



Information, Objectivity & Propaganda

History of Information
Geoff Nunberg

March 7, 2017



Information, Objectivity & Propaganda



Midterm Essay Option

Students who want to write an essay in lieu of taking the midterm must submit a proposal by March 14. We will let you know if you may proceed by March 17. The paper is due at 9:30 a.m. on the morning of the midterm (March 23).

Instructions are posted on Midterm Essay Guidelines page, linked from course home page.

Essay prompts will be posted this afternoon.

Itinerary, March 7

Objectivity, news, information, propaganda...

The first "information revolution"

What makes for "news"?

Rise of the mass press:

Story and Information

Separated at birth: objectivity and propaganda

The creation of objectivity

The rise of propaganda

Assignment: is objectivity possible?

Assignments: Marisa A., Becca B., Chloe C., Sam Z., Alexander Y.

Objectivity, propaganda,
information, news...

Is objectivity dead?

Journalists Question How To Cover Trump

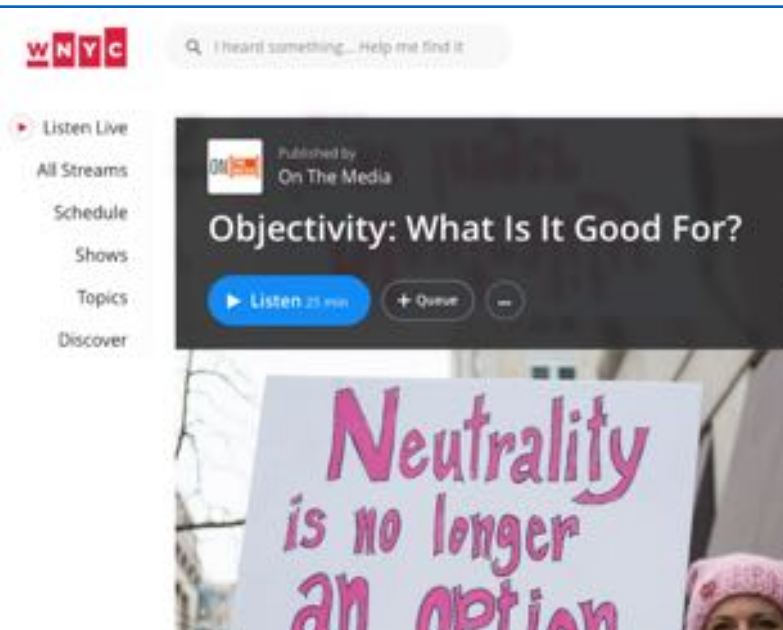
Facebook Twitter Email Comments

Monday, February 6, 2017
By Maureen Cavanaugh, Michael Lipkin



PHOTO BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

In this Nov rally in Har



Lewis Wallace, a former reporter for the public radio program Marketplace, was recently fired after he wrote a blog post called ["Objectivity is dead, and I'm okay with it."](#) Wallace, a transgender man, said that as government officials shifted toward a "post-fact" worldview, it was impossible for responsible journalists to stay neutral.

MEDIA

Trump Is Testing the Norms of Objectivity in Journalism



Jim Rutenberg
MEDIATOR AUG. 7, 2016



WSJ Editor Tells Reporters Who Don't Like Objective Trump Coverage To Leave The Paper

Russia urged to ban 'Beauty and the Beast' remake over gay 'propaganda'

By Emma Burrows and Tim Lister, CNN

One person's news...

How New York's Top Advertisers Are Fighting Terrorist Propaganda

Madison Avenue's best talent met with government officials multiple times in recent months to discuss how to counter radicalization online.

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

How Anti-Democratic Propaganda Is Taking Over the World

Autocrats from Beijing to Moscow are spreading their toxic ideology in more parts of the globe than ever before. And they're much more sophisticated than you think.

By CHRISTOPHER WALKER | March 03, 2017

SEARCH

NEW YORK POST



OPINION EDITORIAL

Times presents 'news' that's just propaganda for Bam

Feb. 22, 2017 | 7:27pm

WEEKLY

La La Land Is a Propaganda Film



Photo: Alex Stamboulis

Trump's Use of Navy SEAL's Wife Highlights All the Key Ingredients of U.S. War Propaganda

The Joys of Propaganda

Sign of the Times

By ANDREW O'HAGAN | FEB. 22, 2017

"The First Information Revolution"

assessing

what happened?
what/who was involved?
what did (or did not) come before?
what did (or did not) follow?
what did (or did not) contribute?
what happened elsewhere?
what's likely to be underestimated?
what was necessary, what sufficient?

jumping ahead

c. 1454 Gutenberg

c. 1460: Roman type

Also: Wood-pulp paper
Newspaper folding machine.
Telegraph...

c 1720 - 1780: invention of stereotype

1814: steam press

1847: rotary press

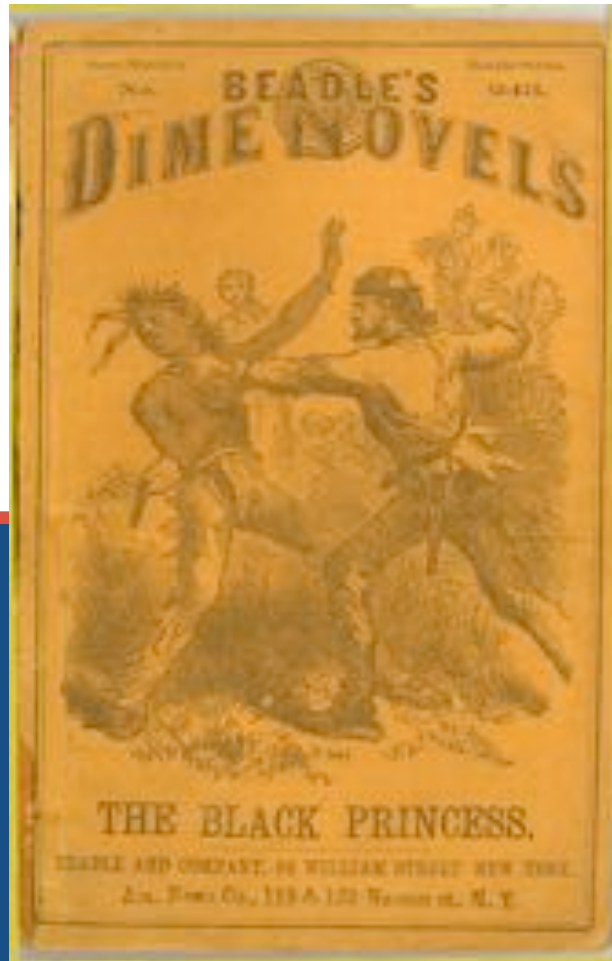
1886: Mergenthaler Linotype

1887: Monotype

1892: process color printing

1902: offset lithography





"The First Information Revolution"

Penny newspapers, circulating libraries, "dime novels"...

"the tawdry novels which flare in the bookshelves of our railway stations, and which seem designed... for people with low standards of life." Matthew Arnold, 1880



Rise of the Penny Newspaper

Rise in literacy

Democratization of commerce & political life

Urbanization and the urban experience



Street scene in Philadelphia, 1882.



The New York Times.

Defining “the News”

Irwin:

Change (the unexpected)

Drama (conflict)

Gossip...

Cf Lindbergh kidnapping (1932)

“Biggest story since the Resurrection” (H. L. Mencken)



Prioritizing "the News"



A "natural hierarchy" of importance?

plane crashes > winter furnace breakdowns

crimes of rich criminals > crimes of poor criminals

breakthroughs in science > breakthroughs in auto repair

business news > labor news

(from Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News*)

Who is this man?





Villemessant

Localizing the news

“To my readers, an attic fire in the Latin Quarter is more important than a revolution in Madrid.”

Hippolyte de Villemessant, founder of *Le Figaro*

"One Englishman is a story. Ten Frenchmen is a story. One hundred Germans is a story. And nothing ever happens in Chile." Posting in a London newsroom.

Parents sue zoo, city in fatal tiger attack

The parents of a San Jose teenager who was mauled to death by a Siberian tiger at the San Francisco Zoo last Christmas Day sued the city and the zoo Tuesday, saying zoo officials ignored warnings that the walls of the tiger's enclosure were dangerously low.



Le Figaro, 1856

Rise of the mass press: Story and Information



Rise of the mass press



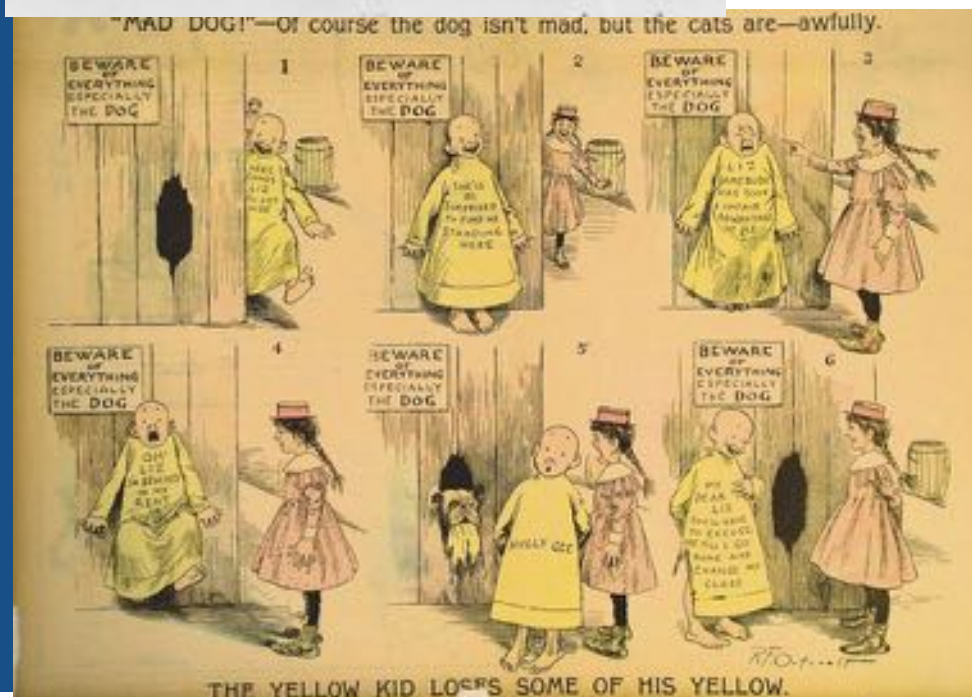
The *World*, the *Journal-American*; "yellow journalism"





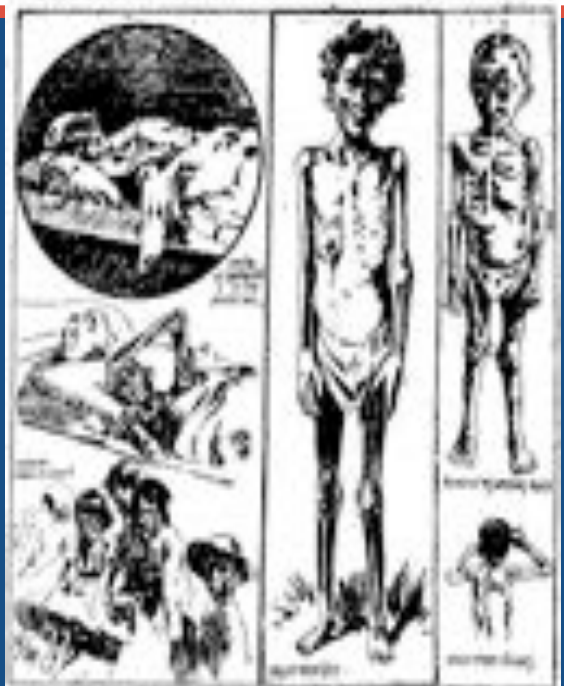
Going graphic

Sunday rotogravure, cartoons, women's features, comics



The Political Press

WHAT SENATOR PROCTOR SAW IN CUBA



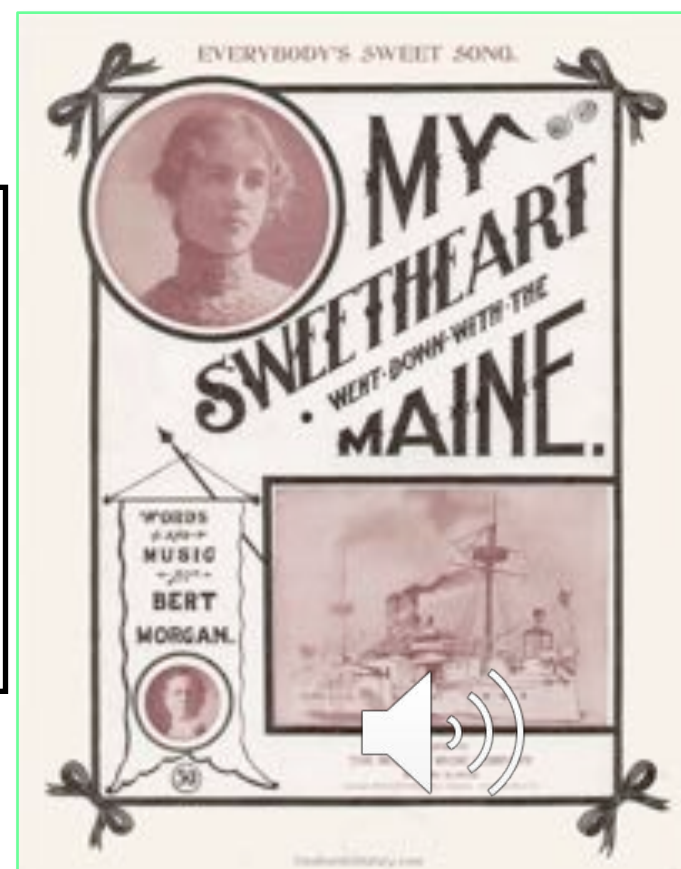
SPANIARDS SEARCH WOMEN ON AMERICAN STEAMERS



"You supply the pictures and I'll supply the war" W. R. Hearst to Frederick Remington (attrib.)

**Does Our Flag Protect Women?
Indignities Practiced by Spanish
Officials on Board American
Vessels. Refined Young Women
Stripped and Searched by Brutal
Spaniards While Under Our Flag**

NY Journal, 2/12/1897





Nellie Bly
(Elizabeth Cochran)



Will Irwin

"Muckraking"

You may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-rake, the man who could look now way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hands; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake himself the filth of the floor.

Theodore Roosevelt



Lincoln Steffens



"Muckraking"



Upton Sinclair



All art is propaganda. It is universally and inescapably propaganda; sometimes unconsciously, but often deliberately, propaganda.

It is difficult to get a man to understand something, when his salary depends upon his not understanding it.

Upton Sinclair



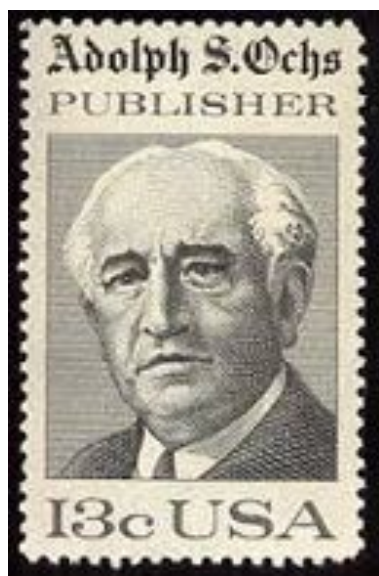
"Muckraking"

"these narrow ways diverging to the right and left, and reeking everywhere with dirt and filth. Such lives as are led here, bear the same fruit as elsewhere. The coarse and bloated faces at the doors have counterparts at home and all the world over."
Charles Dickens,
American Notes 1842



Jacob Riis:
How the Other Half Lives, 1890

"La moitié du monde ne sait pas comment l'autre vit" Rabelais



The "higher journalism"



NY Times Dec. 10, 1900

1896: Adolph Ochs takes over the NY Times

Stresses "decency," reform; giving the news 'impartially, without fear or favor, regardless of any party, sect or interest involved

Publisher as a "vendor of information"

Circulation goes from 9000 to 350,000 in 1920

"All the news that's fit to print."

"it does not soil the breakfast cloth"

The sources of "objectivity"

Sources of “objectivity”

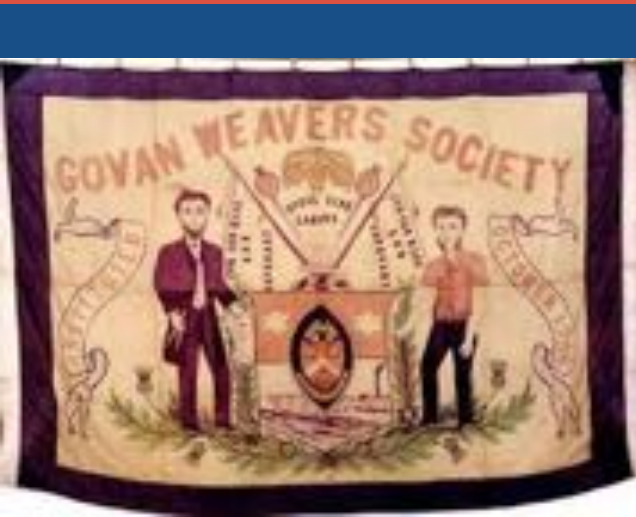
Science: Statistics & quantitative methods, new tools of observation

Professionalization, "scientific communities," appearance of (modern) journals

photography “A daily photograph of the day's events.” Charles Dana

Modern journalism, professionalization, circulation-based models, wire services etc.

The birth of data science



Rise of the actuaries

Science: Statistics & quantitative methods, new tools of observation

The rise of statistical thinking

1820-1840: “An avalanche of printed numbers” Ian Hacking

Magis: Statistics, Madame, is a modern and positive science. It sheds light on even the most obscure facts. Thus recently, thanks to laborious research, we now know the exact number of widows that crossed the Pont Neuf during 1860.

Desambois: This is prodigious. And how many?

Magis: Thirteen thousand, four hundred and ninety eight, plus one doubtful case.

Paris Vaudeville 1861:



Wire services

Its [The AP's] members [i.e. subscribers] are scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf, and represent every possible shade of political belief, religious faith, and economic sympathy. It is obvious that the Associated Press can have no partisan nor factional bias, no religious affiliation, no capitalistic nor pro-labor trend. Its function is simply to furnish its members with a truthful, clean, comprehensive, non-partisan...report of the news in the world...

Frank B. Noyes, president of the Associated Press, 1913



What makes for "objectivity"?



"Facticity"

My business is merely to communicate facts. My instructions do not allow me to make any comments on the facts I communicate. ... My dispatches are merely dry matters of facts and detail. AP Washington bureau chief, 1866

Facts, facts piled up to the point of dry certitude, that was what the American people really wanted." Roy Stannard Baker privileges "information" over "story"

The Objective Voice

Detachment:

Creation of the “degree zero” voice

“Reporters were to report the news as it happened, like machines, without prejudice, color, and without style; all alike. Humor or any sign of personality in our reports was caught, rebuked, and suppressed.”

Lincoln Steffens on his years on the *Post*

Neutrality/nonpartisanship:

"If people knew how I felt on an issue, I had failed in my mission" Walter Cronkite



Edwin Stanton

The inverted pyramid

This evening at about 9:30 p.m. at Ford's Theatre, the President, while sitting in his private box with Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Harris and Major Rathburn, was shot by an assassin, who suddenly entered the box and approached behind the President.

The assassin then leaped upon the stage, brandishing a large dagger or knife, and made his escape in the rear of the theatre.

The pistol ball entered the back of the President's head and penetrated nearly through the head. The wound is mortal.

The President has been insensible ever since it was inflicted, and is now dying.

...

NY Herald, 4/15/1865

The Lead: Who, what, where, when, why & how?

The most important info goes first.

BODY

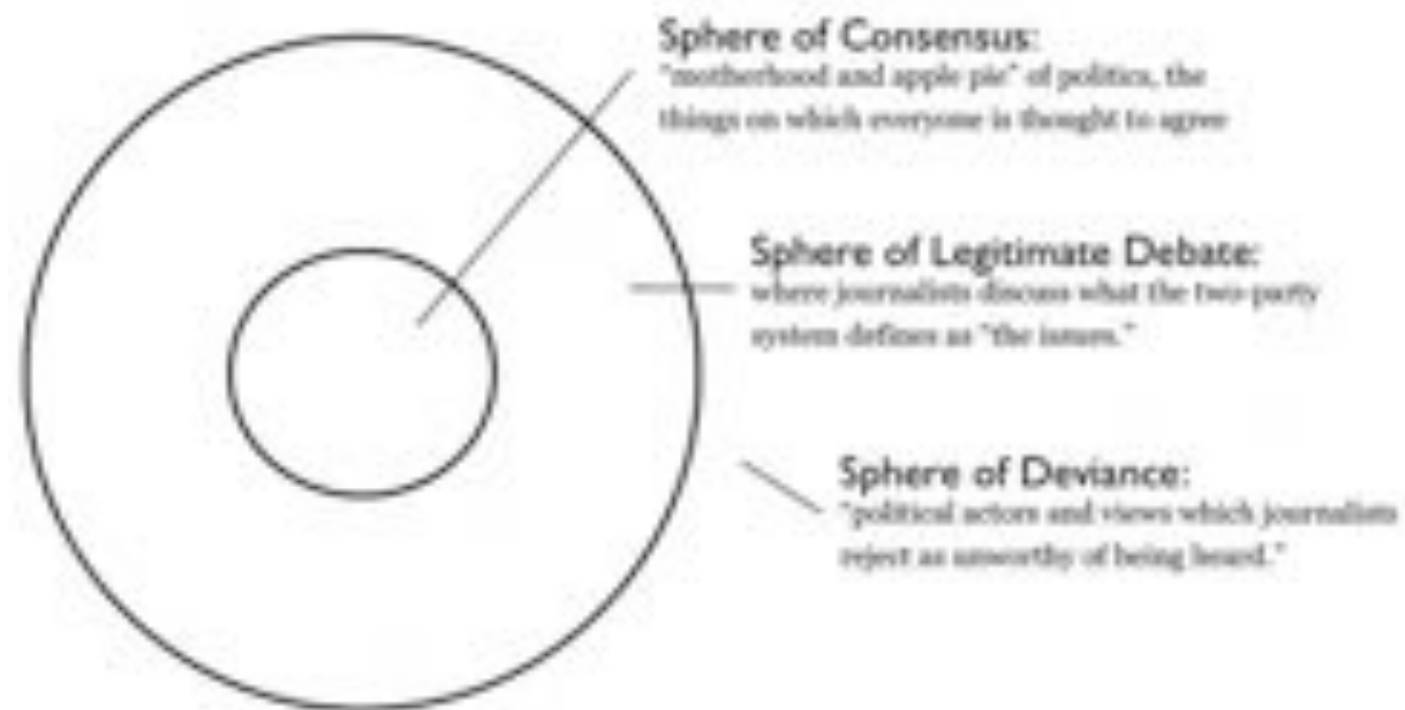
Develop your "news peg" with supporting info, interviews, overviews or references.

As the story goes on, your details should become less & less important.

“Balance”

Balance etc. presume a common perspective

Cf. Daniel Hallin on “spheres” of public discourse



Cf changing status of “~~homosexual~~ gay same-sex marriage”

The price of "impartiality"

NEGROES LYNCHED BY A MOB

THREE SHOT TO DEATH AT MEMPHIS, TENN.

RINGLEADERS OF A PARTY WHICH AMBUSHED AND SHOT FOUR DEPUTY SHERIFFS — THE WATCHMAN WAS BOUND AND THE JAILER SLEPT.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 9.—At dawn this morning the dead bodies of three negroes riddled with bullets and partly covered with brush were found in a lot about one and a half miles from the heart of the city. The bodies as they lay outstretched told of the terrible work of masked men at 3 o'clock this morning.

The negroes, whose bodies were literally shot to pieces by this mob, were Calvin McDowell, William Stuart, and Theodore Moss.

The crime for which this summary vengeance was wreaked upon them was the ambushing and shooting down on Saturday night last of four Deputy Sheriffs in a negro locality known as the Curve while the officers were fulfilling their duty in looking for a negro for whose arrest they had a warrant.

About 3 o'clock this morning seventy-five men, all wearing masks, appeared in Front Street, near the jail. Whence they came no one hazards a guess. No one saw them assemble; no officer of the law noticed their passage through any streets, nor did any person intercept them in their quick and quiet march to the Shelby County Jail. At this time Watchman O'Donnell sat in the jail office having a chat with a friend named Seat. Suddenly

"It is a peculiar fact that the crime for which Negroes have frequently been lynched, and occasionally been put to death with frightful tortures, is a crime to which negroes are particularly prone." NY Times editorial, 1894, decrying mob violence

ern circles that the British committee was moved to action upon the ex parte statements of a mulatto refugee, who was a refugee because she had imputed unchastity to the victims of negro outrages in the South. Upon the whole, we

"Nobody in this section of the country believes the old threadbare lie that Negro men rape white women."

Ida B. Wells



The Age of Propaganda

The Age of Propaganda

Before 1914, 'propaganda' belonged only to literate vocabularies and possessed a reputable, dignified meaning... Two years later the word had come into the vocabulary of peasants and ditchdiggers and had begun to acquire its miasmic aura. Will Irwin, *Propaganda and the News*



”Propaganda” in Google Books 1900-2000

Propaganda before "propaganda"



“When [Roland] speaks to the populace he can no longer be direct. ... Things are never called by their common names. Massacre is sometimes agitation, sometimes effervescence, sometimes excess....” Edmund Burke, 1794

WWI British Propaganda

May, 1915: The Bryce Report "substantiates" allegations of German atrocities during invasion of Belgium.



UN CRIME

C'est non loin des rives de l'Yser. Les Allemands, furieux de leur défaite, se vengent, sans aucune espèce de pitié, la fille d'un fermier belge, âgée de 14 ans, d'avoir fourni des renseignements aux officiers français. La pauvre fillette a été fusillée impitoyablement sous les yeux de ses parents. En se retirant, après ce lâche assassinat, les Allemands ont mis le feu à la ferme.





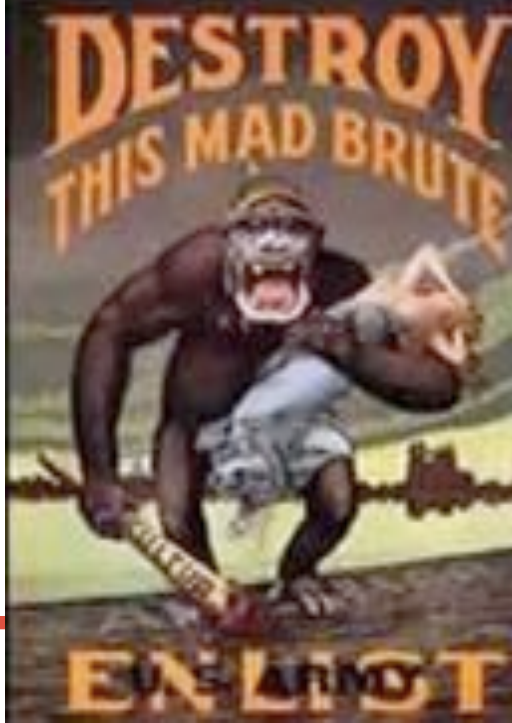
ED. MORTON'S SENSATIONAL ANTI-WAR SONG HIT
DIDN'T RAISE MY BOY
TO BE A SOLDIER



America's change of heart







Mastering propaganda: 1914-1917



Poster by James
Montgomery Flagg

WWI: Creel Committee:

“We did not call it propaganda, for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption. Our effort was educational and informative throughout. No other argument was needed than the simple, straightforward presentation of facts.”
George Creel



Propaganda in WWII



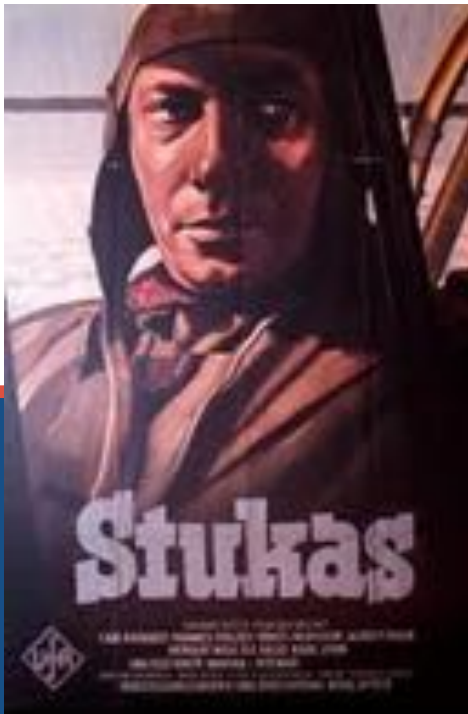
Frank Capra and
George C. Marshall

Adoption of propaganda techniques by Roosevelt during WWII: "Office of Facts and Figures" --> Office of War Information

"the office is not a propaganda agency... We don't believe in this country in artificially stimulated, high-pressure, doctored nonsense." NYC Mayor Fiorello La Guardia

The object is "to provide the public with sugar-coated, colored, ornamental matter, otherwise known as 'bunk.'" La Guardia, letter to FDR

The Propaganda Film



Stukas (German) 1941

"The easiest way to inject a propaganda idea into most men's minds is to let it go in through the medium of an entertainment picture." Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information



Italian 1940





The Propaganda Film



Leni Riefenstahl, Triumph of the Will, 1935



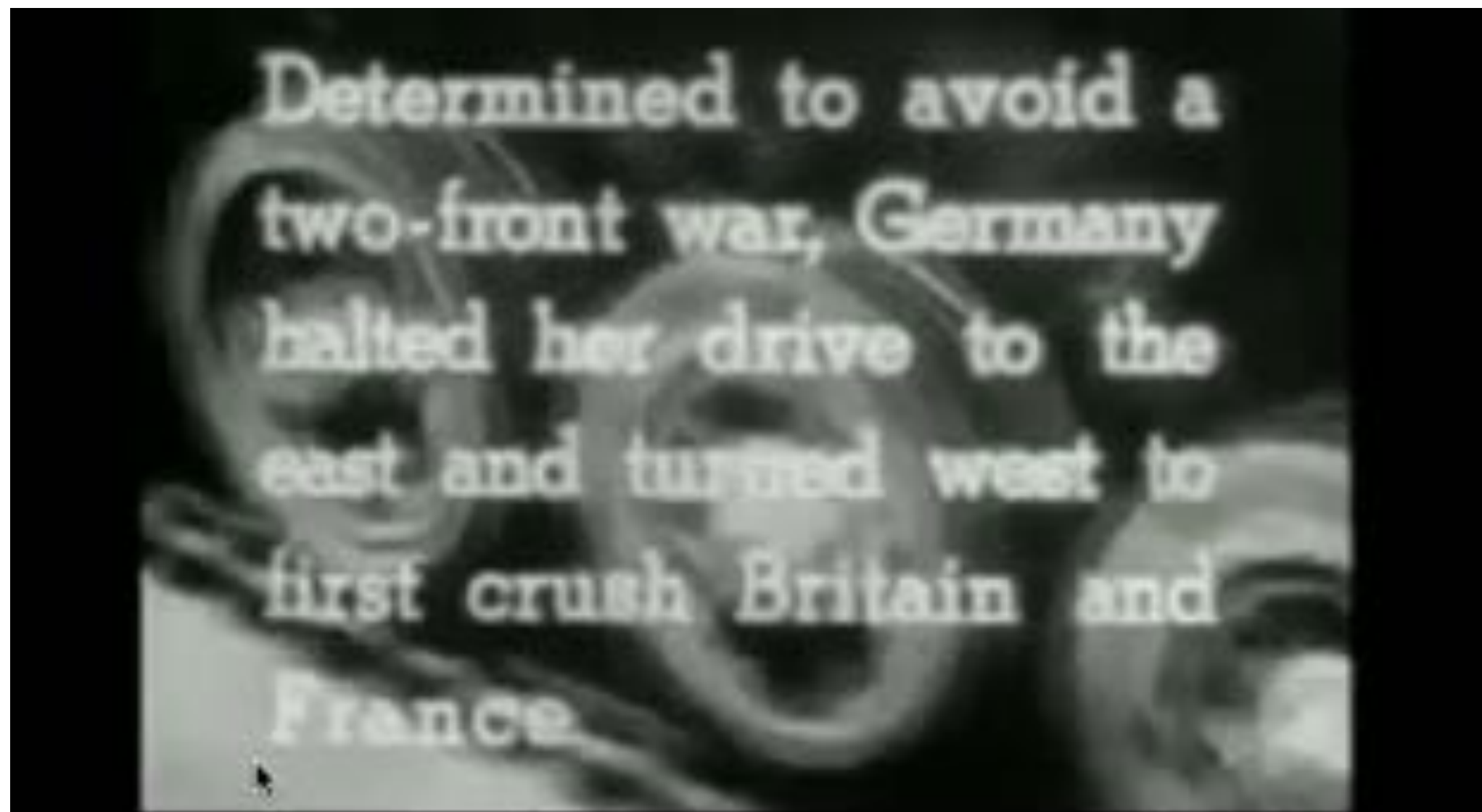
The Propaganda Film



WHY WE FIGHT

A SERIES OF SEVEN
INFORMATION FILMS

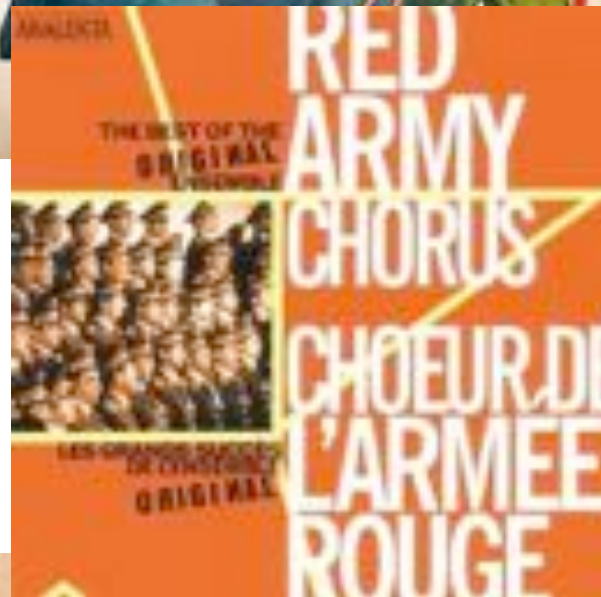
The Propaganda Film



Frank Capra, Why We Fight

Postwar Propaganda

By the 1950's, "propaganda" suggests crude or blatant efforts at persuasion.



Is "objectivity" possible?

Assignment 2/7

One media critic has suggested that it is not possible to draw a line between “objective” reporting and opinion or propaganda :

[M]embers of the media [argue] that their opinions do not matter because as professional journalists, they report what they observe without letting their opinions affect their judgment. But being a journalist is not like being a surveillance camera at an ATM, faithfully recording every scene for future playback. Journalists make subjective decisions every minute of their professional lives. They choose what to cover and what not to cover, which sources are credible and which are not, which quotes to use in a story and which to toss out.

Of the two writers you have read, Schudson and Irwin, which would find this point of view more plausible? If this is true, what distinguishes news reporting from propaganda? Reading both discussions, does it seem to you that reporting has grown more objective since Irwin’s time?

LEFT OR RIGHT?

Marisa A.

Irwin demonstrates the lack of objectivity in reporting through the power structures of the war era: “news” as propaganda was a weapon, a range of well-crafted lies from both sides (i.e. the German story about President Wilson’s daughter and her bastard Spanish child, etc.) whether intended to drive a wedge between alliances or boost morale (Irwin 187)...News distribution is dependent on intent, and It’s the intent that separates reporting from propaganda; as well as the degree of veracity. ...By the shift away from partisan press, etc. reporting today is objective relative to Irwin’s time (Schudson 79). However, there will always be some bias in news: even the unequal representation of certain minorities groups (blacks, women, and outsiders to the press) in news detracts from complete objectivity (Schudson 87).

Becca B.

Irwin's discussion of the rise of propaganda during the time of World War I ... more aligns with the notion about how propaganda and the news have developed an entangled relationship. Schudson ...also describes the turbulent history of journalism and the inherent struggle journalists have faced to adhere to the objective principles put into place by the 1920s. According to these principles--otherwise known as the "Canons of Journalism"--proper news reporting is described as sincere, truthful, impartial, and accurate...In contrast, propaganda is biased, untruthful, and censors important information from the public sphere. ...Schudson's account of the aftermath in journalism following the exposure of the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate scandal exemplified a clear shift in journalism philosophy to truly begin to adhere to these original principles. Thus, although not a perfect craft, journalism has indeed become more objective since Irwin's time.

Chloe C.

The notion that journalists cannot avoid constantly making subjective decisions is in line with Irwin's direct statement that “there is no such thing as purely objective reporting. To have interest, any story must be written from a point of view” (Irwin 122). That ...is precisely where the idea of objective reporting breaks down. In what feels like a throwaway line, Schudson writes that in the late 20th-century US, “news about women, blacks, and others outside the narrow vision of the establishment press continued to be neglected” (Schudson 87), a nasty trend which... intrinsically supported the notion that minorities were objectively less important by not reporting on them. ... while it's tempting to divide journalism and propaganda by intentionality, making that distinction on the basis of whether the story...is slanted deliberately or by subconscious biases doesn't necessarily matter to its impact ...While he wrote that a reporter “cannot escape the national habit of thought” in regard to the World War, Irwin may as well have been writing about institutionalized racism, misogyny, cissexism, et al., which endure today.

Sam Z.

I believe both Schudson and Irwin would ...agree that journalists cannot be completely objective. Journalists can still attempt to be unbiased, though, which is much closer to true, objective reporting than is propaganda, which, according to Irwin, “[i]n loose, popular usage... meant the next thing to a damned lie” (Irwin, pg. 3). He goes on to associate propaganda with national aims and governmental agendas. Schudson [says that] reporting has gotten more objective over the years. As capitalism blossomed in America, “the concentration of power in a small number of private, profit-making news organizations centralized cultural authority and clamped down on the free flow of expression” (Schudson, pg. 66), creating news, but not objective news. By 1922-23, the American Society of Newspaper Editors “adopted a code of ethics called the ‘Canons of Journalism’ that included a principle of ‘sincerity, truthfulness, [and] Accuracy’ and another of ‘Impartiality.’” They felt “[n]ews reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.” (Schudson, pg. 82). Today, because news is so confusing, journalists “[take] it for granted that this understanding [has] nothing to do with party or partisan sentiment” (Schudson, pg. 84).

Alexander Y.

Modern press should be viewed in terms of warfare, something that the Germans realized after WWI according to Irwin: “Warfare was no longer a fight between professional champions with peoples standing as mere spectators. Every resource, human and material, must be thrown into the scale” (149). News organizations like CNN, Fox News, or RT (Russia’s English News Channel) justify their country's actions by reporting favorably for their side. Immediately, actions within Syria such as a bombing of a city are spinned to show the Russians as aggressors on American media, whereas RT reports the Russians as saviors of the Syrian people. Since we barely see the news from any other part of the world, we believe that what we view on our media as the objective truth, even though around the world, different “objective truths” are being promoted by either government-sponsored media like RT or tabloids meant to make profit like the Daily Mail in the UK. ...

What does objectivity require?

The Opinion Pages

Donald Trump's Bogus Jobs Number



Teresa Tritch

TAKING NOTE JAN. 11, 2017

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Gives Up a Lie But Refuses to Repent

*No Apology After 5 Years of Nurturing
'Birther' Issue to Undermine Obama*

POLITICS

A Conspiracy Theory's Journey From Talk Radio to Trump's Twitter

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN MARCH 5, 2017



**TRUMP PROMOTES
A BASELESS CLAIM
ON ILLEGAL VOTING**

NO PROOF OF 'MILLIONS'

**Internal Rift Grows Over
Potential of Romney
for State Dept.**

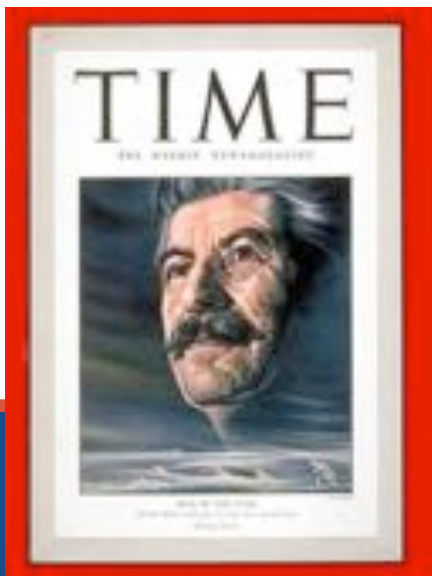
Reactions to Objectivity

Emergence of the daily columnist

Attacks on “objectivity” from the left

Arguments that objectivity is unattainable; the inevitability of subjectivity

The question is not whether the news shall be unprejudiced but whose prejudices shall color the news. Morris Ernst, 1937



Reactions to Objectivity

“interpretive journalism”

Time magazine, 1923; offers “intelligent criticism, representation, and evaluation of the men who hold offices of public trust.” Henry Luce

“Show me a man who thinks he’s objective, and I’ll show you a man who’s deceiving himself.” Henry Luce

“a language in which nobody could tell the truth” --
Marshall McLuhan on *Time*-style



The Shifting Meaning of "Bias"



Cf Harold Ickes on press bias in early 1940's:

"The American press is not free.... because of its own financial and economic tie-ups [instead of] what it should be, a free servant of a free democracy."

Cites absence of newspaper reports on dep't store elevator accidents, Gannett's opposition to public ownership of utilities, etc.

The Shifting Meaning of "Bias"

1969 WSJ discounts Agnew's charge of media conspiracy to discredit Nixon administration; cites "unconscious slant" introduced by the "prevailing liberal tendencies of the national media."

Cf Albert H. Hastorf and Hadley Cantrill on 1951 Princeton-Dartmouth game: "They Saw a Game," 1954; selective perception

Changing meanings of "bias,"
"prejudice," etc. (not in OED)

TABLE 2 DATA FROM SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE CHECKED WHILE SEEKING FILM					
GROUP	N	TOTAL NUMBER OF IN- FRACTIONS CHECKED AGAINST			
		DARTMOUTH TEAM		PRINCETON TEAM	
		MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
Dartmouth students	48	4.3*	2.7	4.4	2.8
Princeton students	49	9.8*	5.7	4.2	3.5

* Significant at the .01 level.

MEDIAITE TV ONLINE PRINT RANKING VIDEO COLUMNS

»» COLUMNISTS

There Is No Such Thing As 'Objective' Journalism — Get Over It

by Andrew Kirell | 12:48 pm, November 5th, 2012 107 comments

128 321 0 submit

Tweet Like +1



You read that correctly. There is no such thing as objectivity in journalism.

And it's time to get over it.

Every journalist has a political point-of-view and they don't magically check that at the door the minute they land a job. Many pretend to pursue some noble cause of pure "objectivity," but it is truly in vain. Every good journalist is informed about what the subjects they cover and it would be near-impossible to be informed and not have an opinion.

Aside from outright disclosing a political bent (or as we do here at Mediaite, labeling an article a "column"), there are plenty of ways "objective" journalists can unwittingly reveal their biases.

Let's say a conservative commentator spends a whole minute speaking with passion about some issue. Journalists can show their bias by writing it up in two generally different ways:

Jeff Jarvis: When It Comes To New Journalism, 'Transparency Is The New Objectivity'

by RUP EMPSON

Monday, May 23rd, 2011 5 Comments



Is "Objectivity" an Illusion?

"I think we're coming to the end of the era of "objectivity" that has dominated journalism over this time. We need to define a new ethic that lends legitimacy to opinion, honestly disclosed and disciplined by some sense of propriety." Robert Bartley, WSJ

"Anyone listening to Rush Limbaugh knows that what he is saying is his own opinion. But people who listen to the news on ABC, CBS, or NBC may imagine that they are getting the facts, not just those facts which fit the ideology of the media, with the media's spin." Thomas Sowell.

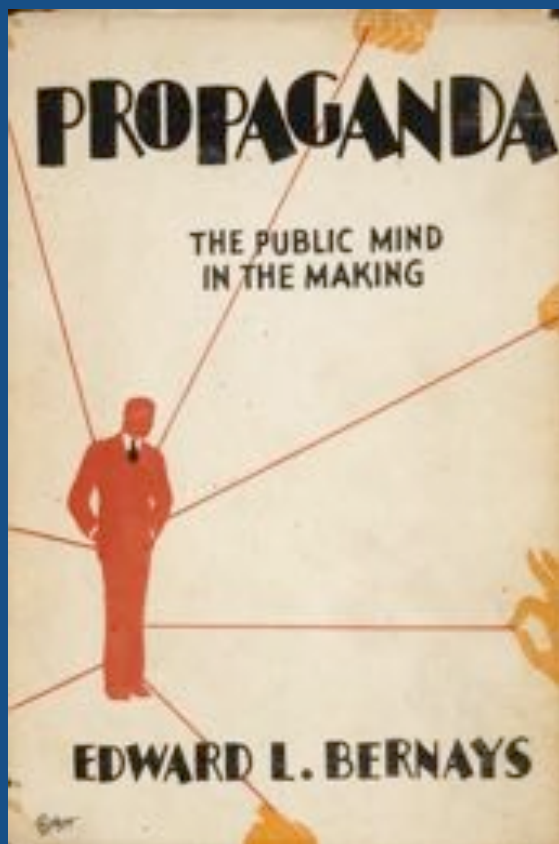
Informing the public

Is informed public deliberation possible?

The press as medium? (OED: "A person or thing which acts as an intermediary")

We have the physical tools of communication as never before. The thoughts and aspirations congruous with them are not communicated, and hence are not common. Without such communication the public will remain shadowy and formless... Communication alone can create a great community. Dewey, *The Public and its Problems*

Rise of the press agent



Edward Bernays

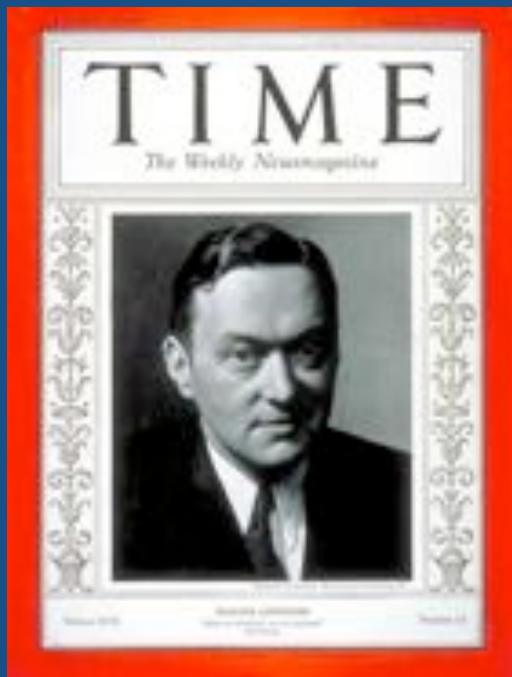
Rise of publicists, press services.

“The development of the modern publicity man is a clear sign that the facts of modern life do not spontaneously take a shape in which they can be known. ...since in the daily routine reporters cannot give a shape to facts... the need for some formulation is being met by the interested parties.” Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, 1923

The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. . Edward Bernays, 1928

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The "informed citizen": The Lippmann-Dewey Debate



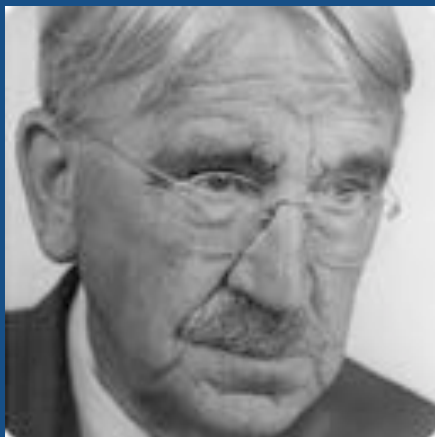
1922: In *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippman argues that the functions of modern democracy cannot rest on the idea of an "informed public"

The diffusion of information impeded by structural barriers:

"artificial censorships, the limitations of social contact, the comparatively meagre time available in each day for paying attention to public affairs, the distortion arising because events have to be compressed into very short messages, the difficulty of making a small vocabulary express a complicated world..."

And by psychological barriers:

"[humans] are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. ...**The facts far exceed our curiosity**"





The "informed citizen": The Lippmann-Dewey Debate

Lippmann on democracy:

Democracy is essentially plebiscitary: the public can only say "yes" or "no."

Dewey: Democracy is both a means and an end:

Democracy is not an alternative to the other principles of associative life. It is the idea of community life itself. (*The Public and its Problems*, 1927)



Reading for 3/9

Johnson, Samuel. 1761. "On Advertising." *The Idler* 40 (Jan 20): 224-229.

McKendrick, Neil. 1982. "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries," pp. 100-145 in McKendrick et al. (eds.) *Birth of a Consumer Society*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.