

# Contents

Foreword *Miriam Hansen* ix

Introduction xliii

## 1. The Public Sphere as the Organization of Collective Experience 1

*The Concept of Experience and the Public Sphere* 3—*The Concept of the Public Sphere in Classical Bourgeois Theory* 9—*The Classical Bourgeois Public Sphere—in Practice* 11—*The Processing of Social Experience by the New Public Spheres of Production* 12—*The Life-Historical Construction of Experience—the Differing Time Scales of Learning Processes* 18—*Primary Socialization as the Cultivation of the Capacity for Experience* 21—*The Fate of the Cognitive Drives: Experience through Production of Knowledge* 22—*The Appropriation of Mediated Experience within the Learning Rhythms of Immediate Experience* 27—*The Blocking of Social Experience in the Proletarian Context of Living* 28—*The Workings of Fantasy as a Form of Production of Authentic Experience* 32—*Solidarity That Can Be Grasped with the Senses* 38—*The Desire for the Simplification of Social Circumstances—Personalization* 40—*The “Materialist Instinct”* 43—*Language Barriers* 45—*The So-called Public Sphere of the Factory* 49

## 2. On the Dialectic between the Bourgeois and the Proletarian Public Sphere 54

*The Proletarian Public Sphere as a Historical Counterconcept to the Bourgeois Public Sphere* 57—*The Assimilation of Elements of the Proletarian Context of Living into the Integrative Mechanism of the Bourgeois Public Sphere* 58—*The Self-Organization of Working-Class Interests in a Proletarian Public Sphere That Establishes Itself as a Separate Camp in Opposition to Capitalist Society*

60—*Decaying Forms of the Bourgeois Public Sphere* 63—1. *Contradictions of the State's Power Monopoly* 64—2. *The State's Power Monopoly and the Theory of Delegation* 69—3. *The Public Sphere as an Illusory Synthesis of the Totality of Society* 73—*The Material Core of the Illusion* 75—*The Reversal of the Functions of Power and Illusion* 77—*The Superstructure of Society Lags Behind the Development of the Productive Forces; the Illusory Public Sphere Is Ahead of Them* 79—*The Proletarian Public Sphere and the Social Production of Use-Value* 80—*The Medium of the Production of Social Wealth* 82—*The Public Sphere of the Student Movement* 84—*Workers' Protest Activities—Surrounded by a Disintegrating Bourgeois Public Sphere* 91

### 3. Public-Service Television: The Bourgeois Public Sphere Translated into Modern Technology 96

*Television as a Programming Industry* 96—*The Television Screen's Appearance of Immediacy—the Reality of Television Production as an Industrial Enterprise* 103—*Short-Term and Long-Term Valorization Interest in the Mass Media* 104—*The Juncture of Public-Service Television and Private Industry* 109—*Levels of Societization of Television and Viewers* 112—*Wealth of Material, Lack of Time, Distortions of Communication* 115—*Limitations of Television That Derive from the Labor Process* 121—*Television and Criticism* 124

### 4. The Individual Commodity and Collections of Commodities in the Consciousness Industry 130

*Excursus 1 to Chapter 4. The Media Cartel and the Political Sphere—an Example of the Overdetermination of the Bourgeois Public Sphere by the Public Sphere of Production* 135

*Excursus 2 to Chapter 4. Individual Resistance to the Media Cartel?* 138

*Excursus 3 to Chapter 4. The Public Sphere of Knowledge Production and the Media Conglomerate* 144

*Public Service or Private Structure of the Consciousness Industry?* 147

### 5. The Context of Living as the Media Cartel's Object of Production 149

*The Sensuality of the Classical Media* 151—*The Sensory Reception Basis of the New Mass Media* 154

### 6. Changes in the Structure of the Public Sphere: Capitalist "Cultural Revolution"—Proletarian Cultural Revolution 160

*Violence, the Nonpublic Sphere, Objective Illusion, Accumulation* 164—*Classical*

*Imperialism and its Public Sphere* 165—*The Phase of Imperialist Mass Mobilization (Fascism, National Socialism)* 166—*The Latest Stage of Imperialism: Inward Imperialism* 170—*The Transformation of Commodities into Fantasy Values* 172—*The Conservatism of Feelings and Its Exploitation in the Consciousness Industry* 175—*The Dialectic of Real and Formal Subsumption of the Public Sphere under Capital* 177—*Primary and Secondary Exploitation* 180—*Tendencies toward and Enrichment of the Context of Capital: Planning, the Institutionalized Production of Use-values, the Context of Living as an Object of Production* 181—*Intellectual Activity as the Most Important Raw Material and Possibility for the Realization of the New Range of Products* 183—*Proletarian Publicity as a Form of Resistance against Real Subsumption under Capital* 185

Commentaries on the Concept of Proletarian Public Sphere 187

1. *The Proletarian Public Sphere as an Organizational Model for the Whole Nation (the Development of the English Labor Movement)* 187
2. *Lenin's Concept of the Self-Experience of the Masses* 201
3. *The Ideology of the Camp: The Public Sphere of the Working Class as a Society within Society* 205
4. *1919: Maximalism in Italy; 1934: Austro-Marxism—Two Sides of the Same Phenomenon* 214
5. *Austro-Marxism (1918-34)* 222
6. *Camp Mentality of the KPD before 1933* 231
7. "Social Fascism" 234
8. *Fetish "Politics" and Working-Class Politics* 236
9. *The Proletarian Public Sphere and the Election of Hindenburg* 240
10. *Learning from Defeats?* 243
11. *The Temporal Structure of the Experience of Historical Struggles* 247
12. *Class Consciousness as a Program Concept That Requires Development by a Proletarian Public Sphere* 250
13. *Class Consciousness as a Mechanism of Pigeonholing—Georg Lukács* 255
14. *The Bourgeois Ideal Association and the Party Question* 258
15. *Frederick Engels on the Party Press and the Public Sphere* 264
16. *Vocabulary and the Proletarian Public Sphere* 272
17. *The Public Sphere of Monuments—the Public Sphere and Historical Consciousness* 276
18. *The Public Sphere of Children* 283
19. *The Nonpublic Sphere as a Form of Rule—Class "In Itself" and Class "For Itself"* 289
20. *The Proletariat—as a Substance and as an Aggregate of Qualities* 294

Index 299