupying the highest positions rather than being dispersed in the party, the public administration and the government (Savoie, 2010: p.98). The advent of television in the media sphere accentuated this decision-making concentration by directing media attention to specific personalities appearing on the screen (Blumler et al., 1999). For example, in the US, the choice of institutionalizing the Press Office at the White House rather than at the US Congress ensures that the President remains the center of media attention, according to McKay & Paletz (2004). Public relations strategies, coordinated by a common entity, seemed necessary in order to monitor and respond to the growing stream of journalistic news (McNair, 2004). Generally, a government's media relation coordination is centralized within the office of the leader of the executive branch - in Canada, this is the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) - and is directed by the government's press officer. Giving guidelines for communication services, press officers also manage proactively the information spread from the administration to the news media rather than essentially in a reactive way (Blumler et al., 1999: p.215).

Richard Nixon was the first American President to appoint a communication director to coordinate the information flow from the executive department (Ornstein & Mann, 2000). This department, independent from the press service, was responsible for controlling communications of the public administration, controlling journalists access to state officials as well as maintaining friendly relations with the press. These centralization and reinforced control of communication processes within the government also affect the practices of elected officials. Politicians must restrict their interventions to positions established by their party : "They should not dissent or create controversies, they should toe the party line, and so forth." (Lilleker & Negrine, 2002: p.100) The United Kingdom's Select Committee on Communications (2004) recommended, following the US example, to implement a more powerful, authoritarian, and central communication management and a new permanent Secretariat for Government Communication. The report mentions the need for these reforms due to crucial relations between ministries and news media "in the current media climate, with many more outlets for

news, an adversarial relationship between the media and the government, and the cult of the celebrity fuelling a focus on personalities in all walks of public life" (Select Committee on Communications, 2004). In Canada, Marland (2016) observed at the federal level centralized communication strategies around the Prime Minister's Office to unify messages and brand in communications, to repeat messages in a simple and effective way, to ensure cohesion and to ensure a consistency with the party line. Since the 1960s, researchers have observed a more significant degree of standardization of political discourses and a greater concentration of parties' political strategies towards few individuals or groups, especially towards cabinets' public relations teams (Côté, 2012).

## 1.4 Conclusion

Using a scoping review approach, this article charts the literature on the mediatization of politics and public administration. We showed that this literature is expanding globally. This methodology produced a rigorous, effective and transparent overview of the research subfield. The paper summarizes what we know to date, points out the gaps in literature, and identifies divergences in the concept operationalization.

The scoping review allows us to identify persistent lacks of information about mediatization in terms of knowledge and methodological gaps. (1) Studies focus mainly on the third and fourth dimensions of mediatization. Sources of information in political or administrative decisions making processes remain sparsely analyzed. (2) Studies investigating the association of the political sphere and the news media logics constitute the majority of studies on mediatization while the influence of media logic on public administrative actors and activities as well as on the independence of administrative institutions is not sufficiently studied. (3) Approaches used to study mediatization of politics are mostly qualitative. Precisely in the study of public service mediatization, the scoping review reveals that only 13 quantitative or mixed studies were conducted from 1982 to 2018 to analyze the four dimensions of mediatization. (4) Mediatization of public administration has been quantitatively analyzed in an essentially European setting (Meyer, 2009; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Fawzi, 2018). (5) Indicators used to measure the degree of mediatization are still greatly heterogeneous between studies. No single formal framework for operationalizing and measuring the concept has yet been agreed upon. (6) No previous research has studied the mediatization of public administration in a longitudinal and quantitative design. Examining the degree of mediatization over time could therefore lead to a more accurate understanding of the possible persistence of long-term news media effects.

The scoping review exercise also indicates that the study of mediatization of politics and public services is closely related to the literature on the structural effects of news media, on the permanent campaigning and on the New Political Governance model. However, more research

is needed to better connect the mediatization subfield to existing knowledge in political communication. For instance, research on structural effects, permanent campaigning and NPG could help inform the conceptual operationalization of mediatization.

Ultimately, our analysis identifies the knowledge boundaries in the literature on mediatization. It is currently difficult to discuss the news media effect on political and administrative bodies since the existing quantitative researches on mediatization rely on a diversity of indicators. The conclusions obtained from these contributions also diverge. It is critical to understand whether the variation in results across these studies is real or if it is simply an artefact of measurement biases arising from the use of different indicators. The indicators themselves are grounded in theory. In order to better understand the application of mediatization, we need to test the theories motivating these indicators. Thus, we argue that the rigorous process of operationalization of the mediatization of politics hypothesis should be a central component of future research. Given the potential significant impacts of the news media on democratic institutions, the time has come for academics to explore them with a stronger theoretical framework. Understanding the influence institutions like the media may have on government decision-makers as well as entities responsible for citizen services and state administration is of paramount importance in democratic societies. Research on mediatization could potentially raise and answer questions about the evolving contribution of media logics in modern democratic societies beyond the realm of elections and partisan politics.

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## 1.5 Appendices

### 1.5.1 A. Examples of Database Requests

#### International Bibliography of the Social Sciences

Search in : Anywhere except full text - NOFT

mediatiz\* OR mediatis\* OR medializ\* OR medialis\* OR "media influence\*" OR "media logic"

Coordinated with AND

Search in : Subject heading - MAINSUBJECT

politic\* OR government\* OR institution\* OR administrat\*

#### Web of Science

Search in : TOPICS

(mediatiz\* OR mediatis\* OR medializ\* OR medialis\* OR "media influence\*" OR "media logic") AND (politic\* OR politique\* OR gouvernement\* OR government\* OR institution\* OR administrat\*)

**Coordinated with AND**

**Search in : Abstract**

(mediatization OR mediatisation OR "media influence\*" OR "media logic") AND (politic\*  
OR politique\* OR gouvernement\* OR government\* OR institution\* OR administrat\*)

## Article 2

# Media in Power ? An Operationalization and Measurement of the Mediatization of Public Administration

### Résumé

Cet article vise à opérationnaliser le concept de médiatisation de l'administration publique et d'évaluer son évolution dans la fonction publique à l'aide du cas du Québec de 2003 à 2017. Cette recherche évalue l'évolution du niveau de médiatisation des institutions gouvernementales. En définitive, le projet s'efforce de mesurer la quatrième dimension de la conceptualisation de la médiatisation de la politique, telle que décrite par Stromback (2008). La recherche est axée sur les processus et a pour objectif d'évaluer la manière dont les administrations publiques s'adaptent, en termes d'activités, de structures et d'opérations, à l'augmentation et l'intensification de la couverture médiatique. Une analyse de contenu automatisée avec apprentissage automatique est déployée pour analyser un grand nombre de documents administratifs stratégiques. Deux évaluations de la médiatisation sont comparées : une mesure catégorielle et une mesure de la saillance. Les résultats montrent que l'agrégation de neuf indicateurs, mesurant le concept latent de la médiatisation de l'administration publique, permet de mesurer le concept de manière fiable. Appliquée au cas du Québec, la mesure montre une augmentation du niveau de médiatisation dans tous les ministères. Les résultats permettent de formuler des questionnements concernant l'opérationnalisation de la médiatisation de l'administration publique. L'analyse montre également que la saillance apparaît comme une mesure fiable des données de l'administration publique.

### Abstract

This paper first attempts to operationalize the concept of mediatization in a public administration setting and to evaluate its evolution on the administrative arena using the case of Quebec from 2003 to 2017. The research assesses the evolution of the level of

mediatization of government institutions over time. Ultimately, the project endeavours to measure the fourth dimension of the conceptualization of mediatization of politics as described by Stromback (2008). Overall, the research approach is process-oriented and, as such, aims to evaluate the way public administrations dynamically adapt, in terms of their activities, structures and operations, to growing and intensifying media coverage. An automated content analysis with machine learning is deployed to analyze a large body of strategic administrative documents. Two evaluations of mediatization are compared : a categorical measure and a measure of salience. The results show that the aggregation of nine indicators—all of which measure the mediatization of public administration—makes it possible to measure the concept reliably. Applied to the case of Quebec, the measure shows an increase in the level of mediatization in all ministries. The results make it possible to formulate questions regarding the operationalization of the mediatization of public administration. The analysis also shows that salience appears to be a reliable measure for data from the public administration.

**Keywords :** Mediatization of politics, mediatization of public administration, automated textual analysis.

## 2.1 Introduction

Research has demonstrated how structural effects, such as agenda-setting, priming, and framing can significantly affect political mediatization. Politicians and their teams have increasingly had to adjust to the reality of mediatization over time (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Brown & Deegan, 1998). The concept is commonly used in political communication to explain the effects of media logic on the political arena (Strömbäck, 2011; Entman, 2007). Mediatization refers to the proliferation of communication channels, its abundance and the concomitant response it has elicited in the political sphere in terms of its adaptive practices and activities (Blumler et al., 1999).

The mediatization of politics is a relatively new concept, but its foundations are rooted in the behavioural media effects literature (Kinder et al., 1996; Bartels, 1993; Iyengar, 1990). Mediatization has come to be seen as an integral part of the *permanent campaign* (Blumenthal, 1980; Aucoin, 2012) and the *New Political Governance* model (Aucoin, 2012). The advent of the Internet – leading to the hybridization of communication systems – also explains contemporary political mediatization. This research situates itself within the media effects and mediatization literatures and acts as an extension of research on public administration’s engagement with *media logic*. Media logic refers to the process of information production, including news selection and formatting, and the effect this process has on the way institutional bodies interpret society and its issues (Mazzoleni, 2008). A public service sector is described as being mediatized when media logic becomes integral to the structure and functioning of the institution and thereby supplants the two other principal logics guiding public administration : political and administrative logics (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014). In a scoping review on political mediatization, Tremblay-Antoine (2019) identified five major gaps in the literature that this paper aims to fill : (1) Studies analyzing the fourth dimension of the mediatization of politics (Strömbäck, 2008) generally focus either on political actors or on political institutions as a whole, leaving public administration in specific out of the fray ; (2) Studies on role of media in institutions tend to be based only on interviews or subjective assessments of documents (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004; Garland et al., 2018) ; (3) The process-oriented mediatization of public administration has been empirically analyzed in a predominantly European context (Meyer, 2009; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Fawzi, 2018) ; (4) The indicators used to measure the degree of media coverage in the public service sector differ largely between studies ; and, finally, (5) No study has analyzed longitudinally and quantitatively the fourth dimension of the mediatization of public administration. This paper first attempts to operationalize the concept of mediatization in a public administration setting and to evaluate its influence on the administrative arena using the case of Quebec from 2003 to 2017. To do so, automated content-analysis using a supervised learning method is employed on a large body of administrative documents. Two measures of mediatization are compared : a categorical measure and a measure of salience.

## 2.2 Mediatization of politics : conceptual definitions

Mazzoleni & Schulz (1999: p.249), whose article is widely quoted in the discipline, argue that the concept of mediatization is associated with the problems or consequences of the development of modern mass media. The concept itself is defined as a long-term process leading to an increase in the influence of the media in the political arena (Hjarvard, 2008). Thus, the mediatization of politics refers to activities and political processes that are altered, shaped or structured by news media logics. The concept also



refers to the perceived need of individuals, organizations, and social systems to communicate with or through the media (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014). Mediatization can be understood as an intrinsically process-oriented concept (Strömbäck, 2008). When a system is described as mediatized, news media are the largest source of information as well as the main communication channel between governors and the governed (Bennett & Entman, 2001; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Blumler et al., 1999).

Strömbäck (2008) conceptualizes the mediatization of politics in four dimensions. The first dimension of political mediatization is the extent to which the media is the **most important source of information** on politics and society, as well as the most important channel of communication between governments and citizens (as opposed to interpersonal communication). The second dimension of the mediatization of politics refers to the degree of **media independence** with respect to institutions and political actors. The third dimension is the proportion of **media content** guided by media logic instead of political logic. Finally, the fourth dimension of political mediatization is the level of adherence of **actors and political institutions** to media logics (Strömbäck, 2008: p.234). These four dimensions have since been used to categorize types of studies that analyze media effects on politics. The concepts of political logic and media logic are central to the definition of the mediatization of politics. In the context of this paper, the concept of administrative logic is also introduced. The term *logic* refers to formal and informal rules, routines and principles of reasoning, and action within an entity (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014: p.14). Lasswell (1950) describes the political logic as a political decision-making and its implementation in an institutional, collective and authoritative process. According to the researchers, this logic ultimately aims to develop and implement politics with a re-election goal : "the political logic includes the processes of winning public support and elections, of distributing political power, of deliberation, bargaining and decision-making, of implementing political decisions, and of power as it relates to who gets what, when, and how" (Lasswell, 1950: p.67). Esser & Strömbäck (2014) categorize political logic in three dimensions : 1) Processes of rules and regulations of the political system ; 2) Problem-definition processes, as well as the development and implementation of public policies ; and 3) Processes of gaining support for an individual candidacy, a party or a political program. Media logic is a process that involves the production of information and includes the formal or informal process of selection and formatting of information in the media system (Cook, 1998). As Mazzoleni (2008) states, media logic can lead institutions to a particular way of interpreting society and its issues. Administrative logic derives from laws and regulatory processes. It refers to clear and formal organizational frameworks and rules that are specific to one or more institutions (Rhodes, 2000). These logics can be formal or informal organizational standards. For example, the media relation policy of an institution refers to a formal standard, while its organizational culture is an informal norm.

In a more or less significant way, political, media and administrative logics guide the way political bodies and institutions, as well as administrative bodies, function. Thus, the mediatization of the public service is what happens when media logics become more prominent than political and administrative logics to institutional structure and functioning.

## 2.3 Research Design

This paper first attempts to comprehensively assess the state of knowledge on the measurement of the mediatization of politics and to integrate findings on the issue from disparate fields, which have, to date, been considered only in isolation. Then, it aims to operationalize the concept of mediatization in

a public administration setting and finally, evaluate its influence on the administrative arena. Focusing on the Quebec context, the paper asks the following research question : *What is the evolution in the degree of mediatization among Quebec's Ministries ?* Answering the question entails two specific endeavours : operationalizing the concept of the mediatization of public administration and assessing the evolution of the level of mediatization of government institutions over time. Ultimately, the project seeks to measure the fourth dimension of the conceptualization of mediatization of politics as described by Strömbäck (2008). The approach is process-oriented and as such aims to evaluate the way public administrations dynamically adapt – in terms of their activities, structures and operations – to growing and intensifying media coverage. In theory, the public service sector is a set of apolitical institutions that bring together experts and administrators of the state. While the link between the political and the administrative sphere is often studied, the link between public service and the media is considerably less well understood. Understanding the influence institutions like the media may have on entities responsible for citizen services and state administration is of paramount importance in democratic societies. Ultimately, this research raises and answers questions about the role and place of media in modern democratic societies beyond the realm of elected officials and bodies.

By tracking the gradual integration of media logic in the functioning and structure of public administration, this study attempts to test one main hypothesis. The longitudinal approach makes it possible to analyze mediatization over time. The various transformations, both in the structures and the functioning of the governmental institutions, seem to have changed the communication practices of provincial ministries. Thus, in order to analyze these changes over time and observe their evolution we posit that :

*Hypothesis 1 : The level of mediatization in Quebec's ministries has increased over time.*

Various transformations, both in the structure and the functioning of the governmental institutions, have changed the communications practices of administrative entities. Identifying and observing significant indicators of adaptation to media logics across various institutions allows us to quantify mediatization in the public service sector and gain a better understanding of the impact of media on democracy. This paper also aims to contribute to the discussion about issues inherent to media coverage in democratic societies in general.

From this hypothesis, one particular aspect is to be analyzed. In terms of communication, the centralization of strategies, management and practices is a key indicator of the *permanent campaign* phenomenon, wherein partisan practices transcend the political area and influence public administration. In Quebec, entities have been created to centralize and maximize the coordination of government communication practices. Specifically, the Secretariat for Governmental Communication is an agency charged with managing the entire administrative communication apparatus. It reports directly to the Executive Council Office, within the Premier's office. Its creation in 2006 was part of a broader transformation of the management of the province's public administrative apparatus. A sub-hypothesis therefore aims to deliberately analyze the centralization of strategies – an indicator of mediatization. A part of this study examines how the degree of mediatization of the various administrative bodies have evolved following the different stages of centralization, such as the establishment of the Secretariat for Government Communication.

*Sub-hypothesis 1.1 : The centralization of communication decision-making in Quebec's ministries within the Premier's Office increased over time following the creation of the Secretariat for Government Communication.*

A confirmation of this sub-hypothesis would mean that the government evolves – in terms of its communication practices and its structure – following the creation of the Secretariat for Government Communication. This paper also aims to observe structural changes in the coordination and management of government communication.

### **2.3.1 Why Study Quebec ?**

The Quebec case presents a series of characteristics that make it especially useful in order to better understand how mediatization is transforming public administration. First, Quebec's public administration relies on a Keynesian model that includes interventionist, bureaucratic, and centralized characteristics (Hamel & Jouve, 2006). From the 1970s onward, such a state-focused public administration model was criticized by politicians and by civil society. Most notably, critics denounced public servants' excessive influence on the formulation and implementation of public policies, the impersonal feature of public services, the alienation of civil servants, and efficiency problems within public administration (Roberge, 2012).

In 2001, Bernard Landry's government created the Secretariat for Governmental Communication (*Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale*). The creation of this agency is part of a centralization approach to communication within the Quebec government. This entity of the Executive Council Office (*Ministère du Conseil exécutif*) ensures the coherence of governmental communication (*Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale*, n.d.) and, most notably, the centralization of decision-making regarding the government's advertising budgets. In 2003, Jean Charest's Liberal government initiated a major reform of the public administration. Branded as "government reengineering", these transformations in the state's structure, missions and functioning followed the principles of the New Public Management model (NPM) (Fortier, 2010; Hamel & Jouve, 2006; Dion, 1986). Within this framework, communication became more central to everyday practices so that interactions with citizens would become more individualized (Fortier, 2010). In 2004, the Shared Services Center (*Centre de services partagés*) of Quebec was created in order to offer economies of scale for government agencies in terms of informational and communication resources (Centre de services partagés du Québec, n.d.). Ouimet et al. (2010)'s study, based on a survey of 1,614 analysts from Quebec ministries, shows that the press review is the document most often used by analysts with the memo.

In his analysis of the Canadian case, Aucoin (2012) suggests that governing parties make instrumental use of the public service and administrative resources in order to secure their partisan advantage over other political parties; they engage in what he calls a "New Political Governance" (NPG). In his observational research, Aucoin (2012: p.179) describes the four main characteristics of NPG : 1) The integration of executive governance and permanent campaigning practices into the public administrative sphere ; 2) The presence of partisan political staff in the civil service ; 3) A politicization of appointments of the highest officials of the state ; and 4) The presupposition, in the organizational culture, that loyalty and support for the government requires civil servants to be partisans of the government in place. These practices are characteristic of communication centralization. In 2006, Jean

Charest's government repatriated all communications decision-making by further centralizing the management of public service messages within the Secretariat for Government Communications. In 2014, Phillippe Couillard's Liberal government completed this process by centralizing the management of all communication staff under the jurisdiction of the Secretariat (Prince, 2018).

Several technological transformations have also occurred in recent years that have rendered the analysis of mediatization in the province more pressing. Mainly, developments in the fields of telecommunications and, more recently, of digital media have forced public administrations to adapt (Mancini, 1999). The communication practices of Quebec's public administration have thus undergone many transformations in line with New Public Management and New Political Governance models. In this paper, we analyze whether these changes are an expression of the mediatization, since 2003, of Quebec's public service sector, and therefore of the integration of media logics into the public administration's practices, structure and functioning. This is the first study dedicated to the mediatization of public administration using a non-European case. The in-depth case study of Quebec's public administration contributes to the understanding of mediatization in a breadth of cases with similar public administrative structures (Gerring, 2004).

### **2.3.2 Operational definitions and measurement**

This study follows a hypothetico-deductive scientific approach. The primary objective of the research is to make a descriptive inference between time and the degree of mediatization of Quebec's public administrations and ministerial departments. The research uses a mixed longitudinal approach to empirically observe changes in the structures and communication practices of the public service sector.

#### **Independent Variable : Time**

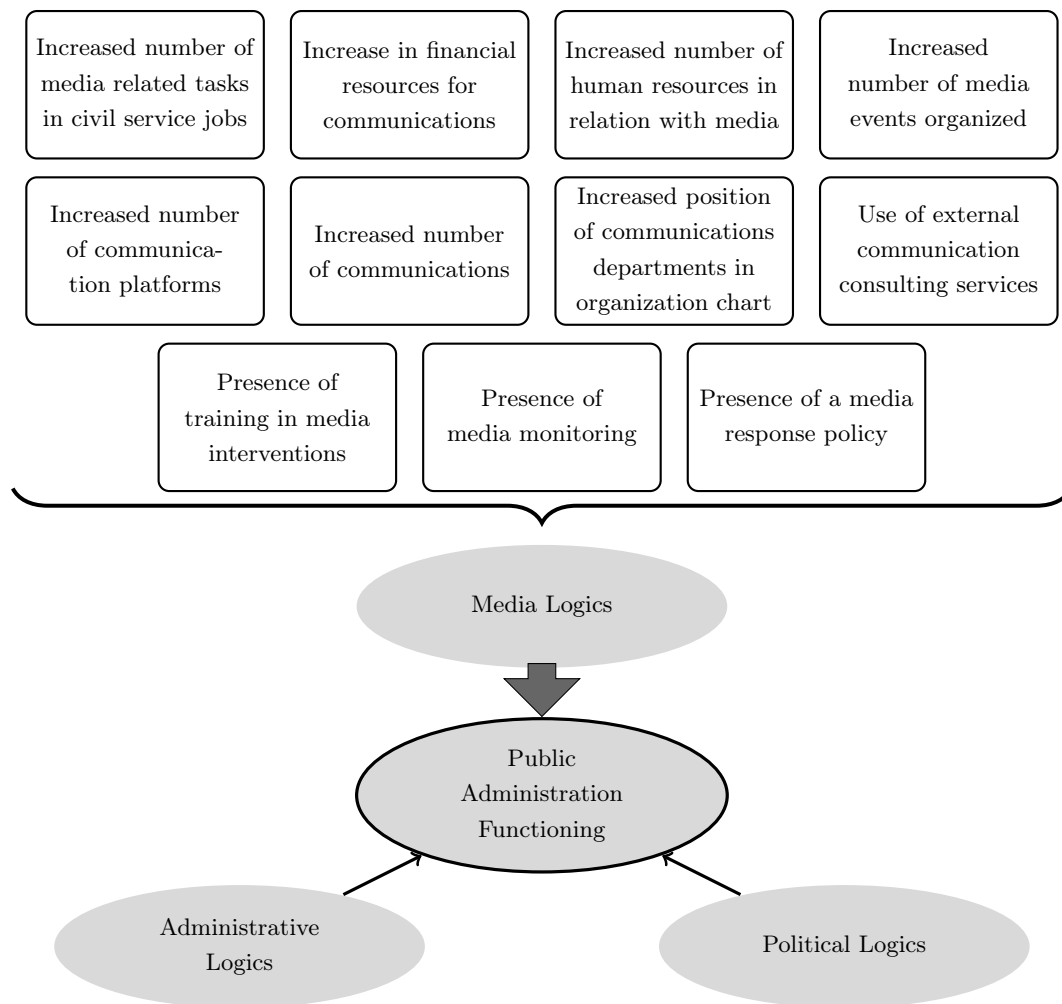
A mediatization process takes place in public administration when media logics significantly shape the activities and decisions of the public service sector. Media logic refers to the process of information production, including news selection and formatting, and the effect this process has on the way institutional bodies interpret society and its issues (Mazzoleni, 2008). A public service sector is described as being mediatized when media logic becomes integral to the structure and functioning of the institution and thereby supplants the two other principal logics guiding public administration, namely political and administrative logics (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014). Empirically speaking, the overarching purpose of this research project is to use a longitudinal approach to observe the evolution of public service structures and practices over time. Thus, time in years represents the independent variable. The analysis extends from 2003 to 2017 in order to observe the effects of the public administrative transformations and the evolution of the degree of mediatization of the state over the same period of time.

This time period was chosen in order to be able to analyze the repatriation of government communication decision-making processes within the Secretariat for Government Communication in both 2006 and 2014. The analysis base year, 2003, coincides with the arrival of a NPM approach in Quebec, as described by Fortier (2010); Hamel & Jouve (2006); Dion (1986). The 15-year longitudinal research design covers several waves of structural change in communication management as well as major technological transformations that may have influenced mediatization (Blumler et al., 1999). It also covers the switch from an NMP model to an NPG model.

## Dependant Variable : Degree of Mediatization within Public Administration

The mediatization of the public service sector arises when the activities of government organizations are significantly guided by a media logic. Thus, measuring the latent concept of the mediatization of public administration is central to our analysis. Extant quantitative analyses focusing on public service mediatization rely on a diversity of indicators. The findings of these studies also diverge. But how can the scientific community discuss the degree of mediatization when there is little agreement upon the operationalization and measurement of the concept? It is critical to understand whether the variation in findings across studies is real or simply an artefact of measurement arising from the use of different indicators.

FIGURE 2.3.1 – Operationalization of Public Administration Mediatization



In order to get closer to understanding public administration mediatization, it is central to understand and test the theories motivating diverse indicators. Thus, operationalizing media coverage of public service is a central part of this research project and its main contribution to the field. Tremblay-Antoine's (2019) scoping review on mediatization identifies the most used terms and concepts in the political communication literature, which helps clarify the links between different concepts. This

paper aims to integrate these concepts developed in order to develop a coherent and reliable measure of the "mediatization of politics" within public administration. To measure the latent concept of mediatization, an additive scale is created with indicators (King et al., 1994) that conform to the media practices of governmental bodies.

In her literature review, Tremblay-Antoine (2019) identifies four empirical studies analyzing the mediatization of public administration. The ten indicators used in these studies to measure administrative mediatization are integrated in an additive scale (presented in *Figure 2.3.1*) and tested here. They include an increase in the number of media related tasks in civil service jobs, the financial resources for communications, the number of human resources dedicated to media relations, the number of media events organized, the number of communication platforms, the number of broadcast communications, the position of communications departments in organizational charts, the use of external communication consulting services, the presence of training in media interventions and the presence of media monitoring (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Fawzi, 2018).

Several indicators are identified in the general mediatization literature to address the concept of mediatization of politics. An empirical indicator from this literature can be adapted to measure the concept within the public service : the presence of a media response policy (Robinson, 2001). Also, several studies use the indicator of perception by employees and managers of media influence in the organization (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Meyer, 2009; Laursen & Valentini, 2015; Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014; Salomonsen et al., 2016; Schillemans, 2016). Since this indicator is measured by survey or interview, it is left out of this study for methodological reasons.

As a result, eleven mutually exclusive indicators capturing various dimensions of public administration mediatization have been developed in the literature. *Figure 2.3.1* illustrates the different logics influencing the activities and structure of public administrations. The eleven indicators are also presented. Further explanation regarding the measurement of these indicators is developed in the *Data Analysis* section.

## 2.4 Method

### 2.4.1 Case Study

This research focuses on the provincial government of Quebec in Canada. In 2017, the Quebec government included twenty ministries. Thus, all departments are studied from 2003 to 2017 or from their creation to 2017. This longitudinal approach allows us to observe possible changes over time in the levels of mediatization within Quebec ministries.

### 2.4.2 Corpus and Data-Gathering Strategy

In order to measure the levels of mediatization in Quebec's public administration, the content of strategic plans, annual management reports, and organizational charts of the twenty ministries between 2003 and 2017 is analyzed. Press releases published between 2003 and 2017 by these institutions are also included in order to assess their frequency, but their content is not used in our textual analysis because they do not have internal strategic content. The analysis aims to analyse textual content regarding administrative and strategic decisions, while the content of press releases contains timely information.

However, the number of press releases published per year is a data regarding the functioning of an institution. Documents were collected following official information requests to ministries as well as to Quebec’s Library and National Archives. As indicated in *Table 2.1* the final corpus comprises 684 administrative documents. The fifteen-year period of study allows us to analyze a broader corpus in order to "maximize leverage over research problems" (Brady & Collier, 2010). The years documents were deposited is used to situate them in time. The analysis evaluates the eleven indicators’ longitudinal evolution in the institutions under study.

Each document is segmented by sentence, our unit of analysis, in order to produce a corpus of data for coding. The data collection output is a *.csv* file containing 337 321 sentences linked to their respective ministerial documents.

TABLE 2.1 – Detailed Corpus Analyzed

Ministries	Number of Documents		
	SP	AMR	OC
Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	3	15	15
Culture and Communications	4	15	15
Economy and Innovation	4	15	15
Education and Higher Education	3	15	15
Energy and Natural Resources	4	15	15
Environment and Fight against Climate Change	4	15	15
Executive Council Office	4	15	15
Family	5	15	15
Finances	4	15	15
Forests, Wildlife and Parks	4	15	15
Health and Social Services	4	15	15
Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion	5	15	15
International Relations and Francophonie	4	15	15
Justice	5	15	15
Municipal Affairs and Land Occupancy	4	15	15
Public Security	5	15	15
Tourism	3	15	15
Transport	5	15	15
Treasury Board Secretariat	5	15	15
Work, Employment and Social Solidarity	5	15	15
<b>Subtotal</b>	84	300	300
<b>Total</b>		<b>684</b>	

*Note* : Data last accessed in April 3, 2019.

*Sources* : Strategic plans (SP), annual management reports (AMR), organizational charts (OC)

### 2.4.3 Data Analysis

A multimethod protocol is followed in order to produce descriptive inferences relating to the evolution of mediatization in Quebec’s ministries. To assign data to their appropriate indicators, an automated content analysis with a supervised learning method is used. Once sentences are categorized, measuring the degree of mediatization of public administrations involves two components approached from a longitudinal perspective : a categorical analysis and quantitative analysis of indicator salience. Both measures are then compared.



## Supervised Machine Learning Method

The method used for the content analysis is deductive, which means it uses a coding system that is defined *a priori*, (Welbers et al., 2017) built with algorithms, and computer-assisted. The algorithms are based on the automated content analysis method developed by Hopkins & King (2010), the *ReadMe* approach, but has been adapted in order to categorize sentences instead of producing inferences. *ReadMe* is a commonly used categorization method in social sciences. But we do use the method developed by Hopkins & King (2010) to produce inferences about the number of sentences categorized for each indicator. The methodology behind the *ReadMe* approach as well as a comparison with other approaches is presented in the appendices. A comparison between the results of the categorization with this approach and the one we used is also presented (see *Figure 2.3*).

Two algorithms are developed to code our 337 318 sentences. A first algorithm identifies whether a sentence refers to an indicator or not. This first categorization is dichotomous and the concordance rate between the training and the test sets is 85%, which is within conventionally accepted levels. This algorithm allowed us to identify 46 229 non-zero sentences. A second algorithm categorizes each sentence in our corpus according to its reference to one of the eleven indicators measuring the mediatization of public administration. The approach used for both algorithms is a supervised learning method (Hopkins & King, 2010; Grimmer & Stewart, 2013).

The *Keras* package is used for categorization and is deployed in the R software environment for statistical computing. *Keras* is a deep learning computation method that makes use of artificial neural networks (Gulli & Pal, 2017). This method identifies lists of frequent words in each category of the training data.

Classification with *Keras* entails encoding sequences of words (lists) that the researcher finds significant in each category. These lists of specific words in a dictionary, called integers, are then turned into tensors of shape (matrices of many dimensions) and are fed into a neural network. The categorization is based on a dichotomous algorithm whose output is either 1 (included) or 0 (excluded) for a given input vector  $x$  of  $m$  values (Gulli & Pal, 2017). The function can be defined mathematically as follows :

$$f(x) = \begin{cases} 1 & wx + b > 0 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

where  $wx$  is the dot product  $\sum_{j=1}^m w_j x_j$ ,  $w$  is a vector of weights and  $b$  is a bias term Gulli & Pal (2017). More concretely, if  $x$  is above the straight line, defined by  $wx + b$ , the answer is considered as positive and the sequence is then included.

Coding is initially performed manually by researchers. This step allows the algorithm to learn how to categorize data. To this end, a sample of sentences is used to train the algorithm (King et al., 2013). The training sample is randomly selected and is comprised of 9850 sentences, or 3% of the corpus. In this step, the coding process is iterative. The encoding rules are initially set, but a back and forth process between the codebook and the data takes place in order to identify ambiguities and inaccuracies (Hillard et al., 2008; Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). The goal of this step is to create a very precise coding system that can then be applied to all the data. The results of the classification are then



cross-validated by comparing the classification of manual codings performed in the training period and in the test sets.

### Categorical Analysis

The empirical analysis uses sentences categorized into each of the predefined categories. We produce an evaluation of the variation in each indicator over the years under study. For this section of the analysis, 2003 is considered as the reference year since indicators are compared to indicators from previous years at every subsequent point. Within each category, we evaluate with a categorical analysis if the values of the indicators are decreasing (-1), stable (0) or increasing (1) compared to the previous year. The results for each indicator are then aggregated by year and by institution. Scores for 2004 to 2017 are subsequently compared between ministries. An increase in the mediatization of public administration would be observed if the overall score increased over the years. Analyzing the distribution of communication practices between governmental organizations makes it possible to assess whether communication is becoming centralized or not within and across contexts.

### Quantitative Analysis of Indicator Salience

The second section of the analysis aims to assess whether the salience of communications in departmental management reports is representative of the level of attention given to media logics in each ministry. A salience score is developed based on the prevalence of each indicators of the mediatization of public administration in our documents corpus. We analyze how the salience score changed from 2003 and 2017 in order to assess how prevalent media considerations are within public service reports over time. This measurement is based on public opinion studies. In this subfield, researches show that the salience of an issue in the media is correlated with the salience of the same issue among citizens (see, for example : Taylor & Fiske, 1978; Zaller et al., 1992; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008; Van de Wardt et al., 2014). To evaluate issue salience in public opinion, studies use the percentage of media coverage dedicated to a given issue. In this section, we test how this might apply when it comes to governmental institutions. To do so, the percentage of sentences dedicated to each indicators of mediatization for each administrative document of the corpus is analyzed. A high prevalence of an indicator in a document would mean, consequently, a high prevalence of this same indicator in administrative strategies.

TABLE 2.2 – Example of sentence associated to indicators

Indicators	Examples
Increased number of media related tasks in civil service jobs	Judicious use of new technologies, new technologies of information and communication, play a decisive role in achieving specific objectives of the Ministry of the Environment. (PS, Environment, 2000)

Increase in financial resources for communications	This is a 70 million project in which the government is contributing with 30 million ; the mobilizing project My First Digital Health Line aims to demonstrate that front-line health care can be optimized through information and communication technologies. (RAG, Economie, 2013)
Increased number of human resources in relation with media	The Student Placement collected information on the student job market, particularly to meet the needs of the media. (RAG, Tourisme, 2003)
Increased number of media events organized	Under the Quebec tourism brand, various promotional activities were created, including advertising placements in specialized magazines, participation in trade shows and specialized travel financing, public relations events for the distribution network as well as media and training seminars for travel agents allowing Quebec to stand out as a cruise destination of choice. (RAG, Tourisme, 2009)
Increased number of communication platforms	Several actions have been undertaken : public relations, collaboration with The Weather Network, media placements, Internet and social media communications as well as transmission of information (newsletters or articles) through relayers. (RAG, Securite, 2016)
Use of external communication consulting services	Establishment of an online service for the Export Program : The Ministry made greater use of external expertise to support internal communications resources, which increased costs. (RAG, Economie, 2016)
Presence of training in media interventions	Over the next few months, a training program will be developed for the ministry staff developing documents for the Internet and intranet sites. (RAG, Immigration, 2012)
Presence of media monitoring	Media Coverage Efficiency Index : The measure of the media coverage effectiveness index will be derived from the means and activities implemented as part of the overall communication strategy. (RAG, Securite, 2009)
Presence of a media response policy	The Media Relations Department supports the Ministry's efforts for the promotion by obtaining favorable press coverage for Quebec in print and electronic media. (RAG, Tourisme, 2011)

*Note* : This table presents a loose translation of sentences taken from the documents written in French. The original sentences are presented in the appendices section.

*Sources* : Statagic plans (SP), annual management reports (AMR), organizational charts (OC)

For the analysis of the document's using the salience measurement, we excluded two indicators of mediatization : the number of press releases and the position of communication departments within organization charts. Following a preliminary analysis of the corpus of sentences, we observe that the salience score does not allow for a significant measurement of these indicators. For example, the number of communications is, most of the time, a piece of information that appears only once in the documents and this indicator may vary considerably from one year to another. Thus, the number of communications was directly extracted from the documents and this indicator is measured as an absolute value. Since the position of communication departments in organization charts can only be observed and is not expressed textually in the documents, this indicator has been excluded from the salience measure.

## Multidimensional Scaling

A new measurement of the concept of mediatization of the public administration is developed and tested. The selection and integration of indicators to build the formal model is based on the theory of mediatization, permanent campaigns, and New Political Governance. The construction of an additive scale makes it possible to test whether the new measure of the concept of public service mediatization is reliable since, as noted by Young (1984), measurement is theory-testing. This operationalization is therefore a theoretical proposition and a conjecture to represent reality (King et al., 1994).

To build the variable representing the public administration's degree of mediatization, a multidimensional scale is created. Multidimensional scaling is a generic term for a category of techniques that aims to find the smallest dimensional space between different indicators (Shepard, 1962). Each indicator represents an imperfect measure of a latent variable. Similarity between indicators is represented, in a graph, by the spatial proximity between points (Shepard, 1962). Kruskal's (1964) least squares loss function is used to minimize the distance between objects by producing several successive configurations and introducing a regression of the distance between their dissimilarities. This method makes it possible to obtain perfect monotonicity between objects (Kruskal, 1964).

A summated rating model is used to represent variability among the indicators for the latent variable measure (Spector, 1992). In order to measure the "true" underlying dimension of public administration mediatization ( $L$ ), each indicator is associated with a function. This function represents the plot for each feature of mediatization with a scale that excludes that item, called the rest score. Characterized in a line, each function is a plot of  $E(M_j)$  where

- $j = 1, 2, \dots, k$  indexes the indicators ;
- $M$  is the variable for the public administration's degree of mediatization ;
- $X$  is the scale formed from the variable.

The rest score can be written as  $r(j, X_j)$ . The model for the summated rating model is based on the assumption that every plot for each indicator is monotonic with respect to the underlying dimension  $L$  (ie. follows the monotone homogeneity assumption) (Sijtsma & Molenaar, 2002). The monotonic curve is thereby the function measuring the sum of the lines in the graphs :

$$X = E(\sum_{j=1}^k M_j).$$

The operationalization model presented is not intended to be universal nor applicable beyond the study of institutional levels of mediatization. As discussed in Adcock & Collier (2001), indicators can be adjusted

according to specific contexts, though the authors point out that "the decision to pursue context-specific approaches should be carefully considered and justified" (p.544). Ultimately, a gap between the concept being analyzed and its measurement by way of indicators is inevitable in most social science work (King et al., 1994). However, we can evaluate the reliability of scales using at least three indicators : the first eigenvalue, the saturation coefficients produced by a factor analysis and Cronbach's alpha scores. Factorial analysis models the proximity of relations between different indicators (Kim et al., 1978). The method is based on reducing the number of indicators into factors by extracting the maximum common variance of all variables. It is from this model that we can extract the first eigenvalue, as well as the saturation coefficients associated with each indicator. Since the operationalization of the measure of mediatization is taken from the literature and then tested, this factor analysis is confirmatory. The Cronbach's alpha score represents the half-corrected average correlation for the scale length (Cronbach, 1951). The multidimensional scaling procedure is carried out on both the category and salience indicators.

## 2.5 Results

### 2.5.1 Testing the Theoretical Conceptualization of Mediatization of the Public Administration - Categorical measure

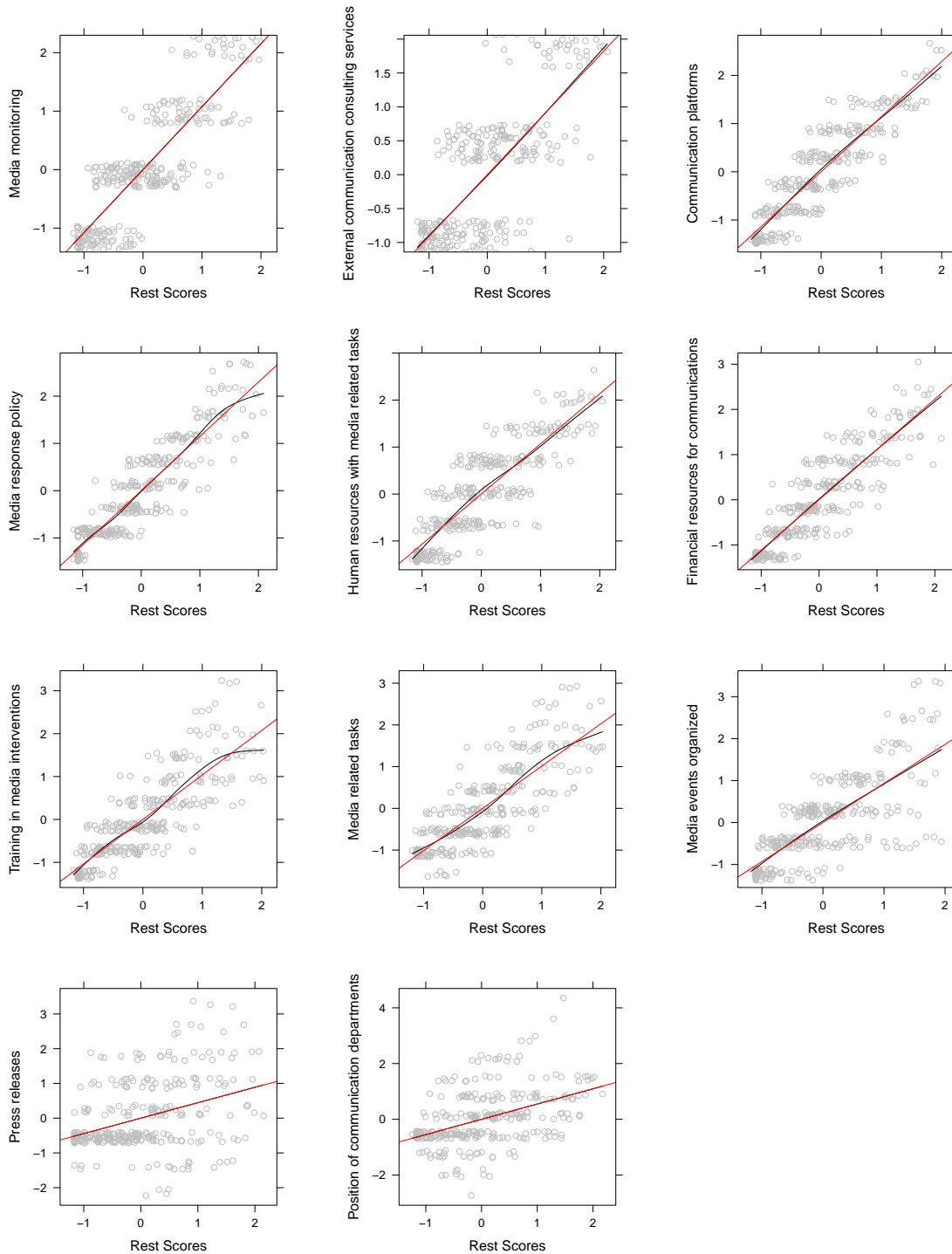
The eleven indicators measuring the mediatization of public administration identified in the academic literature are integrated into a single scale and their reliability is statistically tested. An analysis of the correlation between each of the indicators is performed using the summated rating model and allows us to confirm the reliability of the conceptualization of the latent variable.

A more conventional approach to analyzing reliability was also used to assess the categorical analysis data. *Figure 2.7.7* and *Figure 2.7.8*, presented in the appendices model the proximity between indicators.

For the categorical measure, the *Figure 2.5.2* presents the linear correlation between an indicator and the rest score (a scale that excludes that indicator). Every correlation coefficient has a value between 0.027 (for the press release indicator) and 0.045 (for the media monitoring), which means that all correlations are positive and statistically significant. Every indicator's endorsement rate increases as the rest-score increases. The score associated with the compactness of the data points around the best-fitting line is greater when the correlation coefficient is larger. This model allows us to assume monotonicity, but not linearity. Thus, a smooth correlation line has been added in order to present the relationships between indicators. As we can see, the smoother lines are mostly linear, which means that the correlation between every indicator and the remaining indicators evolves steadily and positively. The factor analysis generated a first eigenvalue of 7.37, as well as saturation coefficients between 0.4 (for the press release) and 0.94 (for the media response policy). The Cronbach alpha for the additive scale is 0.94. These results mean that we can be confident that the eleven indicators measure the same underlying concept. In order to examine the correlation between one indicator and the other predictors in the model, we used the variance inflation factor (VIF). In terms of the categorical measure, many indicators have a low VIF score (press releases, position of communication department, media events, external communication services and media monitoring), which means that they are not correlated with other predictors. However, the other indicators present a high VIF score, which means that they are indeed highly correlated with one other.

For the salience measure, *Figure 2.5.3* presents the linear correlation between each indicator and the rest score. Every correlation coefficient has a value between 0.3 (for the external communication consulting service indicator) and 0.77 (for the media related tasks), which means that all indicators are monotonically increasing. The smoother lines are mostly linear which means that the correlation between every indicator and the remaining indicators evolves steadily and positively. However, the smoother lines also demonstrate that the predicted order is violated for some indicators. The probability of endorsing the item decreases drastically for the external

FIGURE 2.5.2 – Relationship between indicators and the Rest Score - Categorical measure



*Sources* : Statgic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

*Method* : Summated Rating Model.

communication consulting service and the training with media intervention indicators over the 1.5 level. These results imply that both indicators should be excluded from the additive scale. This is in concordance with the other scale reliability analysis. The factor analysis (*Figure 2.7.8*) generated a first eigenvalue of 3.21 and a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.74. Most saturation coefficients are higher than 0.4. As for the summated rating model, the factor analysis shows that the indicators "external communication consulting service" and "training with media intervention" should be excluded from the additive scale with factor loadings of 0.28 and 0.33, respectively. However, the VIF scores for the salience measure are all near 1 which means that the indicators are not correlated with each other.

## 2.5.2 The Mediatization of Public Administration : The Case of Quebec

Using both measurements of the latent variable, the level of mediatization of the public administration is analyzed. The score for every institution is fragmented in *Figures 2.5.4* and *2.5.5*. The sum of every categorical observation is increasing over time for each institution. Aggregated, these scores represent the total measure of mediatization within the ministries of Quebec's public administration. A simple linear regression model is applied to the aggregated level of mediatization. The linear relationship between the level of mediatization in the public administration sector and the time variable is positive. For the categorical measure, the average increase in the mediatization score is 2.6 per year (with a residual standard error of 2.5). For the salience measure, the average increase in the mediatization score is 5.8% per year (with a residual standard error of 3.9). Both results are similar in terms of percentage of evolution per year, although the slope of the regression model line for the categorical measure is higher when we take into account its absolute value.

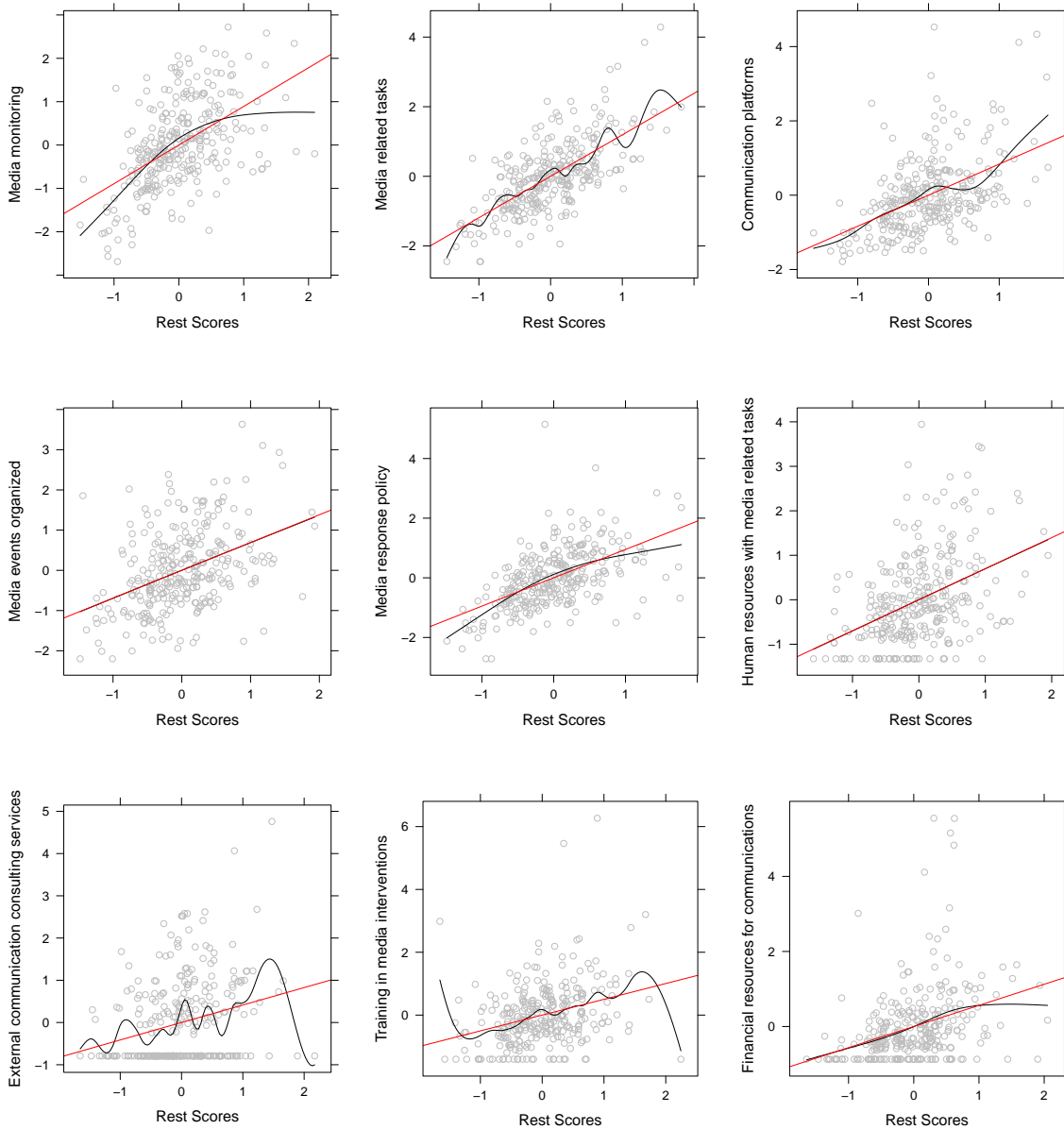
Among the ministries with the highest mediatization score, we have three categories. Some institutional bodies are central and high-impact entities within the government such as the Ministries of Security, Health and Education. They are also departments which—due to their mission—need to communicate a lot of information to the public. Thus, we observed that strategies to communicate essential information and reach the population are reflected in the mediatization measure. These entities are central to strategic decisions, government orientations and accountability of ministerial bodies. Their missions are pertaining the development of the government vision and the coherence of the actions of administrative bodies. The second category includes the administrative and strategic departments of government, namely the Executive Council Office and the Treasury Board Secretariat. It is consistent with the literature on the mediatization of politics (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2003) and permanent campaigns (Aucoin, 2012; Marland, 2016) that these institutions have a high level of mediatization. The literature has shown that central institutions have intensified their control over communication processes over time in order to unify communications around the governmental brand. Thirdly, departments in the entertainment activities sector also have a high level of mediatization. This is the case for the ministries of Tourism and Culture because it is part of their respective mandates to reach and inform citizens of their various activities.

### Centralization of communication strategies

In general, the total level of mediatization is relatively high when it comes to Quebec's central ministries. The *Figure 2.5.4* situates the total score over time for the Executive Council Office and the Treasury Board Secretariat. The total level of mediatization of these institutions is high, although several central ministries (security and health) or ministries in the culture and tourism sectors were more mediatized than others.

When focusing solely on strategic indicators, the two central entities of the Quebec government obtain the highest score. The *Figure 2.5.6* shows the evolution for the aggregation of four indicators for every ministry : position of communication departments, training in media intervention, media monitoring and media response policy. These indicators measure the strategic dimension of mediatization of public administration. Compa-

FIGURE 2.5.3 – Relationship between indicators and the Rest Score - Saliency measure



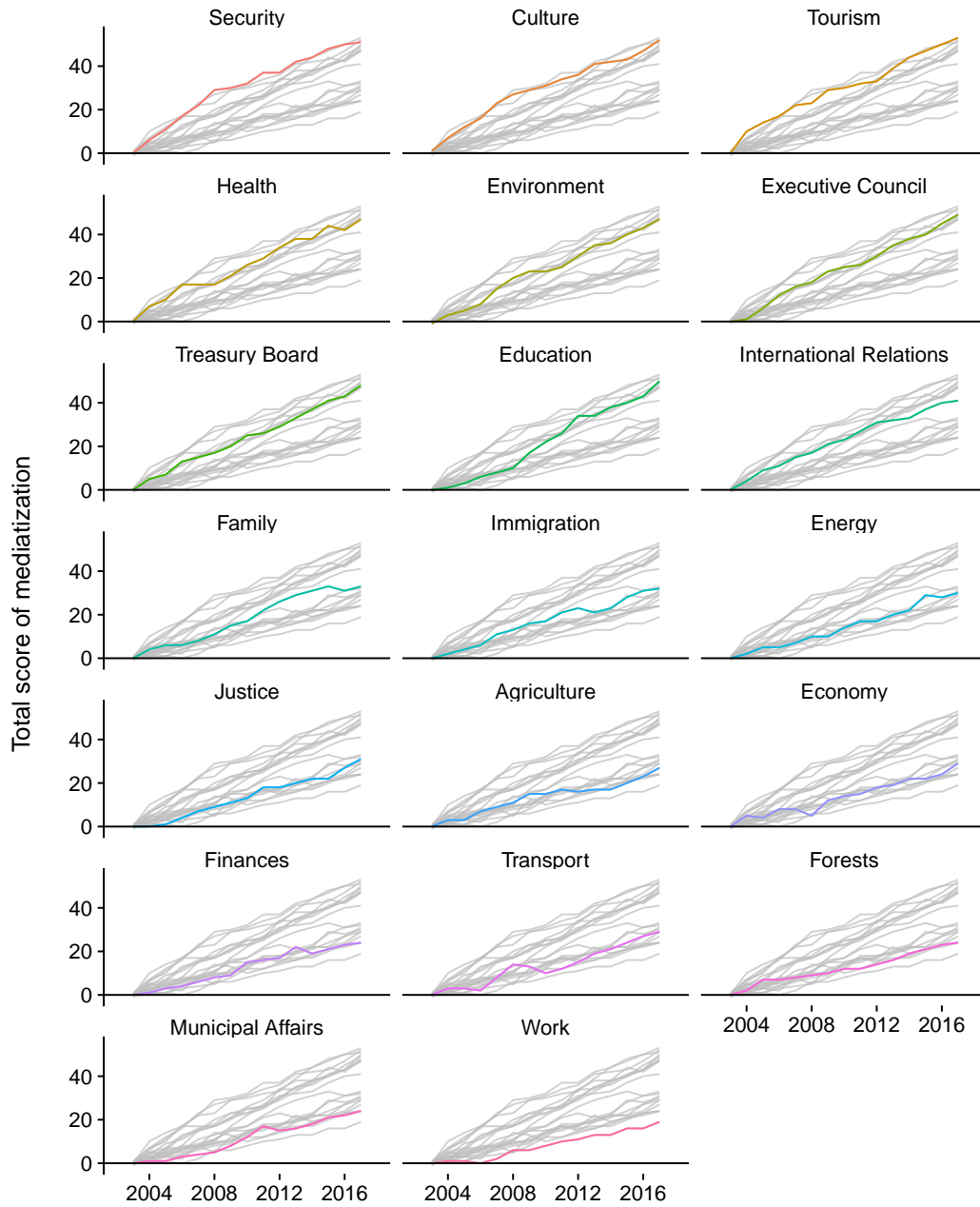
*Sources* : Statagic plans, annual management reports and organizational charts of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

*Method* : Summated Rating Model.

ratively, communication and media relations take center stage within the Executive Council Office and the Treasury Board Secretariat.

In its disaggregated form, the position of the communication department within the Executive Council Office is the indicator that has increased the most over time. In 2003, the communications department was at the bottom of the ministry’s organizational chart. It then became its own secretariat attached to the Prime Minister’s

FIGURE 2.5.4 – Aggregated mediatization score by institution and year - Categorical measure



Distribution of the score of mediatization of public administration by year.

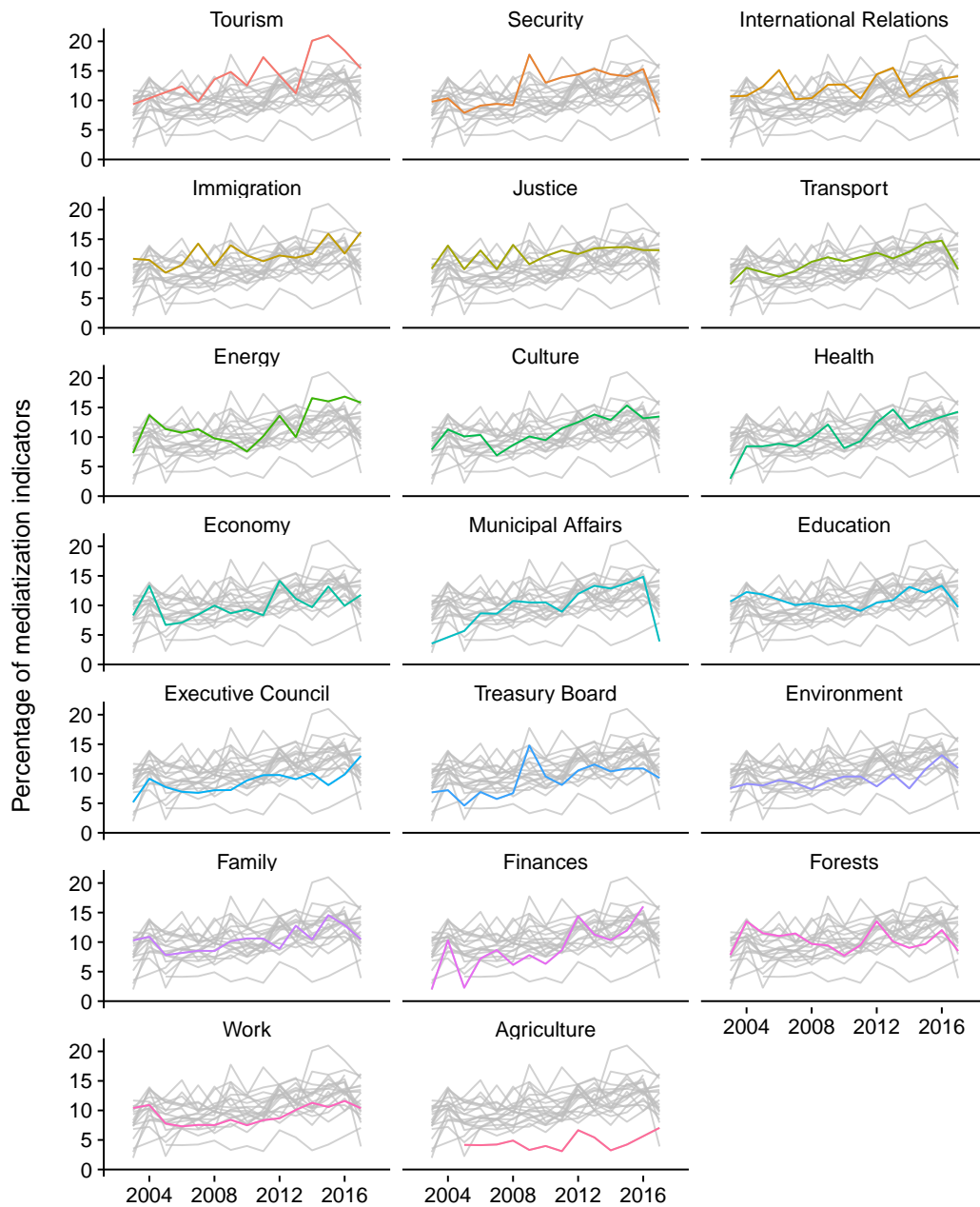
*Sources* : Statagic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

*Method* : Summated Rating Model.

department in 2006. In 2017, the Secretariat for Government Communication is one of the seven ministerial-level secretariats of the Executive Council Office. The Secretariat consists of an Assistant-Secretariat for Organization, Enrollment and Digital Communications, an Assistant-Secretariat of Strategic Communications,



FIGURE 2.5.5 – Aggregated mediatisation score by institution and year - Salience measure



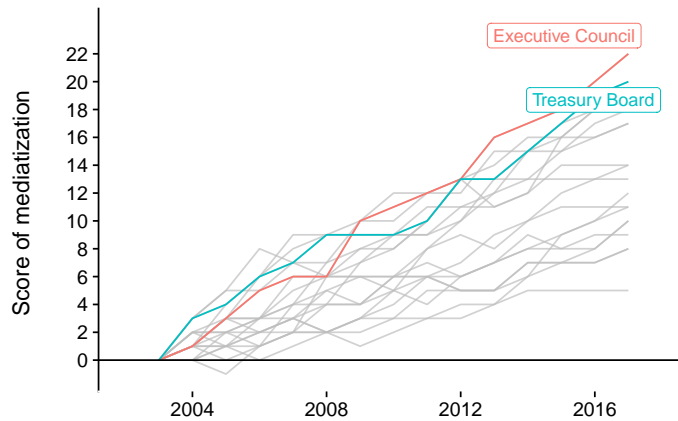
Distribution of the score of mediatisation of public administration by year.

*Sources* : Strategic plans, annual management reports and organizational charts of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

*Method* : Summated Rating Model.

and a General Communications Department. The Secretariat also includes a communication department for ministry. Although each ministry had its own internal communication department by 2017, the Executive Board still manages the communications of each entity. In terms of responsibilities, the Secretariat for Government

FIGURE 2.5.6 – Aggregated score for strategic indicators of mediatization



Distribution of the score for strategic indicators of mediatization of public administration by year with the categorical measure.

*Note* : The aggregated score includes the indicators of the position of communication departments, training in media intervention, media monitoring and media response policy

*Sources* : Statigic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

Communication establishes the strategic directions of communication and ensures their development, while the ministries ensure internal implementation (AMR, Treasury Board Secretariat, 2017).

The Executive Council Office and the Treasury Board Secretariat predominate in terms of managing staff training for communication and media relations. Over the observed period, the Treasury Board Secretariat is the ministerial entity that has increased its training in media relations for public servants activities the most, followed by the Executive Council Office and the Ministry of Tourism. In particular, the secretariat has set up training courses for the use of new communication platforms in order to mobilize public servants to promote the Department’s vision within organizations.

Although the analyses show that the media monitoring indicator does indeed measure the concept of mediatization, this indicator does not obtain a particularly high score in the analyzed corpus. The linear model for this indicator predicts an average increase of 0.14 per year in the mediatization of public administration’s score. The Treasury Board Secretariat is among one of the ministries that has increased its media monitoring the most between 2003 and 2017.

The Treasury Board Secretariat is also the institution where media response policies increased the most during the observed period. This indicator is one of the most strongly correlated with the overall measure of mediatization of public administration (with a factor loading of 0.94). Along with the ministries of Security, Health and Education, the Treasury Board Secretariat specifies year after year how the institution and its employees should interact with the media. As specified in its mandate, the Secretariat must also support other ministries in their communication efforts produce communication requirements for other ministries. This explains why this particular institution obtains such high results in the content analysis. In particular, the Secretariat approves communication plans and strategies in addition to developing communication procedures (AMR, Treasury Board Secretariat, 2017).

These results tend to confirm the sub-hypothesis 1.1, which states that the communication strategies of the

government are centered around those of the Premier. This centralization reinforces the control over communication processes within the government and, in particular, around the Premier's Office.

## 2.6 Discussion

This paper aims to operationalize the concept of mediatization in a public administration setting and to evaluate its influence on the administrative arena. Previous studies show, to varying degrees, that governmental organizations adapt to media logics by modifying their activities and structures (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2003; Fredriksson & Pallas, 2016; Fawzi, 2018). The use of automated text analysis via machine learning allows us to confirm these results while quantifying the phenomenon.

From a theoretical perspective, this research fills five specific gaps in the literature. First, studies on the mediatization of politics generally focus either on political actors or on political institutions as a whole, leaving public administration out of the fray. This paper, by contrast, focuses on the intersection of political communication and public administration. The results highlight that governmental institutions are adapting to media logics by deploying more and more resources to media-centric initiatives and by building a more structured and imposing framework around communication efforts. Second, no extant work has analyzed the fourth dimension of the mediatization of the public administration – the level of adherence of actors and institutions to the media logics – in a longitudinal and quantitative way. This analysis therefore presents a first quantitative study on the evolution of the phenomenon over time. Third, studies investigating the media's impact on political institutions tend to rely on interviews or subjective assessments of documents (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004; Garland et al., 2018). Using quantitative strategy allows for a systematic large-scale assessment of the many dimensions that measure the mediatization of the public service sector. We find a statistically significant positive correlation between changes in the level of mediatization of the public administration over time. The quantification of the phenomenon also makes it possible to compare the results across ministries. High-impact entities (Security, Health and Education), governing and strategic departments (Executive Council Office and the Treasury Board Secretariat), and the departments of Tourism and Culture have the highest levels of mediatization. Fourth, the process-oriented mediatization of public administration has to date been empirically analyzed in a predominantly European context (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Meyer, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2015). Studying the Quebec case shows that the phenomenon of mediatization of the public administration is observable outside Europe. Finally, the most important theoretical contribution of this article is the creation of a conceptual model to measure the mediatization of a public administration and the testing of its statistical reliability. The indicators used to measure the degree of mediatization in the public service sector differ between academic studies (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Meyer, 2009; Fredriksson et al., 2015). This paper operationalizes the concept of mediatization of public administration by using all the indicators identified in the literature. By evaluating the additive scale's reliability, this study shows that aggregating indicators makes it possible to reliably measure the latent concept. However, data from the salience measurements show that indicators measuring the use of external communication services and the presence of training in media relations should be excluded from the operationalization. Although these indicators seem theoretically significant, empirical evidence has not been able to confirm that they are reliable indicators of the concept.

A potential limit of this research is that the theoretical construction of the additive scale is based entirely on the existing literature. The main objective was to verify the empirical reliability of the theoretical construct. Thus, all indicators of public administration mediatization identified in the literature have been used to build the scale, though there may be multicollinearity between them. The additive scale constructed with the data from the categorical measure has a smaller residual error in its regression model. And indeed, several indicators do seem to measure similar aspects of the latent variable. The additive scale measuring salience has a higher error term but no multicollinearity among indicators. Future work should take more systematic stock of indicator collinearity when measuring mediatization. Moreover, in the present study, all indicators are given the same

weight in each of the scales. This may represent a second limit in that all indicators may not be similarly important to the mediatization process and therefore in the measurement of the concept. Indicators could potentially be weighted according to their predictive nature in order to build a more accurate measure of mediatization.

From a methodological perspective, the research contributes to our understanding of the reliability of automated content analysis methods in analyzing large bodies of data. A relatively new method for categorizing data is used in this study, but nevertheless one that has already been validated across a number of fields (see, for example : Gulli & Pal, 2017; Chae et al., 2018; Arnold, 2017; Shanmugamani, 2018). This paper tests the boundaries of this method by deploying it on seldom studied data : the strategic data of a public administration. Administrative documents are particularly homogeneous and neutral (Van Thiel, 2014). These factors make the calibration of algorithms much more difficult than when corpora of more varied writing styles are used. That said, our results are accompanied by a higher margin of error ; the homogeneity of the observed categories impedes the categorization process. Eleven indicators of the same concept are categorized in the findings, but given the nature of the categories, the words are similar across categories.

At the level of measurement, this paper allows us to assess two sides of the same variable : the a categorical one and salience-based one. Mostly used in public opinion literature, the salience measure is significantly easier to use when it comes to a large corpus of data. Combining this measure with machine learning categorization fully automates the content analysis process. This research shows that the results obtained through categorical and salience analyses are similar. The salience measure also allows us to add more precision to the analysis of the data. In the case of public administration mediatization, an examination of the salience measure identifies two indicators that should be excluded from the operationalization of the latent variable. The measure of salience applied to the civil service case remains to be tested in other cases, but the results of this research show an interesting potential for future research using automated content analysis.

In theory, the public service sector is a set of apolitical institutions that bring together experts and administrators of the state. While the link between the political and the administrative sphere is often studied, the link between the public service sector and the media is considerably less well understood. Understanding the influence institutions like the media may have on entities responsible for citizen services and state administration is of paramount importance in democratic societies. Thus, the results of this research raise questions about the role and place of the media in modern democratic societies beyond the realm of elected officials and bodies. Our findings indicate that Quebec's government ministries have adjusted significantly to media logic in recent years. Communication activities and resources are growing, the public service sector is increasingly monitoring media activities, and media relations are becoming increasingly centralized institutionalized and formalized. The executive now exerts stricter control over its communication apparatus, a trend which has increased over the period studied. This paper does not allow us to make causal observations about the influence of the media on the public service sector. However, the nine empirical indicators evaluated allow us to observe that Quebec's public administration has indeed adapted its communication practices to media logics. Thus, the media seems to be of non-negligible importance in the functioning of the public service sector. But is it the media's place ? Are these changes eroding the independence of the civil service ? Does mediatization impact the functioning of democracy ? These normative questions fall outside the scope of our present work but represent important venues for future research.

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## 2.7 Appendices

### 2.7.1 Categorization with ReadMe

The *ReadMe* method, developed by Hopkins & King (2010), is the method most commonly used by social scientists. We also measured the level of mediatization with this approach. The *ReadMe* method estimates the proportion ( $p$ ) of data in each categories based in the categorization developed in the training set ( $W_{training}$ ) for every sentences in included documents (Hopkins & King, 2010). The whole process is initiated with the test set  $W_{test}$  and can be presented as :

$$p(W_{test}) = p(W_{test}|C_{test})p(C_{test}).$$

where  $p(W_{test}|C_{test})$  is the distribution of sentences in the test set by category and  $p(C_{test})$  is the proportion of sentences in each category for the entire test set (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). In order to learn what proportion of sentences are found in each category, a matrix smoothing method is used (Hopkins & King, 2010). This technique ensures a greater correlation between words, while ensuring that estimated probabilities are useful for learning from the training set (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). With approach,  $\hat{p}(W_{test})$  is inferred directly from the test set. The estimate is based on the assumption that the conditional distribution of data in the training and the test set is identical (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). Thus,  $\hat{p}(W_{test}|C_{test})$  can be substituted by  $\hat{p}(W_{training}|C_{training})$ . The function used to estimate the proportion of sentences in each category (Hopkins & King, 2010) is :

$$\hat{f}(W_{test}) = (\hat{p}(W_{training}|C_{training})' \hat{p}(W_{training}|C_{training}))^{-1} \hat{p}(W_{training}|C_{training})' \hat{p}(W_{test}).$$

The algorithm identifying whether a sentence refers to an indicator or not as also been used before deploying the *ReadMe* method. For comparison purposes, here are the results obtained with the categorization use of tensorflow and *ReadMe*.

TABLE 2.3 – Results of categorization

Categories	Keras	ReadMe
1	13.39	12.21
2	1.35	5.27
3	1.80	4.75
4	7.11	8.66
5	7.98	21.47
6	0.45	2.28
7	2.33	7.32
8	13.34	11.24
9	19.16	13.47

*Note* : Results for each categories in percent

*Sources* : Statagic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

## 2.7.2 Original Sentences from the Examples of Categorisation

TABLE 2.4 – Example of sentence associated to indicators

Indicators	Examples
Increased number of media related tasks in civil service jobs	Une utilisation judicieuse des nouvelles technologies, les nouvelles technologies de l'information et des communications (NTIC), jouent un rôle déterminant dans l'atteinte de certains objectifs du ministère de l'Environnement. (PS, Environnement, 2000)
Increase in financial resources for communications	Il s'agit d'un projet de 70 millions de dollars auquel le gouvernement participe pour 30 millions de dollars; le projet mobilisateur Ma première ligne numérique en santé vise à démontrer que les soins de santé de première ligne peuvent être optimisés grâce aux technologies de l'information et de la communication. (TIC). (RAG, Economie, 2013)
Increased number of human resources in relation with media	Le Placement étudiant a colligé de l'information sur le marché de l'emploi étudiant, notamment pour répondre aux besoins des médias. (RAG, Tourisme, 2003)
Increased number of media events organized	Sous l'image de marque touristique du Québec, diverses activités promotionnelles ont été réalisées, dont des placements publicitaires dans des magazines spécialisés, la participation à des salons et à des bourses de voyages spécialisés, des actions de relations publiques destinées au réseau de distribution ainsi qu'aux médias et des séminaires de formation aux agents de voyages permettant au Québec de se démarquer comme destination de croisière de choix. (RAG, Tourisme, 2009)
Increased number of communication platforms	Plusieurs actions ont été entreprises pour ce faire : des relations publiques, une collaboration avec MétéoMédia, des placements médias, des communications sur Internet et les médias sociaux ainsi que la transmission d'information (infolettres ou articles) à l'aide de relayeurs. (RAG, Securite, 2016)

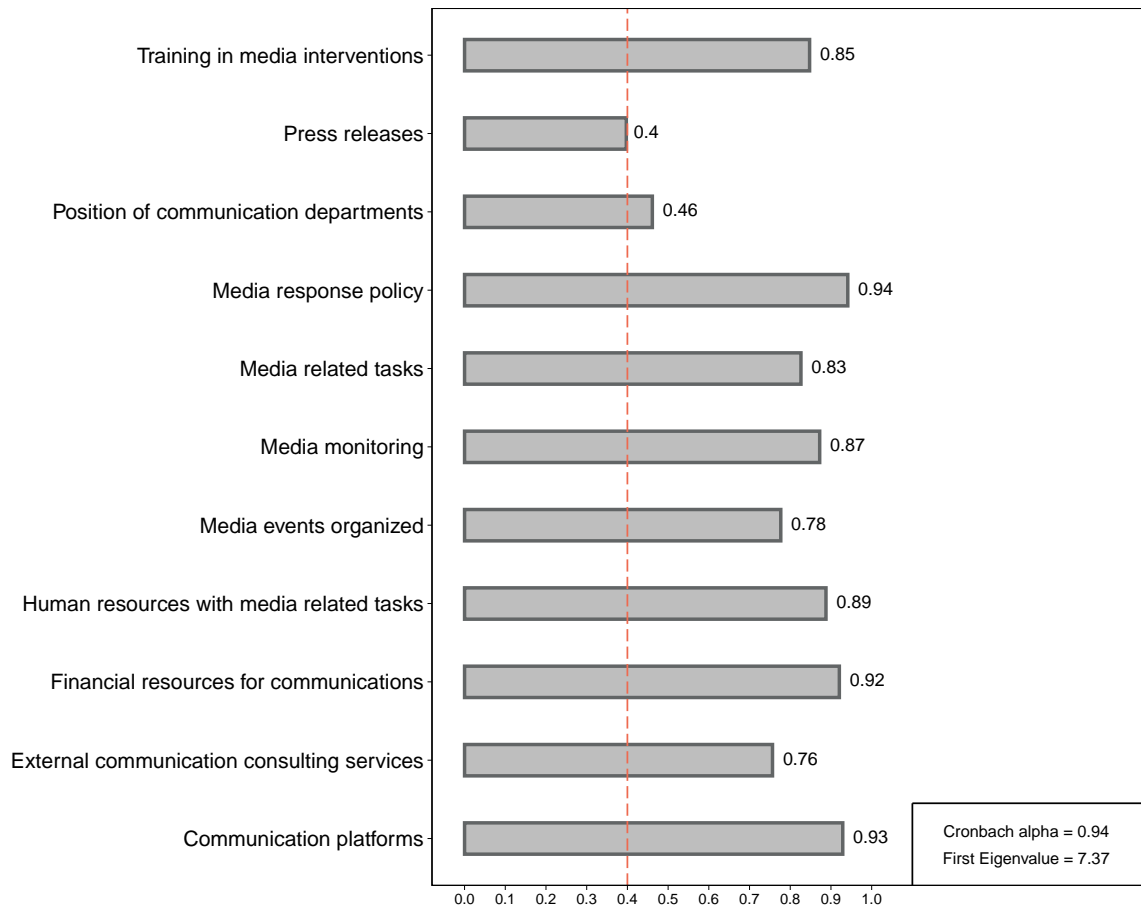
Use of external communication consulting services	Mise en place d'un service en ligne pour le Programme Exportation : Le Ministère a davantage eu recours à de l'expertise externe pour soutenir les ressources communicationnelles internes, ce qui a eu pour effet d'augmenter les coûts. (RAG, Economie, 2016)
Presence of training in media interventions	Au cours des prochains mois, un programme de formation sera mis en place à l'intention du personnel du Ministère qui conçoit des documents pour les sites Internet et intranet. (RAG, Immigration, 2012)
Presence of media monitoring	Indice d'efficacité de la couverture médiatique : La mesure de l'indice d'efficacité de la couverture médiatique découlera des moyens et des activités mis en oeuvre dans le cadre de la stratégie globale de communication. (RAG, Securite, 2009)
Presence of a media response policy	Le Service des relations de presse soutient les efforts promotionnels du Ministère en obtenant une couverture de presse favorable pour le Québec dans des médias écrits et électroniques. (RAG, Tourisme, 2011)

*Note* : Original sentences of *Table 2.2*

*Sources* : Statagic plans (SP), annual management reports (AMR), organizational charts (OC)

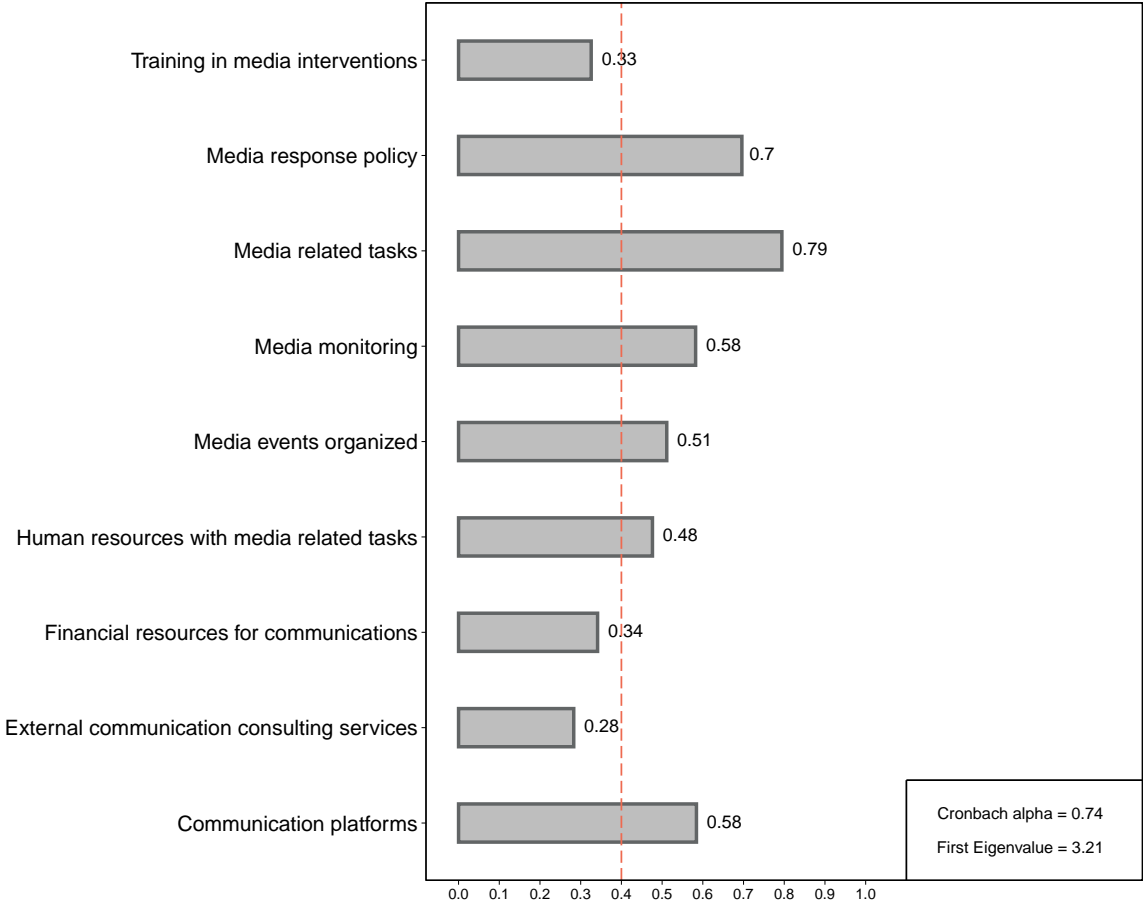
### 2.7.3 Factor Analysis

FIGURE 2.7.7 – Reliability of the additive scale of the mediatization of public administration - Categorical measure



Sources : Strategic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

FIGURE 2.7.8 – Reliability of the additive scale of the mediatization of public administration - Saliency measure



Sources : Statagic plans, annual management reports, organizational charts and press releases of the twenty ministries from 2003 to 2017.

# Conclusion

En privilégiant une approche par article, ce mémoire aborde la médiatisation de l'administration publique de manière complémentaire ; le deuxième article reposant directement sur les résultats du premier. Dans un premier temps, l'étude de la portée de la littérature sur la médiatisation du politique a permis de souligner les définitions consensuelles du concept, mais également d'identifier quelques lacunes dans la littérature. Ainsi, les résultats de l'étude de la portée ont permis d'identifier cinq manques principaux dans la littérature que le deuxième article de ce mémoire a tenté de combler : (1) Les études analysant la quatrième dimension de la médiatisation du politique (Strömbäck, 2008) portent davantage sur les acteurs et les institutions politiques. Cette recherche vise à étudier la jonction entre la communication politique et l'administration publique ; (2) Les approches utilisées pour étudier la médiatisation du politique sont majoritairement qualitatives (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004; Garland et al., 2018). L'approche utilisée dans le deuxième article est mixte, avec une mesure qualitative catégorielle et une mesure de la saillance. Ce devis de recherche a permis de comparer des résultats empiriques qualitatifs et quantitatifs et de constater des résultats similaires ; (3) La médiatisation de l'administration publique a quantitativement été analysée dans un contexte essentiellement européen (Meyer, 2009; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Fawzi, 2018). Étudier le cas québécois permet d'observer si le phénomène de la médiatisation de l'administration est observable de manière empirique en dehors du continent européen. Une médiatisation de l'administration publique a été observée pour le cas québécois ; (4) Les indicateurs utilisés pour mesurer le degré de médiatisation dans la fonction publique divergent entre les études. Le deuxième article opérationnalise le concept de la médiatisation de l'administration publique en utilisant tous les indicateurs relevés dans la littérature et teste la fiabilité de l'échelle de mesure. D'après les analyses sur la fiabilité de l'échelle, deux indicateurs devraient être exclus de l'opérationnalisation : "l'utilisation de services externes de communication" et "la présence de formations aux relations avec les médias" ; et finalement (5) Aucune étude analyse de manière longitudinale et quantitative la quatrième dimension de la médiatisation de la fonction publique. La deuxième partie de cette recherche présente donc une première étude quantitative de l'évolution du phénomène dans le temps.

Ainsi, le deuxième article a répondu à la question de recherche : *Quel est l'évolution du degré de médiatisation des ministères de l'administration publique québécoise ?*

Un aspect central de cette recherche a été d'opérationnaliser la médiatisation de l'administration publique. La conceptualisation de la variable latente est hétéroclite dans la littérature sur la médiatisation (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Meyer, 2009). Afin de faire reposer la conceptualisation sur un processus systématique, tous les indicateurs de la médiatisation de l'administration publique identifiés dans la littérature ont été inclus dans une échelle de mesure additive, puis testés. Le modèle d'évaluation cumulée (*summated rating model*) et l'analyse factorielle ont été déployés afin de déterminer si chacun des indicateurs mesure bien le concept latent. Les données issues de la mesure par la saillance démontrent que les indicateurs de "l'utilisation de services externes de communication" ainsi que "la présence de formations aux relations avec les médias" devraient être exclus de l'opérationnalisation du concept. Bien que ces indicateurs semblent significatifs théoriquement pour mesurer le niveau de médiatisation, la preuve empirique n'a pas



permis de confirmer que ce sont des indicateurs du concept.

L'hypothèse centrale que cette recherche est que *le niveau de médiatisation des ministères québécois augmente dans le temps*. Les résultats ont permis de confirmer l'hypothèse en démontrant que le niveau de médiatisation de tous les ministères du gouvernement du Québec a évolué de manière positive et significative entre 2003 et 2017. Parmi les ministères ayant le score de médiatisation le plus élevé, trois catégories sont observées. Premièrement, plusieurs sont des entités centrales et à fort impact au sein du gouvernement, telles que les ministères de la sécurité, de la santé et de l'éducation. Deuxièmement, les ministères de direction et de stratégie du gouvernement, nommément le Ministère du Conseil exécutif et le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor. Cela concorde avec les principaux résultats présentés dans la littérature sur la médiatisation de la politique (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Meyer, 2003) et sur la campagne permanente (Aucoin, 2012; Marland, 2016). Cette littérature a montré que les institutions centrales intensifiaient leur contrôle sur le processus de communication afin d'unifier la communication autour de la marque gouvernementale. Troisièmement, les départements ayant dans leur mandat la promotion des secteurs du tourisme et de la culture ont également un niveau élevé de médiatisation.

La mesure de l'évolution du niveau de médiatisation a permis de démontrer que plusieurs aspects touchant la communication et les relations avec les médias se sont intensifiés au cours des dernières années au Québec. Par contre, la recherche ne permet pas d'observer si, avec cette évolution, l'objectif pour des institutions est de s'adapter aux logiques médiatiques. Les ministères présentant le plus haut niveau de médiatisation sont des institutions devant, de par leur mandat, communiquer beaucoup d'informations au public. Ainsi, les stratégies permettant de mieux communiquer les informations essentielles et d'atteindre la population peuvent être reflétées dans cette mesure de la médiatisation.

L'hypothèse d'une *centralisation de la communication de l'administration publique autour du premier ministre* semble se confirmer. Lorsque l'analyse se concentre sur les indicateurs touchant davantage la dimension stratégique de la communication et des relations avec les médias, le ministère du Conseil Exécutif et le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor présentent les niveaux de médiatisation les plus élevés. Afin de compléter ces résultats, il serait intéressant d'analyser comment les décisions communicationnelles sont prises. Le ministère du Conseil Exécutif dispose maintenant d'un département général de communication et chacun des ministères dispose d'une direction des communications. Il serait intéressant de compléter les analyses présentées dans ce mémoire avec des informations sur la manière dont se coordonnent les décisions entre le Secrétariat à la communication gouvernementale et les départements de communication spécifiques.

#### **2.7.4 Limites méthodologiques**

Le devis de recherche mixte entraîne une complémentarité des résultats, avec un volet qualitatif d'analyse des indicateurs de la médiatisation ainsi qu'avec un volet quantitatif mesurant la prévalence de la communication dans l'administration publique. L'échelle de mesure additive permettant de mesurer le concept latent de la médiatisation de l'administration représente, néanmoins, un aspect du devis de recherche pouvant être plus risqué. La médiatisation de l'administration publique n'ayant été mesurée de manière quantitative que quatre fois (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Meyer, 2009), les indicateurs servant à mesurer ce concept latent restent à tester dans des systèmes administratifs qui ont des caractéristiques diverses. De plus, chaque indicateur a un poids égal dans la constitution de la variable de la médiatisation de l'administration dans cette recherche. Ceci peut donc représenter une seconde limite puisque les divers indicateurs n'ont peut-être pas la même importance dans le déroulement du processus de médiatisation et donc dans la mesure du concept. Les tests de l'échelle additive avec le modèle d'évaluation cumulée et l'analyse factorielle ont démontré que certains indicateurs permettent davantage de mesurer le concept latent que d'autre. Les indicateurs pourraient potentiellement être pondérés en fonction de leur caractère prédictif afin de construire une échelle de mesure plus précise du concept. Également, la construction théorique de l'échelle additive est

entièrement basée sur la littérature existante. L'objectif principal de la recherche était de vérifier la fiabilité empirique du construit théorique. Ainsi, tous les indicateurs de la médiatisation de l'administration publique identifiés dans la littérature ont été utilisés pour construire l'échelle puis testé la multicollinéarité de ces indicateurs. L'échelle additive construite avec les données de la mesure catégorielle présente une moins grande somme d'erreur résiduelles sur son modèle de régression. Lorsque la multicollinéarité est testée avec les données issues de cette mesure, plusieurs indicateurs sont problématiques puisqu'ils semblent mesurer des aspects similaires de la variable latente. Les difficultés dans la catégorisation ont également pu être accrues par l'homogénéité des catégories observées. Onze indicateurs du même concept ont été catégorisés. De par la nature des catégories, les mots étaient similaires d'une catégorie à l'autre. Pour l'échelle additive avec la mesure de la saillance, dont l'erreur est plus élevée, il n'y a pas de multicollinéarité observée entre les indicateurs. Ainsi, dans des recherches futures, il serait pertinent de s'attarder à mieux comprendre s'il y a réellement de la multicollinéarité entre ces indicateurs. Néanmoins, la multiplication des indicateurs augmente le nombre d'observations pour mesurer le concept de la médiatisation de l'administration publique et accroît, ainsi, la fiabilité de l'échelle de mesure (King et al., 1994).

L'analyse n'examine que la médiatisation au sein des ministères du gouvernement québécois. Cette population n'est cependant pas représentative de l'ensemble des pratiques dans les 198 ministères et organismes qui comptent le gouvernement du Québec en 2017. Par contre, les organismes gouvernementaux sont, pour la plupart, sous la responsabilité des ministères. Ainsi, les pratiques communicationnelles et les relations avec les médias sont davantage établies par les ministères et les organismes centraux. L'analyse des indicateurs de la médiatisation dans tous les ministères et secrétariats semble être davantage significative du fonctionnement administratif et des principes que lui injecte l'exécutif gouvernemental. Cependant, il serait pertinent d'analyser éventuellement s'il est possible d'inférer certaines pratiques communicationnelles au sein des organismes gouvernementaux à partir des pratiques étudiées au niveau ministériel. Puisque les pratiques communicationnelles sont dictées par les instances ministérielles, la médiatisation des autres organisations gouvernementales est peut-être similaire.

### 2.7.5 Contributions

Plusieurs aspects de cette recherche démontrent son intérêt pour les champs de la communication politique et de l'administration publique. L'étude de la portée de la littérature a permis de produire un état du savoir sur la médiatisation du politique et d'identifier de manière précise les frontières de la connaissance dans le champ de recherche. Ainsi, la revue de la portée permet de formuler des constats relativement à l'état du savoir et d'identifier des manques dans la littérature sur la médiatisation du politique que cette recherche a tenté de combler.

Le second article a permis précisément de combler plusieurs des lacunes du champ de recherche sur la médiatisation du politique. En étudiant le cas de l'administration publique québécoise, la recherche représente une première analyse quantitative de la médiatisation d'une fonction publique hors de l'Europe.

La contribution principale de ce mémoire a été d'opérationnaliser la médiatisation de l'administration publique. En se basant sur tous les indicateurs du concept latent identifié dans la littérature (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Fawzi, 2018; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Meyer, 2009), une échelle de mesure additive a été créée puis testée. Une analyse de la fiabilité de l'échelle a démontré que les indicateurs de l'utilisation de services externes de communication ainsi que la présence de formations aux relations avec les médias devraient être exclus de l'opérationnalisation du concept. La preuve empirique tirée de documents issus du corpus québécois étudié n'a pas permis de confirmer que ce sont des indicateurs du concept, bien qu'ils soient utilisés dans la littérature pour mesurer une composante de la médiatisation. Il est possible que le cas à l'étude explique cette variation. Toutefois, il serait judicieux de vérifier de nouveau la fiabilité empirique du construit théorique inhérent à la mesure de la médiatisation de l'administration publique.

Afin de réaliser la catégorisation par apprentissage machine, une méthode de codage de données relativement émergente a été utilisée, mais ayant fait ses preuves dans d'autres domaines (voir, par exemple : Gulli & Pal, 2017; Chae et al., 2018; Arnold, 2017; Shanmugamani, 2018). La catégorisation par l'utilisation de *Tensorflow* avec *Keras* a produit des résultats similaires à l'approche avec *ReadMe*, la méthode de classification la plus utilisée en science politique. Les frontières de cette méthode ont été testées en la déployant sur un corpus très peu étudié : des données tirées de documents stratégiques issus de l'administration publique. Ces documents administratifs sont particulièrement homogènes et neutres (Van Thiel, 2014). Ainsi, la calibration de nos algorithmes a demandé des efforts plus importants que pour des corpus de données où le style d'écriture est plus varié.

Le deuxième article a permis de comparer deux analyses de la même variable, ce qui représente une contribution méthodologique sur la mesure du concept de médiatisation. L'étude compare l'évolution de la saillance des aspects communicationnels dans les rapports de gestion des ministères avec une mesure qualitative catégorielle des différents indicateurs identifiés dans la littérature. Principalement utilisée dans la littérature sur l'opinion publique, la mesure de la saillance est significativement plus facile à déployer pour l'analyse d'un grand corpus de données. L'analyse permet ainsi d'observer si la prévalence d'un aspect dans les documents administratifs est représentative de l'importance qui y est accordée par l'institution. La combinaison de cette mesure à la catégorisation par apprentissage machine permet d'automatiser entièrement le processus d'analyse de contenu. La recherche démontre que les résultats obtenus par l'analyse catégorielle et la saillance sont similaires. En outre, la mesure de la saillance a permis d'apporter davantage de précision à l'analyse des données. Dans le cas de la médiatisation de l'administration publique, l'approche par l'examen de la saillance a permis de détecter deux indicateurs qui devraient être exclus de la mesure de la variable latente. Bien que la mesure de la saillance appliquée au cas de la fonction publique devrait être mesurée sur d'autres corpus de documents administratifs, les résultats de ce mémoire ouvrent un potentiel intéressant pour de futures recherches utilisant l'analyse de contenu automatisée.

D'après les résultats obtenus, les ministères du gouvernement québécois se sont ajustés de manière significative aux logiques médiatiques, que la médiatisation a fait son œuvre sur l'administration publique du Québec depuis 2003. Les activités et ressources liées à la communication augmentent, les ministères surveillent de plus en plus les activités médiatiques, leurs relations avec les médias se centralisent, s'institutionnalisent et deviennent plus formelles. Cette recherche ne permet pas de formuler des observations causales quant à l'influence des médias sur le service public. Cependant, onze indicateurs empiriques indiquent que l'administration publique du Québec adapte ses pratiques communicationnelles aux logiques médiatiques. Ainsi, les transformations médiatiques semblent transformer à leur tour le fonctionnement du service public. Est-ce leur place? Quelles sont les implications démocratiques de ce phénomène? Ce mémoire a permis de quantifier l'évolution de la médiatisation. Toutefois, ces questions normatives devraient être explorées dans de futures recherches.

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