

# Information, Propaganda, and Objectivity



History of Information 103

Geoff Nunberg

**April 8, 2014** 





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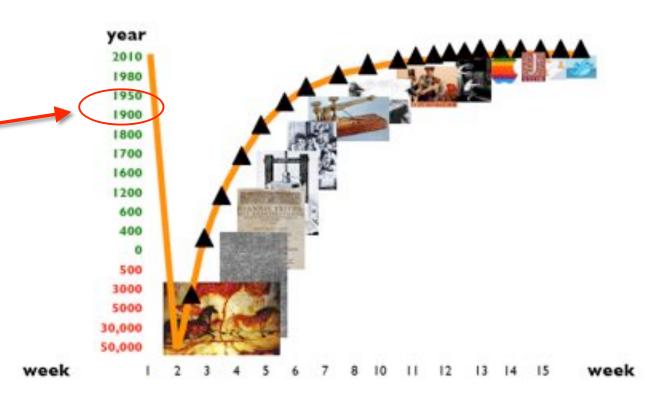
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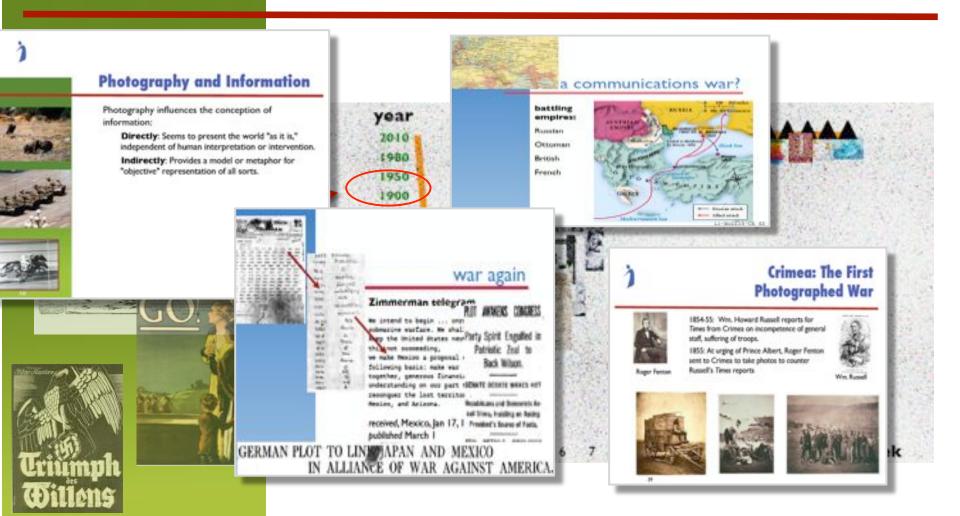




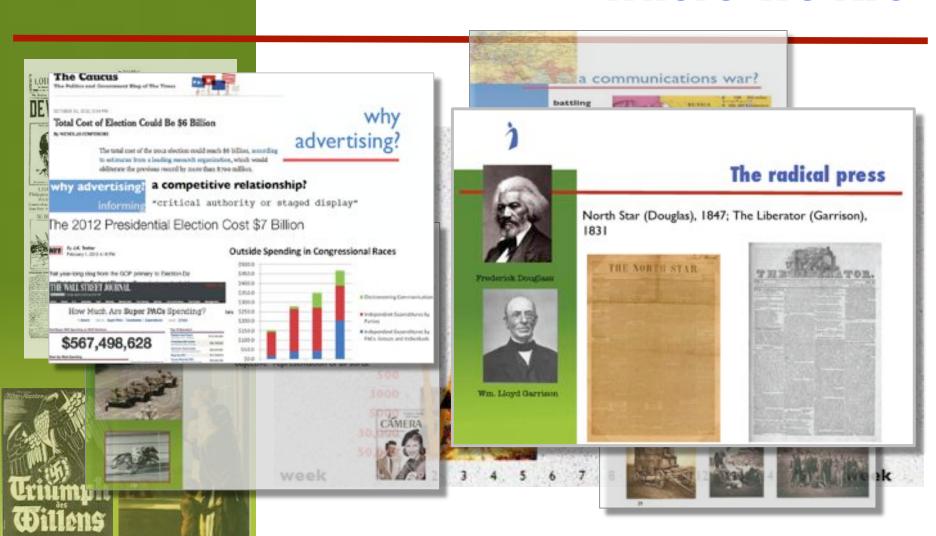




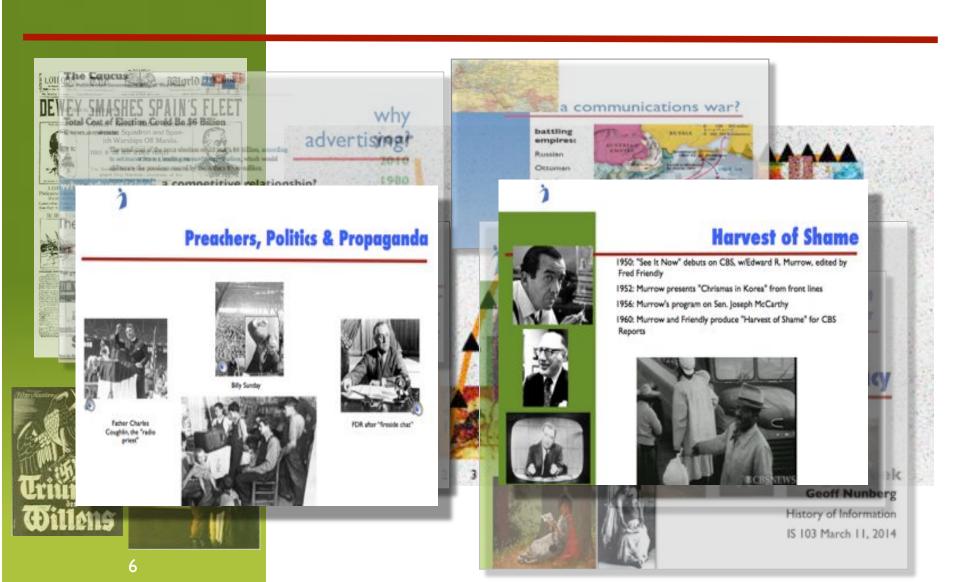














# The Dawn of the Another Information Age

#### 19th century:

The emergence of "literacy," "news," "information," "objectivity"—and "propaganda"—as value-laden social categories...



## Agenda: 4/8

Rise of the mass press

Separated at birth: objectivity and propaganda

The creation of objectivity

The rise of propaganda

Informing the public

Is objectivity possible?



# The features of information (19<sup>th</sup>. C)

#### Information is "objective" – in theory:

presents same aspect to everyone/context-independent

has same significance to every observer

Is framed in perspective-free way ("aperspectival" objectivity;

"the view from nowhere")

Distinct from statements of "values"

"Information" is increasingly associated with institutional/scientific/bureaucratic/journalistic contexts.

Your search - "the information that i love you" OR "the information that he loves me" OR "the information that you love her" OR "the information that he loves her" - did not match any documents.



## The objectivity (?) of information

#### "objective information"

About 4,430,000 results (0.27 seconds)

"subjective information"

About 303,000 results (0.31 seconds)

"objective information" cleveland guitar

Page 9 of about 414 results (0.25 seconds)

"subjective information" cleveland guitar

Page 3 of 129 results (0.21 seconds)

#### rainbow

About 1,710,000,000 results (0.29 seconds)

rainbow OR clouds

About 766,000,000 results (0.23 seconds)

#### Objective vs. Subjective Information

Objective information is:

observable: able to be seen, heard or touched, smelled, tasted

able to be counted able to be described

able to be imitated the same from multiple reporters

as close to truth as we can get

#### Objective Language:

I saw...
I counted...
I observed...

#### Subjective information is:

judgment

assumption belief

rumor

suspicion

varies: person-to-person, day-to-day destructive in decision making

#### Subjective language

S/he did not want to...
S/he does not like...
S/he thought...
S/he feels...
S/he thinks

"Information" is (presumably) transferable, "interpreter-neutral"; retains meaning/significance from one context to the next.

Cf news as "Les infos," etc.

Objectivity a precondition for the metaphysical autonomy of information

#### YCharts - Information, Not Opinion - Headline Grabs Archive - Forbes blogs forbes com/ycharts/headline-grabs/

About Me. YCharts.com covers over 5000 U.S. companies and manages over 40 million investor trends in real-time. Fundamental research and empirical data ...

#### News is information, not opinion. | Hector Hugo

bectorhugo, wordpress, com/2019, .../nown-is-information-not-opinion. ... Mar 31, 2011 - News is information, not opinion. The news should inform; don't be fed another's opinion. Mainstream media is only good to see which ...

#### Information, Not Opinion, Leads Twitter | Advertising Agency Blog

Nov 17, 2009 - Marketers monitoring Twitter for mentions of their brand may have noticed that microbloggers are more likely to give or seek information than to ....

#### INFORMATION, NOT OPINION - Tags: LETTERS to the editor ...

EBSCOhost serves thousands of libraries with premium essays, articles and other content including INFORMATION, NOT OPINION. Get access to over 12 ....

#### Plinky | "News is information, not opinion." by Hector Hugo

Mar 31, 2011 - News is information, not opinion. The news should inform; don't be fed another's opinion. Mainstream media is only good to see which ...



# "The First Information Revolution"

#### Growth of common schools:

1800-1825: proportion of children in schools from 37 to 60%

Creation of the modern census

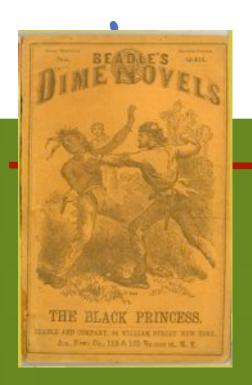
Modern postal service

**Urbanization** 

Increased literacy -- a "nation of readers"

The democratization of business and politics

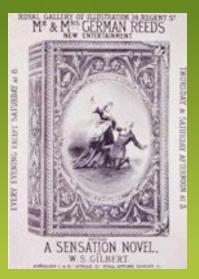
New technologies of printing, communicating, reproduction...



# "The First Information Revolution"

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

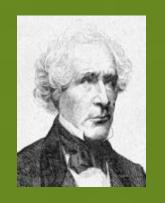
"the tawdry novels which flare in the bookshelves of our railway stations, and which seem designed... for people with low standards of life." Matthew Arnold, 1880







### Rise of the Penny Newspaper



James Gordon Bennett



NY Herald, 1842

#### "Causes" of the revolution:

Technological developments
Increased literacy -- a "nation of readers"

The democratization of business and politics





Pitman Shorthand 1837

## Rise of the Penny Newspaper

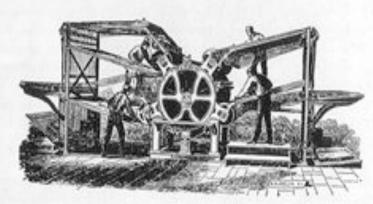


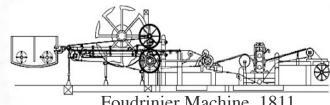
#### technological advances:

steam press, paper-making machines stereotypes (Firmin Didot) rotary press:

invented by Richard Hoe, 1844; capable of 20k impressions/hr

Railroad, telegraph (from 1840's)





Foudrinier Machine, 1811





## Rise of the mass press





# The World, the Journal-American; the birth of "yellow journalism"





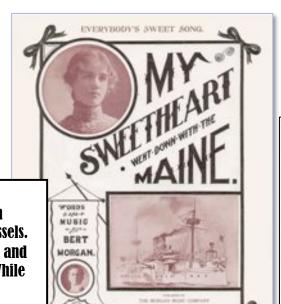


#### Richard Harding Davis

## Rise of the mass press

#### Increasing political influence...

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



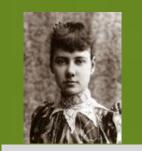
Does Our Flag Protect Women?
Indignities Practiced by Spanish
Officials on Board American Vessels.
Refined Young Women Stripped and
Searched by Brutal Spaniards While
Under Our Flag

NY Journal, 2/12/1897





## "Muckraking"



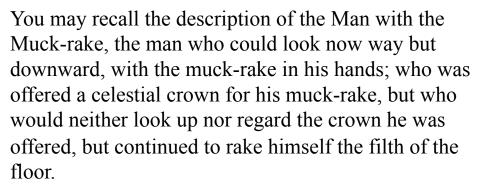




Ida Tarbell







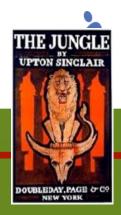
Theodore Roosevelt



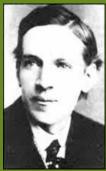
Lincoln Steffens







## "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





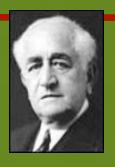


Jacob Riis: How the Other Half Lives, 1890

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







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



Growth of magazines:

from 180 in 1879 (2d class postage introduced) to 1800 in 1900.



## **Defining the "News"**



## **Defining "the News":**

#### Range of Content

Stories about developments in politics, world affairs, business, sports, natural disasters, accidents, crime, arts, science...

AND...

Reviews, weather, columns, announcements, A "natural hierarchy" of importance?



### **Prioritizing "the News"**

# But cf other features that make stories "newsworthy":

plane crashes > winter furnace breakdowns
crimes of rich criminals > incomes of poor criminals
breakthroughs in science > breakthroughs in auto repair
business news > labor news
(from Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News)



### 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." (Apocryphal?) Posting in a London newsroom.

"A local man bit a dog yesterday."



Villemessant



Le Figaro, 1856



## The emergence of "objectivity"



# 19th c. forces leading to rise of journalistic objectivity

Rise of Science

Influence of photography

Weakening of partisanship.

Reform movement, civil services, beginnings of progressivism

Enlarged markets for mass-circulation press/increasing dependence on advertising

Professionalization of journalism -- creation of journalism courses & schools



#### **Growth of 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 despatches are merely dry matters of facts and detail. AP Washington bureau chief, 1866 privileges "information" over "story"



### What makes for "objectivity"?

#### Balance:

Objective reporting takes pains to represent fairly each leading side in a political controversy.

#### Neutrality/nonpartisanship:

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



### The Objective Voice

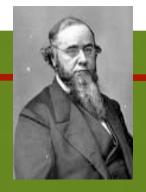
#### **Detachment:**

#### 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* 





**Edwin Stanton** 

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.

### **Features of Objectivity**

#### 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.

About the same hour an assassin, whether the same or not, entered Mr. Seward's apartment and under pretense of having a prescription was shown to the Secretary's sick chamber...

NY Herald, 4/15/1865

#### NEGROES LYNCHED BY A MOB

THREE SHOT TO DEATH AT MEM-PHIS, TENN.

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

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

# The price of "impartiality"

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

"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 editional, 1894, decrying mob violence

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

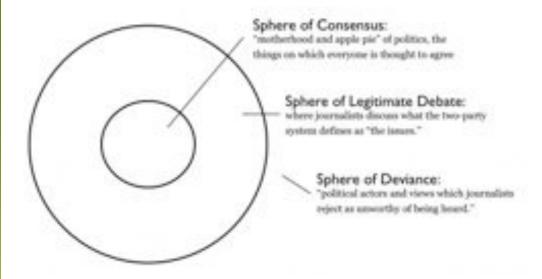


Ida B. Wells



# What calls for objectivity – and what doesn't?

Balance etc. presume a common perspective Cf. Hallin on "spheres" of public discourse



Shifting status: slavery, votes for women, gay marriage. Also global warming, vaccination...



# Propaganda



# Propaganda before "propaganda"





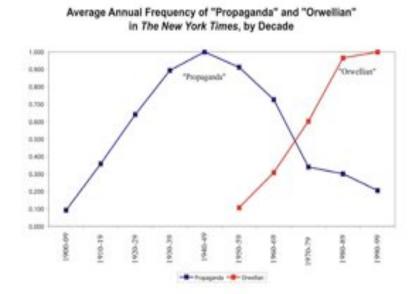


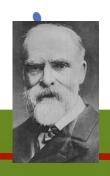


## The Rise of "Propaganda"

*propaganda* (OED) (More fully, Congregation or College of the Propaganda.) A committee of Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church having the care and oversight of foreign missions, founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV.

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* 





## **WWI British Propaganda**

Vicount James Bryce, chairman of the German Outrages Inquiry Committee

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

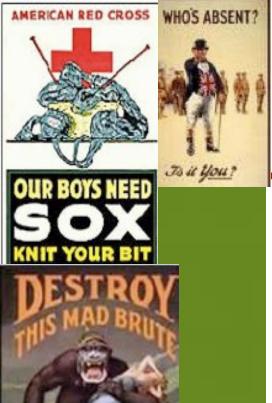






Lithograph by George Bellows, 1918

66 Bithe assament), les Allemands out mis le feu à la ferme.



## The rise of propaganda: 1914-1917

WWI: Creel Committee, "4-minute men," etc. 75,000 speakers to give short speeches & lantern-slide presentations

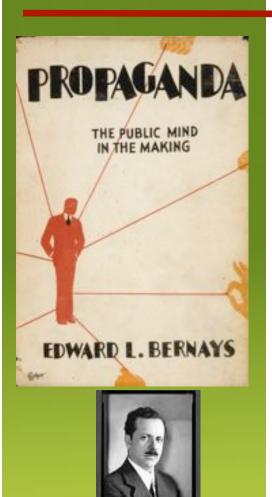
"We did not call it propaganda, for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption. Our effort was educational and informative throughout. No other argument was needed than the simple, straightforward presentation of facts." George Creel



## The Rise of "Propaganda"



## After WWI: The birth 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 Lippman, *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



## Propaganda in WWII



Frank Capra and George C. Marshall

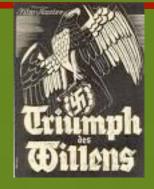
Adoption of propaganda techniques by Roosevelt during WWII: "Office of Facts and Figures" --> Office of War Information

"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





Leni Riefenstahl, Triumph of the Will, 1935

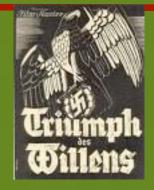




Frank Capra, Why We Fight



## The Propaganda Film











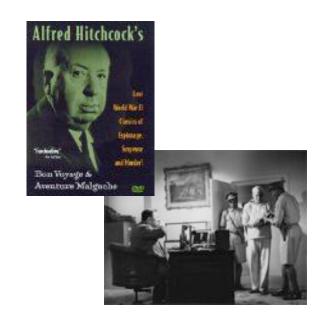
Leni Riefenstahl, Triumph of the Will, 1935

Frank Capra, Why We Fight



### The Propaganda Film

"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





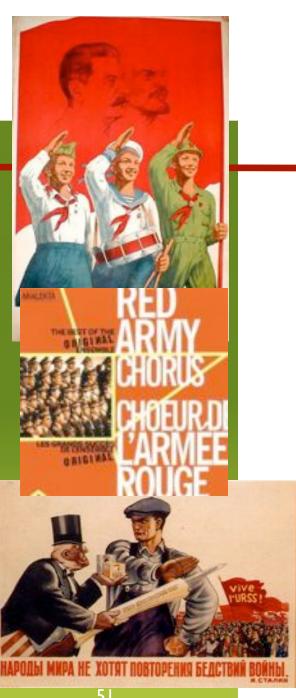
## Assignment 4/8

Watch the segments from Frank Capra's "Why We Fight" films and Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* linked to on the syllabus page. Capra's film was one of a series he made for the US Army Signal Corps for showing to American troops in World War II. Riefenstahl made her film at Hitler's request as a record of the 1934 Nazi party rally in Nuremberg. Read as well Marlin's discussion of German and British propaganda in WWI. Both of these films have been described as propaganda. Here are two definitions of propaganda:

"In its true sense propaganda is a perfectly legitimate form of human activity. Any society, whether it be social, religious or political, which is possessed of certain beliefs, and sets out to make them known, either by the spoken or written words, is practicing propaganda." Scientific American, quoted by Bernays p.21.

Propaganda is "the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals toward owards ends considered unscientific or or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time." Leonard Doob

Pick ONE of these definitions and use that definition to indicate whether it is adequate to distinguish these two films (a) from each other and (b) from films like a documentary or a newsreel. Is propaganda in the eye of the beholder — a purely subjective judgment?



## Postwar Propaganda

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





## Can we distinguish propaganda from journalism?

#### Putin's pet journalist is banned in new EU sanctions

March 21, 2014 by Norman Lebrecht 3 Comments

We hear that the Russian journalist named in the new list of the west's unwanted is Dmitry Kiselev, head of the Russia Today media group, mouthpiece for Vladimir Putin. Earlier this week Kiselev said on Russian television that Russia was 'the world's only country that is ready to turn the USA into radioactive ash'.





## 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* 



# 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. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it."

"The facts far exceed our curiosity"



# The "informed citizen": The Lippmann-Dewey Debate

#### Lippmann on the role of symbols:

The making of one general will out of a multitude of general wishes is an art [that] consists essentially in the use of symbols which detach emotions after they have been detached from their ideas.

Democracy is essentially plebicitory: 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)



## Is "objectivity" possible?



### Reactions to Objectivity

Emergence of the daily columnist

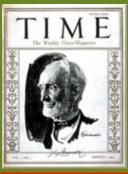
Attacks on "objectivity" from the left

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







The rise of "interpretive journalism"

Birth of *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







#### 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"

Page II evenson 'Digs' PEKA, Kan., Jan. 7 (UP)-d M. Landon criticized Gov. E. Stevenson today for "subgs" at the fairness of Amerinewspapers 1936 Republican presiden nominee objected to "impliie" hy the 1952 Democratic s were not objective in reog political news, especially the recent campaign. am distressed to note that nor Adlat Stevenson has parted since the election in a but nevertheless persistent presentation of the fairness ruthfulness of the American sapers in reporting political Landon said. said "the new Messles ties

"I am distressed to note that Governor Adlai Stevenson has participated since the election in a subtle but nevertheless persistent mispresentation of the fairness and truthfulness of the American newspapers in reporting public events. .. The new Marxian line of propaganda no longer is centering on Wall Streeters but the American press... [undermining] public confidence in the newspapers." Alf Landon, Jan 8, 1953



## 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)

DATA PROM SECOND C			CKED WHILE
Group		TOTAL NUMBER OF IN FRACTIONS CHECKED AGAINST	
	N	DARTMOUTH TEAM	PRINCETON TEAM
		MEAN SD	MEAN SD
Dartmouth students Princeton students	48 49	4.3° 2.7 9.8° 5.7	4.4 2.8 4.2 3.5



### **Recent Attacks on Objectivity**

#### Bias is inescapable

[M]embers of the media argued 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.

Brent Bozell, Media Research Center



#### »» COLUMNISTS

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





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

= 107 comments

5 Comments

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'



Monday, May 23rd, 2011



## 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.



### Readings for 4/10

Butler, B., Joyce, E., and Pike, J. "Don't Look Now, But We've Created a Bureaucracy: The Nature and Roles of Policies and Rules in Wikipedia." In Proceedings of the 2008 ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing (CHI 2008).

Geiger, R.S. "The Work of Sustaining Order in Wikipedia." In Proceedings of the 2010 ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW 2010).

Halfaker, A., Geiger, R.S., and Treveen, L. "Snuggle: Designing for efficient socialization and ideological critique." In Proceedings of the 2014 ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing (CHI 2014).

Read: All articles