

STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPHERE : Habermas (1962)

INTRO:

media : CONTROL + MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION / CONSENSUS.

COMPETING INTERESTS

I. INTRO:

3 public : multiple meanings : OPEN TO ALL; \neq PRIVATE

- GR. : DISCUSSION, RECOGNITION

- Publicity = org. principle of politics

5 . MEDIEVAL : ROMAN : PUBLIC / PRIVATE - NO STANDARD USAGE.

- FEUDAL = public authority, various orders

- STAGING, DRESS, DEMEANOR, INSIGNIA

9 - REPRESENTATIVE PUBLICNESS

11 PRIVATE : GERMAN - APPEARS MIDDLE 16th C.

14 FINANCE / TRADE -> EVENTUAL DEMISE OF TRAD. POWER STRUCTURE.

- STOCK MARKETS, PRESS, POSTAL

18 - EXERCISE OF POLITICAL POWER.

- CIVIL EXISTENCE - DEPENDENCIES SHIFT : FEUDAL TO PUBLIC.

21 - PRESS : POLITICAL STATE ADMIN.

23 - NEW CLASSES : READING PUBLIC.

26 Public : MID-17th C. +

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF PUBLIC SPHERE :

27 UNPRECEDENTED : PRIVATE CITIZENS COME TOGETHER AS PUBLIC.

- CONFRONTATION

- CONJugal FAMILY -> SOCIAL REPRODUCTION.

29 FORUM OF REFLECTION ON NEW-FOUND PRIVATENESS.

- SEPARATION FROM MONARCH -> ANTIPOISE.

31 - TOWN TAKES OVER COURT'S FUNCTION.

- COFFEE HOUSES / SALONS : MEET INTELLECTUAL / ARISTOCRATIC.

I-NET

34 - IDEA SCREENING

- ars liberalis 'lo guilds, church, STATE.

45 17C. : FAMILY -> PRIVATE : FAMILY LOSES TO INDIVIDUAL.

AUTONOMY : FOUNDED ON PRIVATE PROPERTY.

47 FAMILY : MYTH OF TRAD. -> ROLE IN CAPITALISM.

- INDIV. AUTONOMY = ILLUSORY (IE. CAPITAL).

* > 48 AGE OF LETTER : UNFOLDED SUBJECTIVITY. 18th C.

I-NET

50 - USE OF "OPEN" LETTERS: SUBJECTIVITY AIMED AT PUBLICITY.

* > - EXPERIENTIAL COMPLEX OF AUDIENCE-RELATED PRIVACY.

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* > - INTERIORIZED HUMAN CLOSENESS = THREAT TO MONARCH.

: 'lo GK MODEL.

53 Law: HOBBS, MONTESQUIEU : PROMULGATION, RATIONAL 'lo DECREE.

- LOCKE : CONSTANT & LASTING FORCE.

- Legislation 'lo DECREE -> PUBLIC ROLE.

- PROP. OWNERS + HUMAN BEINGS -> MERGE: POLITICAL FORCE.

III. POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC SPHERE:

BRITAIN : TURN OF 18th C. : PARLIAMENT

1695 : LICENSING ACT - ELIM. CENSORSHIP. (NOT LIBEL)

60 1722 : WHIGS BUY LONDON JOURNAL : POLITICAL JOURNALISM.

- LETTERS OF JUNIUS

- WILKES TRIAL

1792 : PUBLIC OPINION INTRODUCED IN PARLIAMENT.

74 Public sphere: Normative STATUS AS ORGAN FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ARTICULATION.

private sphere: CONTRACT, TRADE, ETC. - private law.

- LAWS OF FREE MARKET

83 CONSTITUTION: public sphere SPELLED OUT.

85 - public = READING public of 18th C.

- Education = CONSEQUENCE OF SOCIAL STATUS / PROPERTY.

- J. BENTHAM = UNTHINKABLE w/o ADAM SMITH.

- PRECONDITION: ECONOMICS

- Class interest = BASIS FOR public opinion.

*-> 87 - publicity - SAVES FROM closed-class dogma.

IV. Bourgeois Public Sphere: IDEA + IDEOLOGY :

90 Hobbes: CONSCIENCE - PRIVATE LIFE EMANCIPATED FROM church/STATE

- PRIVATE OPINION ∴ ELEVATED

- OPINION = INFORMAL + EFFECTIVE INDIRECT CONTROL.

94 BLIRKE: TRANSFORMS TO public opinion.

ROUSSEAU: NON-Bourgeois IDEA OF INTRUSIVE STATE.

LOCKE: R's CONTRACT - via PRIVATE OPINION.

99 BENTHAM: opinion + publicity : Legislature

104 KANT: TUTELAGE - links politics + morality.

: FREEDOM OF PEN = ONLY SAFEGUARD

I.NET

109 : PROPERTY - autonomy

115 : politics - via publicity - UNITE law/morality.

122 MARX: prerev. = class.: back to limitations OF PRIVATE sphere.

: public opinion = FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

Mill / TocQUEVILLE: public opinion - COMPULSION TOWARD CONFORMITY 'o FORCE.

V. Social - Structural TRANSFORMATION OF Public SPHERE:

140 Bourgeois public sphere - REMAINED private.

- TRANSFER public FUNCTION TO CORP. PRIVATE
- INJECTION OF PRIVATE TO SOCIAL. - ENDED SEP. STATE/SOCIETY.

143 END OF FREE MARKET

SOCIAL POWER CONCENTRATED - PRIVATE HANDS, CAPITAL CONCENTRATION.

Prop. +
CYBERSPACE

*> 149 - EMERGENCE OF PRIVATE LAW : property-based.

- CONTRACT : PERMEATION - STATE / SOCIETY.

154 FAMILY : PROGRESSIVE DISENGAGEMENT FROM SOCIETY.

156 ILLUSION OF INTENSIFIED PRIVACY.

Privacy

*> 160 DEBATE : prior = ARISTOTELIAN / GK NON-SURVIVAL BASED: SALONS.

- degenerates to apolitical CONSUMPTION, leisure complement to work.

AUTONOMY NO LONGER GROUNDED IN PROPERTY. = STATE PROMISE.

- LOSS OF INSTITUTIONAL PROTESTANT ETHIC

- LOSS OF POLITICAL ETHICS

WEAKENING OF INSTITUTIONS TO ENCOURAGE public debate.

- CO-OPTED BY MASS-MEDIA.

163 - LOSS OF DISCUSSION

- CONVERSATION = ADMINISTERED, FORMALIZED

166 - CULTURAL CONTENT = COMMODITY.

168 COLLAPSE OF LITERARY PUBLIC SPHERE.

171 MASS MEDIA world = Public Sphere IN APPEARANCE ONLY.

*> 172 Letter writing : all but disappeared.

MASS MEDIA : SECONDARY INTIMACY

INET?

174 T.V. + NEW middle class legitimization.

*> 175 P.S. + ADVERTISING FUNCTIONS

- pseudo. privatization.

VI. TRANSFORMATION OF Public Sphere's Political Function:

181 TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESS

- STATE GUARANTEES: REMOVES sphere FROM PRIVATE.
- CRUCIAL TURNABOUT = EDITORIAL FUNCTION

'0 INET

189 - P.S. = medium OF advertising.

194 MANUFACTURE OF CONSENT.

211 STATE SERVICES: ENGENDER demand '0 participation.

216 CONSEQUENT EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL MARKETING.

- acclamation-based, opinion climate.
- MANIPULATED appeals TO UNCONSCIOUS.

231 REFEUDALIZATION - result OF public / private LINK.

- mutual collapse: private + STATE.

VII. CONCEPT OF PUBLIC OPINION:

239 FICTIONAL character.

241 - CONNECTION w/ group process.

249 INTERCOURSE: ONLY thro CRITICAL publicity w/in spheres.

*→ 250 - REMAINS OPEN TO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE.

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