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FROM KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY TO DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP:

Decolonising higher education through communicative action

Lena Röllicke

Abstract In this article I argue that in addition to preparing students for the knowledge economy, an important purpose of higher education in modern liberal democracies should be to educate critical and active citizens capable of engaging in communicative action. This argument is based on the idea that liberal democracy requires critical, active citizens in order to become truly democratic and on Jürgen Habermas' critique of the colonisation of the lifeworld through a predominance of economic discourse. I then analyse to what extent the teaching method used at Maastricht University – Problem-based Learning (PBL) – is an appropriate pedagogical tool to realise that democratic purpose of higher education.

I Introduction

Over the last decades, systems of higher education around the world have come to be increasingly dominated by the demands of the so-called “knowledge economy” (Crick & Joldersma, 2006; Kenway, Bullen, & Robb, 2004; Robertson, 2007). In this light, university-level or tertiary education is typically conceived

as an essential tool for fostering the productivity and competitiveness of national economies in a post-industrial context. The predominance of this economic perspective on the purposes of higher education can be seen as part of a larger phenomenon, which the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas (1987) terms the “colonisation of the lifeworld”. The “colonisation of the lifeworld” refers to a state in which economic discourses have come to dominate social life. According to Habermas, economic rationality and imperatives such as efficiency, productivity, competition and power have increasingly determined our ways of thinking, understanding and experiencing the world as well as our behaviours within it. Individuals are positioned as ‘consumers’ rather than citizens, which increases their passivity and reduces potential for critical thinking and social cohesion. This regressive process then leads to a generalised weakening of the public sphere and participation in civil society. In societies which take pride in embracing liberal democracy and its values of political equality, justice and individual freedom, such a development is highly problematic. Liberal democracies, according to Habermas, need a healthy public sphere, a thriving civil society and active, critical citizens to function and are thus threatened by the colonisation of the lifeworld and the resulting weakening of civil society. In order to address the colonisation of society in general, and higher education in particular, Habermas proposes to engage in “communicative action”: a form of discourse in which the exchange of ideas and standpoints under fair and equal conditions is central.

In this article I draw on Habermasian philosophy to argue that in modern liberal democracies the purpose of higher education should go beyond fulfilling the utilitarian demands of the knowledge economy so as to include offering a learning platform for critical, active citizenship and communicative action as required for a thriving democracy. While this democratic purpose applies to all stages in the education system, the imbalance between meeting the demands of the knowledge economy and those of a democratic society is particularly great in the upper or tertiary levels of the education system. Addressing this imbalance requires a restructuring of current teaching techniques towards a system which is conducive to the democratic purpose by fostering communicative action and critical citizenship. Indeed, a closer look at alternative teaching methods in higher education suggests that, while not very common, certain kinds of pedagogical approaches could be more conducive to a democratic purpose and potentially serve as a blue-print for the decolonisation of higher education.

One of these already-existing alternative teaching-methods is Problem-based Learning (PBL), as practiced, amongst others, at Maastricht University. PBL is an innovative teaching method which places considerable emphasis on stu-

dent-to-student teaching and discussion. While Maastricht University's slogan "Leading in Learning" (Gijsselaers, 2013) arguably does bear a notion of economic discourse, PBL's focus on active discussion intuitively seems to resemble the educational settings required for citizenship education and communicative action. In the second part of this paper, I therefore suggest that PBL could be an appropriate teaching method to educate students in communicative action and for becoming critical, active citizens.

My discussion is divided into two parts. In the first part, an argument for democratic education as a task and purpose of higher education is developed. To that end, a brief overview of the current trend towards the knowledge economy is given, followed by a critique of that trend and an argument for citizenship education, focusing on communicative action, as an important task of higher education. The most important requirements for such citizenship education, categorised into format, student-teacher relationship, skills and content, are outlined. In the second part, the main features of Problem-based Learning are presented, giving way to a conceptual analysis of the extent to which those features match the requirements liberal democracy poses on education. In this context it is important to stress that this discussion does not make use of empirical data or specific case studies. My argument that PBL could potentially serve as a useful tool to educate students in communicative action and for becoming active, critical citizens is thus a conceptual prediction rather than an empirically supported claim.

2 From Knowledge Economy to Democratic Education

2.1 The knowledge economy

Currently, great parts of higher education's outlook and purpose are directed towards fulfilling the demands of the knowledge economy (Kenway, Bullen, & Robb, 2004). Since the 1990s, the concept of the "global knowledge economy" has increasingly gained shape and importance in international, national and regional discourse. In an economic system in which innovation is considered key to economic growth, countries will have to rely more and more on human capital rather than on resources, so the argument goes (Robertson, 2007). Education plays a crucial role in fostering such human capital. It is responsible for transferring the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes to prepare students for successful participation in the knowledge economy. This has led to a re-orientation of education to adapt to the specific demands of the knowledge economy. Recent developments in higher education include increased funding for technological and research infrastructures, increased competition, an entrepreneur-

ial character of education and a commitment to economically viable “life-long learning” (Robertson, 2007). While it is not my aim here to deny any importance of economic concerns, the discourse of the knowledge economy and its role in higher education is arguably part of a larger phenomenon, namely the “colonisation of the lifeworld” by the economy, as suggested by Jürgen Habermas (1987). According to Habermas, economic discourse has come to dominate and thus exclude other social and democratic discourses in ways which then determine our understandings and experiences of the world around us.

2.2 Democracy, Habermas, and the Colonisation of the Life World

Next to a deep-rooted concern for economic markets and prosperity, an important feature of the current global system is the value placed democracy. Liberal democracy in particular has been praised by a variety of political and civil society actors alike as one of the most equitable and desirable systems of governance (Kymlicka, 2002). Liberal democracy has often been praised by influential agencies such as UNESCO and the International Labour Organization, for example, as giving people voice and rights as well as for creating structures which secure individual freedoms, political equality and socio-economic mobility. What is often neglected in this praise of liberal democracies, however, is that democracy also needs to be actively lived by the people, rather than merely existing on paper or being exercised at general elections. In other words, in order to fulfil its promise of justice and to retain its legitimacy, democracy needs active and critical citizens who embrace the political, who show political awareness and possess a certain notion of civic virtue, as opposed to being apolitical, individual consumers (Galston, 1991; Macedo, 1990). In this context, active citizenship does not only refer to the enactment of organised political activism, but also includes having a political mindset and awareness (Kymlicka, 2002). Similarly, the concept of “civic virtue” is a very broad and contested concept which can include general social, economic and political virtue, such as law-abidingness, independence and open-mindedness, work ethics, respect for other people’s rights and engagement in public discourse. While any political order might require some of those virtues, those that are specific to and of particular importance for pluralist liberal democracies and thus for our context, are the ability and “willingness to question political authority, and to engage in public discourse about matters of public policy” (Kymlicka, 2002, p.289). Being able and willing to question political authority and to engage in matters of public policy is a crucial factor that distinguishes democratic citizens from mere subjects in authoritarian regimes. Therefore, as Amy Gutman (1987, p.51) puts it, students “must learn not just to behave in accordance with authority but to think critically about authority if they are to

live up to the democratic ideal of sharing political sovereignty as citizens". While such critical, active citizenship can be learned in different social institutions, such as the family or associations of civil society, one cannot completely rely on those to "teach the full range of civic virtues" (Kymlicka, 2002, p.307). In order to ensure that the crucial democratic virtues of public reasonableness and scepticism of authority are learned, it is therefore also the responsibility of formal education to educate students to become critical and active citizens who can engage in a thriving democracy.

The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1992, p.258), one of the most well-known contemporary representatives of the Frankfurt School and its tradition of critical theory, equally stresses the importance of active citizenship for liberal democracy "the institutions of constitutional freedom are only worth as much as population makes them". In his work *A Theory of Communicative Action* (1987), he argues that in complex, pluralist, modern societies, the functioning of a democracy ultimately depends on the existence of a public sphere and a vibrant civil society. Civil society can be described as "a sphere of interaction between the economy and the state" (Fleming, 2008, p.5) which includes for example the family, voluntary organisations, social movements, and forms of public communication. Since it is unlikely that the government is really fully representative of all people, civil society has the task of ensuring that power is not abused by the government, and that it is rather made more democratic. However, both the notion of active, critical citizenship and a thriving civil society which lie at the heart of democracy are severely endangered by the predominance of economic discourse (Fleming, 2008).

In his analysis of modern capitalist society, Habermas (1987) makes a distinction between "systems" such as the economy and the state, and the so-called "lifeworld", which represents the collection of cultural "givens", those taken-for-granted assumptions which form the background for people's understanding of the world around them, give meaning and direction to their lives and lie at the basis at their communication and interpretations. The lifeworld is the locus of social integration based on mutual understanding, social consensus, identity and solidarity and is thus of crucial importance for the well-being of society. In contrast to that, Habermas (1987, p.154) refers to the systems in terms of "economic and bureaucratic spheres [...] in which social relations are regulated only via money and power". The logics and functions of the systems are thus essentially different from that of the lifeworld.

Whenever a system invades or dominates the lifeworld, the discourse and values of that system influence people's underlying assumptions on and meanings of the world around them and their own lives. While it should be acknowl-

edged that the economy does play an important role in the creation of wealth and the provision of jobs, Habermas (1987) contends that in the contemporary era, aided by the state's inability to keep the economy in check, its values and discourse have pervaded, or as Habermas puts it, "colonised" public discourse and the lifeworld. Thus, the capitalist systems' logic of money and power, in which "each member [of society] is a rationally self-interested calculating entrepreneur" (Crick & Joldersma, 2006, p.81) and in which social integration is reduced to the exchange of commodified goods and services, increasingly alters our pre-supposed assumptions, wishes and needs. Our identities and desires seem to be determined predominantly by the latest products we buy and we gradually start defining ourselves as consumers and clients rather than as citizens. As social integration is reduced to the exchange of commodities, the important dimension of the lifeworld which gives meaning and fosters mutual understanding and solidarity is lost. According to Habermas, such a development severely endangers the functioning of civil society and thus ultimately the thriving of a socially just and inclusive democratic society.

As argued above, not only has the lifeworld been colonised by the economy; discourse of higher education is being similarly dominated by economic concerns. Students resemble clients, higher education's central concern often lies with money, manageability and measurability of students and there is an increasingly unquestioned acceptance of technology and instrumental values (Fleming, 2008). Students' and teachers' attitudes are equally dominated by economic discourse or mechanisms, prioritising learning or teaching for tests, collecting credits and using minimum effort to achieve maximum outcomes (Crick & Joldersma, 2006). Fostering economic values rather than democratic values, higher education thus currently does not do justice to its purpose of educating critical and active citizens, but perpetuates the primacy of economic discourse in the lifeworld. Is there nevertheless anything that can be done, and specifically, that higher education can do, to "de-colonise" the lifeworld in order to establish a truly thriving liberal democracy?

2.3 Towards Communicative Action and Democratic Education

Habermas' approach to reverse the process of colonisation, in other words, to "de-colonise" the lifeworld from the domination of the logic of money and power, lies in his concept of "communicative action". To him, the way to reach true understanding of different people's interests and needs and to revive social integration characteristic of the lifeworld, is to "engage in a democratic debate in which peoples' real needs are identified, shared and clarified" (Fleming, 2008, p.8). At the basis of communicative action thus lie the desire to reach inter-

personal understanding and the conviction that “free, open, public discussion has a transformative function” (Fleming, 2008, p.9) and is fundamental to democracy. There are certain conditions for communicative action to reach the desired result of protecting the lifeworld from the system, preserving democracy and reconstructing civil society. Any communication needs to be comprehensible, sincere, truthful and appropriately expressed, according to Habermas. Furthermore, there should be no coercion, as everyone should have the opportunity to be heard, to make contributions or suggestions or to criticise. Everyone should have the best possible knowledge of different perspectives and agreement should be reached on basis of the better argument (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005). In general, there should be a sense of solidarity and mutual respect. In this light, communicative action is aimed at detecting ideological, coercive and non-democratic processes, such as the predominance of economic discourse, that stand in the way of true democracy. It seeks to revive the sense of social integration based on mutual understanding, solidarity and social consensus that is characteristic of the lifeworld. While communicative action could for example be applied in deliberative democratic settings such as discussion forums or community meetings, it is by no means limited to formal or institutional situations. Rather, communicative action should be practiced in any interaction between two or more individuals that is based on deliberation and the exchange of arguments (Habermas, 1987). Through emancipatory and rational communicative action, based on freedom, equality, justice and the valuing of rationality, and through a fostering of democratic participation and deliberation, the autonomous public sphere and civil society could thus be strengthened to resist the colonisation by the economy and to ultimately realise liberal democracy’s potential (Fleming, 2008).

Higher education can and should aid this process by providing a platform for democratic and critical discourse based on communicative action (Fleming, 2008). It should present a space in which students can learn participation, which is an essential feature of being a critical, active citizen (Crick & Joldersma, 2006). By educating critical, active citizens capable of engaging in communicative action, higher education contributes to the decolonisation of the lifeworld and potentially helps to strengthen civil society and liberal democracy. But, what exactly is it that higher education can do to achieve this expectation?

There are a number of requirements higher education needs to meet in order to contribute to the decolonisation of the lifeworld through communicative action and to do justice to its democratic purpose. Those requirements include the transfer of knowledge, skills, understanding, values and attitudes relevant to communicative action, and concern both the nature of higher education as an institution, and the pedagogy of higher education (Crick & Joldersma, 2007;

Fleming, 2008). For reasons of scope, I focus only on the pedagogical requirements. One can categorise the recommendations various scholars suggest to meet the above-mentioned goals into four broad areas: i.) the format of education, ii.) the relationship between teachers and student, iii.) the skills that need to be learned, and iv.) the specific content of learning and instruction.

Format: In terms of the teaching method or the format of learning, higher education should provide spaces for discourse. Students should be encouraged to participate in dialogue and discussions based on mutual respect, becoming aware of their own public voice, and engaging in participatory decision-making. While this helps them to acquire certain skills outlined below, an educative setting based on group discussion and discourse at the same time closely resembles the communicative practices in the democracy Habermas envisions. University classrooms could thus serve as a micro-cosmos of democratic communicative action (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005; Giroux, 2002; Kymlicka, 2002).

Student-teacher relationship: To give students a genuine learning experience for democracy and make them less reliant on authorities, it is imperative to have less hierarchical relationships between students and teachers. Teachers should take over the role of facilitators and engage in mutual exchange of ideas, needs, and interests with the students. Together with the focus on discursive practice, such a pedagogical structure could lead students to become more independent and to learn the skills necessary to become active, critical citizens (Fleming, 2008).

Skills: One skill students should certainly learn as part of their democratic education, and which is aided by the flat teacher-student hierarchy is to question political authority and other coercive structures that might influence their lives and society (Fleming, 2008; Kymlicka, 2002). The critical attitude which lies behind such questioning is probably the most crucial skill for resisting the colonisation of the lifeworld and making a socially just democracy flourish. Thus critical thinking and critical evaluation of what has been learned, bearing an emancipatory character, should be one of the main foci of higher education. Furthermore, in practising communicative action, students should learn to take responsibility for their ideas (Giroux, 2002).

Content: As far as the specific content of education is concerned, Giroux (2002) argues that, in order to bring about the change necessary for a functioning democracy based on communicative action and critical, active citizenship, students need to engage in and discuss real and deep problems of society.

Furthermore, they should learn to value the importance of the public good and the primacy of democratic values. While this could be taught in terms of specific content, such insight could also be a by-product of taking part in discussion and engaging in communicative discourse (Crick & Joldersma, 2007).

At many universities, the four requirements outlined above are currently not met (Fleming, 2008). Generally, structures are much more authoritarian, have less of a focus on deliberation, and aim primarily at meeting the demands of the knowledge economy rather than challenging the colonisation of the lifeworld by the economic system and its discourse. Given that education should also have a democratic purpose in educating students to be active and critical citizens capable of communicative action, a restructuring of higher education to meet those requirements in the future is necessary. In terms of the pedagogical methods, a new setting which includes the four criteria outlined above should thus be considered.

While the majority of institutions in higher education still adopt a top-down, authoritarian and passive approach to education, some alternative teaching systems can already be found. With regards to the criteria mentioned above, the rather innovative teaching method at Maastricht University - Problem-based Learning (PBL) - might be a promising approach to incorporate a democratic purpose into higher education's agenda. PBL has a great focus on student-to-student teaching and intuitively seems to come much closer to the ideal of creating a learning space for deliberative democracy than traditional teaching methods. Whether this intuition is correct and whether Maastricht's slogan "Leading in Learning" can do justice not only to its economic rationale, but also to the democratic purpose of learning is subject of the following sections.

3 Problem-Based Learning

3.1 What is Problem-based Learning?

While there is not one single definition that captures all possible varieties of Problem-based Learning, there are certain defining features that can be used to describe this rather innovative approach to education. The idea behind Problem-based Learning (henceforth PBL) is that students are integrated into the learning process, rather than individually processing information provided by a lecturer. In the classic model of PBL, this generally means that the learning process is organised around complex real-life problems which do not have a right or a wrong answer (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). Students work in teams, trying to identify the problem and possible problem-solving approaches or learning goals,

and then gather the necessary information through self-directed learning. Staff members act as facilitators in this process, accompanying the learning process rather than providing “correct” answers (Van Til, & Van der Heijden, nd). Such a student-led, problem-based approach is supposed to lead students to develop problem-solving capabilities and related cognitive skills.

While it is still regarded as innovative in contemporary universities, PBL is by no means a new idea. With its first practical application in the medical sciences in the 1960s, the theoretical origin of actively integrating the student in the learning process can be traced way further back and lies primarily in different schools of philosophy (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). Already the ancient Greeks saw the benefit of the development of metacognitive skills such as acquired through constant questioning, discussion and reasoning. In later philosophical schools, the ability to disentangle problems and attempt to solve them, to question our knowledge and social position, and to include as many as possible in the active learning and discussion process, has been equally important. Thus ideas similar to those of the current PBL can be found in traditional philosophical inquiry, whether it be in connection with metaphysics, phenomenology, positivism, existentialism or postmodernism. The specific emancipatory and social functions a PBL approach to education carries out will be of special importance when it comes to evaluating its suitability for deliberative democratic education.

3.2 PBL and democratic education

In order to consider whether PBL is an appropriate pedagogical tool to foster communicative action and to educate for critical, active citizenship, it is instructive to consider to what extent the four criteria of democratic education, format, student-teacher relationship, skills and content, are met in a PBL setting. As far as the *teaching format* is concerned, PBL certainly provides a space for discourse and discussion. In small groups, students have to engage in a dialogue in order to define the problem at hand and later discuss the newly acquired knowledge and possible solutions to the problem (Duch, Groh, & Allen, 2001). Student discussion leaders, which alternate on a weekly basis, have to make sure that no one is excluded from the discussion and that certain rules of mutual respect are followed (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). The atmosphere created in a PBL tutorial should thus be comparable to that of the ideal speech situation of communicative action. Everyone should have the chance to be heard and no one should be discriminated against or coerced into a certain opinion. However, problems in the implementation of discussion based on the requirements of communicative action can easily arise. Some students might not have the predisposition, courage or motivation to participate as much as others, or discussions might rein-

force marginalisation and the hegemony of certain dominant opinions. This danger is present especially at the beginning of the learning process (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005). Such difficulties are comparable to a democratic society in which some members might be more inclined to make themselves heard than others. A classical PBL class can thus be seen as a micro-cosmos of a democratic society (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004). This implies that it can present an ideal platform for students to learn how to deal with problems arising in a pluralist democratic situation. To successfully guide this learning process for communicative action, teachers should thus be aware of the dangers of unequal participation and power-structures within the classroom.

As far as the role of the teacher and the *student-teacher relationship* are concerned, in PBL, there is a very flat hierarchy between students and teacher, with the teacher assuming the role of a facilitator rather than an authoritarian leader of the group. While in traditional teaching settings, the role of the teacher is that of the authoritative source of knowledge and power, which is spatially and ideationally distant from the students, in PBL classrooms, the teacher remains rather passive. It is the students themselves who have to take an active role in their learning process. They independently discuss the problem at hand, try to find a solution, answer each others' questions and take turns in leading the discussion (Van Til & Van der Heijden, nd). This places more responsibility on the students rather than offering the possibility to rely on judgements and rules of an authority (Duch, Groh, & Allen, 2001). Developing independence from authority and getting used to taking the initiative and responsibility for one's own learning process is very beneficial for the development of critical, active citizenship. As mentioned above however, the extent to which the potential of PBL discussions to practice communicative action and prepare for active, critical citizenship can be reached nevertheless depends on the awareness and the encouragement of the teacher to address potential pitfalls of classroom dynamics (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005). The teacher's role thus remains important in ensuring that every student takes part in the active learning process and that the development of new hierarchical structures is kept to a minimum.

Ideally, the structure of PBL and its focus on discussion encourage students to think critically, which is one of the main *skills* relevant for communicative action and active, critical citizenship. They are given the space and the platform to discuss their pre-existing knowledge and findings, and to critically reflect on them (Savin-Badin & Major, 2004). This stands in stark contrast to the traditional, lecture-based teaching system, in which students primarily listen to and internalise the opinion of an authoritative source of knowledge, the teacher, without being encouraged to critically discuss and question what they have learned.

Next to fostering critical thinking, participation in discussion also forces students to take responsibility for their ideas. This is another important skill at the basis of communicative action and active, critical citizenship. To what extent students can apply and transfer this critical thinking to their own lives and society, thus learning to question political authority or other coercive structures, depends very much on how explicit the critical thinking process is being made. Especially in subjects that are not directly related to democratic society, making explicit the abstract processes of PBL is thus a very important task of the teacher (Brookfield & Preskill, 2005). Students of any subject, be it medicine, economics or sociology, should become aware of the benefits of critical discussions of the subject material and of the democratic structures that are at play in PBL tutorials. If such an awareness of the possibility and benefits of peacefully exchanging divergent ideas and critically assessing authoritative sources of knowledge is reached, a transfer of those skills to other areas of life becomes more likely.

Lastly, in terms of *content*, PBL does provide students with contact with real-life problems, which form the basis of the classical PBL discussion sessions (Duch, Groh, & Allen, 2001). However, the nature of those problems and the extent to which students realise the political aspects of the issue at hand often depends on the subject matter. Whether students learn to adopt certain democratic values or an appreciation of the public good regardless of the specific subject again depends on whether students are actually encouraged to think in a more abstract and political way. Of course, drawing parallels to democratic society and coercive structures in that society is more straight-forward in disciplines which explicitly deal with such topics or relevant schools of thought, for example sociology, political science, philosophy. However, this does not mean that the learning potential for communicative action and active, critical citizenship is restricted to students of those subjects. As explained above, making students aware of their democratic role in both the PBL classroom and society, and of the political nature of many even seemingly apolitical issues is thus an important requirement for fully realising PBL's potential to engage students in communicative action and active, critical citizenship.

Overall, the creation of a deliberative and discursive space in which students participate in a dialogue guided by rules of mutual respect, and in which they are encouraged to engage critically with real-life problems, makes PBL potentially a very promising education method to incorporate democratic learning in the agenda of higher education. To what extent that potential can be realised however not only depends on the formal setting, but also and to a considerable extent on its implementation. While potential disadvantages concerning practical implementation, costs and potential differences in the acquisition of factual knowledge

compared to traditional teaching methods (Savin-Baden & Major, 2004) might also play a role, the “implementation” I refer to is still of a conceptual nature. In order to effectively engage students in communicative action and foster active, critical citizenship including a certain civic-mindedness, making the political and democratic processes in PBL classrooms and in the problems discussed explicit, and fostering political awareness is of crucial importance. Many features of PBL, such as the independent learning and thinking, encouragement of lifelong learning or the ability to work in groups might actually also benefit the demands of work-related learning. Students would thus not have to decide between becoming a democratic citizen and finding a job, but could combine both. However, in light of this seemingly convenient combination, raising awareness of the dominating role the economy plays in the lifeworld becomes even more crucial. In addition to making explicit the democratic nature of PBL classrooms, it is therefore important that the overall ethos of the university takes on a critical stance towards the discourse of the knowledge economy, and emphasises the importance of citizenship for a well-functioning democracy. The organisation and role of higher education as an institution which is part of civil society should thus by no means be neglected in the process towards a more democratic future (Crick & Joldersma, 2007). In sum, while the PBL system could provide a very useful platform for democratic education, it has to be used appropriately and put in context so as to realise its emancipatory potential.

4 Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that, rather than focusing merely on meeting the demands of the knowledge economy, higher education in liberal democracies should also fulfil its democratic purpose to educate critical, active citizens who are capable of engaging in communicative action. This argument is based on the premise that liberal democracies, valued for their ability to protect individual freedom, grant rights to their citizens and promise a certain form of social justice, can only function and retain their legitimacy in the presence of critical active citizens who are politically-minded and possess certain civic virtues. Such citizenship needs to be learned, however, and it should be a task of formal education, including higher education, to offer a learning platform for becoming active and critical citizens.

Currently, institutions of higher education tend to be dominated by concerns for the knowledge economy (Fleming, 2008). According to Jürgen Habermas (1987), this phenomenon is part of what he terms the “colonisation of the life-

world". He argues that economic discourse has come to dominate any social or democratic discourse and affects the way we give meaning to the world, which severely endangers the notions of critical active citizenship and a thriving civil society needed for a functioning democracy. Habermas proposes communicative action, a form of discourse and dialogue based on mutual respect and understanding, as a way to decolonise the lifeworld and revive democracy. Implementing a learning environment for such communicative action and active critical citizenship in higher education requires the fulfilment of certain criteria with regards to the format of education, the student-teacher relationship, skills that can be learned, and the specific content.

In the second part of the paper I argued that Problem-based Learning (PBL), a teaching method used at Maastricht University, is an appropriate pedagogical tool to fulfil the requirements for a critical and emancipatory education. With its focus on student-led discussions, active participation and a flat hierarchy between students and teachers, on a conceptual level, PBL seems to have great potential to offer a platform for students to engage in communicative action and become active, critical citizens. However, in order to realise this potential, democratic and political processes within the classroom, in the problems at hand, and in society in general need to be made explicit to ensure critical awareness of them. Furthermore, future research will have to show if my conceptual prediction that PBL could be useful to help higher education fulfil its democratic purpose can be supported by empirically.

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THE PURGE FROM WITHIN:

How McCarthyism undermined the rise of
progressive labour unionism in the USA

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Abstract What explains the decline of labour unionism in the United States? Drawing on social movement studies, this article argues that the advent of McCarthyism and the ‘Red Scare’ created an ideological struggle within the domestic political arena in the US that triggered a decline in the US labour movement that has continued into until the present day. In particular it is argued that the structural context of the Red Scare caused an internal purge of communist and socialist sympathisers from within the labour unions. Building on resource mobilization theory, the analytical focus is placed on understanding how and why political-structural conditions created internal crises among labour unionists during the time period of 1947-53. Ultimately, it is argued that a dearth of cultural, moral and human resources generated by the political purge of the progressive Left triggered a major weakening and decline of unions ‘from below’ and not merely ‘from above’. The weak role of unions in the US today can thus only be understood if the historical legacy of the McCarthy era and consequent internal crisis of the labour movement have been analysed in relation to each other.

I Introduction

Labour unions are an essential component of a diverse and democratic society because they work to ensure that all classes are equally represented in the political sphere regardless of their wealth and monetary power. Most labour unions work to achieve economic equity, workplace democracy, and social justice through the extension and development of collective bargaining rights (Dawkins, 2009). Through such rights, labour unions can influence the rules and conditions which govern practical aspects of work, such as wages and hours. If conditions regarding equitable pay and hours have been negotiated by both employers and employees, as Dawkins (2009) argues, then the securing of workers' rights and their protection from precarious and unfair working conditions is far more likely. In this light, collective bargaining is also about the establishment of workplace democracy (Dawkins, 2009). By giving workers a voice, collective bargaining allows them to attain direct representation so as to steer decision-making processes in ways that deter situations of exploitation and mistreatment. In short, the presence of labour unions is fundamental to realizing social justice in the workplace which in turn contributes to a more equitable and democratic society. A 2004 report by the International Labour Office, for example, revealed that nations with weak unions overwhelmingly demonstrate the highest rates of income inequality (ILO, 2004). Conversely, the decline or absence of labour unions poses a problem in that it creates conditions in society which fuel exploitation and inequality. It is in this regard that the historical decline of labour unions in the United States of America is worth examining.

The United States is not only one of the largest and most influential economies in the world, but it is also one of the largest and oldest democratic nations. However, since the latter half of the 20th century there has been a steady decrease in the number or "density" of labour unions in the US (Clawson & Clawson, 1999; Voss, 1996). This is particularly interesting because unionisation had once experienced a very fruitful and influential period during the 1930-50s when nearly half of the full-time workforce was unionized. Union empowerment was specifically driven by socio-economic reforms of the New Deal introduced in 1933, which aimed at institutionalizing collaborative relationship between employers and the working class through mechanisms, such as collective bargaining (Clawson & Clawson, 1999). By the turn of the 21st century, however, US labour unions represented only a small fraction of the workforce with less than 20% of employees having membership in a union (McAlevey, 2003). This means that most US workers today possess little political influence, which in turn, deters from effective enforcement of their goals and compounds

dissatisfaction among the workers as they are denied the benefits garnered by their unionized counterparts in West European nations, such as Germany and the Netherlands. Survey data by Warner (2013), for instance, indicates that union organisation of the US labour force lags far behind unionisation levels in Western Europe, where labour unions have been able to maintain a significant position and wield considerable bargaining power within the polity. Moreover, the decline of labour unionism in the US has been linked to a concomitant deterioration in a normative ethical view which advocates for an equitable distribution of wealth and resources across the different socio-economic classes of US society (Estlund, 2002; Rosen, 1992). In other words, the declining presence of labour unions has correlated with an increased normalization of inequality among the populace. The weak condition of unions in the contemporary US thus has negative implications for the well-being and prosperity of everyday citizens who live in conditions of longer-term poverty and precarity due to low wages and lack of benefits. An additional consequence for the contemporary labour situation in the US has been the shrinking relevance and accessibility of labour rights for American workers (Estlund, 2002). This is to say that the marginalization of labour unionism means that many workers in the US have very few opportunities and choices to join labour unions. Because labour unions in the US have such a weak political legitimacy and leverage, there is a glaring absence of strong social welfare policies that protect workers and their families, particularly during times of economic crisis and widespread unemployment.

In order to restore social justice it is crucial that the American worker experiences the kind of empowerment facilitated by unions. Through unionization solidarity among workers can and strengthens the collective aims and well-being of working peoples and their families. When workers' concerns are articulated through labour unionism, they achieve active participation in the political process and become capable of realizing reforms which can strengthen social security policies (McAlevey, 2003). Without a dialogue between labour unions and business representatives, the US working class' rights and demands are endangered. Labour unions can create such communication channels making a dialogue possible. The balance of power between the working class and the business sector is gradually disappearing allowing for exploitation of the workers by the market. Therefore, it is crucial to revitalize the labour movement in the US, which can only be achieved after identifying and understanding the reasons for its gradual decline.

What explains the decline of the US labour movement? In the following article I consider this question by taking a look at how a vociferous anti-communist agenda pursued by US governmental actors and agencies contributed to the his-

torical decline of the US labour movement. More specifically, I focus on an especially influential timeframe from 1947 to 1953 so as to consider how anti-union ideologies promoted by conservative political authorities such as Senator Joseph McCarthy penetrated the US labour movement and perpetuated its decline from within. Drawing on the field of social movement studies (Kriesi, 2004; Edwards and McCarthy, 2000), I argue that it was not only macro-structural factors that caused a historical decline in US labour unionism during the post-World War II era, but also a series of internal micro-level factors linked to the practices, ideologies and identities of labour activists themselves. More specifically I argue that the decline of labour unionism in the US began in the time period of 1947-53 as a result of an ideological purge of the progressive Left *from within* the labour movement. While this purge stemmed from broader-level efforts by US elites and authorities to eradicate the presence of a communist influences from the US socio-political landscape, i.e. ‘McCarthyism’ and the ‘Red Scare’- it was gradually imported into the labour movement by grassroots leaders and thus contributed to the onset of an internal crisis for labour organisations which precipitated their decline from the 1950s onwards. Specifically, a purge of socialist as well as communist trade unionists hastened a decay of the ideological class-consciousness and solidarity among the working class, which in turn shifted the traditionally Leftist political stance of the labour movement towards more ‘business friendly’ ideologies of the Centre and Right. As a consequence, the original goals of the movement – e.g. wage agreements, improving worker’s livelihood and engaging in collective bargaining with employers in order to reach fair contracts - were less rigorously pursued and even partially ignored by the union leaders. Ultimately, I argue that while external opposition and constraints helped to generate the downturn of the US labour movement, it is vital to consider how such external factors played out within the movement itself. By looking at the interaction between the external and internal dynamics, better insight will be obtained on how labour rights advocates and organizers ultimately experienced and internalized a broader climate of political hostility and repression.

2 Historical Implications of US Labour Union Decline

Since the 1950s, labour unionism and labour rights advocacy in the United States has been in a steady pattern of decline. For example, the total number of labour unions decreased drastically from approximately 40% of the entire workforce in 1954 to only 10% in 1994 (Clawson & Clawson, 1999). A number of explanations have been suggested for this decline ranging from the impact of

demographic changes of the U.S. workforce to macro-level economic changes brought about by processes of globalization and technological revolution (Voss, 1996). These kinds of explanations tend to emphasize shifts in the broader environment within which labour unions operate and often implicitly suggest that the decline of labour unionism is a 'normal' or 'inevitable' outcome of such macro-environmental changes. Another corresponding line of explanation, however, highlights the long-running political and ideological attack on labour unions in the US which dates back to post-World War Two era. This line of explanation emphasizes the active role of McCarthyism or the 'Red Scare' in the deterioration of support for and participation in labour unions. Particularly influential during the early decades of the Cold War, the Red Scare entailed a highly orchestrated and often zealous purging of persons or practices perceived by US political authorities and elites as supporting or providing sympathy to socialist and communist ideologies. The most notable and vociferous spokesperson of this purging process was US Senator Joseph McCarthy (Schrecker, 2004). In short, McCarthyism had a negative impact on labour unionism by creating a very hostile and intimidating socio-political atmosphere for labour unions, organizers and their members on the one hand, and tarnishing the aims and agenda of labour rights advocates in ideological terms on the other.

Combined with large-scale economic explanations such as the advent of off-shoring and robotics, the political impacts of McCarthyism provide a very compelling explanation for the decline of labour unionism in the US. Nonetheless, macro-level factors alone are ultimately inadequate explanations since they focus on the external context rather than the micro-level and internal dynamics of labour unions. In particular, structural explanations tend to ignore the variable of agency, i.e. the ideological convictions, emotional dispositions, strategic capacities, intersubjective practices and overall political assertiveness of union leaders and members.

3 Theoretical Framework: Political Process & Resource Mobilisation

In order to analyse the interaction between macro-level/external and micro-level/internal factors, I draw on two well-established traditions within the sociological sub-field of social movement theory (Jenkins, 1983): Political Process Theory and Resource Mobilisation Theory.

Political Process Theory [PPT] focuses on the interaction between the specific social movement and the wider political as well as economic context. The social

movement's success is illustrated through the key concept of 'political opportunity', which views an accessible polity as crucial for a movement's advance. While such factors vary across time and place, some key aspects of 'political opportunity' in any context include the relative accessibility of the institutionalised political system, the presence of elite allies, stability of the polity and state's capacity and tendency towards exerting repression (Mitchell, McAdam & Williams, 1983). Primarily, the broader political and economic conditions need to allow for active engagement and participation by the movement with regards to the polity. Hence, social mobilisation is only possible when political opportunities are opening up (Goodwin and Jasper, 1999). For my purposes, PPT will serve as a useful analytical tool that helps to explain the impact of the repressive US political elite and anti-communist propaganda on the labour movement's progress. The limited 'political opportunity structure' for the labour unions will be highlighted as having created the conditions for the exclusion of union representatives from the polity thus depriving them of political access and disabling their political influence.

A complementary and necessary perspective to the structural insights of PPT is the Resource Mobilisation Theory. Resource Mobilisation Theory [RMT] concerns itself with the significance of the resource mobilisation capacity of social movements. Hence, the movement's progress towards its goals is measured in light of its ability to mobilise various resources being of monetary, human, cultural or moral nature, as explained by Pichardo (1988). RMT claims that a social movement can positively develop when grieving individuals are able to effectively mobilise the ensemble of symbolic and material resources that facilitate processes of collective action (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). This relates to PPT in that the mobilisation capacity of any social movement must be understood as being influenced by macro-level structural factors, such as political opportunity or economic prosperity. Limitations concerning mobilisation can be generated through structural barriers implemented by the polity as it was the case with the US labour movement during the post-World War II period (Schrecker, 2004). For my purposes, RMT will be drawn on to give an account of the importance of people's agency. This is to say, the capacity of labour activists to marshal forth empowering resources including people's time and commitment as well technological and financial support. My focus will be on how the anti-communist atmosphere constructed by political elites in the US adversely affected the internal capacities of labour activists to mobilize a diminishing pool of material and especially symbolic resources. This diminished capacity, I argue, was critical in triggering the general decline of labour union (Schrecker, 2004).

4 External Factor: McCarthyism & the *Red Scare*

Anti-communist propaganda, which created an anti-leftist political discourse despising anything socialist-related, was a common feature of the US political atmosphere during the Cold War. Especially the early period in time immediately following World War II was characterised by the phenomenon known as the “Red Scare”. Joseph McCarthy, a hardliner among the Republicans, managed to establish an anti-communist atmosphere among the political elite of the United States. Fuelled by large-scale propaganda and legitimated by mass media outlets, this political agenda gradually gained the support of an increasingly fearful public and everyday citizens began denouncing individuals who they suspected of being communist sympathizers. Sokol (1968), for example, describes the immense public support for this era of anti-communistic fervour as a representation of people’s frustration and personal shortcomings regarding the political, economic and social order of the US in the years following World War II. He continues with the conceptualisation that the majority of the US public felt marginalized and dispossessed in their capacity to actively participate in the political forum. Therefore, McCarthy was perceived as providing a possibility to fight against powerful ideological forces that were framed as undermining the stability and prosperity of the US: socialism, Soviet-style communism and the Left in general. In this light, status loss and feelings of anxiety to forfeit further existential power motivated various social groups in US society to position themselves against one specifically strong sector who they held responsible for their fears and problems: labour unions (Griffith, 1971). In this light, the Red Scare can be viewed as an external factor constraining the labour movement’s progress as it forced the unions to face two fronts: i.) a powerful cadre of elite opponents positioned within the state and ii.) a large public that was increasingly suspicious of and unfavourable toward the unionisation of workers.

As emphasised by scholars such as Cornfield (1991, p.29), the initial unionisation of the US labour movement in the 20th century emerged from “an inherently alienating, impersonal, and economically insecure large-scale capitalist, urban-industrial society”. Historically, two major umbrella organisations consisting of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organisation (CIO) have defined the labour scene of the US. Until their merger shortly after the McCarthy era, both organisations pursued a different political strategy as well as possessed opposing political views (Voss, 1996). The AFL, which was founded in 1886, opposed revolutionary tactics and pursued strategies being more of bureaucratic and conservative nature. Its right-wing alignment was an immediate reaction to the radical unionism demonstrated by various unions rep-

resented by the CIO. The latter's stance, however, was much more left-wing than the AFL since many of its leaders had been directly recruited from socialist and communist parties as well as progressive social movements. Class-consciousness of the working class was, hence, much stronger embedded within the CIO and its associate labour unions, which also established a different approach towards the labour movement and the empowerment of the working class (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

It is important to examine how far the anti-communist atmosphere constructed during the McCarthy era affected the labour movement and its possibility to exhaust political opportunities. In order to follow such analytical order, PPT is useful and will be utilised. As noted earlier, the "political opportunity structure" (Kriesi, 2004) constitutes the core of PPT as it points attention to the macro-level structures that "influence the choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements on their environment" (Kitschelt, 1986, p.58). During the years immediately following World War II, the labour movement and specifically the CIO had to refrain from their usual radical protest strategies due to the repressive political structure present in the United States, as explained by Gibson (2007). In short, a "closed" polity combined with active repression by the state generated an unaccommodating and highly restraining political environment for the labour movement (Staggenborg, 2010). No efficient political opportunity structure was available to the labour movement since McCarthyism led to a widespread anti-unionist environment. This generated a public threat for labour activists as they were often associated by politicians and the public with the left in general as well as socialists and communists explicitly. In addition, structural features linked to the Korean War (1950-53) as well as the increasingly tense and politically charged ideological climate created by of the Cold War compounded the perceived threat of leftist ideology among the US population (Gibson, 2007). In the case of the labour movement, this climate provided the grounds for active and heightened repression by the McCarthyist political elites as their actions became increasingly embraced by a wide range of individuals and social groups including employers, police officers, teachers, journalists, judges and local-level politicians (Gibson, 2007). This broad configuration of social and political antagonists created a major obstacle for labour unions and their capacity to keep the labour movement going and growing.

In their analysis of the US labour movement, Fantasia and Stepan-Norris (2004) emphasise the Taft-Hartley Act introduced in 1947 as especially influential source of repression. As a product of the Red Scare, this national initiative introduced an official constraint on the labour movement by weakening union security, severely restricting the essential working-class protest tool of strikes and

impeding the recruitment of new union members (Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2004). One crucial provision and consequence of the anti-communist political discourse, of the Taft-Hartley Act was the non-communist affidavit, which had to be mandatorily signed by the union's leadership. In this way it was ensured that communist and leftist ties generally connected to the US labour movement were undermined since any alignment with pro-communist ideas and organisations was forbidden within the unions (*ibid*, 2004). By declaring the most effective forms of industrial action, including strikes and boycotts, as illegal means of protesting, the collective action of the labour movement was weakened in its essence (Schrecker, 2004). This Act did not only weaken the political opportunity structure restricting the labour unions to actively exhaust their bargaining possibilities, but it also initiated negative institutional effects on US labour. The restrictions on political options available to the American citizens and the possibility of social reform developed into a "broad-based social movement challenging corporate values and championing social justice" (Schrecker, 2004, p.7) as well as loosing sight of the original union agenda consisting of clear and detailed goals.

Longstanding adversaries of the unions beneficially instrumentalised the anti-communist atmosphere, which was created by the US political elite. Predominantly, entrepreneurs and employers, who were motivated to preserve corporatism with the neo-liberal economic structure of the US, utilised so-called "redbaiting" as a tool to weaken the unions' infrastructure. The consolidation of employers during the time period of McCarthyism can be viewed as a counter movement as according to Fantasia and Stepan-Norris (2004) with the aim to seek a "union-free environment" (2004, p. 559). Hence, the Taft-Hartley Act can be viewed as a sign of growing support for the anti-union fraction of society, which tried to diminish the institutional opportunities of the labour movement and was very successful in constraining the range of possible union actions (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). It was used as a pre-empting mechanism attempting to shut down the most important institutional channels accessible to the labour movement (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). As Kriesi (2004, p.72) points out, "where neither discursive nor institutional opportunities are available, the challenger will find no support for his ideas and demands, nor will he be able to gain access to the polity". This was clearly the case for the US labour movement as it was deprived of its credibility due to the unfavourable public discourse and had to overcome institutional limitations affecting the possibility as well as efficiency of its collective action.

In sum, the external factor of McCarthyism during the early years of the Cold War undermined the political opportunity structure of the US labour movement by legally limiting the choice of protest strategies through the Taft-Hartley Act as

well as minimising the impact of the unions on the polity (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004). Furthermore, the legitimacy of the labour movement in the public sphere became severely undermined by the ideological climate which not only impeded its advance but forced it into retreat. As emphasised in the PPT, labour unions especially depend on political opportunities for their mobilisation and success since their active exchange and regular communication with the polity is essential for the realisation of their goals (Kriesi, 2004).

5 Internal Factor: Purge of the Left & Internal Resource Crisis

As argued above, union density decline in the United States during the 1940-50s was triggered by the onset of anti-communist sentiment in the public sphere during the McCarthy era. However, one of the major causes for the labour movement's gradual deterioration lies with an internal crisis that followed the denunciation of alleged communist and socialists within the unions themselves. This section will focus on this internal struggle as it was precipitated by an anti-leftist discourse that saturated economic and political affairs. Stated otherwise, there was a causal relationship between the external constraints on the one hand, and the internal crisis on the other. It was the interaction between the external and the internal, which eventually sparked the labour movement's decline in the US during the early 1950s. In this segment of the article RMT will be utilised as an analytical tool to explain how far the internal purge of left-led unions detrimentally damaged the mobilisation capacity of the labour movement in general. The combination of PPT and RMT can be viewed as a "synthetic approach" to social movement theory (Staggenborg, 2010, p.20) in that they can be used together to understand the interaction between macro- and micro-level processes.

Firstly, as highlighted by Schrecker (2004), it must be clarified that Communist Party members and its affiliates in US labour unions often had very high representation since these actors had targeted the labour movement as a key arena for defending the identities and interests of the working-class within the political arena. As Schrecker (2004, p.10) writes: "By the 1940s, Communists and their allies led unions that contained about 20% of the membership of all CIO unions". This underlines the ideological difference between the CIO and AFL, as noted earlier. The former umbrella organisation had maintained socialist ideas during the 'New Deal' era initiated by President Roosevelt, which enhanced the institutional capacity for the labour movement and entailed favourable legislation as the Wagner Act promoting labour unions. Ideas including a national welfare system and other more leftist approaches towards the social as

well as economic policies of the US were strongly supported by the CIO after the Great Depression (Schrecker, 2004). It aimed at representing all US workers and “supported legislation to improve the life of the working people overall, and encouraged militant tactics, like the sit-down strike” (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004, p.563). Such line of action can be connected to the identity-based dissociation with the conservative AFL since CIO membership was predominantly comprised of factory workers and the non-skilled, which contrasted the composition of AFL membership consisting of skilled craftsmen, who identified themselves with the middle-class rather than with the ordinary workers (Cornfield, 1991). As opposed to the AFL, the CIO did not hold any restrictions prohibiting communists from holding positions of union leadership or being a member. Therefore as Cornfield (1991) has pointed out, a continuous competition between the AFL and CIO characterised the social relations within the labour movement. Similarly, Rucht (2004) has identified the internal competitive struggle occurring within these branches of the labour movement as caused by differences in the individuals’ ideological learning, experiences, social bases as well as strategic preferences. In terms of the two umbrella organisations embracing the majority of US labour unions, the AFL and CIO represented two different identities. Not only the social bases of the membership composition of both organisations differed widely, but also varying experiences separated them ideologically. Rucht (2004), for instance, discusses the example of Samuel Gompers, the executive of the AFL. He advocated conservative labour pragmatism after he had suffered personal violent experiences by the police during a labour protest. However, he did not blame the police forces, but rather “radical socialists”, who he perceived as provoking militants and insurgents within the labour movement. His pragmatic ideology towards labour founded the core principal of the AFL “pure and simple trade unionism” (Greene, 1998, p.3), which stood firmly against the so-called “revolutionary Left”. Consequently, the AFL generally aligned with the right and pursued “business unionism” (Cornfield, 1991, p.30) concentrating on its own survival and growth. Its organisational reputation was thus often prioritised over its dedication to achieving increased representation and empowerment of labourers (McAlevey, 2003; Rucht, 2004; Voss, 1996).

McCarthyism and the anti-communist atmosphere constructed during the era turned the ordinary competition between the AFL and CIO into a destructive internal conflict (Schrecker, 2004). Due to the vulnerability of the labour movement caused by widespread anti-union pressures from above and from below, internal opponents within the CIO, who often despised the strong socialist core of the organisation, were able to take advantage of the unstable situation so as to challenge and unseat the leadership of the left-wing unions. As a result

of the Taft-Hartley Act's section 9(h)- also known as the non-Communist affidavit, which required all union officials to ensure that they neither were affiliated with the Communist Party nor cherished any sympathy for its doctrines- an internal purge of left-led unions started from within the CIO (Schrecker, 2004). The CIO decided to sacrifice its left wing fractions after signing the non-Communist affidavits, which resulted in the expulsion of "11 communist-dominated unions from its midst" (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004, p. 564). Rucht (2004) describes the concept of conflict within the unions as predictable since the "history of the US labour movement is ridden with bitter internal struggles between various ideological tendencies, resulting in factionalism, splits, and the like" (Rucht, 2004, p. 205). The internal crisis within the CIO has to be related to the external conditions set by redbaiting and the Taft-Hartley Act, which had a significant impact on the intensity, form and outcome of the internecine conflict within the CIO. As a consequence, the already extensive gap between the US Left and other political ideologies was dramatically widened inside the labour movement, thus further weakening it during a time of heavy socio-political opposition (Rucht, 2004).

How far did the internal crisis within the CIO bring about a decline in the mobilisation capacity and credibility of the labour movement? The mobilisation capacities of the US labour movement, as with any social movement, stemmed from a combination of cultural, social and economic resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). During the McCarthy era these three essential mobilisation building blocks were severely weakened and diminished the ability of union activists to keep the movement going let alone growing.

Edwards and McCarthy (2004) have defined cultural resources as conceptual tools and specialised knowledge including prior activist experience and collective action expertise. Within the US labour movement, such cultural resources were derived from the left-wing fractions of the unions. In fact, due to the prior political as well as activist experience of many left-wing union members, who held either ties to the US Communist Party, or other socialist organisations, the left-led trade unions were more likely to fight for and win enhanced worker control on the shop floor (Schrecker, 2004). They focused on preserving the workers' rights through more radical forms of protest. By losing the majority of dedicated and well-organised union members, who genuinely pursued the improvement of the working class' socio-economic status, a decrease of human resources and the mobilisation of activism were also generated. The recruitment of new union members was immensely aggravated through the Taft-Hartley Act on a legal basis. Additionally, the political anti-leftist discourse caused a credibility loss regarding the labour movement among the US public, which did not intend to be

linked to any communist or socialist ideas (Schrecker, 2004). Rucht elaborated on the unwillingness of individuals to take part in certain social movements by stating that their participation is “shaped by spatial and economic factors as well as by social relationships, competing obligations, life-course constraints and moral commitments” (2004, p.128). In combination with the concept of cultural resources the labour movement thus lost its “value-added” (Rucht, 2004, p. 128) human capital with the purge of the Left since the main figures pushing the agenda of the unions had ties to communist or socialist organisations. Furthermore, resolute and resilient organising campaigns could not be utilised due to the lack of human resources. The decreasing number of union members simultaneously induced a cutback in monetary resources due to the fewer collected member dues. Therefore, the labour movement was not able to enjoy great flexibility regarding its range of strategies and tactics, which additionally weakened its collective action (Rucht, 2004).

Scholars such as Schrecker (2004) have stressed that the corporate business community held a strong antagonistic position as it was very well organised, financially endowed and highly determined to affirm its dominance within the economic sector (2004). Nonetheless, the internal crisis within the unions weakened the ability of the labour movement to efficiently respond to corporate challenges (Schrecker, 2004). With the purge of the Left, the bureaucratisation of post-war labour relations was feasible since the left-led unions had halted further institutionalisation of the labour movement. This is also one of the reasons why a higher level of solidarity existed among workers of these less institutionalised labour unions being part of the CIO rather than the AFL since overly bureaucratic labour organisations diminish the role of workers in the life of the union (Fantasia & Stepan-Norris, 2004).

The loss of the US worker’s class-consciousness and the negative approach towards the leftist ideology contributed to the loss of the social movement character of the labour movement and its gradual decline. Since AFL and CIO leaders were preoccupied with the internal “anti-communist crusade” (Schrecker, 2004, p.15), they had to shift their priorities and diverge from substantial issues set on their agenda to the procedural purge of the Left among themselves, which reinforced the loss of collective identity based on a shared class-consciousness. Schrecker notices that the decline of class-consciousness as a moral resource leads the existing labour movement to find a new collective identity within the Democratic Party turning the US labour movement into a mere interest group (2004). A social democratic agenda was not pursued anymore after the leftist fractions within the unions were ejected. Hence, McCarthyism as an external factor and the inner purge of communist as well as socialist sympathisers

as an internal factor generated a change in the collective identity of the labour movement, which shifted more towards the right (Schrecker, 2004). The working class was afraid of aligning with labour unions due to possible denunciation, which weakened the labour's commitment to socio-economic change according to Schrecker. Cornfield has made similar observations as Schrecker by stating that the "expulsion and eventual defeat of the communist-led Left silenced the voice of progressive social unionism" (1991, p.509), which was essential for the success of the US labour movement. The purge of the progressive labour union members, who were predominantly aligned with communist or socialist groups, initiated the diminution of potential organisers facilitating collective action and led to a decline of cultural, moral and human resources, which discouraged further organising initiatives (Cornfield, 1991).

6 Conclusion

In this article I have shown that the US labour movement had to struggle with the limitation of the political opportunity structure during the time period between 1947 and the early 1950s, which was caused by a constructed anti-communist atmosphere strengthening the political position of the US elite and economic stance of the corporate business community. Identified as an external factor through the use of the Political Process Theory (Kriesi 2004), anti-unionist legislation and redbaiting denied political opportunity structures for the labour movement. As a result, it was not able to successfully participate in the polity, which led to a generalised and long-term deterioration of the US labour movement. Furthermore, the anti-communist atmosphere established by the US elite triggered an internal crisis within the unions, which was dominantly demonstrated by internal purges of communist and socialist individuals. The entire left wing of the US labour movement was destroyed, which led to a loss of many earlier political gains, the labour unions had achieved up until that point. Since then labour unions have hardly been supported institutionally nor politically and do not enjoy high renown among the public due to the negative connotations of the Cold War era, which are associated with the leftist ideology and consequently with the labour movement.

On the basis of the Resource Mobilisation Theory (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Jenkins, 1983), I also argued that the lack of cultural, moral and human resources diminished the creativity and persistence of the labour movement. In this context, it was not merely the structural context that contributed to the labour movement's decline, but also actions taken by different agents from

within the unions that adversely affected the advance of the labour movement during the 1940-50s. Consequently, the purge of the more radical fractions of labour movement promoted an increase in the conservatism of union leadership and tactics. The rise of “business unionism” thus became the prevailing method under which union leaders performed their tasks, which generated a loss of the oppositional character of the labour movement in the US. Critical voices towards the political system had been diminished with the purge of the progressive Left. A decline of political resilience, strike activity and organizing capacity followed.

The establishment of a link between the impact of McCarthyism on the internal formation of the unions and the gradual decline of labour union density up until the present day is significant for the understanding of general bias towards the labour movement and leftist ideology among the US public. Any potential revival of labour unionism in the US would necessitate a broader political acknowledgment of how labour rights ensure fundamental principles of social justice and democratic citizenship (Levi, 2003). As suggested by my analysis, the revival of labour movement must be a social as well as political process that must emerge ‘from above’ at the level of government and well as ‘from below’ at the level of civil society.

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GENETIC MUTATIONS IN ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE:

A look at genetic research and corresponding advances in treatment

Anna Morr

Abstract This article deals with the genetic cause of Alzheimer's disease and contrasts the two main forms of the disorder, namely early onset Alzheimer's disease and late onset Alzheimer's disease. Interestingly, both forms show the same symptoms and progress of the disease, however, the underlying genetic cause seems to differ. The different genetic mutations underlying the two subtypes of Alzheimer's disease both affecting the amyloid- β -peptide but on different stages, which subsequently lead to a change in the signalling pathway regulating the phosphorylation of the microtubule-associated protein "tau". This in turn enables the formation of neurofibrillary tangles, which are signs of dead and dying neurons and leading to symptoms characteristically for Alzheimer's disease as memory loss, disorientation, confusion and poor judgment. The article aims to firstly, introduce Alzheimer's disease in general, and secondly to describe and contrast the different genetic causes of the two main forms of the disease. Finally, treatments implications are presented, which are based on the pathological findings caused by genetic mutations.

I Introduction

In 1907 the German physician Alois Alzheimer published a ground-breaking paper called “A Characteristic Disease of the Cerebral Cortex”. In this paper he described the gradually worsening of the health condition of a woman, known as Auguste D. Over the years, the patient developed severe cognitive dysfunctions such as memory loss, behaviour change, delusional thoughts and hallucinations, which finally led to her death at the age of 55. After the patient’s death, Dr. Alzheimer examined the woman’s brain and detected changes in the “neurofibrils”. The changes noted in the the formation of tangles were a sign of dead and dying neurons (Bear, 2007). Dr. Alzheimer was the first to describe the tangles. His discovery was enabled due to the development of a method linked to the use of silvers stains, which made the changes in the brain visible (Hardy, 2006).

Nowadays, Alzheimer’s disease is a commonly known and well-studied disorder. The disease is characterized with symptoms such as memory loss, poor judgment, confusion and disorientation (Alzheimer’s Association, 2012); the same symptoms Alzheimer’s patient displayed. Several causes are thought to contribute to the death of neurons and the development of the disease. In recent years, researcher identified genes that are thought to play a role in the development. It is important to note that one can subdivide the disease in late-onset Alzheimer’s disease (LOAD) and early-onset Alzheimer’s disease (EOAD), which differ in the age of onset. Late-onset Alzheimer’s disease is characterised by an onset age of approximately 65, whereas early-onset Alzheimer’s disease has an onset age between 40 and 50. Further, LOAD is sporadic in comparison to EOAD which seems to run in families and hence is inherited (Ridge, 2013). Interestingly, the two subtypes seem to differ in their genetic mutations but lead to the same outcome, namely the death of neurons. This raises questions regarding the genetic differences between late- and early- onset of Alzheimer’s disease as well as why different mutations lead to the same outcome. Furthermore, questions arise with respect to the treatment possibilities yielded by research on underlying genetic mutations. Currently, most treatments only have moderate effects because they treat the symptoms rather than the underlying cause of the disorder. Hence, it is very important to investigate different treatment options that directly target the underlying genetic causes of the disorder, such as genetic mutations. The urgency of this research agenda is underpinned by the fact that predicted demographic shifts point to significant increases in the elderly population, with some estimates suggesting that over 100 million individuals will develop Alzheimer’s disease by 2050 (Karran, Mercken, & De Strooper 2011).

In order to shed light on the topic, an elaborated definition of Alzheimer's disease will be given and the genetic causes underlying the two subtypes are described and compared. Further, promising treatment implications will be presented, which are based on the findings of genetic mutations.

2 Alzheimer's Disease

Alzheimer's disease was identified more than 100 years ago and is nowadays the most common progressive neurodegenerative disease which increases in prevalence with age (Zou, Liu, Che, & Huang, 2014). Memory loss, disorientation, confusion and poor judgment, are symptoms characteristic for the disease and are worsened gradually over a period of years. The irreversible damages in the brain are finally lethal (Holt, 2012). Alzheimer's disease is the most common form of dementia. Dementia is an umbrella term, which encompasses a variety of conditions and diseases all characterized by dying or an abnormal functioning of nerve cells in the brain. These changes in the brain causing the clinical symptoms of the disease as memory loss, behaviour change and the inability to think clearly ("Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

2.1 The two different types of Alzheimer's disease

Alzheimer's is classified in two subtypes, based on the age of onset. Late-onset Alzheimer's disease (LOAD) is characterized by commencement of symptoms around the age of 65. Approximately 95% of the cases identified are LOAD, whereas one to five percent of the patient develop early-onset Alzheimer disease (EAOD). This subtype is characterized by an onset age before 65 years of age, typically around the early 50's or late 40's (Zou et al., 2014). LOAD is also called the sporadic type of Alzheimer's disease, which means this type is not based on heredity. Here, the risk factors for genetic mutations are age or epigenetics. In comparison to EOAD, which is autosomal dominantly inherited, meaning that the gene is always expressed, even when only one copy is present (Ridge P.G., 2013). Unfortunately, the family history of Auguste D, the now infamous patient of Dr. Alzheimer is not known and it is therefore not possible to determine, which of the two subtypes she suffered from (Hardy, 2006). In addition to differences in the age of onset, it is thought that different genetic mutations also play a role in the development of the disease. This topic will be further elaborated in the next section of my discussion.

2.2 The Neuropathological Finding in Alzheimer's disease

With respect to differences in genetic mutations, it is interesting to note that researchers have found that fundamental neuropathological characteristics linked to neurofibrillary tangles- i.e. signs of dying and dead neurons- are the same in both subtypes of Alzheimer's. The major component of these tangles are paired helical filaments, which consists of the protein "tau" (Bear, 2007). Normally, tau acts on the microtubules in axons and ensures that the microtubules run parallel and straight to one another. However, in Alzheimer's disease the protein detaches from the microtubules and accumulates in the soma. Subsequently, this leads to a disruption of the cytoskeleton and to the death of the neurons. In patients with Alzheimer's disease, dead neurons are mostly found in the hippocampus and cortex. Therefore, the normal flow of information is impaired and symptoms as disorientation, memory loss, etc. occur. The changes in tau have been shown to be ascribed to the accumulation of a protein called "amyloid". The abnormal secretion of amyloid by neurons is the first step in the process of the formation of neurofibrillary tangles (Bear, 2007). More precisely, in pathological terms Alzheimer's disease "is characterized by neuritic plaques, containing the β -amyloid peptide (A β) and neurofibrillary tangles composed of hyper-phosphorylated tau protein in the brain" (Zou et al., 2014:1). However, recently, it has been argued that that the accumulation of β -amyloid, which subsequently leads to the accumulation of tau, can be traced back at least partly to genetic mutations (Zou et al. *ibid*). As stated earlier, the identification of genetic mutations is important because such knowledge can be used to better understand the underlying causes of the disorder and thus develop more effective therapies.

2.3 The amyloid cascade hypothesis

In general, amyloid- β -peptide is synthesised out of the amyloid precursor protein (APP). The APP molecule can be modulated in two ways, leading to different outcomes. The first pathway is called the non-amyloidogenic pathway. Here, APP is cleaved by α - and γ -secretases, which produces α -APP and p3. These proteins have neuronal protective functions, enhance neural plasticity and reduces Ca²⁺ levels. However, the second pathway, namely amyloidogenic pathway, can lead to neuronal death. In this case, APP is cleaved by β - and then γ -secretases, which leads, if produced in to high amounts to the accumulation, deposit and in turn to neuronal death (Guo, 2007). Due to self-aggregation, oligomers are formed, which subsequently form neuritic and diffuse plaques. These plaques stimulate inflammatory processes, inhibit mitochondrial activity and alter intracellular Ca²⁺ levels. Additionally, A β interacts, as already mentioned, with the signalling pathway regulating the phosphorylation of microtubule-associated

protein “tau” (LaFerla, 2008). However, there are evidence that $A\beta$ has, if produced in the right ratio, beneficial functions, namely in controlling synaptic activity (Pearson & Peers, 2006). Therefore, genetic mutation in both subtypes of Alzheimer’s disease, throws out of balance the $A\beta$ production and clearance.

The importance of the amyloid protein and in particular the amyloid- β peptide in the pathology of Alzheimer’s disease is proposed by the amyloid cascade hypothesis. More precisely, the hypothesis states that deposition of the amyloid- β peptide is the crucial step in the pathology of the disease and that the formation of oligomers out of $A\beta$ is the initiating cause, which leads to the development of the symptoms characteristically for the disorder. Today, the amyloid-cascade hypothesis is the most influential model of Alzheimer’s disease and is mostly supported by the identification of the genetic mutations in both subtypes of the disease (Karran et al., 2011). Therefore, the following section, describing the genetic mutations in the two sub-types supports the amyloid-cascade hypothesis, since most genetic mutations contribute to the change in the metabolism of the amyloid protein. Until now, no other hypothesis can better explain the course of the disease and the neuropathological findings in the patient’s brains. Nevertheless, there are critical voices and questions raised against the hypothesis, and further research is needed to provide more definitive answers.

3 Genetic Mutations in Alzheimer’s disease

As mentioned in the previous section, the accumulation of $A\beta$ synthesized from APP leads to neurofibrillary tangles consisting of the protein tau and is a major neuronal-pathological finding in research on Alzheimer’s disease. Although these tangles are found in both subtypes, EOAD and LOAD, it is interesting to note that the genetic mutations underlying each subtype differ. In the following section, the genetic mutations of both subtypes are thus elaborated. The identification of genetic mutations in patients with Alzheimer’s disease give insights into the underlying cause of the disease, which are not well known yet, but can be used to develop new and more effective treatments, particularly for stopping rather than merely slowing down the progression of the disease.

3.1 Mutations in Early-Onset Alzheimer’s disease

Early-onset Alzheimer’s disease is a subtype of Alzheimer’s disease and characterized by an onset at the age of before 65. EOAD is thought to be caused by highly penetrant mutations in three genes, encoding proteins involved in APP and $A\beta$ generation, namely: the APP gene, the Presenilin 1 (PSEN1) gene, and

Presenilin 2 (PSEN2) gene. The APP gene has 18 exons and expresses APP, a single-pass transmembrane polypeptide of 770 amino acids. Out of APP A β is generated by endoproteolytic cleavage events. The first one is catalysed by β - and the second by γ -secretase. The most common form is A β 40, a protein out of 40 amino acids. Another form is A β 42, which is longer but less abundant, first deposit and more amyloidogenic. The PSEN1 and PSEN2 genes encode proteins, which are required for γ -secretase. According to the amyloid cascade hypothesis, mutations in all these three genes lead to an overproduction of A β 42, changes in the properties of A β 42 and in an increase in the A β 40/A β 42 ratio, which all in turn leads to accumulation of A β and paves the way for neurofibrillary tangles, characteristically for Alzheimer's disease (Zou et al., 2014).

In the APP gene, 33 different mutations are identified, including 23 missense mutations, nine duplications and one deletion (Cruts, Theuns, & Van Broeckhoven, 2012). Most of the mutations are located near the β - and γ -secretase cleavage sites, causing an increase in A β 42 production. However, different mutations cause different functions of the APP gene to alter. Mutations, which are lying immediately before the beginning of the A β peptide sequence, increases the amount of A β peptide produced by 2-3 fold and alter the efficiency of γ -secretase cleavage (Mullan et al., 1992). Mutations at the C-terminal end of the A β protein, in contrast, change the activity of γ -secretase cleavage and alter proteolysis to synthesize more A β 42. This in turn leads to an increase in the A β 42/ A β 40 ratio but not to an increase in the total amount of A β . If the mutation in the APP gene is located within the A β domain, it leads to an increased rate of aggregation of mutant peptides, which implies that mutations in the A β domain lead to A β peptide with altered aggregation properties. The validity of the amyloid cascade hypothesis is underpinned by the fact that a mutation in the APP gene, leading to the reduction of the amount of amyloid formation, protects against Alzheimer's disease. The mutations in the APP gene are dominantly inherited and patients having a mutation showing symptoms of Alzheimer's disease around the age of 40 to 65, on average lasting for 9-16 years, which result in death (Zou et al., 2014). The mutations in the APP gene were identified in 1987 and were the first genetic mutations described to be responsible for Alzheimer's disease (Hardy, 2006). In 1990, it was shown by van Broeckhoven and colleagues as well as by Frangione and colleagues that mutations in the APP gene underpin the disease (as cited in: Hardy, 2006).

An estimated 200 different Alzheimer's disease related mutations are found in PSEN1 and 20 in PSEN2 (Zou et al., 2014). Both genes encode proteins, which are part of the γ -secretase complex and if γ -secretase contains altered presenilin, due to mutations, it still catalyses the cleavage but causes either an increase

in A β 42 levels or an decrease in A β 40 levels due to the mutation, which alters the proteolytic site. The decrease in A β 40 and the increase in A β 42 leads to an increase in the A β 42/A β 40 ratio. Therefore, mutations in both genes, PSEN1 and PSEN2, increase the total amount of A β , which promotes the aggregation of A β and the formation of neurofibrillary tangles. Patients with a PSEN1 mutation have an average onset of symptoms with the age of 43 and patients with a mutation in PSEN2 have an average onset at the age of 57. The mutations in the three genes are thought to make up seven out of ten cases of early-onset Alzheimer's disease.

3.2 Mutations in Late-Onset Alzheimer's disease

In contrast to early-onset Alzheimer's disease, late-onset Alzheimer's disease is not inherited and therefore, is sporadic. LOAD is characterized by an onset age of approximately 65 years and is the more common subtype. Furthermore, there has been limited success compared to EOAD, in pinpointing the underlying genetic cause for LOAD. The ϵ 4-allele of the apolipoprotein E gene (AOPE) on chromosome 19q13.2 is the only well-established genetic risk factor identified yet (Zou et al., 2014). In 1991, Roses and his colleagues first identified the AOPE gene to play a role in Alzheimer's disease. This finding is nowadays one of the most replicated findings in biology (Hardy, 2006).

The apoE gene encodes for the apolipoprotein E (Apo-E) which is the major cholesterol carrier in the human body and supports injury repair in the brain and lipid transport (Liu, Kanekiyo, Xu, & Bu, 2013). In general, apoE functions as a ligand in receptor-mediated endocytosis of lipid-protein particles. In the brain apoE and two other apolipoproteins, namely apoJ and apo-A-1 are present on distinct high-density lipid-protein particles (Haan, Shemanski, Jagust, Manolio, & Kuller, 1999). The apoE gene is polymorphic, meaning that it has three major alleles. These three major alleles are ϵ -2, ϵ -3 and ϵ -4 and are the main genetic determinants of the risk developing Alzheimer's disease. ϵ -3 is the most common allelic form with a prevalence of 79% in the population and is thought to be neutral; ϵ -2 is less common and decreases the risk of developing Alzheimer's disease, whereas individuals carrying the ϵ -4 allele are at increased risk. The different allele types differ in sequence by only one amino acid at either position 112 or 158 of the protein. However, those structural varieties profoundly alter the function and structure of the protein. ApoE is not only playing a role in the delivery of lipid proteins but also in the binding to surface-cell receptors to deliver hydrophobic A β protein. The different isoforms of apoE transcribed from the different allele forms regulate A β clearance and aggregation differently (Liu et al., 2013). The ApoE isoform transcribed from the ϵ -4 allele is associated with more

accumulation of A β and hence, less clearance function. As Schmechel et al., showed, that in ϵ -4 positive cases more abundant A β was present than in ϵ -4 negative cases (as cited in: Zou et al., 2014). Further, ϵ -4-allele is associated with other factors that contribute to the development of Alzheimer's disease, namely mitochondrial abnormalities, cytoskeletal dysfunction and low glucose usage, which all can lead to neuronal death. The ϵ -4-allele accounts for 20-30per cent of the risk of developing Alzheimer's disease (Zou et al., 2014).

Moreover, other genetic factors have been recently identified to play a role in the development of LOAD. Those genes are thought to affect various pathways, including the A β metabolism pathway, but also the lipid metabolism pathway, the immune and complement system/inflammatory pathway as well as the cell signaling pathway (Zou et al., 2014). Genetic factors influencing those pathways have in combination a substantial impact on the predisposition of Alzheimer's disease, but in general have a smaller effect on the susceptibility than apoe- ϵ 4. Due to limited scope only three susceptibility genetic loci will be elaborated in more detail, namely the clusterin gene (CLU), the phosphatidylinositol-binding-clathrin assembly protein gene (PICALM) and the complement component (3b/4b) receptor1 (CRI).

The clusterin gene has an impact on the A β metabolism pathway as well as on the lipid metabolism pathway and the immune and complement system/inflammatory response pathway. The CLU gene is as aopE a major apolipoprotein in the brain and is present in the amyloid plaques. Furthermore, as aopE, it interacts with A β and regulates the conversion of A β into insoluble form. It was also shown that aopE and clusterin cooperate in modifying A β clearance as well as cooperating suppressing the deposition of A β at the blood brain barrier, which makes mutation in this gene to be very likely to be involved in the formation of neurofibrillary tangles characteristically for Alzheimer's disease (van Es & van den Berg, 2009).

The PICALM gene is involved in the A β and cell-signalling pathway. The phosphatidylinositol-binding-clathrin assembly protein transcribed from the PICALM gene is involved in clathrin-mediated endocytosis (CME). CME is an important step in the intracellular trafficking of proteins, neurotransmitter, lipids and growth factors. Experiments have shown that APP is retrieved from the surface of a cell by CME, and that abnormal processing via CME leads to altered A β levels (van Es & van den Berg, 2009). Hence, mutations in the gene leading to aberrant processing can be associated with tangles in the brain.

The CRI plays a role in the A β metabolism pathway as well as in the Immune and complement system/inflammatory response metabolism. Evidence suggest that the receptor is involved in A β clearance via the complement system. A prod-

uct of the complement system is Complement 3b which is able to bind acceptor proteins, which in turn mediate phagocytosis through CR1. In transgenic mice resulted the inhibition of C3 in increased A β deposition and neuronal degeneration. In comparison, overexpression of C3 lead to a decrease in A β deposition. Hence, the mechanism is thought to be defect in individuals with Alzheimer's disease (van Es & van den Berg, 2009).

Identification of genetic mutations in both the early-onset type and late-onset type foster the understanding of Alzheimer's disease and can be used to intervene in the progression of the disorder by modulating proteins, which are malfunctioning due to mutations in certain genes. The next sections aims at describing three treatments developed based on findings of genetic mutations described above.

4 Treatment implications derived from genetic research

Currently, the drugs predominantly used in Alzheimer treatment are not based on the amyloid-cascade hypothesis but on a neurochemical approach. In 1976, selective deficits in cortical makers of cholinergic neurons in patients with Alzheimer's disease were discovered. Cholinergic transmission is important in memory formation as a malfunction in the process leads to symptoms characteristically associated with Alzheimer's disease (Hardy, 2006). Treatments such as donepezil, include acetylchlensterase inhibitors which serve the purpose to remediating the cholinergic deficit in patients with Alzheimer's disease. However, the effect of these drugs are limited, since only a modest improve in symptoms is documented and the underlying cause of the disease is not treated (Karran et al., 2011). Therefore, treatments based on the amyloid-cascade hypothesis, using the insights gained by studying the genetic cause of the two subtypes of Alzheimer's disease are promising and much needed. In this segment of my discussion, two treatment possibilities based on genetic mutations found in EOAD are presented. Subsequently, a promising example is shown, using knowledge about the underlying causes of the disorder gained by the identification of genetic mutations in LOAD.

First, one of the therapies used to attempt to reduce the amount of β -amyloid in the brain relies on β -secretase inhibitors. β -secretase appears to be cleaved mainly APP and only few other protein substrates, hence a reduction in β -secretase would not lead to significant side effects. This can be underpinned by animal studies, were mice in which the gene, coding for the β -secretase, was knocked-out appeared normal, survived into adulthood with no or only subtle neuronal defects.

Second, inhibitors of γ -secretase are tested as possible treatment for Alzheimer's disease. γ -secretase, in comparison to β -secretase, cleaves numerous of proteins as well as APP. Some of these proteins have a critical role in brain development. A gene knockout in mice of the presenilins 1 and 2 gene, from which γ -secretase is transcribed, resulted in neurodegeneration. Therefore, complete inhibition of the γ -secretase is not intended by treatments, but a reduction in γ -secretase that does not affect the cleavage of other proteins is the goal. However, further research needs to be conducted so as to determine the exact amount, which needs to be reduced. Nevertheless, data suggest that a reduction in γ -secretase lead to significant changes in the 40/42 ratio that is thought to play a major role in the development of neurofibrillary tangles, characteristically for Alzheimer's disease (Davies & Koppel, 2009). In general, a reduction in β -secretase and γ -secretase would inhibit the amyloidogenic pathway, which in turn results in less or no aggregating of oligomers and plaques, which in the end prevent neuronal death.

Third, another promising treatment implication tackles the isoform of the ApoE protein, transcribed from the ϵ -4 allele. Here, small-molecule structure correctors are inserted into the organism, which are capable of reversing the misfolded protein and to reverse the malfunction. Results obtained when testing the small-molecule structure correctors which target the apoE4 on cultured neurons and mice were promising. The modification of Apo4 would lead to less accumulation of A β , characteristically for Alzheimer's disease (Mahley & Huang, 2012).

5 Further factors contributing to the development of Alzheimer's disease

In addition to genetic factors, there are several other risk factors, which are thought to contribute to the development of Alzheimer's disease. In this section, I discuss six non-genetic risk factors. First, the most prevalent risk factor is advancing age, where the disorder is not part of normal aging. The risk of developing the disease doubles every five years after the age of 65, reaching nearly 50 per cent by the age of 85. One of the unsolved mysteries of Alzheimer's disease is why the risk increases so dramatically with age (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

Second, people with a first-degree relative affected with the disease are more likely to develop Alzheimer's disease. Here, either heredity might be the cause as well as the shared environment or the similar lifestyle or all in combination is playing a role (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

Third, people suffering from mild cognitive impairment, are more likely to develop Alzheimer's disease and other forms of dementia. It is thought that some

cases of mild cognitive impairment are early stages of Alzheimer's disease or other dementia, which are not diagnosed yet (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

Fourth, cardiovascular diseases are counted as risk factors for developing Alzheimer's disease. Recent studies suggest that the health of heart and blood vessels are closely linked to the health of the brain. More precisely, a healthy heart ensures that the brain is supplied with enough blood and healthy blood vessels ensure that the brain is supplied with nutrient- and oxygen-rich blood. Therefore, cardiovascular disease can contribute to the death of neurons in the brain. Nevertheless, these risks factors are, in contrast to genetic risk factors, modifiable, meaning that they can be changed to decrease the likelihood of developing the disease (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

Fifth, remaining socially and mentally active as well as consuming food which is low in saturates fats and rich in vegetables are also modifiable factors, which contributing to the decrease in the likelihood of developing Alzheimer's disease. However, according to the "Alzheimer's Association Report", studies confirming the impact of social and mental activities on the risk of developing Alzheimer's disease, are fewer in sum as well as having less participants, compared to studies confirming the contribution of cardiovascular disease to the likelihood of developing Alzheimer's disease (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

Sixth, there is evidence that traumatic brain and head injury are associated with a higher risk of the development of Alzheimer's disease. People who experience a severe head injury are associated with 4.5 times the risk of developing the disease compared to people with no head injury. Nevertheless, the link between severe head and brain injury and the likelihood of developing Alzheimer's disease is not fully understood yet (Alzheimer's Association, 2012).

It is important to shed light as well on these non-genetic risk factors, since it provides a more holistic picture and better overview of possible treatment options. Further, it clarifies the complexity of the disorder and the interplay of several risk factors, which together cause Alzheimer's disease. Hence, not only genetic factors should be considered, when developing treatments, but other factors such as environmental risk factors or comorbidity need to be taken into account to develop sufficient treatments and prevention campaigns.

6 Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said, that different genetic mutations underlying the two subtypes of Alzheimer's disease both effecting the amyloid- β -peptide but on different stages, which subsequently lead to a change in the signalling path-

way regulating the phosphorylation of the microtubule-associated protein “tau”. This in turn enables the formation of neurofibrillary tangles, which are signs of dead and dying neurons and are the pathological finding in Alzheimer’s disease. Symptoms characteristically for Alzheimer’s disease are memory loss, disorientation, confusion and poor judgment and are a result of dead neurons. In EOAD, research has identified three genes in which mutations lead to the accumulation of $A\beta$ and therefore, to the neurofibrillary tangles. These three genes are the APP, PSEN1 and PSEN2 gene. The genetic causes of LOAD are more poorly understood, but the apoe- ϵ 4-allele plays a critical role as well as recently discovered the CLU and PICALM gene and the CR1 receptor. These different genetic causes for Alzheimer’s disease in the two subtypes, leading to the same outcome because they are affecting the same pathway, namely the $A\beta$ metabolism pathway. However, the genetic mutations found in EOAD interfere with the synthesis of the $A\beta$ protein, which in turn leads to accumulation, whereas the genetic factors underlining LOAD affecting the clearance of $A\beta$, leading to the accumulation but not interfere with the synthesis of the protein. Nevertheless, it is interesting to mention that there are evidence that $A\beta$ has beneficial physiological functions for the organism, otherwise it would not be synthesised in the first place. The mutation in EAOD do not initiate the synthesis of $A\beta$, only changing the amount or the ratio between $A\beta$ 42/ $A\beta$ 40, where $A\beta$ 42 is more harmful. Whereas the mutations in LOAD also only affect the clearance mechanism but not the synthesis of the protein. In the light of research, it would be interesting to investigate this topic in more detail in order to get a holistic understanding of Alzheimer’s disease and to use the knowledge for the development of new treatments.

However, the understanding of the genetic mutations in Alzheimer’s disease also helps in the development of new treatments. Due to new insights on the underlying cause of the disorder gained by the identification of genetic mutations, new drugs can be developed. These treatments are able to target the underlying cause and thereby stop the progression of the disease. Treatments based on β -secretase inhibitors as well as γ -secretase inhibitors are promising approaches to reduce neurofibrillary plaques, the neuropathological finding in Alzheimer’s disease, as well as small-molecule structure correctors, which revise the Apo4 protein. Nevertheless, it is also important to consider other risk factors, including age, heredity, and cardiovascular diseases, in order to cultivate truly holistic understandings.

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ART NEVER EXPRESSES ANYTHING BUT ITSELF:

The Russian avant-garde and Hauser's critique of Suprematism

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Abstract To what extent can art exist independent of society and express anything but subjective aesthetic pleasure and value? This article addresses the question of *l'art pour l'art* (art as pure and autonomous feeling) by considering whether or not the development of the Russian avant-garde art movement during the early 20th century was influenced by societal developments brought about by the tumultuous events of the Russian Revolution of 1905. The focus of the discussion is on the work of Russian painter Kasimir Malevich and the critiques of *l'art pour l'art* by the Marxist sociologist Arnold Hauser.

I Introduction

At the turn of the 20th century a people's wish for radical social change and political modernisation swept through traditional Russian society in the form of the 1905 communist revolution. Although this particular insurgency was not efficacious in seizing the reins of power, it set the scene for the subsequent and more successful Bolshevik revolution of 1917 (Colton, Kramer & Palmer, 2007). Alongside this radical socio-political movement, the Russian nation was also confronted with another revolution: the avant-garde art movement. This innovative aesthetic movement built itself from European trends, but quickly advanced into

new distinctive Russian styles that came to define a new way of doing and thinking about art : ‘Suprematism’ (Davies et al., 2007). This movement was launched in 1915 when the painter Kasimir Malevich painted his now famous piece such as *Black Square* (See appendix “A”). Although seemingly modest and unpretentious, the piece was radical precisely because of its simplicity of form. Malevich claimed to have reached *l’art pour l’art* – French for art for art’s sake – and stated: “I have conquered the lining of the colored sky, I have plucked the colors, put them into the bag I have made, and tied it with a knot. Sail on! The white, free depths, eternity, is before you” (Malevich, n.d./1976, p. 145). Still, now, 100 years later, just as political scholars contemplate the meanings and impact of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, so too do art historians and scholars contemplate Malevich’s radical simplicity and abstractionism (Hombøe, 2015).

Indeed, early 20th century Russia was a time of constant renewal whereby changes were unfolding in terms of both politics and art. Yet, to what extent did the socio-political ruptures of the communist revolution influence and explain Malevich’s work and the birth of Russian avant garde movement? Was Kasimir Malevich only able to make radical art because he was living in revolutionary times? Or can one see the developments of avant-garde movement and Suprematism as a separate and autonomous process? Stated in broader terms: can art exist independent of society? Can there be such a thing as “pure” art, or art for art’s sake? Still, today, a century later, articles are still emerging which contemplate Malevich’s radical search for simplicity and abstractism (e.g. Hombøe, 2015). Yet, to what extent was Malevich only able to make radical art as he was living in radical times, or can one see the developments of avant-garde art as completely separate, and argue for the *Black Square* to be exemplary of *l’art pour l’art*?

The question of whether art can exist independent of social context and purpose is tied to a broader tension between Suprematism and Constructivism (Kiaer, 2005). On the one hand, *Suprematism*, is an abstract art style that was founded in 1913 by the Russian painter Kasimir Malevich. As a pioneer of early 20th century avant-garde Russian painting, Malevich aimed to realise the ideal of “*l’art pour l’art*” (Malevich, 1915/1976). On the other hand, *Constructivism*, founded after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and represented by Vladimir Tatlin, strived to consciously influence society by means of useful art (Kiaer, 2005). In this article, we enter the debate between Suprematism and Constructivism in order to investigate the extent to which the development of the Russian Avant-garde between 1905 and 1932 is linked to the socio-political revolution of 1905. Moreover, we consider to what extent the Russian avant garde movement- as represented by Malevich’s work- exemplifies the ideal notion that art can exist independent of societal influence; i.e. art for art’s sake. Within

this context, we draw on the work of sociologist Arnold Hauser (1888-1966). A Hungarian-born Marxist sociologist, Hauser argued that Suprematism, or the notion of art for art's sake, is a utopian conception. He was highly critical of the possibility that art can let alone should exist autonomously without societal content or purpose (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). He argued that art is always embedded within a social structure and thus produces social meaning.

Drawing on Hauser's constructivist critique of Suprematism we explore the question of whether or not the development of the Russian avant-garde movement supports Arnold Hauser's criticism of *l'art pour l'art*. Ultimately, we side with Hauser's criticism to argue that the avant-garde movement it was consciously reacting to and influencing socialistic thoughts that were flourishing in Russian society during the early 20th century. Nonetheless, we also find reasons that challenge some of Hauser's critique of Suprematism so as to highlight the potential of *l'art pour l'art* as a subjective ideal for the artist to adhere and aspire to, as envisioned by cultural scholars and critics such as Théophile Gautier, Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde (Pretschke, 2013). Taking on a refreshing interdisciplinary approach, the conclusions reached in the end of our discussion provide insights for both art historians and sociologists, shedding light on the ideals that prompted avant-garde artists to make radical art. In the end, the reader will have gained great understanding of the notion of *l'art pour l'art* as well as the mindsets behind the avant-garde movements of Suprematism and Constructivism.

2 The Troublesome Marriage of Content and Form

The Hungarian Sociologist Arnold Hauser focused his writings on the interplay between society and art. In his lifework *The Sociology of Art* (1982) he claims that *l'art pour l'art* does not exist, as an art work can never be free of societal influences (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). To fully investigate this claim and apply it to the development of the Russian avant-garde, the clarification of the terms content and form, as well as the problem of *l'art pour l'art*, is necessary.

An artwork is often seen in the spheres of content and form (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). As the Russian Avant-garde painter Wassily Kandinsky states: "a work of art is [an] inevitably cohesive combination of inner and outer elements, i.e., content and form" (1910/1976, p. 19). According to this view, the content of an artwork is that which it embodies: the emotions and ideas it transports from artist to audience (Kandinsky, 1910/1976). Its (material) form has to be seen as the way in which these ideas are communicated from artist to viewer; it is the actual painting, seen through the eyes of the audience. Kandinsky tried

to describe this relationship with the following scheme: “emotion - feeling - work of art - feeling - emotion” (1910/1976, p. 19).

The problem of *l'art pour l'art* is according to thinkers such as Gautier and Pater nothing different than getting rid of the content sphere, only preserving art's pure form and beauty. Théophile Gautier was the first to introduce this problem, and his thoughts can be summarised as “that it was antithetical to art's true purpose to serve any moral or social function” (Petsche, 2013, p. 145). It was Walter Pater who popularised Gautier's theory in England, turning the latter's thoughts into a normative command. For him, and other writers such as Oscar Wilde, it was clear that art should aim to be nothing but beautiful form (Petsche, 2013).

Arnold Hauser, however, believes that an art work can only exist through the interaction of content and form. A work of art cannot be content alone, because without form, the aesthetic threshold that makes art art is not reached (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). Yet, more importantly for this article: art cannot be form alone, for two reasons. Firstly, Hauser believes that it is impossible for an artist to cleanse his mind of prior experience and the concepts ingrained by society. Instead “real, mature artists always work in the midst of a social situation, [...] and are concerned with the solution of problems of life” (Hauser & Northcott, 1979, p. 427). Secondly, content does dictate the valuation given by the consumer of an artwork. A portrait of Madonna is differently judged than a painting of a cabbage, even when the aesthetic quality of both is the same (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). As such, instead of trying to separate both spheres, Hauser argues that “[f]orm and content are stimulated and furthered by one another in their development. Formal completeness is achieved when some content is rejected and the remainder thereby becomes portrayable.” (Hauser & Northcott, 1979, p. 432). During the process of painting, it is the artist who has to choose from different forms to portray the envisioned content perfectly. Resulting from this choice, it can be argued that “form changes unmistakably as content changes” (Hauser & Northcott, 1979, p. 432). Through this interdependence of both form and content, art can according to Hauser never exist without fulfilling the minimum requirements of both spheres: societal influence will always be found in the end product.

1.1 Russia's Revolutions in Art and Society

A first indication to the accuracy or insight of Hauser's rejection of *l'art pour l'art* is evident in the historical change from realist art to abstract art, back to realism. at the beginning of the 20th century (Bowl, 1976). This evolution unmistakably coincides with the forming of new ideals in society, going against the auto-

cratic tsarist regime (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). The Liberals were hoping for a democracy similar to the ones of Western Europe, whilst the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were fighting over the best form of communism (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). Besides the longing for political participation and equality, a wish for modernisation and catching up with the more industrialised West had taken hold of Russia at the turn of the century (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). Parts of this, an establishment of a parliament under the Tsar and some economic prosperity, were seen after the revolution of 1905.

In the aftermath, capitalism was more accepted and the traditional land-owning communities had become an optional form of organisation (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). Whilst some of the peasants were still looking for more shares of the still predominantly aristocratic owned land, and the Bolsheviks were not yet ready to bury their dreams of a communist revolution, they had to admit that their chances may have passed (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007).

Nevertheless, the mismanagement during the First World War gave new power to the anti-tsarist movements and saw the fall of the regime in March 1917, with the Bolsheviks taking over a few months later in the October Revolution (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). To secure the power the following years were full of civil war and chaos, but also saw the development of communist ideology in the society (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). Not only ideological opposition had to be fought, but also practical issues had to be overcome, as economic incentives were missing in the Bolshevik society. As a solution, Russia saw the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which allowed for some free trade and property in 1921 (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). The policy alienated Lenin from the radical left and after his death in 1924, Stalin quickly rose to power. By 1928 the NEP was replaced by a planned economy (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007).

As Russian society directed itself to the imitation of the West, an orientation towards the West also became visible in the arts. There were rising numbers of exhibitions of French masters, followed by more Russian artists having the possibility to travel around Europe (Willette, 2011). The Russian travellers brought with them the French Cubism and Italian Futurism, styles which were illustrating the wish for modernisation and industrialisation (Davies et al, 2007) by rejecting traditional form. In short, they abandoned “perspective with a single viewpoint” and embraced “the dynamism of modern technology” (Oxford English Dictionary, “Futurism”, n.d.).

Afterwards, in light of the anti-capitalist and anti-west ideologies of the socialists, artists began striving to make their art works Russian, instead of following the European trends (Willette, 2011). Artistic creativity and Russian nation-

alistic feelings (Willette, 2011), led to the development of a broad variation of abstract styles, starting with Cubo-Futurism (Davies et al, 2007): a combination of Cubism and Futurism. As such, a hodgepodge of Russian leftist styles arose in the preamble of the October Revolution. Rayonism and Suprematism were founded: art styles that were both dedicated to the finding of *l'art pour l'art* (Bowl, 2011). Whereas Rayonism rejected the utopian ideals of Futurism, which adhered to the vision of constituting a new reality created by a renewing artistic vision, Suprematism in contrary elaborated on these (Willette, 2011). Founded by the anarchist Kasimir Malevich (Walsh, 2010) in 1913, it was, in line with the revolutionary thoughts flourishing in Russia - yet not relying on the socialist ideology - looking for a new starting point for society. As opposed to the latter, Constructivism was trying to make 'useful' art (Bowl, 1976) (Lodder, 1983). The movement, which brought Bolshevik utilitarian ideals into practice, was able to continuously flourish during Lenin's rule (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007). Suprematism, however, was not able to produce art that was regarded useful by the communist government, as it aimed solely at beautiful form. It therefore bloomed only for a short time after the Revolutions of 1917.

Nevertheless, with Stalin seizing power in 1927 (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007), realist paintings had started to gain back popularity (Bowl, 1976), and even Constructivists were more and more obstructed in their goal of influencing society. Eventually it was Stalin's policy of making Socialist Realism state art in 1932 (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007), which meant the definitive end of the radical and non-objective Avant-garde (Kiaer, 2005), with even the anarchistic painter Malevich returning to figurative art (Preston, 2014).

In sum, looking at the analogies between developments in Russian society and art at the turn of the 20th century, there is strong evidence for Hauser's argument of form changing when content changes (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). At first, the start of the Avant-garde and non-objective painting went hand in hand with the ever more present wishes for modernisation and industrialisation, an orientation towards the West. It was only when the Bolsheviks brought a condemnation of the capitalist West into Russian society, that the Russian artist became truly innovative. Then, the different ideals as to how a modern Russian society should look like were present in the substantial quantity of different sub-forms of abstract art that arose in the short time span of 1905-1920, the differences being clearly visible in the comparison of the anarchistic Suprematism and communistic Constructivism. The end of the non-objective Avant-garde came with Stalin's strong authoritarian rule and his changes as to what practical communism should look like in the arts. Analogies in the development of Russian society and its arts hence show that a revolutionary mentality has been indispensable

for the existence of the Avant-garde. Radical art needed radical times to make its entrance and without the Avant-garde would not be the same.

3 Suprematism: The Utopia of l'Art pour l'Art

One of the Russian art styles blooming between 1905 and 1932 was Suprematism, which has been defined as: “The Russian abstract art movement developed by Kazimir Malevich (...), characterized by simple geometrical shapes and associated with ideas of spiritual purity” (Oxford English Dictionary, “Suprematism”, n.d.). According to the Suprematist artist Ivan Klyun, Suprematists were the first to “become fully aware of the principle: Art as an end in itself.” Whereas sculptors such as Michelangelo had been reliant on “the beauty of youth, but no beauty of sculpture”, Suprematist sculpture had “no content in it, only form”. It was “pure art” (Klyun, n.d/1976, p.114). Leaving the general movement of the Avant-garde behind, the following discussion will focus on the specific art style of Suprematism, as it is most capable of giving insights in the concept of *l'art pour l'art*.

Kasimir Malevich founded the movement in 1913 (Davies et al., 2007), and a first exhibition of Suprematist works took place in 1915 in Petrograd. Malevich's Black Square (App. A), revolutionary because its simplicity of form, was the true crowd puller in exhibition “0.10”. The artist believed that his painting had reached full beauty and purity of form and that he had “transformed [him]self in the zero of form” (Malevich, 1915/1976, p.118), leaving the reality of things behind (Malevich, 1915). The main objective of Suprematism had always been to develop non-objective art which created a new timeless reality; an art without any utility or societal content (Malevich, 1915/1976), and with his Black Square Malevich believed this ideal fulfilled. It is clear that Suprematists were striving for what has been envisioned as *l'art pour l'art* by Gautier.

As showed earlier, Hauser however suggests that *l'art pour l'art* by definition is an unreachable ideal, as it assumes art to be completely independent of society. An indication for Hauser's criticism to be right, as opposed to the conviction that The Black Square constituted pure form, can be seen in the fact that Malevich gives his art a twofold purpose. The artist does not only argue that his art is free of content and utility (Malevich, 1915/1976), but moreover sees The Black Square as something that is applicable to society: it is a way to create a better world (Malevich, 1976). When one takes a closer look into Malevich's Black Square, its Suprematist ideology presents itself even more clearly. Malevich even gave it the power to overcome religion: he saw the art work as the icon of the Suprematist

religion (Néret, 2013). This is supported by the fact that, at exhibition 0.10, the work was placed in the corner of the room, a place where in Orthodox Russia the effigy of Christ should be hanging (App. B) (Néret, 2013). The ideals present in the Black Square are constantly adhered throughout the development of Suprematism. With Malevich leading their way, Suprematists eventually brought the ideals of Suprematism “into life itself” by applying its concepts to architecture (Bowl, 1976, p.151). Being true to the avant-garde characteristics, Suprematism was aiming for a better society, yet, without relying on the socialist cause (Margolin, 1997). Whereas Malevich wanted to constitute a new reality, separated from the ideals that were held in Russian society, he thus ambiguously aimed to influence the same society by means of his art. Therefore one should see The Black Square as the beginning of a renewed relationship with society, rather than an endpoint of this relationship: it became art for the sake of society, instead of art for the sake of art.

Showing not merely an active relationship with Russian society, but moreover a passive reliance on societal ideals, Suprematism includes other backings for Hauser's theory. Its ideals of “pure art” (Klyun, 1976, p.114) did not arise arbitrarily and did so only in contact with society. Therefore Suprematism could by definition not be without societal influence. In regards to this, it should be noted that Malevich, found himself in the midst of a changing social situation (Malevich, 1915). Desire for change and to a lesser extent anti-capitalism (Colton, Kramer, & Palmer, 2007), were flourishing in Malevich's Russia, and clearly present in Malevich's own writings in which he stresses a Suprematist ideology (1915/1976). Looking at the admittedly short time span of Suprematism, which was present in the avant-garde from 1913 onwards, one can see that it is at its height before the revolution, presenting the optimism of both Malevich and those sharing his ideals, who believed that a new society could be found. It is in this time that The Black Square was painted, which Suprematism maintained as its icon until its definitive downfall in 1932.

The decline of the movement took place after the revolution, in the times of the NEP. So called “useless” art did not fit into society any longer, had in the eyes of the public reached its endpoint, and Constructivism took over (Sheijen et al., 2013), stressing the importance of preserving the communist utility ideal (Kiaer, 2005). Malevich took to architecture and figurative painting, similar to the start of his career (Preston, 2014). Yet, as he had taken an interest in political processes over the years, one can still find some hints of his very own Suprematist dreams in his later works. As Lissitzky stated: “When [Suprematists had] grasped the aim and system of Suprematism” by means of the Square, they did not throw in the towel. Trying to “give a new face to [the] globe” they used

architecture to reach their aim (1920/1976, p. 155). Even after Social Realism was promoted to state art by Joseph Stalin in 1932, Malevich kept signing his work with the Suprematist Black Square instead of his initials, as a silent protest (Néret 2013; Preston, 2014). Continuing to bring Suprematist ideals into practice, he still relied on Suprematist colour schemes (Néret, 2013), wherein basic colours were used to contrast each other. Yet, whereas Suprematist ideals continued existence, its form vanished and a decay analogue to the development of a communist society is clearly noticeable, constituting an art with societal influence.

Furthermore, Malevich acknowledged the importance of previous art styles such as Cubism and Futurism by writing an extensive essay on the gradual uncovering of the arts, of which he considered Suprematism to be the climax (Malevich, 1915/1976). Everything that came before Suprematism, so Malevich argued, had only stolen its beauty from reality and hence had been full of reality based content, which resulted in art works without any form of their own (Malevich, 1915). Whereas previous art might have been a pretty copy of a beautiful reality, the beauty of art had according to the Suprematists been hitherto covered by things (1915/1976). It would have been “absurd to force [their] age into the old forms of a bygone age” (Malevich, 1915/1976, p.120). Malevich here aims at Suprematism as an autonomous art form, in contrary to previous art, not reliant on a reality outside the art. Yet, he at the same time undermines this statement by acknowledging that it was precisely the rejection of what preceded: a rejection of societal ideals in previous art, that gave rise to the founding of the Suprematist ideals. Suprematists could not possibly make art for the sake of art, for even a non-societal, autonomous art could only be constituted by the rejection of society. Relying on both preceders and current societal tendencies, Suprematist non-objectivism, in line with Hauser’s argumentation, should thus be seen as “a world view that has embraced all aspects of art and life itself” (Stepanova, 1976, p.141).

Finally, as society provided the developments that lead Malevich to the founding of Suprematism, so the viewers of The Black Square were – and we still are – only able to give its simple form any (artistic) meaning by referencing to society. In orthodox Russia a Black Square in the corner of the room was immediately associated with religion. Its radical simplicity of form was – and is – interpreted with regards to former art, and its striven for *l’art pour l’art* has been opposed to socialist utility ideals. What would a Black Square have meant to viewers without knowledge of the ideology behind as provided by Malevich; without knowledge of previous art and Soviet society? Its radical simplicity could only make sense to viewers with regards to previous art, previous experience, or as opposed to the Suprematist counterpart Constructivism and its utilitarian ideals. Whereas

“it [was] declared that the leftists work [had] no content” (Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 226), its “content [was] nothing other than the social aim of form”(Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 226). Using “form purposefully, meant filling it with content” (Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 226) and thereby supporting Arnold Hauser’s claim that form without content is impossible. Hence, The Black Square, the iconic “beacon” of Suprematism, can be seen as having been constituted through a relationship with society rather than apart from it (Lissitzky, 1920/1976, p. 153).

4 Constructivism: the Rejection of *l’Art pour l’Art*

Whereas it has been argued that Suprematism shows enough societal influence *l’art pour l’art* to fall short of its ideals, the mutual relationship between art and society is much more explicit in its counterpart Constructivism. This movement is characterised by the combination of “assorted mechanical objects [...] into abstract mobile structural forms” (Oxford English Dictionary, “Constructivism”, n.d.). Rejecting the ideal of *l’art pour l’art*, Constructivists made the opposite their purpose and, in contrary to Suprematists, they consciously adhered the ideal of changing the world and stood up for it (Gan, 1922/1976): “With the coming of the October Revolution, Constructivists argued the essential identity of their own material investigation of creative work with the development of the political and social revolution” (Milner, 1985, p. 160). As art from now on had to be practical instead of beautiful, collective instead of individual; painting was more and more abandoned (Lodder, 1992), and the making of art was put on a par with the industrial production of objects (Gan, 1922/1976). By producing so called socialist objects (Kiaer, 2005), Constructivists, adhering utilitarian ideals, tried to “build not according to form, but according to social objective”(Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 228), as only non-elite and useful art would be able to stand in service of the proletarian revolution (Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 226).

Vladimir Tatlin, seen as the main representative of Constructivism, locates the emergence of the movement in 1918 (Tatlin, 1920/1976). Occupying many governmental posts in the course of the revolutionary years, he started his Bolshevik career as president of the Union of Professional Artists and Painters, ending up in the position of president of the Department of Visual Plastic Arts (IZO). Being responsible for the whole of the visual arts in Moscow, including education and the organisation of exhibitions, Tatlin was the first to bring into practice the communist government’s cultural strategies (Milner, 1985). In 1918 he was in addition to this teaching in both Petrograd and Moscow and moreover; he became an active member of the government Department for the Preservation of Monuments of Art

and the Normalization of Museum Matters. When Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda advanced in 1918, Tatlin immediately presented a plan for fifty monuments in Moscow. Embodying the Constructivist attempt to consciously influence society, he set out to bring his Constructivist ideals to the public (Milner, 1985).

In 1920, Tatlin made a design for a government building, named The Monument to the Third International (App. C), which is said to represent the "wedding of Constructivism and social commitment" (Milner, 1985, p. 151). The model became known as Tatlin's tower and was exhibited in Moscow and Petrograd during the Eight Soviet Congress, a timeslot that itself is capable of showing the extent to which Constructivism tied in with societal developments. The highly innovative building was envisioned to symbolise Russia's development into an ideal socialistic society (Milner, 1985). According to Tatlin, the model would "stimulate [artists] to inventions in [their] work of creating a new world" (1920/1976, p. 207). Comprising a skeletal structure and moving parts, Tatlin designed a construction closer to a machine than to a building (Milner, 1985), perfectly exemplifying the socialist object and its utilitarian ideals (Kiaer, 2005). By modelling a moving building which would board communist decision making processes, Tatlin made sure that his construction would function: "both mechanically and socially" (Milner, 1985, p. 161). Whereas the tower's design proved impossible to implement (Milner, 1985), above all, the construct was not meant to function as 'pure' existing as art for the sake of art. This is illustrated, for instance, in the claims of Alexei Gan, member of the first-working group of constructivists which had been founded in 1920 stated: "Constructivism is advancing - the slender child of an industrial culture. For a long time capitalism had let it rot underground. It has been liberated by - the Proletarian Revolution. A new chronology begins with October 25, 1917." (1922/1976, p. 222).

The embeddedness of Constructivism within Russian society is further evidenced by the specific period that it came into being. Tatlin's tower, for instance, shows great similarity with a telescope, referencing back to the astronomical centre that St. Petersburg was at the time of the October Revolution (Milner, 1985). In the time of the New Economic Policy (1921-1927), Constructivists for the first time found themselves against a governmental measure (Kiaer, 2005). Adhering to their own socialistic ideals, they began to see it as their task to aim for a decent classless society after the capitalistic freedom of the NEP, and they charted a far more radical, yet also more successful course (Kiaer, 2005). Constructivists such as Tatlin raised opposition against the newly arising middle-class and declared painting dead (Gan, 1922/1976). Hitherto all painting had according to them been bourgeois: "its forms [lived] and [moved] outside concrete reality in a rigidly fixed 'eternally' established form" (Arvatov, 1922/1976,

p. 226); but now, Constructivists would make “Proletarian art” instead. This is to say that they would produce art works that were both “socially” and “consciously” useful (Arvatov, 1922/1976, p. 226). Often working in collaboration with the Bolshevik government, some may even call what they produced not art, but propaganda (Lodder, 1983). Yet, Constructivist works are still conceived by the public as art, and thereby proof Arnold Hauser’s stance that an awareness of content is perfectly able to constitute art.

5 Evaluating Hauser’s perspective

It has been shown that Suprematism and Constructivism both support Hauser’s claim of a necessary reliance of art on society and the impossibility to produce art for the sake of art. But, where does this ultimately leave the notion of *l’art pour l’art*. It would take more to prove the absolute truth of Hauser’s criticism. Furthermore, Hauser differs from other theorists in his definition of *l’art pour l’art*, by taking the definition one small but important step further. Oscar Wilde, for instance, a follower of Pater himself, had stated: “the state is to make what is useful. The individual is to make what is beautiful.” (Pretschke, 2013, p. 145). To make something that was not useful, but existed only for its own good was a form of protest against the bourgeoisie (Pretschke, 2013). Hauser does not allow for this maneuver, however, as we have shown in our discussion of Malevich Black Square and Tatlin’s Tower. Rather, Hauser claims that protest is a form of societal criticism and thereby constitutes content not just form (Hauser & Northcott, 1979). If *l’art pour l’art* cannot be limited to pure form, then Hauser may indeed never be proven wrong. Furthermore, other theorists such as Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) have pointed out that “art becomes social by its opposition to society, and it occupies this position only as autonomous art...it criticises society by merely existing.” (Pretschke, 2013, p. 146). In this light, for the artist it is important to create an art of which they feel it is outside of society and pure form. As such, *l’art pour l’art* might not be reachable, yet, it is existent as an ideal to be aspired and adhered to. From the sociologist vantage point of Hauser however, *l’art pour l’art* is utopian and unattainable. Nonetheless, as Hauser himself argued: “if the *l’art pour l’art* position can be maintained [...] then the claim that the meaning and intent of art can be determined sociologically is shown to be illegitimate” (Hauser & Northcott, 1979, p. 425).

6 Conclusion

In sum, we have shown that the overall development of the Russian avant-garde gives strong support to Hauser's theory of a social dependency between form and content. The changes in Russian society at the beginning of the 20th century can be clearly seen as providing inspiration for some of the greatest artistic works of the most influential artists of the time. The developments of Suprematism and Constructivism show a high dependency on these societal changes, both aiming to influence society and representation of the ideologies present. Constructivism did this through taking specific forms that directly represented the content held and in this respect supports Hauser's view that forms should be chosen in respect to the content that the artist wants to convey. Opposite to this, Suprematism used a rejection of content in the name of finding a blank starting point for a new society. This aspect of Suprematism highlights a difference with Constructivism and challenges Suprematism and Hauser's position. However, Hauser sees the goal of a new-found society as an issue of content and therefore interprets Malevich's search for *l'art pour l'art* as failed and contradictory. Nonetheless, Hauser's work also suggests, along with other such as Oscar Wilde, that the notion of *l'art pour l'art* can exist, albeit as an ideal for the individual artist to aspire toward and adhere to. This leaves us with the important question of how to define *l'art pour l'art* in the contemporary context, and why some artists continue their pursuit for 'pure' form without content.

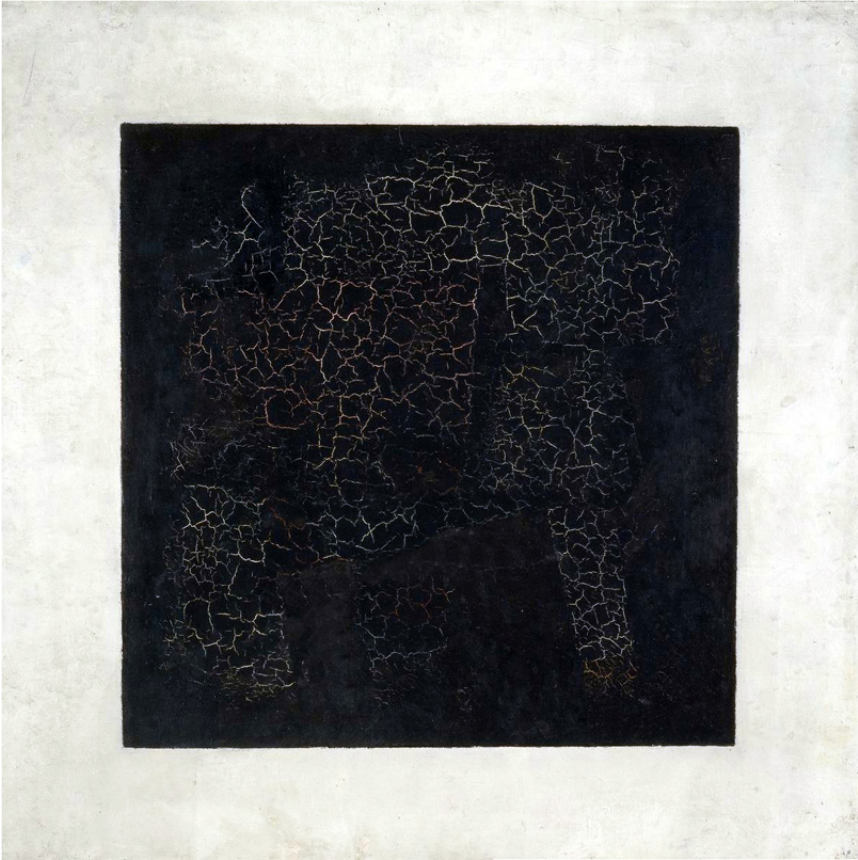
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Appendix A



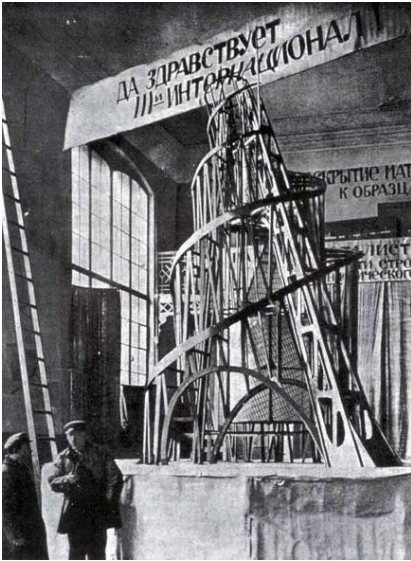
"The Black Square" – Malevich

Appendix B



"Exhibition 0,10" Black Square in Situ

Appendix C



"Monument to the Third International" – Tatlin

THE JEWISH OTHER:

An analysis of the Jewish situation in German speaking
Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries

Linda Schlegel

Abstract This article investigates the social-historical position of the Jewish population in pre-WWI German speaking Europe by applying Simmel's theory of "The Stranger" and Elias's work on "The Established and the Outsiders". It is argued that both theories consider that minor differences between the German and Jewish populations were exaggerated and sustained due to a lack of interaction between the two groups and because of the special way of life of the Jewish population. By being separate from society and yet part of it, the Jewish minority challenged social structures by their mere presence and attracted considerable criticism and aversion.

“Die Dualität von Deutschen und Juden- zwei Seelen in einem Körper. (...) Nirgendwo sonst in Westeuropa war diese Dualität so ausgeprägt und am Ende so tragisch”

The duality of Germans and Jews- two souls in one body. (...) Nowhere else in West Europe was this duality so pronounced and so tragic in the end

(Elon and Fienbork, 2005, p.13, translation mine)

I Introduction

There is an ongoing academic debate as to whether there is a connection between the social position of the Jewish population in European societies and the Holocaust. While some view the Holocaust as a continuation of earlier practices of discrimination, others treat it as an exception and unrelated to the previous standing of Jews in various European societies. Although the Jewish minority made up no more than 1% of the German speaking population (Elon and Fienbork, 2005), they were oppressed in the German speaking societies. It is unclear why such a small group should have attracted so many negative repercussions. This article aims to contribute to this debate by illuminating the experience of the Jewish minority in German speaking Europe in the 18th and 19th century. It is not an attempt to explain the Holocaust, the experiences of the Jewish population in German speaking society during the Third Reich, or the disasters of Auschwitz and other concentration camps. Instead, this article investigates how the interaction between the non-Jewish Europeans and Jewish citizens can be theorized. The question this article thus seeks to answer is: What was the social position of the Jewish population in 18th and 19th century in German speaking Europe and how can the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens be theorized? The question is approached from a sociological-historical perspective by applying the work of two sociologists to the case. Firstly, the theoretical framework consisting of the theories of Simmel and Elias is explained. Secondly, Georg Simmel's work *The Stranger* is applied to the situation. Thirdly, this application is complimented by the work of Norbert Elias on established and outsider groups. It is argued that despite their century long tradition of living together with Christians, the Jew population tended to be seen as strangers and outsiders, who did not belong, and therefore occupied a special and mostly negative position in society. They were, however, disproportionately visible in the banking system, the media and academic professions, which led to the belief that the Jewish minority was more powerful than it really was. The Jewish population had a difficult social standing in the German speaking European societies and it is argued that at no point in time were they seen as equal to other citizens.

2 Theoretical framework: Simmel and Elias

Georg Simmel was an early 20th century sociologist, who was mostly concerned with the micro-level of social interactions. His work, and in particular his book

Sociology, have been very influential in the field. A key concept in his work was “The Stranger”, which he developed in his larger theory of the spatial organization of society. Georg Simmel depicts the Stranger as someone who is both mobile and sedentary. Mobile, because he¹ once came from outside and is therefore expected to be able to leave again and sedentary, because he has not left yet (Mijic in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). In Simmel’s words, the stranger is “the potential wanderer, who, although he did not yet leave, did not overcome the serenity of coming and going” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p. 59, translation mine). Counter-intuitively, the stranger is someone we know, not someone we do not know, because we do not have a relationship to the latter. By staying and not leaving the stranger becomes an element of the group itself, but he is in a special position within the group. The stranger “occasionally has contact to every element of the group, but is with nobody organically connected” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.60, translation mine, emphasis in original). He is near and far at the same time, not necessarily in spacial terms, but in terms of emotional (or biological, organic) connection. What one shares with the stranger is shared with so many people that it loses its importance (Mijic in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010) and the stranger loses his individuality, because one tends to see “strangers not as individuals, but as strangers of a certain type” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p. 63, translation mine). According to Simmel, because shared characteristics are only of a general nature, an emphasis is made on the differences (Simmel in Wolff, 1950). The last important characteristic of the stranger is his objectivity. Because of the social mobility and the fact that he tends to have a value system different from the in-group, the stranger can evaluate the group objectively. Objectivity, according to Simmel, “is by no means non-participation” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p. 61, translation mine), but rather a critical engagement with society. This, however, is not always seen as positive by the group and can be viewed as a lack of loyalty.

In contrast to Simmel, the German born sociologist Norbert Elias is concerned with meso-level explanations of social relations. Between 1958 and 1960 he investigated group dynamics between different worker suburbs of Leicester. Originally attempting to analyze crime, he was puzzled by the fact that despite there being no objective differences between those living in suburb A and those

¹ Although gendered language is acknowledged here, the term ‘he’ is used throughout this article as a generic pronoun for purposes of consistency and will refer to all persons, male or female.

living in suburb B, one group communicated a feeling of superiority over the other group. The only difference, argues Elias, was that one group had lived in the area for two or three generations while the other had just moved there (Mijic and Neckel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). For this reason he called his work *Established and Outsiders*. In his work Elias shows that differences between groups, which lead to tensions, do not have to be of ethnic or religious nature, but the mere fact that one moved into the area instead of being born there is enough for stigmatization. He writes that “Non-inclusion and stigmatization of the outsiders per se were powerful weapons with which the established group preserved its identity and put the other group in its place” (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.361, translation mine, emphasis in original). Similar to Simmel he found that individual characteristics of the outsiders were disregarded and the group as such was seen negatively. To him individuals were rejected not because of individual mistakes, but “because they belonged to a group, which was seen by them [the established] to be *en bloc* as strange and inferior” (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.362, translation mine, emphasis in original). The rejection was based on a perceived “threat of their [the established group] way of life” (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p. 363, translation mine), but also on a “unequal balance of power with the tensions arising [from this inequality]” (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.363, translation mine). To Elias any group relationship consists of a power struggle and this inevitably leads to tensions between the groups. Contact with the other group is sanctioned by “measures of social control” (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.360, translation mine), so the conflict can persist over a long period of living next to each other, because one is socialized to stigmatize the other group.

In an analysis such as this one is tempted to employ dichotomies of Germans and Jews or society versus outsiders, which wrongfully suggests that the Jewish minority could be neither German nor part of society. Therefore, following Simmel, German speaking Europeans, who were not Jewish are referred to as *Eigengruppe* or in-group (Mijic in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). Jewish citizens are referred to as Jews, because, as Simmel writes Jewish citizens had their “social position as a Jew, not as bearers of specific contents” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.63). They were, in effect, perceived to be “primarily a Jew” (Simmel in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010, p.63) and not as a German or Austrian citizen. Jewishness therefore refers to the primary label given to this group by the other group and not to suggest that they were not part of the European societies.

3 Simmelian Perspective: The Jew as 'the Stranger'

According to Simmel one can analyze the position of Jewish people as strangers. Although Jewish people had lived among Germans since the Middle Ages they were perceived as strangers. It must be noted from the beginning, that although all the factors in the following analysis of the German-Jewish relation can be discussed and theorized separately, they must be seen in their complexity and interaction. It is not possible to discover a causal link, for instance, from spatial distance to the emphasis of physical differences, but rather both features reinforced and complemented each other in the making of the image of the Jew in German society.

For Simmel the stranger is near and far at the same time, because he is not fully integrated in society yet part of it. The same can be said for Jews in German speaking Europe both in terms of literal spatial distance as well as distance resulting from restrictive measures limiting the interaction between the two groups. For many centuries Jewish occupations were restricted to the fields of finance and trade. This means that the contact between the general German population and the Jewish population was limited to impersonal buyer-seller relationships or, even worse, to interaction when the 'poor' German had to borrow money from the 'rich' Jew. Because it was forbidden for Christians to take interest rates, the banking system became dominated by Jews. It is evident that this special situation partially explains the envy and anger about a group lending money with high interest rates. The Jewish minority were excluded from craftsmanship as well as guilds and other institutional arrangements. Only in 1812 with the Prussian *Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Industrie unter den Juden* (Cooperation for the Jewish advancement in Industry) was a first step taken towards opening up other occupations to the Jewish minority. (Seubert, 2009). With this the Jewish population were allowed to work as craftsman outside the Jewish quarters. As can be seen in Starz's analysis of Jews in Bamberg, a similar agreement even encouraged Christian craftsman to take Jews as apprentices and it was immediately successful as statistical data from the 1820s shows a sharp increase of Jewish craftsmanship for this area (Starz, n.d.).

Occupations were, however, not the only method of distancing the Jewish population. For centuries a large part of the Jewish population lived in ghettos. These ghettos were a small society within society, a state within a state with almost autonomous structures. From doctors to butchers Jewish society was organized within the very limited space of the ghetto and rarely if ever left this space (McCagg Jr, 1989). Spatial distance leads to less familiarity with the 'other' and, as van Houtum and van Naerssen state, "the making of a unique, exclusive place goes hand in hand with the governing practices of exclusion and

purification” (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2002, p.127). Strangers, according to Simmel, tend to be seen in unity if one is not very familiar with individual strangers. Because of the practices of ‘bordering’ Jews, of ‘ordering’ to a place in the ghetto, familiarity could never arise. The Jewish stranger remained a stranger, because interaction could not take place and was, in fact, condemned by the Germans. Even after the legal emancipation and the rise of Jewish intellectuals, contact with the general public remained less frequent than within the group of Germans. Here one can see that it is not simply a ‘strangeness’ in the occupations, but a general ‘strangeness’ due to the limited interaction fostered by the ghetto structure. The Jewish population and the in-group did not have many points of contact and if there was contact, it was limited to business issues. Therefore the Jews did not lose their status as the stranger despite living within German speaking societies for a long period of time. The standing of Jews as strangers in society cannot only be observed on a material level, but also on an ideational level. This becomes evident when one examines the works of influential scholars concerned with the ‘Jewish question’.

The Jewish question remained important throughout the 18th and 19th century and a variety of thinkers from Martin Luther to Karl Marx engaged in the discourse and helped to shape the ideological and intellectual foundations for anti-Semitism. The opinions and lines of argumentation were so diverse and often contradictory that it is unfeasible to attempt to draw a general picture of intellectual anti-Semitism even for a very narrow time frame. This section is therefore limited to very influential early socialist thinkers, namely Hegel (1770-1831), Bruno Bauer (1809-1882) and Karl Marx (1818-1883). These three cases are especially interesting, because both thinkers follow the ideal of early socialism, which emphasized equality and disregarded religion.

Hegel, for instance, who regarded Judaism as “spiritual self-estrangement” (Wistrich, 1982, p.16), expressed outright hostility against Jews, but at the same time argued that any modern state could not deny equal rights to its Jewish inhabitants. In contrast to ‘good’ Christianity, Hegel believed that “Judaic monotheism had stripped man and nature of their substance” (Wistrich, 1982, p.17). It was, in other words, not simply a different religion, but a threat to the nature of humanity. In Hegel’s thought, “Judaism was sharply separated from Christianity and thus denied any influence over the development of the modern Western culture” (Wistrich, 1982, p. 17). Nevertheless, he believed that in the political sphere Jews could not be deprived of an equal standing in society, because “the modern State could not deny to the Jews their human and civil rights without contradicting its own rational basis” (Wistrich, 1982, p.17). He therefore exemplifies the often ambivalent relationship academics expressed towards Jewish cul-

ture and the tension between the belief that the Jew was a lesser human and the belief in Enlightenment ideals of equality and freedom.

Bauer disregarded the concept of universal rights, abandoned Hegel's focus on religious differences and focused more on the political problem. Jewishness as a way of life in itself was so flawed and of negative character that Jews could not possibly be allowed an equal standing in society unless they abandoned their Jewishness. For instance, he states that "he is and remains a Jew, despite being a citizen (...): his Jewish and constricted nature always triumphs over his human and political responsibilities" (Bauer, 1843). This means that Jews could become citizens, but they could never be equal, because they did not and could not live up to the responsibilities a 'normal' citizen has. Instead of arguing for a more equal standing in society, as one might expect from a socialist thinker, he did quite the contrary and criticized the power Jews had over the in-group. He writes: "The Jew, who is merely tolerated in Vienna (...), determines the fate of the whole empire though the financial power he possesses. The Jew, who can be without rights in the smallest of the German states, decides the fate of Europe" (Bauer in Wistrich, 1982, p.15). Here one can clearly see that the Jews were seen as a homogenous entity like the Strangers are seen as not individuals, but one type of stranger, in Simmel's work. Despite acknowledging that some have no rights, he nevertheless spoke of "the Jew", who controls everything.

In a similar manner, Marx was convinced that "the Jews had contributed nothing to historical development, except in a wholly negative sense" (Wistrich, 1982, p. 21). In his view, Jews had a negative influence in two ways. Firstly Marx criticized religion as it hinders revolution and because the Jews were considered to be very religious and critical of any secular reforms, he came to consider them as an obstacle for the German revolution. Secondly, for Marx the Jews not only contributed nothing to the revolution he envisaged, but indeed hindered it by trying to preserve their power position in the capitalist system (Wistrich, 1982). Wistrich notes that for Marx and Feuerbach, whom Marx admired, "Judaism symbolized a philistine attitude to life, a selfish drive for the satisfaction of private needs" (Wistrich, 1982, p.23). In other words, Jews were by nature capitalists and therefore had to be a problem for revolutionary socialist aspirations.

Notwithstanding Marx's claim, during his time, the Jewish minority were still predominantly lower class and did not gain as much power and money from the system as Marx thought they did. This exemplifies that the Jew was perceived as a negative 'other' not only because of real differences, but also an imagined social position of Jewish citizens. In fact, some scholars such as Elon and Fienbork (2005) trace the special conflict between the in-group and Jews not back to real differences, but on the contrary to a "Familienähnlichkeit" ("Family resem-

blance”; Elon and Fienbork, 2005, p.18). The two groups were similar in many respects, which lead to an overemphasis of differences. ‘Jewishness’ was rejected not necessarily as a religion, but as a way of life and a personality trait as written by the scholars cited above.

One may ask how it was possible that only the Jews caused such profound dislike, especially because even during the late 19th century the Jewish population made up no more than 1% of the German population (Elon and Fienbork, 2005). The reason is that Jews were disproportionately visible in both culture and economy and were therefore perceived as more powerful as they in reality were. Starting with Moses Mendelssohn, a Jewish philosopher who reformed German Judaism, Jewish inhabitants became increasingly engaged in the political and cultural movements of their time. In Vienna, for instance, all members of the psychoanalytic movement were Jewish (Beller in Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, 1987). As Schumacher-Brunhes has shown, Mendelssohn also started a tradition of Jewish enlightenment, the so-called *Haskalah* (literally education). Despite the view that Jews were constrained by their religion (Bauer, 1843), Mendelssohn struggled against old religious traditions and advocated a new understanding of Jewishness in light of the achievements of Enlightenment. For instance, he favored giving up certain traditions such as Yiddish, which he called a “jargon” (Mendelssohn in Schumacher-Brunhes, 2012), in order to be able to integrate into non-Jewish societies and overcome the “religious ghetto” (Schumacher-Brunhes, 2012). This shows that although the Jews were perceived as the prime example of an unintegrated ‘other’ or stranger (Sutcliffe, 2006), they took part in the discourse surrounding this stream of thought. Some even saw the Jews as forerunners of enlightened society and as having very positive connotations not only from Jewish thinkers (Sutcliffe, 2006). This movement transformed the culture of German Jews from religious orthodoxy and partially self-chosen isolation towards secular enlightenment thinking, a move from Yiddish to German and increasing social activity (Schumacher-Brunhes, 2012). For instance, a secular school was founded in Berlin with the explicit aim to raise and educate secularized Jews in such a manner that they would be fully integrated in German society (Schumacher-Brunhes, 2012).

It was not only increased social activity, however, which worried parts of the German population. Simmel argues that the Stranger “is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the group, and therefore approaches them with the specific attitude of ‘objectivity’. But objectivity does not involve passivity and detachment; it is a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement” (Simmel in Wolff, 1950, p.403). For instance, Elon and Fienbork (2005) argue, that Jews were in

the unique position to observe and criticize the in-group. This was often done using irony and cynicism, which contributed to the view that Jews were not loyal to Germany. Heinrich Heine, a famous Jewish-German poet, for instance writes famously “Denk ich and Deutschland in der Nacht, dann bin ich um den Schlaf gebracht” (“When I think of Germany at night, I lose sleep over it”; Heine in Elon and Fienbrok, 2005). Heine loved Germany and expressed his love through his poems, but he was also critical of the society. For instance, in his famous work *Deutschland – Ein Wintermärchen* he criticized the reformers in German society by saying “I know this way, I know the text, I also know those who wrote it, I know that they drank wine secretly while preaching water in public” (Heine, n.d.). In his poem a beautiful girl sings to the people and makes them believe that they are on the path to a better society, but the elite, which wrote this text are hypocrites, who only preach to be good. This is but one example of how Jewish intellectuals expressed their criticism of the in-group. The in-group perceived this as evidence for the lack of loyalty of the Jewish population, which further marginalized them in society. The push towards attempted integration increased Jewish visibility in society gave Jews a platform for their critique, but instead of reducing prejudices it multiplied them.

From a Simmelian perspective it becomes evident that the Jews shared many attributes of Simmel’s theoretical Stranger. Jews were not fully integrated in society, because of the limited occupation they were allowed to have and the minimized personal contact between Jews and in-group due to the ghetto structure. Nevertheless, they were part of society. They were a passive part, because numerous scholars such as Hegel and Bauer engaged with various ‘Jewish questions’ in their works. Many Jews, however, were also an active part of society by taking part in the banking system and criticizing and engaging with the in-group as exemplified by Mendelssohn’s efforts to make a contribution to Enlightenment. The proposed reforms and critical stance towards non-Jews in the writings of Heine and others led to an emotional distance between the two groups, because the in-group perceived the criticism in terms of a lack of loyalty. The social position of Jewish citizens was characterized by legal and social obstacles, but nevertheless interaction between the in-group and the out-group has always persisted.

4 Established and outsiders: A group centered perspective

Elias, as described above, takes a more group-centered perspective on society. To him, there do not need to be major differences in religion or race, but a different time spent in a certain place can be enough to discriminate against those

perceived as outsiders. Group relations are also characterized by group pressure, which is maintained due to sanctioning contact to the 'others' and by the attempt by the established group to preserve its power and render the others inferior.

The first factor of Elias one may apply to the relationships between the Jews and the in-group is group pressure and the maintenance of the discrimination. Scheichl (1987), for instance, analyzes anti-Jewish language used by those, who did not think of themselves as anti-Semitic. He finds that even social democrats, who spoke out against hatred of Jews, and people of Jewish origin spoke of "verdächtige Bande der jüdischen Schmarotzer" ("suspicious group of Jewish parasites"; Scheichl in Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, 1987, p.89) and state that it is reasonable to think a Jew "einen Hochverrat eher zuzumuten als einem Franzosen mit ausgeprägtem Nationalgefühl" ("more capable of high treason than a Frenchman with pronounced national pride"; Scheichl in Oxal, Pollak and Botz, 1978, p.91). Scheichl (1978) claims that the newspaper editors quoted above were anything but anti-Semitic and in fact often spoke out in favor of Jews, but that during this time this kind of vocabulary was seen as normal. It corresponded with the prominent values in society and was therefore not even questioned by advocates of change. Newspaper editors, willingly or due to group pressure, conformed to the existing norms and values (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). There were not only negative sanctions for not behaving towards Jews in a certain way, but the discrimination of the Jews had been internalized so much that even those who did not identify with open hatred, used discriminatory vocabulary. One can clearly see evidence here for Elias' claim that due to being socialized in an environment of tensions between the in-group and the Jews, even those wanting to change the relationship were unable to and thereby reproduced the discrimination.

Power preservation -the wish to maintain the dominant group position not only in economic terms, but also in social relations- is the second factor one may use in applying Elias' theory to the Jewish situation at that time. During the early 18th century the Jewish minority were predominantly poor and living in ghettos. During the waves of emancipation following the Napoleonic wars and after the European revolutions in 1848 they had gained more rights and were able to improve their economic standing in society. In Vienna in 1880 only 10% of the population were Jewish, but more than one third of the students at the 'Gymnasium' (the most difficult form of high school) were of Jewish origin. They succeeded in school and business life and 'threatened' to take over even more of the industrial production than they already had (Beller in Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, 1987). Marx had already been "worrying" about Jewish domination,

but now this was combined with a more general critique of societal progress by conservative forces. The so-called 'Kulturkritik' (literally culture critique) was a movement of conservative aristocrats, who were dissatisfied with the new liberal, secular and highly industrialized order of late 19th century Austria. According to Scheichl these intellectuals "all identified Jews with the new forms of economy they rejected" (Scheichl in Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, 1987, p.94) and consequently also rejected the Jews. For example, Jewish scientists shaped the scientific discourse of that time. Beller (1987) writes, for instance: "Logical Positivism originated in the Vienna Circle, a list of whose members in the pamphlet *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung* shows 8 out of 14 listed to be Jewish" (Beller in Oxaal, Pollak and Botz, 1987, p.42).

In 19th century Germany and Austria, some Jews were successful in shaping the intellectual, and cultural future of these states. Such effective upward mobility and social influence is part of the power relationship that Elias uses as the basis of his argument. In brief, the two groups in a social setting are interdependent, but when the Strangers gain "too much" power and thus "threaten" the historical dominance or superiority of the "natives", concerted collective actions are taken to prevent the Strangers from rising up in the social or economic hierarchy (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). Drawing on Beller's (1987) work one can clearly see that the intellectuals of the 'Kulturkritik' wanted to preserve their traditionally strong standing in both society and economy.

In general, the Jewish struggle of the 19th-early 20th century was first characterized by wanting to obtain legal equality. As strangers they had long been treated as second-class citizens, who had to pay tremendous amounts of taxes, but gained very little in return. In fact, for a long time the Jewish minority were regarded as bondmen and bondwomen subject to the mercy of the sovereign of the state they lived in (Starz, 2010). After attaining almost complete legal equality (usually only the freedom of religion remained restricted) around 1800 (this depended on which German or Austrian state they lived in), the struggle for social recognition became more important. Just because they were considered legally equal, did not mean that long held prejudices disappeared after the law came into effect. The Jewish population continued to be treated as 'second class' citizens regardless of the legal situation. Legal equality does not automatically lead to social emancipation and integration (Battenberg, 2010).

Elias describes the continued discrimination against the out-group as emotional aversion. No matter what the legal situation is, one can only be accepted if one belongs to the 'correct' group, because any type of stranger threatens the norms and values the group stands for. Elias even goes so far as to say that the aversion of the in-group manifests itself in a fear of contamination and infec-

tion (Elias in Neckel, Mijic, von Scheve and Titton, 2010). As Gilman (1991) discusses in his book *The Jew's Body* this applied quite literally in the case of the Jews. They were seen as dirty and a constant threat to corrupting others and this mindset could not be changed with to the legal changes. Writing about the perception of the Jewish foot resembling the foot of the devil, he writes that people associated “the faulty gait of the Jew with disease caused by demonic influence” (Gilman, 1991, p.39). Jews were seen as contaminated by evil forces and therefore contact had to be minimized, in order not to ‘catch’ their demons. The Jewish population was depicted as “unable to function within the social institutions (...), which determined the quality of social acceptance” (Gilman, 1991, p. 44). In other words, the Jewish body was politicized and used as a justification for suspicion.

One must, however, be careful not to overgeneralize the attitudes towards the Jewish population. In 1783 the German playwright and author Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), debuted his play *Nathan the Wise*. He was famous in part for his friendship with the Jewish-German philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. Lessing’s play can be seen as an example of Enlightenment thinking toward the Jewish population with an emphasis placed on reason and critical of religious orthodoxy. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, Lessing included the Jews in his enlightened writing and depicts his main character, the Jewish merchant Nathan, as the personification of reason and tolerance. The now famous ‘parable of the three rings’ elaborated in his play shows a critique of the ongoing conflicts about religion and the belief that a Jew was not only capable of reasoning, but even more capable of using reason to everyone’s advantage. Lessing’s other works, such as *The Jews* confirm that he did not believe in the inferiority of the Jews and in their corruption (Nathan gives his money away without interest rates), but rather in their equality. This may serve as an illustration that there was not one opinion on the Jewish question, but that one must not forget those, who criticized the treatment of Jewish inhabitants (Lessing, 2008). It is not clear whether Lessing still saw the Jews as ‘strangers’ in a Simmelian definition, but it is evident that he did not see them as ‘threatening.’

On a group level one can see that there was group pressure to not change the status quo of the relationship between the Jewish population and the in-group. The discriminatory language had been routinized already and used even by those who wished to change the situation. This explains how aversion between groups can be sustained over a long period of time despite spatial proximity. Also Elias’ second aspect, the question of power preservation, is important for the socio-historical standing of the Jewish minority in the societies discussed. Because Jewish citizens were successful in both economy and academics, they were disproportionately visible in society and perceived as more powerful and therefore ‘threaten-

ing' than they actually were. In addition, it is evident that the move towards legal equality did not automatically produce social recognition of Jews.

5 Conclusion

Although Simmel's theory on the stranger and Elias' theory on established and outside groups are not specifically designed to the Jewish case, they foster the understanding of the different elements that constituted the 'Jewish question' in the 18th and 19th century. The aim of the article is to answer what the relationships between Jews and the in-groups in German speaking Europe were and how they could be theorized. Applying a Simmelian lens to the case, one may say that the Jewish population were perceived as 'strangers' in the societies due to limited points of contact and an anti-Jewish intellectual discourse. Increased visibility in society as exemplified by Mendelssohn sparked a negative reaction and was perceived as a threat to the societies. Applying Elias' theory, it becomes evident that contact with the Jewish minority was negatively sanctioned by the in-group and the wish to preserve the social privileges non-Jews enjoyed, compared to 'second class' Jews, led to the maintenance of discrimination. The superiority of power came to be seen as threatened as the Jews became more visible in high positions of everyday society. Taken to be both the stranger and the out-group, the Jewish minority continued to have a socially inferior position in the societies. The preceding analysis fosters understanding of the Jewish situation pre-WWI and contributes to the discussion surrounding the question of whether or not the Holocaust was the inevitable end-point of a century-long process of marginalization. One must, however, be careful not to generalize the findings. In attempting to explain the past one often overlooks the heterogeneity of opinions on the particular topic and, simply because most findings suggest that the Germans at that time had a particularly negative opinion on Jewish culture and the Jews, this does not mean that all Germans shared this view. In fact, as shown above, some intellectuals such as Lessing did not speak out against the Jews, but rather in favor of them. Nevertheless, the analysis contributes to our understandings of the process of dehumanization and marginalization of groups often preceding acts of genocide. Further investigation is needed to display the variety of regional differences in treatment of the Jewish population. Concluding it can be said that previous remarks show clear evidence of an overall negative opinion about Jews in the written history of that time, but it remains to be investigated if one can speak of a clear connection between the treatment of the Jewish population in the 18th and 19th century and the Holocaust in the 20th century.

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Profiles of Contributors

Hanna Hesemans is a first year student at University College Maastricht. Aspiring a career in the art world, she is working towards a master in cultural management. At University College, she is taking courses in both culture and business, and a major part of her academic interests lays in the study of art works.

Louis Ray Leary started his studies at the University College Maastricht in September 2014. After exploring the different options UCM has to offer, he is now following an interdisciplinary concentration focusing on both sociology and philosophy. The here published paper, dealing with the question of whether an artist can free their work of societal influences, illustrates his interest on the interplay between the individual and society.

Anna Morr is currently in her fifth semester at UCM and focuses her studies on biology and psychology. After graduating from UCM she plans to do a master in the field of neurobiology and hopes to become a research one day; at the moment preferably in the research area of Alzheimer's disease.

Bahar Mahzari, a second year student attending University College Maastricht, is mainly focusing on conflict resolution and foreign policy making with an emphasis on the Middle East. However, her interests also include the field of labor and social security studies. After her graduation in July 2016, Bahar hopes to be able to combine these two academic fields and specialize on the development and role of labor unions within the Middle East.

Lena Röllicke is a summer 2015 graduate of University College Maastricht. During her studies, she focused on Social Sciences and Political Philosophy, developing a particular interest in topics related to democracy and the role of power relations in society. After graduation, she will do an internship in the field of political education before coming back to UCM to work as a tutor. Eventually, she would like to deepen her theoretical understanding of societal issues from both a social scientific and a philosophical perspective by following graduate studies in her field of interest.

Linda Schlegel is a third year student at the University College Maastricht. Her main fields of interest are international relations and sociology, especially the study of conflicts on both the macro-level and the meso-level. After graduation in July 2015 she plans to complete a series of internships in preparation for a Masters program in the field of conflict resolution.

The Maastricht Journal of Liberal Arts is a peer-reviewed journal which encourages and rewards excellence in bachelor research. The articles in this edition were carefully selected from a large number of submissions and represent the best research conducted by University College Maastricht students. The topics tackled in the published papers are wide ranging, as is to be expected of a multi disciplinary journal and their scope and methodologies reflect the different disciplines studied at the college.

Submitting an article to a peer reviewed academic journal is usually an intimidating undertaking for the most seasoned of researchers, for bachelor students it is an especially daunting prospect. Every researcher knows that criticism and praise from the academic community is both a challenge and a spur to greater achievements. The earlier a scholar can experience this vital element of academic endeavor, the better they will be prepared for a future career in research. The editors were convinced that UCM students would more than meet this challenge and we have pleasure in stating that our expectations have been met.

Students are fully represented on the editorial board and have carefully performed their tasks as editors in maintaining academic standards and selecting the very best papers for publication. Any journal needs to also be formatted and praise must be given to the members of the board who provided their expertise in this time consuming part of the process. Thus the journal both provides students with the invaluable experience of submitting papers to peer review and also allowed them to participate fully in the editing process.

The seventh edition of the Maastricht Journal of Liberal Arts sets out to demonstrate the academic prowess of both University College Maastricht and its students. Not only are the students of the college hard working scholars but they are also diligent and inspired researchers. Therefore the editorial board is proud to present the seventh edition and is sure that the academic community will recognize the added value that the published papers make to the subjects they discuss and analyze. It is the goal of every academic journal to promote the highest standards of research and to promote originality and excellence to the wider academic audience and the Maastricht Journal of Liberal Arts follows in this tradition.