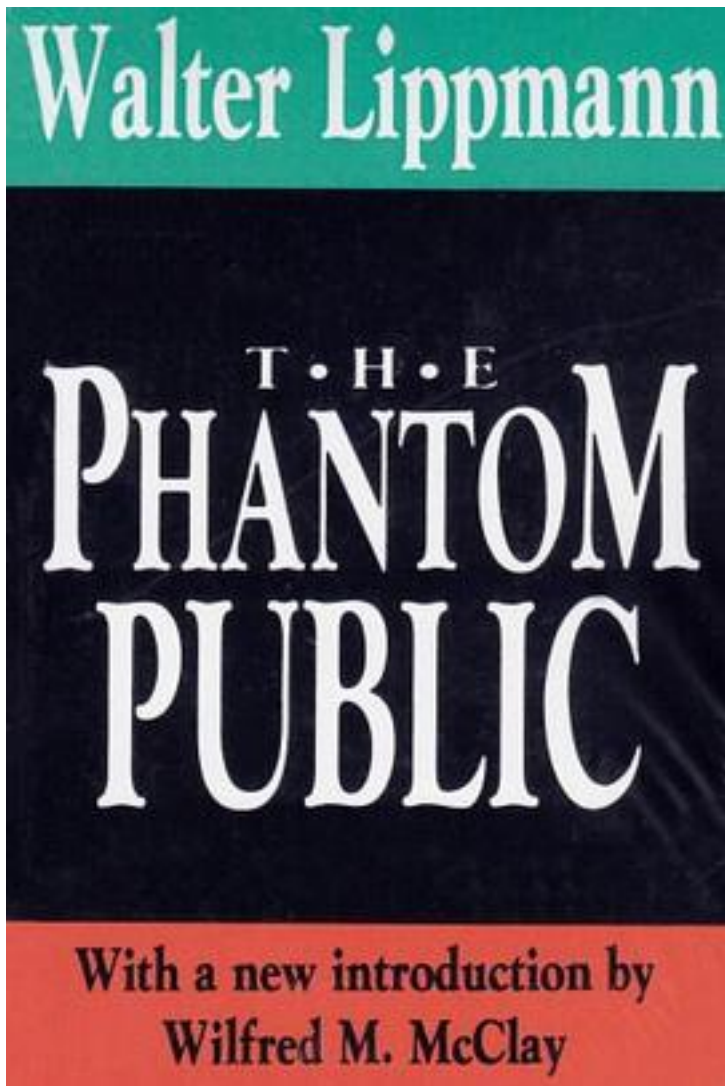


The Phantom Public



[The Phantom Public_ 下载链接1](#)

著者:Walter Lippmann

出版者:Transaction Publishers

出版时间:1993

装帧:Paperback

isbn:9781560006770

作者介绍:

Lippmann was a journalist, a media critic and a philosopher who tried to reconcile the tensions between liberty and democracy in a complex and modern world, as in his 1920 book *Liberty and the News*.

In 1913 Lippmann, Herbert Croly, and Walter Weyl became the founding editors of *The New Republic* magazine. During World War I, Lippmann became an adviser to President Woodrow Wilson and assisted in the drafting of Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Lippmann had wide access to the nation's decision makers and had no sympathy for communism. After Lippmann had become famous, the Golos spy ring used Mary Price, his secretary, to garner information on items Lippmann chose not to write about or names of Lippmann's sources, often not carried in stories, but of use to the Soviet Ministry for State Security. He examined the coverage of newspapers and saw many inaccuracies and other problems.

Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz, in a 1920 study entitled *A Test of the News*, stated that *The New York Times'* coverage of the Bolshevik revolution was biased and inaccurate. In addition to his Pulitzer Prize-winning column "Today and Tomorrow," he published several books. Lippmann was the first to bring the phrase "cold war" to common currency in his 1947 book by the same name.

It was Lippmann who first identified the tendency of journalists to generalize about other people based on fixed ideas. He argued that people—including journalists—are more apt to believe "the pictures in their heads" than come to judgment by critical thinking. Humans condense ideas into symbols, he wrote, and journalism, a force quickly becoming the mass media, is an ineffective method of educating the public. Even if journalists did better jobs of informing the public about important issues, Lippmann believed "the mass of the reading public is not interested in learning and assimilating the results of accurate investigation." Citizens, he wrote, were too self-centered to care about public policy except as pertaining to pressing local issues.

Lippmann saw the purpose of journalism as "intelligence work." Within this role, journalists are a link between policymakers and the public. A journalist seeks facts from policymakers which he then transmits to citizens who form a public opinion. In this model, the information may be used to hold policymakers accountable to citizens. This theory was spawned by the industrial era and some critics argue the model needs rethinking in post-industrial societies.

Though a journalist himself, he held no assumption of news and truth being synonymous. For him the "function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them in relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act." A journalist's version of the truth is subjective and limited to how he constructs his reality. The news, therefore, is "imperfectly recorded" and too fragile to bear the charge as "an organ of direct democracy."

To his mind, democratic ideals had deteriorated, voters were largely ignorant about issues and policies, they lacked the competence to participate in public life and cared little for participating in the political process. In *Public Opinion* (1922), Lippmann noted that the stability the government achieved during the patronage era of the 1800s was

threatened by modern realities. He wrote that a “governing class” must rise to face the new challenges. He saw the public as Plato did, a great beast or a bewildered herd – floundering in the “chaos of local opinions.”

The basic problem of democracy, he wrote, was the accuracy of news and protection of sources. He argued that distorted information was inherent in the human mind. People make up their minds before they define the facts, while the ideal would be to gather and analyze the facts before reaching conclusions. By seeing first, he argued, it is possible to sanitize polluted information. Lippmann argued that seeing through stereotypes (which he coined in this specific meaning) subjected us to partial truths. Lippmann called the notion of a public competent to direct public affairs a “false ideal.” He compared the political savvy of an average man to a theater-goer walking into a play in the middle of the third act and leaving before the last curtain.

Early on Lippmann said the herd of citizens must be governed by “a specialized class whose interests reach beyond the locality.” This class is composed of experts, specialists and bureaucrats. The experts, who often are referred to as “elites,” were to be a machinery of knowledge that circumvents the primary defect of democracy, the impossible ideal of the “omnicompetent citizen”. Later, in *The Phantom Public* (1925), he recognized that the class of experts were also, in most respects, outsiders to particular problem, and hence, not capable of effective action. Modern critics of journalism and democracy say that history has borne out Lippmann's model. The power of the governing elites, they argue, stretches from the early days of the 20th century to the New Deal of the 1930s to today.

Lippmann came to be seen as Noam Chomsky's moral and intellectual antithesis.[citation needed] Chomsky and Edward S. Herman used one of Lippmann's catch phrases, the “Manufacture of Consent” for the title of their book about the media: *Manufacturing Consent*. Philosopher John Dewey (1859-1952) agreed with Lippmann's assertions that the modern world was becoming too complex for every citizen to grasp all its aspects, but Dewey, unlike Lippmann, believed that the public (a composite of many “publics” within society) could form a “Great Community” that could become educated about issues, come to judgments and arrive at solutions to societal problems.

Following the removal from office of Henry A. Wallace in September 1946, Lippmann became the leading public advocate of the need to respect a Soviet sphere of influence in Europe, as opposed to the containment strategy being advocated at the time by people like George F. Kennan.

Lippmann was an informal adviser to several presidents.[citation needed] He had a rather famous feud with Lyndon Johnson over his handling of the Vietnam War which Lippman had become highly critical of.[citation needed]

A meeting of intellectuals organized in Paris in August 1938 by French philosopher Louis Rougier, *Colloque Walter Lippmann* is was named after Walter Lippmann. Walter Lippmann House at Harvard University, which houses the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, is named after him too.

目录:

[The Phantom Public_ 下载链接1](#)

标签

美国

政治

传播

传媒

Lippmann

Communication

政治学

近期待讀文史書

评论

"公众"这个概念是不存在的。不如《公众舆论》名气大，但是可以看出一些观点的雏形。

in or out?!

人们把传播媒介加工后而反映出的拟态现实当作主观现实，而传播媒介所提供的却仅仅是一个伪环境罢了。

幻影公众，时隔两年刷一遍原版

李普曼精英主义思想集中的体现。在书中他认为：社会是由两种人组成的，代理人和旁观者，代理人按照自己的意见行事，而公众于这个过程中大多数时候只是“deaf spectator in the back row”，他们对公共问题知之甚少，也并不关心，所以主权在民的民主制度只能是神话一般的虚构，甚至连公众这个概念都是“phantom”，公众舆论本就非理性的存在，它对政府行为的赞成和反对，不是出于自愿，而是由agents来引导，它所要做的只是判断哪一方有能更好处理问题的能力，所以整个过程都是agents发起，并最终解决的。

He meant well...

[The Phantom Public_ 下载链接1](#)

书评

左页
上世纪五六十年代，雷蒙·阿隆写《社会学主要思潮》时，曾经把马克斯·韦伯（1864—1920）称之为“我们的同时代的人”。因为在阿隆看来，韦伯虽然逝去这么多年，他坚持的某些观念和价值也不是所有人都很认同，但是他的思想和他提出主要的议题，却依然是学术界热议的焦点...

对李普曼的理解源于本科传播学的课程，他提出的拟态环境、刻板成见在今天也是十分通行的概念。他最出名的书是《公众舆论》，但随后出版的《幻影公众》却没这么幸运，它的观点遭到批评，因为书中满是对现代民主政治的悲观情绪。
看他的书总是联想到英国脱欧、美国大选，仿佛看...

与传统民主理论中合格、理想的公民形象相违，我们往往没有足够的能力和意愿参与政治决断（不止是个别的公共事件，因为那缺少广泛而共同的社会意义，而是指全面的公共事务）。而面对这样在民主意义上讲充满缺陷如同幻影的公众，优生学、教育和道德都是无能为力的。民主制度本身...

「传统民主理论塑造的神圣公众无异于幻影。公众无法真正拥有至高无上的政治统治权，他们必须走下圣坛，去做他们该做的事。」——By Walter Lippmann 作者其人
Walter Lippmann, 1889-1974
美国新闻评论家和作家。曾做过12位美国总统的顾问。是传播学史上具有重要影响的学者之...

在传统的政治学语境中，公共舆论作为公民积极参与政治讨论的象征，被寄予极高的评价与期望，在阿伦特看来，行动者在言行中得到彰显，“……言说和行动让自己切入人类世界，这种切入就像人的第二次诞生” [1]，无论是亚里士多德，还是阿伦特，都秉持着一种对积极政治生活追崇与赞...

《沉默的螺旋》的后续阅读。李普曼在这本书中，否定了传统西方公众和公共舆论的理论，认为公众只是一个幻影，作为形成公众的每一个公民，既没有能力也没有兴趣去管理与其切身利益无关的、有时空间隔的各种问题，他认为将社会人格化视为统一体是及其错误的。但我觉得，沉默的螺...

书中讲的正符合我，说来惭愧。
书的作者李普曼反对我们所谓的民主，公共舆论只不过是幻影而已。
从小学中学高中大学这一路走来，民主这个词是经常被提及到的，选班干部要大家投票，评价代课老师的课需要大家投票，对一些老师或者领导做出的关于某项政策提出意见或者投票等等...

我记得蒋勋讲座里提过，说在当今社会再怎么强调老庄思想都不过分，因为你今天听完，明天一样还是会准时上班打卡。一如我们根深蒂固的儒家思想，我们的社会提倡民主很久了。我只知道民主很好，却忘了问是什么。

看了《幻影公众》觉得李普曼未免陷入精英主义，看着看着我又不免...

开篇就很清晰的说明自己的观点“公众就像坐在剧院后排的聋哑观众”，以此来说明公众只是一个虚幻，根本无法主宰他所人为的主宰权。美国的参与选票的选民数量庞大，其实真正最终发挥其用或者真正在最后一刻参与其中的其实远远小于一开始的选民数量。教育作为教会人们认知的一种...

其实李普曼还是支持精英政治的，这本书在一定程度上解答了我关于是否应该坚持政治家办报的困惑。当时我觉得新闻与传播大类要求的都是培养全能型人才，而初高中搭建起来的文史哲知识只是一个框架而已，我们得不断积累知识去填补那些空白。看完这本书的感觉就是醍醐灌顶，原来我...

身为传媒学子，李普曼的大名一直被各个老师轮番强调，《公众舆论》几乎成了必读书目，而《幻影公众》与其相比起来就冷清多了。不知道是什么原因。就我很浅的见识而言，这本书旨在戳破传统民主理论虚伪的泡泡，尽管会有很多专家认为此种论调太过消极，但却甚得我心。 ...

在任何需要即刻行动的时候，民主无能为力，在最关系国家利益的事情上，民主无能为力，甚至在力求民主的革命中，领导者也只能是集权的。这是何等的嘲讽。李普曼提出了两个概念“局外人”“局内人”，公众的概念并非铁板一块，而是由于人们的兴趣，能力，关注点不同，在不同时...

[The Phantom Public_下载链接1](#)