

# Constructing THE Political Spectacle



Murray  
Edelman

events are ambiguous events that mean what concerned observers construct them to mean, and that the roles and self-concepts of the observers themselves are also constructions, created at least in part by their interpreted observations.<sup>4</sup>

This leads to an essay in applying that epistemological principle to politics. Rather than seeing political events as an account of events to which people react, I treat political developments as creations of the public concerned with them. Whether events are political and what they mean depend upon observers' situations and the language that reflects and interprets those situations. A social problem, a political crisis, or a leader is both an entity and a symbol with a range of meanings that vary in ways we can at least partly understand. Similarly, I treat people who engage in political actions as constructions in two senses. First, their actions and their language create their subjectivity, their sense of who they are. Second, people involved in politics are symbols to other observers: they stand for ideologies, values, or moral stances and they become role models, benchmarks, or symbols of threat and evil.

My focus, in short, is upon people and developments with multiple and changing meanings to one another. That perspective offers a difficult analytic challenge because entities do not remain stable while you study them and subjects and objects are continuously evolving constructions of each other. Historical evidence and psychological theory nevertheless support these assumptions. In every era and every national culture, political controversy and maneuver have hinged upon conflicting interpretations of current actions and developments; leaders are perceived as tyrannical or benevolent, war as just or unjust, economic policies as supports of a class or the public interest, movements as pathological or helpful. It is precisely such differences about the relevance of politically significant events that constitute political and social history.

If political developments depended upon factual occurrences, false meanings would be discredited in time and a con-

4. These same truths, one by an eminent philosopher and the other by an eminent psychologist, supported the conceptual framework I apply here in some detail. Nelson Goodman, *Of Images and Their Interiors* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968); Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Ego* (London, Hogarth Press, 1921).

## I Some Premises about Politics

The pervasiveness of literacy, television, and radio in the industrialized world makes frequent reports of political news available to most of the population, a marked change from the situation that prevailed until approximately the Second World War. What consequences for ideology, action, and quiescence flow from preoccupation with political news as spectacle? How does the spectacle generate interpretations? What are its implications for democratic theory? These are the questions addressed in this book.

There is a conventional answer that can be captured in a sentence rather than a volume: citizens who are ignorant about political developments can mean effectively protest and protest their own ignorance in the public opinion. That response takes for granted a world of facts that have a determinable meaning and a world of people who react rationally to the facts they know. In politics, neither protest is sensible, a conclusion that history continually reaffirms and that observers of the political scene are tempted to ignore. To explore that conclusion is not likely to generate an optimistic book or a reassuring view of the human condition, but I hope this book will provide a realistic appreciation of the link between politics and well-being and a greater chance that political action can be effective.

The spectacle constructed by news reporting continuously constructs and reconstructs social problems, crises, concerns, and leaders and so creates a succession of threats and reassurances. These constructed problems and personalities furnish the content of political journalism and the data for historical and analytic political studies. They also play a central role in winning support and opposition for political causes and policies.

The latter role is usually masked by the assumption that citizens, journalists, and scholars are observers of "facts" whose meanings can be accurately ascertained by those who are properly trained and motivated. That positivist view is accepted rather than defended today. We are mutually aware that observers and what they observe construct one other; that political develop-

we have to be realistic about the history alone of government 17

mean upon valid ones would emerge, at least among informed and ethical observers. That does not happen, even over long time periods. The characteristics of problems, leaders, and events that makes them political is precisely that controversy over their meanings is not resolved. Whether poverty originates in the inadequacy of its victims or in the pathologies of social institutions, whether a leader's actions are beneficial or damaging to the polity, whether a foreign, racial, religious, or ethnic group is an enemy or a desirable ally, typify the questions that persist indefinitely and remain controversial as historical issues just as they were controversial in their time. The debates over such questions constitute politics and catalyze political action. There is no politics respecting matters that evoke a consensus about the pertinent facts, their meanings, and the rational course of action.

It is just as evident that individuals' opinions on political issues change with transformations in their social situations, with cues about the probable future consequences of political actions, with information about the sources and authoritative support for policies, and with the groups with whom they identify. The meanings of the self, the other, and the social object are facets of the same transaction, changing and remaining stable as those others do. Psychological theories as diverse as Freud, Vygotsky, Maslow, and Festinger converge on this point with the lesson of historical observation. The radical student who becomes a conventional liberal or conservative with graduation to secure jobs and new ambitions, the dedicated communist who becomes a fervent anti-communist, the liberal who becomes a neo-conservative, the pacifist who supports war when their country is about to attack, or vice, are recurring examples of the principle that political self-definition and policy reflect the conditions, circumstances, and opportunities in which people find themselves, that ideology and social institutions are part of the same transaction. To understand whether stability or change, it is necessary to look to the social situations people experience, anticipate, or fantasize.

The incentive to reduce ambiguity to certainty, enables most people to agree with fixed ideologies, and the observer's predicaments in the course of necessary everyday discourse and social science practice. These premises require observers

# Constructing The Political Spectacle

**LM Reder**



## **Constructing The Political Spectacle:**

*Constructing the Political Spectacle* Murray Jacob Edelman, 1988 Thanks to the ready availability of political news today informed citizens can protect and promote their own interests and the public interest more effectively Or can they Murray Edelman argues against this conventional interpretation of politics one that takes for granted that we live in a world of facts and that people react rationally to the facts they know In doing so he explores in detail the ways in which the conspicuous aspects of the political scene are interpretations that systematically buttress established inequalities and interpretations already dominant political ideologies

**Conservatives and the Constitution** Ken I. Kersch, 2019-03-28 Since the 1980s a ritualized opposition in legal thought between a conservative originalism and a liberal living constitutionalism has obscured the aggressively contested tradition committed to and mobilization of arguments for constitutional restoration and redemption within the broader postwar American conservative movement *Conservatives and the Constitution* is the first history of the political and intellectual trajectory of this foundational tradition and mobilization By looking at the deep stories told either by identity groups or about what conservatives took to be flashpoint topics in the postwar period Ken I Kersch seeks to capture the developmental and integrative nature of postwar constitutional conservatism challenging conservatives and liberals alike to more clearly see and understand both themselves and their presumed political and constitutional opposition *Conservatives and the Constitution* makes a unique contribution to our understanding of modern American conservatism and to the constitutional thought that has in critical ways informed and defined it [Routledge Handbook of Public Policy](#) Eduardo Araral, 2013 This Handbook provides a comprehensive global survey of the policy process Written by an outstanding line up of distinguished scholars and practitioners the Handbook covers all aspects of the policy process including Theory from rational choice to the new institutionalism Frameworks network theory advocacy coalition and development models Key stages in the process formulation implementation and evaluation Agenda setting and decision making The roles of key actors and institutions This is an invaluable resource for all scholars graduate students and practitioners in public policy and policy analysis Publisher description [Handbook of Political Communication Research](#) Lynda Lee Kaid, 2004-07-19 This volume brings together the major thrusts of research and theory in political communication For scholars researchers students in political communication mass communication and political science and for readers in public opinion political psychol

*Enacting Political Culture* David Procter, 1991 From July 3 6 1986 Americans hailed the 4th of July and the centennial of the Statue of Liberty in a celebration that became officially known as Liberty Weekend In this study David Procter analyzes the process of enacting political culture by examining how various political religious and ethnic groups transformed the experience of Liberty Weekend into a validation of their own individual social and political agendas Broader in scope than any previous published work on political culture and the political ideal of liberty Procter's work vividly demonstrates the rhetorical process by which American politicians pundits and community spokespersons

convert political celebration into motivation for sociopolitical goals Following an introductory chapter on the relationship between symbols and culture Procter provides an overview of the analysis of political culture as well as general comments on Liberty Weekend itself Subsequent chapters analyze how specific groups used the weekend to further their own sociopolitical goals Procter explains how blacks transformed the celebration into competing statements of community identity explores how Ronald Reagan converted the event into a celebration of his Revolution and examines how a nationalist group cast the event into a motive for an involved or confrontational American foreign policy He then synthesizes the significant themes and symbolic clusters from these three chapters to determine what these webs of discourse can tell us about American political culture Procter concludes that each group called on the ideograph Liberty to justify their specific yet diverse political agendas and that these disparate groups were able to use this common symbol because fundamentally Liberty represents America's cultural persona of pursuing a dream of success and achievement

**Cultural Strategies of Agenda Denial** Roger W. Cobb, Marc Howard Ross, 1997 This is the first book devoted to examining why some issues proposed by aggrieved individuals or groups are denied access to policy agendas The book contains case studies that look at the policy process from the perspective of the strategies opponents often use to ensure agenda denial strategies usually motivated by perceived threats to widely held world views and identities

**Political Communication** Mirko A. Demasi, Shani Burke, Cristian Tileagă, 2021-02-04 This book explores discursive psychological empirical research in the context of political communication Drawing together a well established field of study and a variety of discursive psychology approaches the authors confront the theoretical and practical challenges that discursive psychology and political communication studies face today Using a diverse range of approaches including the analysis of TV shows cartoons social media groups and blogs face to face verbal interaction political rhetoric and mainstream news reports the authors explain the ways in which discursive psychology can offer insight into the nature of contemporary political communications The book offers timely and international reflections on the context of online political communication Brexit rhetoric prejudice discourse and political persuasion showcasing the analytical acumen and empirical insight that can be gleaned from discursive psychology methods

**Political Communication Discursive Perspectives** highlights the value of contributions from outside English speaking academia and is essential reading for academics researchers and students interested in political communication or discursive psychology

**Contesting Democracy** Byron E. Shafer, Anthony J. Badger, 2001 Leading scholars provide a comprehensive history of two centuries of U S politics Contributions from a who's who of political historians

**Unfair Housing** Mara S. Sidney, 2003 It is difficult to ignore the fact that even as the United States becomes much more racially and ethnically diverse our neighborhoods remain largely segregated The 1968 Fair Housing Act and 1977 Community Reinvestment Act promised to end discrimination yet for

millions of Americans housing options remain far removed from the American Dream Why do most neighborhoods in American cities continue to be racially divided The problem suggests Mara Sidney lies with the policies themselves She contends that to understand why discrimination persists we need to understand the political challenges faced by advocacy groups who implement them In *Unfair Housing* she offers a new explanation for the persistent color lines in our cities by showing how weak national policy has silenced and splintered grassroots activists Sidney explains how political compromise among national lawmakers with divergent interests resulted in housing legislation that influenced how community activists defined discrimination what actions they took and which political relationships they cultivated As a result local governments became less likely to include housing discrimination on their agendas existing laws went unenforced and racial segregation continued A former undercover investigator for a fair housing advocacy group Sidney takes readers into the neighborhoods of Minneapolis and Denver to show how federal housing policy actually works She examines how these laws played out in these cities and reveals how they eroded activists capability to force more sweeping reform in housing policy Sidney also shows how activist groups can cultivate community resources to overcome these difficulties looking across levels of government to analyze how national policies interact with local politics In the first book to apply policy design theories of Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram to an empirical case Sidney illuminates overlooked impacts of fair housing and community reinvestment policies and extends their theories to the study of local politics and nonprofit organizations Sidney argues forcefully that understanding the link between national policy and local groups sheds light on our failure to reduce discrimination and segregation As battles over fair housing continue her book helps us understand the shape of the battlefield and the prospects for victory

*The Politics of Problem Definition* David A. Rochefort, Roger W. Cobb, 1994 At the nexus of politics and policy development lies persistent conflict over where problems come from what they signify and based on the answers to those questions what kinds of solutions should be sought Policy researchers call this process problem definition Written for both scholars and students this book explains how and why social issues come to be defined in different ways how these definitions are expressed in the world of politics and what consequences these definitions have for government action and agenda setting dynamics The authors demonstrate in two theoretical chapters and seven provocative case studies how problem definition affects policymaking for high profile social issues like AIDS drugs and sexual harassment as well as for problems like traffic congestion plant closings agricultural tax benefits and air transportation By examining the way social problems are framed for political discussion the authors illuminate the unique impact of beliefs values ideas and language on the public policymaking process and its outcomes In so doing they establish a common vocabulary for the study of problem definition review and critique the insights of existing work on the topic and identify directions for future research

*Defining Americans* Mary E. Stuckey, 2004 Ranging broadly from Andrew Jackson to Bill Clinton and George W Bush Stuckey demonstrates how presidents accomplish the dual enactment of inclusion and exclusion through their rhetorical and

political choices Our early leaders were preoccupied with balancing the growing nation later presidents were concerned with the nature and definitions of citizenship By examining the political speeches of presidents exemplifying distinctly different circumstances she presents a series of snapshots which when taken together reveal both the continuity and the changes in our national self understanding

**Media and Power in Modern Iran** Emily L. Blout, 2023-01-26 Successive Iranian leaders have struggled to navigate the fraught political cultural space of media in the Islamic Republic skirting the line between embracing Western communications technologies and rejecting them between condemning social networking sites as foreign treachery and promoting themselves on Facebook How does a regime that originally derived its hegemony from the ability to mass communicate its ideology protect its ideological dominance in a media environment defined by hybridity hyper connectivity and near constant change More broadly what is the role of media in the construction and maintenance of power in Iran This book addresses these questions by examining the institutions policies and discourses of two political regimes over the course of nearly eight decades Drawing from over 3 000 primary source documents and digital artifacts in Persian and English including formerly classified material hidden deep in the archives this book offers a history of media in Iran across political regimes and media paradigms from the public s first encounter with mass communication in the 1940s to the dawn of digital media in the 1990s to internet and mobile telephony today At the same time the book trains a keen eye on contemporary politics With foundations in sociology and political science *Media and Power in Modern Iran* offers trenchant insight into the present ruling establishment a political regime born from what has become known as the first televised revolution

Political Keywords Roderick P. Hart, 2005 The Declaration of Independence states that all men are created equal in the United States but that statement does not hold true for words Some words carry more weight than others they seem to work harder get more done and demand more respect *Political Keywords Using Language That Uses Us* looks at eight dominant words that are crucial to American political discourse and how they have been employed during the last fifty years Based on an analysis of eleven separate studies of political language *Political Keywords* helps readers to understand what these terms mean and how they are used For example the book tracks what politics now means to modern commentators how school teachers impress certain values upon the nation s children by invoking the office of the president and why an innocent word like government sometimes makes people so upset It details how the people are referenced in political talk and how the media portray themselves The book also considers the work done by political parties political promises and political consultants because together they shed special light on modern elections Combining social science with subtle forms of cultural interpretation *Political Keywords Using Language That Uses Us* provides a fresh look at both American politics and American language It is an ideal text for undergraduate and graduate courses in political communication political language political campaigns media and politics political psychology public opinion rhetorical criticism contemporary public address and presidential rhetoric Publisher

**African Language Literatures and the**

**Political Context of the 1990s** Charles Bodunde,2001      **Framing Public Life** Stephen D. Reese,Oscar H. Gandy, Jr.,August E. Grant,2001-06-01 This distinctive volume offers a thorough examination of the ways in which meaning comes to be shaped Editors Stephen Reese Oscar Gandy and August Grant employ an interdisciplinary approach to the study of conceptualizing and examining media They illustrate how texts and those who provide them powerfully shape or frame our social worlds and thus affect our public life Embracing qualitative and quantitative visual and verbal and psychological and sociological perspectives this book helps media consumers develop a multi faceted understanding of media power especially in the realm of news and public affairs      **China's Window on the World** Tsan-Kuo Chang,Jian Wang,Yanru Chen,2002 Table of contents      *A Case Study of Political Movements in Hungary* Roxanne Pompilio,1993      *Media, Protest, and Political Violence* Gadi Wolfsfeld,1991      **Citizens, Political Communication, and Interest Groups** John Pierce,1992-11-30 This intriguing book investigates the technical information quandary created by post industrial changes which have produced demands for citizen involvement in public policy processes while complex scientific and technical issues increasingly make public involvement difficult Authors Pierce Steger Steel and Lovrich address the degree to which interest groups might serve to bridge the knowledge gap between public policy processes and the citizenry in U S and Canadian settings The focus of the study is on acid rain policy in Michigan and Ontario an area of considerable scientific and technical complexity as well as political and public interest The authors examine how the U S and Canadian publics acquire process and communicate policy relevant information so that it can influence policymaking Do interest groups play the information dissemination role in a manner that could address the technical information quandary Are interest groups playing the same or different roles in the United States and Canada What different factors cause U S and Canadian interest groups to behave as they do in the political arena Recommended for scholars of Political Science Communication Environmental Studies and Comparative Public Policy      **Politics, Society, and the Media** Paul Wingfield Nesbitt-Larking,2001 Nesbitt Larking challenges his readers to become critical consumers of media and provides a number of strategies to encourage them to do so Nick Baxter Moore Brock University

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## **Table of Contents Constructing The Political Spectacle**

1. Understanding the eBook Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - The Rise of Digital Reading Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - Exploring Different Genres
  - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
  - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
  - Popular eBook Platforms
  - Features to Look for in an Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - Personalized Recommendations
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle User Reviews and Ratings
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Constructing The Political Spectacle Free and Paid eBooks
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle Public Domain eBooks
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle eBook Subscription Services
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Constructing The Political Spectacle eBook Formats
  - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle Compatibility with Devices
  - Constructing The Political Spectacle Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
  - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - Highlighting and Note-Taking Constructing The Political Spectacle
  - Interactive Elements Constructing The Political Spectacle
8. Staying Engaged with Constructing The Political Spectacle

- Joining Online Reading Communities
  - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
  - Following Authors and Publishers Constructing The Political Spectacle
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Constructing The Political Spectacle
    - Benefits of a Digital Library
    - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Constructing The Political Spectacle
  10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
    - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
    - Minimizing Distractions
    - Managing Screen Time
  11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Constructing The Political Spectacle
    - Setting Reading Goals Constructing The Political Spectacle
    - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
  12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Constructing The Political Spectacle
    - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Constructing The Political Spectacle
    - Distinguishing Credible Sources
  13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
    - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
    - Exploring Educational eBooks
  14. Embracing eBook Trends
    - Integration of Multimedia Elements
    - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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