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*When art and science meet
and disaster does not happen*

With this new edition of *Honours Review* we would like to introduce our readers to our recent collaboration with the Minerva Art Academy. The best example of this new partnership is the intriguing design of this issue's cover and the characterization of the pages of each article. Minerva represents a new chapter for *Honours Review*. One in which art and science will be brought together. Science and technology are universally recognized as the drivers of the human world. The reason might be as simple as the fact that science is everywhere. Famous blogs and social network posts are the best example of this. But omnipresent as it might be, science is not everything that encompasses what humans can rejoice in. Art and artistic creations are a noticeable prevalent accomplishment of human groups that have prevailed since a few Homo sapiens got together and decided to tell each other something. So why not consider that these fields might be nothing else but the same?

To the current college student, art and science are separate issues that deserve separate treatments. Even though some might dare to break the unwritten rule and study topics from both, most will choose one or the other and never wonder what they are missing. But history tells us that this has not always been the case. The synergy between art and science was embodied in great thinkers as Leonardo Da Vinci or Michelangelo, and more recent Nobel laureates prove that the mix, and not the specialization, increases the chances of greatness. Scientists bestowed with this international award are seventeen times more likely to also be painters, twelve times more likely to be poets, and four times as likely to be musicians. And art is not only practice in a collateral way. Camouflage for soldiers in the United States army was invented by the painter Abbot Thayer, the pacemaker was based on a musical metronome, and origami models inspired cardiovascular stents and vehicle

airbags. Even Apple co-founder Steve Jobs described himself and his employees as artists.

Closer to our home, the University of Groningen recently collaborated in a project that envisioned a wonderful use for the link of art and science: education. The project Lab At My Place (LAMP) brought together artists and scientist from multiple disciplines and sent them to four different gymnasiums across Groningen. The teams represented Biology, Chemistry, Physics and Artificial Intelligence, and each was assigned one school. A lucky class in each of these got together with the LAMP team and asked them questions on their disciplines. A few weeks later, the teams coordinated the kids into performing experiments to answer the most popular questions. Each experiment was imbibed in a series of artistic experiences to increase comprehension. LAMP leader Nathalie Beekman commented that the goal of the project was to inspire kids to ask questions and then contemplate the answers by doing the experiments and sensing the artistic representation. This mix, she said, closed the common gap future college students feel when choosing their carriers. While art is about the experience, science is about the explanation. Guiding kids into answering their own questions through a mix of experimentation and artistic creation showed them that art and science can have the same passion and that together answers might be easier to understand. In other words, the LAMP project showed kids that art and science could help each other to make things clearer.

The scientists involved in the project also had interesting opinions about the mix occurring in the project. Jako Jellema from the Chemistry team remarked that this project was an excellent example of “how art and science can combine efforts to bring information to the common citizen.” The kids were allowed to ask questions that normally would not be answered in their environments (as how much energy is in a fart), and scientists had to plan experiments that could happen outside of the lab. Art was aiding scientists by giving them means to express the answers to their experiments so they would be easier to grasp; meanwhile, artists were receiving new materials to work with and

new perspectives on the scientific process. For Jellema, this is not the first time art is used to simplify ideas. As project manager of the Energy Academy Europe, he was part of a team who used a cartoon to explain energy consciousness better, a perfect example of what an artist can do with a scientific process.

The LAMP project also showed why science requires other disciplines to survive. Jean-Christophe Billeter from the Biology team, and Ryan Chiechi from the Chemistry team, agreed that art is an excellent tool for science to get the public interested. “Discoveries you make do not exist if you do not show them to the world and that is where art has the advantage over science,” commented Billeter. Interest affects the taxpayers and that affects the funding of scientific research. “Art allows them (kids) to feel more engaged and make decisions in the process” Chiechi said, “if we don’t get them interested from an early age, we never will.”

The LAMP project demonstrates that art and science can work together towards a common goal while learning from each other. As Marieke van Vugt stated, “(together) art and science translate reality in a different way and expand ideas on how things work.” In other words, art receives new media to work with from science, whilst science can learn new communication skills from art.

There are multiple examples around of art and science interacting besides LAMP. There is Zachary Copfer creating portraits with bacteria cultures, James Turrel developing illusions in captivating scenarios, Leonardo as an online society for arts, science and technology, and now us. Honours Review, a platform where the fields collide. The truth is that art and science were never separated in the first place. They both search to understand reality; both value originality and creativity and both strive to make the world a better place.

At the end, art and science are just two avatars of the same thing; human creativity. By practicing one or the other, or if lucky both of them, humans develop their essence, find answers, and drive culture and society towards new frontiers.

ASP

Screening for ... Something

Interview with Dr. Stephan Schleim

If predisposition for criminal behavior is an innate characteristic as some scientists suggest, measuring it before the crime had occurred could mean being able to protect society. However, attempts to identify potential criminals by their physical anomalies or genetic makeup have so far all failed. Biomarkers are suggested to serve as objective measures of the risk an individual will break the law. But can screening for criminality ever be that simple?

After our authors joined the current debate in the past two issues (‘Born to be Wild’, ‘Screening for Criminality’), we met Dr. Stephan Schleim, assistant professor at the department for Theory and History of Psychology and an expert in the field, to discuss some of the critical issues of biological criminology.

Before getting into detail, Schleim points out that the simple term ‘crime’ is often used in the discussion without being clearly defined. Not only is the concept itself varying in its sociocultural, political and historical context, but the spectrum of criminal acts is broad, reaching from illegal file sharing to terrorism. Clearly, the odds of finding a biomarker for tax fraud are quite low, but as he emphasizes, even with a focus on more biologically influenced acts such as rape or violent crimes, the underlying psychology remains complex. Thus, the idea of identifying a unique criterion that defines a predisposition for such an act appears naive.

He points out that after decades of research on the social and environmental influences of human behavior, anyone who claims to provide the answer solely based on biological research neglects that all behavior is influenced by the complex interaction of both. Schleim speculates that this reductionistic approach might be caused by factors such as the researcher’s academic training, but it is also a matter of methods and money. In the past decade, confidence in modern brain imaging tools has skyrocketed. As insightful

as these tools may be, they may be well overrated in providing ‘objective’ and credible evidence for almost anything. Paired with the promise to set an end to crime altogether, this (over)confidence might be a more successful strategy in securing research funding than expressing doubts about effect sizes or skepticism on the actual power of such tools.

Considering the notable amount of money going into this field, the next question is: Is it all worth it? Schleim emphasizes that all the approaches trying to reduce crime to biology (hormones, genes, etc.) failed. Science develops through trial and error, he concedes, but by putting too much funding and attention in only one approach, we risk neglect of alternative solutions, such as social prevention and rehabilitation. It could also be that our perception of crime is exaggerated: Despite the attentional bias of the media and society, the annual incidence rates of violent crime are considerably lower than one might expect. In 2009, 179 people in the Netherlands were killed by homicide. In the same year, 720 died because of traffic accidents (CBS, UNODC). Living in a relatively safe country as the Netherlands and remembering that the costs associated with non-violent crimes, like tax evasion of multinational companies, are much higher than those of violent crimes, one might argue whether this kind of research is socially and economically worthwhile.

The conversation with Dr. Schleim has been an insightful reminder to remain critical of the goals, methods and consequences of research in general and screening for criminality in particular. We invite you to read how our authors have discussed other aspects of the topic in the past issues, to form your own opinion and to share your thoughts with us.

PM

The Crimean Annexation

A repeating history



Most people in the Netherlands have recently heard about Crimean citizens voting for the unification of Crimea with the Russian Federation. The referendum grasped attention of seemingly all political leaders in the world. While Russia officially treats the annexation as a response to the desire of the Russian nation inhabiting Crimea to unite with their motherland, Ukraine views the outcome of the referendum and the following annexation as a military occupation and a hostile act against Ukrainian integrity. Also, the Western World appears to be opposed to the act of annexation. Many leaders claim the annexation is a threat of destabilizing current geopolitics and the initiation of a possible Russian expansion, including further annexations of other former Soviet Union republics and politically dependent states in Central Europe. The case of Crimea is historically not the first time that Russia has taken steps to increase dependency of a neighboring country. In the past centuries, several Eastern European countries faced different forms of political dependency induced by Russia (or the Soviet Union, led by Russia in the 20th century) in the form of annexations and political subjection, which occurred after political problems in those countries had arisen. There were numerous notable protests against political dependency on the Soviet Union or Russia, namely the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 (1), Prague Spring in 1968 (2) and the Polish transformation in the 1980s (3,4), which were initiated by worsening conditions and dissatisfaction with life quality. In this article, I will argue that annexation of Crimea occurred due to similar causes as political change in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland in the 20th century, namely poor economic performance, and was facilitated by the varied ethnic composition of Crimea. Unarguably, there could be multiple factors that motivated Russia to annex Crimea, such as dreams of a restored Soviet Union (16). Detailed analysis of all factors that might have influenced the decision concerning the annexation is, however, beyond the scope of this essay.

MK

Economics and Business Economics

A Brief History of Ukraine and Crimea

The issue of Crimea's current annexation dates back to 1783, the year it became part of the Russian Empire (5). Since then, the Russian government expelled parts of the native Tatar nation and settled Russian citizens with the aim of conducting Russification of the newly gained territory (5). Crimea has officially remained a part of Russia until 1954, when it was transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a symbolic gesture (5). Crimea gained autonomy with Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, and was part of Ukraine until 2014 (6). Despite decades that have passed since the transfer to Ukraine in 1954, the majority of citizens of the Crimean peninsula still identify themselves as Russians (5).

Escalation of Tensions in Ukraine

Ukraine began losing its political stability on November 27, 2013, after president Victor Yanukovych suddenly decided not to sign a long awaited association agreement with the European Union that would have initiated the process of integration of Ukraine with the EU. This would have led to reforms with the aim of stimulating growth in Ukraine (7). Instead, Yanukovych announced his intentions to enter a strategic partnership with Russia, planning to form the Eurasian Union (economic union among former Soviet states), which is expected to commence functioning from year 2015 (8). This prompted protests in the pro-European parts of Ukraine. Despite negotiations between the opposition, Yanukovych, and the former Ukrainian government, an agreement between the different parties was not reached. The conflict had escalated into riots, and street fights between protesters and the police resulted in over 100 killed (9). The parliament impeached Yanukovych and the opposition gained full political power.

On February 16, 2014, Russia sent its troops to Crimea in response to the destabilization and changes in the Ukrainian government and organized a heavily-criticized referendum. This led to the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in

late March 2014. As argued by Russian leaders, this action was necessary to protect the Russian Crimean community against possible negative consequences from an unconstitutional Ukrainian government (10). These negative consequences, as explained by the Russian president Vladimir Putin, relate to security of ethnic Russians living in Crimea and worsening of the already poor economic performance in the region (10). The annexation was largely disapproved of by the Western World, which supported the political change in Ukraine and perceived the annexation initiated by Russia as a threat to the political stability of Europe. The fact that Russians who live in Crimea allegedly desired to get united with their motherland was a primary argument for the Russian government in initiating the annexation (11). The Crimean population consists of 58% Russians, 24% Ukrainians and 12% Tatars, meaning that more than half of the population (the Russians) might have desired to live in their mother country. Also, despite the fact that Russians are not the sole ethnic group in Crimea, the Crimean referendum revealed that over 96% of the voting population desired to unite with Russia. However, as the Western World leaders claim, the referendum was not lawful because of suspicions of falsified votes as well as Crimean citizens being supposedly threatened by the Russian army stationing in Crimea, thus fearing to vote against the annexation (12). Furthermore, according to the United Nations, the annexation violated an article of the United Nations Charter about protecting the integrity of another country (13). This was the official stance taken by the vast majority of the UN members, who disapproved of the Crimean annexation and agreed that it was illegal (13).

The majority of citizens of the Crimean peninsula still identify themselves as Russians

It still remains unclear why a significant majority of the Crimean population favored the annexation which was described as a violation of the integrity of Ukraine. It can

be argued that the positive attitudes among the Crimean people towards uniting with Russia provoked and facilitated the process of annexation (14). This was exemplified by the mass protests calling for unification with Russia, organized in Crimean cities by citizens who disapproved of pro-European political changes in Ukraine (15). As is evident from the interviews conducted with Russians and Ukrainians living in Crimea, attitudes of Crimean citizens were explained by "nostalgia" towards Russia and hopes for betterment of their economic aspects of life, for instance higher salaries and pensions (14) (15). Only the Tatar minority was clearly against uniting with Russia, due to fears of repeating history of anti-Tatar policy induced by Russia, such as forceful relocation of Tatars from Crimea to other regions in Russia. Hence, the dissatisfaction of Crimean citizens led to instability in Crimea and disobedience to the newly formed Ukrainian government, creating a pretext for the initiation of the annexation process by Russia. Moreover, hardly any opposition was expressed towards the steps taken by Russia, with only few exceptions (15).

Poor Economic Performance as a Cause of Tensions

Apart from the "nostalgia" felt toward Russia by the Russian Crimeans, there could be an economic factor that led non-Russian ethnicities to approve of the annexation as well. According to Miguel, Satyanath, and Sergenti (2004), this could be worsening the already poor economy of Ukraine. (17). There is a significant negative relationship between decrease in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and outburst of a civil conflict, which is described as a conflict among citizens of the same country in which at least 25 are killed. It is estimated that an annual five percentage points decrease raises a probability of outburst of a civil war by 50% in the following year. As measured by the World Bank, the GDP growth dynamics of Ukraine have decreased by 5%, from 5.2% in year 2011 to 0.2% in year 2012 (18), meaning that Ukrainian economy growth has weakened considerably and that probability of an outburst of protests in Ukraine was significant. The protests that

led to social and political destabilization of Ukraine resulted in about 100 citizens killed, meaning that a civil conflict had occurred in Ukraine. The fact that the whole country was unsatisfied with the worsening economy, but only Crimean citizens expressed interest in uniting with Russia, can be explained by the ethnic composition (58% Russians) of Crimea and its historical connections with Russia. In other Ukrainian regions, the Ukrainian citizens predominate and express their loyalty towards their country rather than Russia. Furthermore, Crimean citizens' hope for a betterment of their economic status could also be explained by the fact that Russian economy has recently developed more, which led to a higher GDP per capita in Russia compared with Ukraine. GDP growth of Russia during the past decade outpaced the Ukrainian GDP in 7 out of 10 years (18). Moreover, in 2013 the real GDP per capita was \$3,867 in Ukraine and \$14,037 in Russia (18), meaning that average income per capita was significantly higher in Russia than in Ukraine.

The vast majority of the UN members disapproved of the Crimean annexation and agreed that it was illegal

Furthermore, the Human Development Index (HDI) described the level of social and economic development as higher for Russia compared with Ukraine (19). Hence, according to the statistics provided above, Russia appears to be a more developed and affluent country than Ukraine. This might have played a role in influencing the decisions of the Crimean population. The people, through contemplation of their future in Russia or Ukraine, might have concluded that uniting with Russia will provide them with larger economic benefits.

Conclusion

To conclude, Western politicians, media and the general public seem not to understand the causes of the Crimean annexation. The annexation was not only possible because of the Russian actions in Crimea, but also because

of the attitude of the Crimean population towards an annexation. Crimean citizens, apart from feeling “nostalgia” to times when Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union, seem to believe that they will seize more economic benefits by uniting with Russia, rather than by remaining part of Ukraine and integrating with the EU. Such an attitude might have been a result of dissatisfaction due to worsening economic growth of Ukraine, which in turn led to a political change in Ukraine and, hence, to instability which was exploited by Russia. If the Western World aims to maintain its geopolitical stability, it should initiate talks between Russia and Ukraine which will result in seeking solutions for the economic underperformance of Ukraine. Political stability of Ukraine is likely to be achieved by means of conducting economic reforms. Such steps might prevent further degeneration of the political situation in Ukraine and further instabilities in other regions of the country. Hopefully, signing the integration agreement with the EU is a sign of willingness to implement economic reforms by the Ukrainian government, and a signal of future political stability and prosperity for Ukraine.

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Cleaning Our Greenhouse

Linking emission trading systems



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Climate change is a hot issue in today's world, but reducing the emissions of greenhouse gasses has proved to be very difficult. Many argue that the Kyoto Protocol does not set high enough standards to achieve a meaningful reduction of greenhouse gasses, and the fact that the biggest pollutants of the world (the United States and China) have not assumed emissions reduction obligations, limits its success severely (1). However, some actors have pledged themselves to take a lead in the fight against climate change. In 2005, the European Union launched the first emission trading system of the world and has been ambitious with regard to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions ever since. The European Union Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) is by far the biggest carbon market in the world and may therefore act as a foundation for a gradually expanding global emissions trading system (2). Indeed, the European Commission has proposed to expand the EU ETS by linking the system to emerging systems beyond Europe in order to achieve its climate policy objectives in a more cost-efficient way (2). To be specific, talks have already been initiated with Australia about linking their emerging carbon market to that of the EU as soon as 2018 (3). In this paper, the implications of linking emissions trading systems in an international context will be assessed. Linkage means that one system's allowance to produce greenhouse gasses can be used by a participant in another system, effectively enlarging the allowance market by connecting otherwise isolated regional emission trading systems. In the first section, the development of emission trading and particularly the EU ETS will be examined. In the following sections, the environmental, economic, regulatory and political implications of linking will be considered.

Emission trading is a market-based approach to control pollution. In an emission trading system, a central authority sets a cap on the amount of a pollutant that may be emitted. Emission allowances, which represent the right to emit a certain volume of a regulated pollutant, are then distributed to regulated entities up to the level of the cap. The most common forms of allocation are auctioning, in which companies have to buy their emission allowances from the central authority and 'grandfathering', in which companies get their emission allowances for free. The allocated allowances can subsequently be traded between the individual firms, allowing for flexibility and creating an incentive for technological innovation to reduce production of pollutants (so that fewer allowances are needed to be bought or that more allowances are left over to be traded).

The EU Emission Trading System

The largest existing carbon market is that of the European Union (4). The EU ETS is the cornerstone of the European Union's climate policy and was launched in 2005. The system works by putting a cap on overall emissions from high-emitting industry sectors, which is then reduced every year. Within this limit, companies can buy and sell emission allowances as needed. At first, the system operated on the basis of free allocation of allowances (or 'grandfathering'), but since 2013 auctioning is the default method for allocating allowances (4). Currently, the EU ETS covers more than 11,000 power stations and industrial plants in 31 countries (the 28 EU countries plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway) and covers around 45% of the EU's greenhouse gas emissions (4). The European Union has set an example for other regions and emission trading systems are emerging in various parts of the world. In January 2009, the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative was signed by 10 (currently 9) north-eastern States in America, and Japan is also exploring different options for the development of a carbon dioxide emissions market. Interestingly, initial talks on the potential linkage of different trading systems have already been held between the EU and Australia (2). The European Commission believes that to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the most cost-effective way, an international carbon market needs to be developed by creating a network of linked cap-and-trade systems (4). This development has several implications, which can be divided into environmental, economic, regulatory, and political implications, and will be assessed in the following paragraphs.

Making Dirty Firms Pay

The principal reason for connecting existing emission trading systems is to - ultimately - achieve a global-wide reduction of greenhouse gas emissions at the lowest cost. To achieve this overall goal, emission trading serves two purposes: mitigation of emissions and providing incentives for businesses to invest in technology development to reduce emissions (5).

Mitigation of carbon leakage is an

important environmental advantage of a linked system, if it concerns all major polluting regions (6). Carbon leakage is a side effect of climate policies; when one region maintains a very strict climate policy (e.g. European Union), unregulated or mildly-regulated regions with low allowance prices (e.g. China) have a trading advantage. Businesses then have an incentive to move their polluting activities offshore to a country with lower standards and regulations. This of course

The European Union launched the first emission trading system of the world

does not favor global emission reduction but merely transfers the problem to other parts of the world; carbon is 'leaking' from one part of the world to another. This is neither fair to the people living in the (often developing) low-regulated countries who are faced with extra polluting activities, nor effective for reducing global emissions. Linking emission trading systems decreases this problem of carbon leakage by harmonising the climate policies of the participating regions. 'Dirty' firms will therefore have fewer safe havens where they can almost unrestrictedly pollute the environment. However, carbon leakage could still occur in regard to regions that are not participating in the linked system.

Shared Sovereignty and Differences in Policy Objectives

By putting a price on emissions and allowing firms to buy or sell their emission rights internationally within the system, 'clean' firms will have a larger market of 'dirty' firms (who are in need of more emission rights) to sell their allowances to. By involving more big players, linking will inevitably result in some loss of regulatory control and sovereignty over the carbon market and thus reduces flexibility for regulatory interventions (7). To prevent a large disorganized mess, the various systems need to be effectively harmonized in order to reap the advantages of linking. Also, mitigation of carbon leakage and technological development may be harder to reconcile in a linked than in a single system. For example, in the case of linking a high price system with a low price system, some

countries will pursue a high emission price deliberately in order to encourage technology development. Other countries might prefer to pursue lower prices until more technologies are available (in order not to hamper their current industries) (5). The efforts from the high price country, for inducing technological innovation and achieving a significant reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, is then undermined by linking with a low price system.

An Efficient Market

Even though environmental arguments are perhaps one of the major reasons for the linkage of the emission trading systems, economic arguments often have a very important role in international decision-making. There are several economic arguments in favor of linking emission trading systems. The first argument for linking is price convergence, which is the formation of a common carbon price in the linked emissions trading system (8). Currently, isolated systems have inefficient and expensive markets which lead to relatively large price differences between systems. By creating one large market, price differences between previously isolated systems will not exist. A larger system allows for a more dynamic market. In a bilateral linked system for instance, if the pre-linkage allowance price in system A is higher than in system B, then agents in system A will have an economic incentive to import allowances from system B when the two systems are linked to one another. Therefore, the demand and thus the price for system B allowances will rise whereas the price of system A allowances will fall, ultimately leading to an equilibrium and a stable market.

Political opposition towards linkage should not be underestimated

Connected to the former argument of price convergence, a second major economic argument for the linkage of different emission trading systems is that cost-efficiency will be enhanced when allowance prices across systems are equalized through trade (9).

According to Flachsland, Marschinski and Edenhofer (2009), linking will always be a Pareto improvement, meaning that linking harms no one and helps at least one party (10). Anger and Alexeeva-Talebi (2007) have conducted extensive research on the efficiency effect of linking various emission trading systems (2). They show that the integration of trading systems yields economic efficiency gains for all participating regions independent of the cost characteristics of a region.

Another economic argument for linking emission trading systems is that a large market provides more liquidity and lower transaction costs (8). Large fluctuations of prices within one system will be absorbed within the large overall market, leading to more stability.

However, the efficiency argument might be exaggerated. In the conventional gains-from-trade analyses, it is assumed that there are no market imperfections such as taxes or externalities; a ‘first-best’ world (10). The reality of climate policy -in which pre-existing energy taxes and fuel subsidies are very common- , however, suggests a ‘second-best’ world, meaning a market with imperfections. In such a world, full price convergence may be hindered and cost-efficiency might be overstated. Grull and Taschini (2012) demonstrate that in the presence of trade restrictions, two differently priced systems within one system can develop (without flow of allowances between them) if the maximum allowable number of allowances has been transferred before complete convergence of the prices of the two systems (9).

The Importance of Harmonization

As exemplified above, there is a need for consistency in some key design elements of a linked trading system. Particularly concerning allowance distribution, target type, stringency, monitoring, and enforcement (5). This can be illustrated by describing the effects of having a different allowance allocation method in a linked system, using a possible linkage of the EU ETS and the Australian Carbon Pricing Mechanism as a case study. The EU ETS, for instance, uses historical outputs to allocate allowances free of charge. The Australian system, however, allocates allowances free of

charge on the basis of actual outputs. This will have implications concerning competitiveness and efficiency, if these two systems are linked (6). The Australian method, because it is based on actual output levels, does not encourage the reduction of emissions or output. Firms that produce higher emissions receive more emission rights in return and therefore feel no need to cut down on output, even if doing so may be more efficient. Consequently, this model accommodates future growth of emissions; indeed, it is a de facto production subsidy! This is not the case for European firms who are not able to influence their allocation by increasing their outputs, placing them in a disadvantage.

Moreover, in this scenario, environmental efficiency may be compromised as well. As we have seen above, the Australian system allocates on the basis of actual outputs. This effectively means that there is no absolute cap, because when the amount of emissions increases, the amount of allowances increases as well. If we assume the demand for allowances to be elastic due to international competition, and if we assume that the pre-linking allowance price in the European system is lower than in the Australian system (which then leads to a decreased allowance price in Australia due to price convergence), then the level of output and emissions in Australia may rise (6). As actual output increases, the Australian government will issue even more allowances, which would hinder environmental effectiveness.

Global Burden-Sharing

Flachsland, Marschinski and Edenhofer (2009) found that linking has three distinct political implications (10). The first is an ambivalent effect on the international climate policy agenda. Ambivalent in the sense that linkage of emission trading systems can be seen as complementing the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), reinforcing the credibility of climate policy, but possibly also as a substitute that can weaken that framework. The second political effect is that linking facilitates the acceptance of climate policy at the domestic level. When climate

policies are harmonized within a linked system, all firms will experience equal costs and no firm has an advantage over another, which might take away the competitiveness-argument of businesses against (cost-increasing) environmental policies. However, competition still exists with countries that are not included in the linked system. Thirdly, linkage shows approval towards other systems and can work as a signaling mechanism in the context of global burden-sharing.

Yet, political opposition towards linkage should not be underestimated. Political conflict might arise over differences in system design and policy goals. The designs of emission trading systems may emphasize different policy objectives: the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, encouragement of technological innovation, reducing the costs associated with climate policy, or to demonstrate leadership. Opposition may occur for example when two systems with significant pre-linkage price differences are linked, because initially, money will flow from the system with the lowest cap (highest initial price) to the system with the highest cap (lowest initial price). This may result in feelings of unfairness and may delay the process of linking large trading systems.

Conclusion

In conclusion, implementing a harmonized linked system will not be easy and will require political effort and bargaining. However, at the same time, linkage is a clear step towards a cost-efficient way of fighting the transboundary problem of pollution.

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Staging Scopes

Reading the 1925 Scopes Trial as a play



John Thomas Scopes, a teacher in Tennessee, was accused of the most unfathomable act in 1925, teaching human evolution. In that time, this tutoring violated the Butler Act of 1924, and hence the State of Tennessee held a trial against Scopes in which the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) wanted to test the validity of the statute: Scopes volunteered to teach human evolution (1). In this highly sensational trial, Lawyer Clarence Darrow led Scopes' defense, while William Jennings Bryan led the prosecution.

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American Studies

Most people are familiar with the play *Inherit the Wind* from 1955, but may not know that it is based on a real trial, the highly sensational Scopes Trial of 1925. Notably, the play is not a documentary; this box will give an overview of what actually happened. In 1924, the House Bill 185, which later became known as the Butler Act, was passed in the state of Tennessee. A provision of the statute considered it as "unlawful for any teacher in any of the Universities, Normals and all other public school funds of the State to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man is descended from a lower order of animals." The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) sought to challenge this new law. High school teacher John Thomas Scopes collaborated with the ACLU and volunteered to teach human evolution; consequently, he was arrested and accused of having violated the Butler Act. The lawsuit that followed (the State of Tennessee vs. John Thomas Scopes) became one of the most famous ones in American history; it was broadcast on national radio and many spectators traveled to Dayton, Tennessee. Even the famed American journalist H.L. Mencken reported on the case. Two famous figures were highly involved in the trial: the Presbyterian Democrat William Jennings Bryan aiding the prosecution and agnostic lawyer Clarence Darrow supporting the defense. Their battle culminated in Darrow extensively interrogating Bryan when defense attorney Hays called Bryan to the stand as a witness in order to interrogate him about the Bible. The questioning resulted in Bryan looking foolish, since he failed to respond intelligibly. In the end, Scopes was found guilty and fined. However, the verdict was reversed due to a formality. Its effects were nonetheless visible in American society as the debate on human evolution and religious fundamentalism has continued.

Many reporters documented the case at that time and many academics have analyzed the trial since. Scholars have often read the trial as a battle between Darwinism and creationism, about individual and academic freedom, majoritarianism, modernism, and related issues (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). Furthermore, in his book *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (2007), Michael Lienesch understands the case to possess interesting theatrical aspects, in particular its strategic staging and the tactics utilized both by defense and prosecution (8). While this interpretation is accurate, it is not enough. This essay will argue that there are more theatrical elements to the Scopes Trial; in fact, the trial itself may read as a play. The staging of the trial is important in this respect, as argued by Lienesch (8). Similarly, the concept of two protagonists, academic discourse, the media's influence, and the trial's similarity to dramatic structure show the trial's resemblance to theatre. Additionally, similitudes to Aristotle's Poetics and Gustav Freytag's theatre and narrative theory occur. The oratories performed during the trial as well as its immense audience and entertaining nature contribute to this interpretation too. In the following, these arguments will be explained thoroughly in order to support the novel notion of reading the Scopes Trial as a theatrical play.

The significance of two men in the trial, namely William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow, implies a theatrical narrative. Both represented adversary causes: Bryan was an evangelical and advocate of the Butler Act, whereas Darrow defended the teaching of human evolution in Tennessee. Pre-trial, Darrow had acted in highly publicized cases and Bryan had been a Presidential candidate, leading many people to recognize them. Consequently, the trial was of great public interest. Throughout the trial, the two each defended their own cause and, finally, their polarization culminated in Darrow extensively questioning Bryan: it was the ultimate clash of protagonist and antagonist. The idea of perceiving Bryan and Darrow as protagonists corresponds to Gustav Freytag's dramatic structure and Lajos

Egri's interpretation of a protagonist. According to Freytag, every drama contains a "struggle" in which the "hero" faces "opposing forces" and the "opposing power must be made visible in a human representation" (9). This is indeed the case in the Scopes Trial. Furthermore, Egri draws on Webster's Dictionary, which defines a protagonist as "one who takes the lead in any movement or cause" (10). In fact, according to Egri, "there is no story" without a protagonist (10). Therefore, in order to read the trial as a theatrical narrative, one or more protagonists must exist.

The ultimate clash of protagonist and antagonist

Some scholars have affirmed the interpretation of Darrow and Bryan as protagonists in their analytical discourse of the trial. Harry Kalven Jr. considers them "famous protagonists" (11). Matthew Tontonoze refers to Bryan as "evolution's most famous antagonist" and S. Harrison calls them "two titans of opposing force" (4, 12). These quotations emphasize the prominence of the roles the two men played: clearly, they were at the center of the action and acted as opposing forces. Furthermore, seeing as how the ACLU staged the trial and how scholars have interpreted it as a battle not between the defendant and the prosecution, but rather between the latter and the defense attorney, Scopes appears to be a prop, rather than an actor, agent, or protagonist. In fact, both Larson and Tontonoze have referred to Scopes as being the "willing tool" (7, 12). Harrison too has argued that Scopes was reduced "to a minor role" (4). Indeed, Scopes spoke only once during the trial on-record when he concluded that his verdict, a fine of hundred dollars, was unjust (13). His lack of participation in the trial shows that the focus was not on him, but on the examination of the Butler Act, adding to the interpretation of the trial as a play. Finally, the utilization of these theatrical terms implies that Bryan and Darrow are part of a narrative or play. Tontonoze and Larson, who speak of a captivating and compelling story, confirm this (7, 12).

Building on the academic discourse surrounding the Scopes Trial, the trial may read as a play because of the theatrical discourse uttered by scholars in approaching it. Some scholars have spoken about the trial as if they were reviewing it or have used theatre-related vocabulary. Kalven suggests the trial "produced a human interest story of marvelous color" (11). "Thousands of spectators" are the words Kristy Maddux uses when delineating the audience's immensity in a theatrical manner (14). Moreover, Julie Scott remarks that the trial was "to be played out on a national stage," utilizing theatrical jargon to express the national attention (5). Kathleen Hall Jamieson considers Bryan's foolish performance during Darrow's questioning a "rhetorical denouement" (resolution), which itself relates to dramatic structure (14). Presumably, since the media has succeeded in construing the trial and its myth (5, 12, 15), theatrical discourse may have the same effect. Others have directly addressed the trial as being a form of drama. According to Maren Wood, the public in 1925 expected a "spectacular melodrama," which adds to the interpretation of the trial as a play as early as 1925 (15). In addition, Andrew Nolan even calls it a "legal drama," a term in which the theatricality takes precedence over the lawsuit (16). Harrison's discourse corroborates approaching the trial as a play, as he considers Darrow's climactic interrogation to be a "courtroom spectacle" and alleges the trial possesses "dramatic theatrics" (4). Finally, Morris Kaplan has compared it to a classic tragedy (17). Although some scholars have picked up on some dramatic elements in the Scopes Trial, most only mentioned it briefly before introducing their own research. Relatively few explored the idea of the trial being read as a play.

Not only scholars but also contemporaries of Bryan, Darrow, and Scopes observed drama in the trial. Already at that time, Harold Taylor Chase, a reporter, observed the theatrical dimension when he spoke of its "burlesque features" (5). However, Chase was one of the few to attribute theatrical elements to the trial as scholars commonly merely used theatrical terms to

describe it. Furthermore, Henry M. Hyde considered Darrow questioning Bryan "the most amazing judicial performance", which relates the trial to theatre in the sense of being an act (14).

Scopes spoke only once during the trial

The structure of the trial resembles the dramatic structure as constituted by Gustav Freytag. While Aristotle's pioneering Poetics' dramatic structure entails a beginning, middle, and end, and thus comprises three acts, Freytag's concept encompasses five parts: the exposition, the rising action, the climax, the falling action, and, ultimately, the dénouement (18, 19). The exposition should "prepare for the action", while the rising action ought to be "composed of a series of continuing crises growing from the struggle between well-orchestrated, opposing characters" (9, 20). The exposition starts at the beginning of the trial and with first proceedings on July 10, 1925. The trial opened with a prayer. Then the court introduced prominent agents, gave the charge and reason for indictment, and Judge Raulston read from Genesis. The jury selection, in which both sides were involved, began the same day and comprises the rising action. During the following days, defenses, motions, objections, oratories, and witnesses followed, all of which led up to the trial's climax. On the seventh day, defense attorney Hays called Bryan to the stand as a witness in order to interrogate him about the Bible (13). Darrow's questioning and Bryan's evasive, unintelligible answers form the climax. The increasing crisis thus culminated in the direct confrontation of the two opposing forces represented in the human forms of Darrow and Bryan. In its aftermath, it severely discredited Bryan's credibility and ethos. After the culmination, the action slowly unravels in the fallen action. The verdict and the court's farewell constitute the dénouement of the trial, which is the concluding phase. Bryan died in his sleep five days after the trial's conclusion. Arguably, this may read as his personal resolution or end.

In fact, the latter part of the structure, which includes Bryan's demise, may resemble

a theatrical tragedy. Thus, Kaplan’s comparison of the trial to a classic tragedy may prove to be accurate. According to Aristotle, the plot is comparable to the “soul of the tragedy” (18). In addition, Aristotle’s own plot theory applies to the trial quite well. He furthermore asserts that a tragedy should include a change of fortune that moves from good to bad consequences (18). This is the case in the Scopes Trial. In the climactic scene, Bryan often failed to answer Darrow and appeared foolish. As mentioned before, Jamieson considers it his “rhetorical dénouement”. Even if his performance was in decline before, his case deteriorated even further after his defeat against Darrow. Considering Scopes’ death, the audience and scholars rendered it all the more tragic (11). Reporter Walter Lippmann at the time even wrote that “nothing could be more dramatic in time or manner than the death of William Jennings Bryan” (21). In academic discourse, the contested notion of the “broken man narrative” emerged (3). This concept, although disputed by some scholars, supports the interpretation of the trial as tragedy too. Furthermore, Aristotle’s idea of the change of fortune includes the notion of an error in the protagonist causing it, which is the hamartia (18). In this respect, Bryan’s inadequacy in Darrow’s cross-examination may constitute his hamartia.

Darrow’s interrogation of Bryan forms the crisis of the trial. It was the culmination of the growing tensions between the defense and the prosecution. In that sense, it is theatrical and part of the dramatic structure. Hostetler and Moore confirm this interpretation when they argue directly that it formed a “dramatic climax” (1, 3). Scott speaks of the explosion of “long-awaited fireworks” during the questioning, and thus renders it climactic (5). Many scholars have written about the protagonists’ showdown, which shows the memorability and prominence of this act (1, 22). For instance, the questioning included memorable questions and remarks, such as Darrow’s questions aimed at exposing Bryan as a fundamentalist fool. A memorable example is Darrow’s question: “But when you read that Jonah swallowed the whale or that the whale swallowed Jonah - excuse me please

- how do you literally interpret that?” (13). The trial includes oratories which resemble theatrical monologues. On the fifth day, Malone, who was on the defense, responded to Bryan by delivering a powerful oratory, arguing there “is never a duel with the truth,” which was followed by applause (13). Darrow exclaimed that the Butler Act could lead to “marching backward to the glorious ages of the sixteenth century,” in a heated monologue (13). Another example is Bryan’s proposed monologue defending the Butler Act, which he intended to deliver during the trial (13). As the oratories are long and delivered by one person, they are similar to monologues as they appear in theatre (23).

When you read that the whale swallowed Jonah, how do you literally interpret that?

For theatre to exist, it needs an audience (24). Therefore, before the trial can be read as a play, it is necessary to establish an audience, which Maddux does (14). Furthermore, various newspapers and reporters including H.L. Mencken wrote on the case (5, 15, 17, 25, 26). It was also broadcast on radio, thus attracted a nationwide audience (3, 6). The trial exuded amusement as well. Considering its length, Harrison deems it a “summer’s amusement” and, in addition, other scholars render it an amusement or a spectacle (4, 16, 25, 26, 27), which may relate to leisure activities in the roaring twenties. Furthermore, the audience applauded multiple times during the trial, suggesting that they agreed with or enjoyed some of the monologues performed (1, 21, 26). Although the emphasis is on amusement, the trial also evoked other emotions, such as fear and anger (4). The trial became a public forum and was ubiquitous (4, 5). This impact on the psyche may relate to Aristotle’s perception that a tragedy ought to “excite pity and fear,” but that should be explored more thoroughly (18).

In 1955, thirty years after the trial, Jerome Lawrence and Robert Edwin Lee fictionalized the trial in the form of the play

Inherit the Wind (28). According to Tontono, the trial “provided an engaging narrative that led to pop cultural products in a string of media”, which implies that the trial possessed theatrical qualities suited for a drama, with the exception of elements such as its length (12). Thus, the trial instigated an actual play. Further research and closer reading in the form of carefully examining characters and the ACLU, studying Aristotle’s theory and other theories in depth are necessary to determine the nature of the play the trial presents. Nevertheless, at this stage people may read the trial as a play. Interestingly, the Leopold and Loeb case from 1924 in which Darrow was part of the defense, was also sensational and later adapted to a play, as Tontono confirms (12). Thus, it may indicate a broader pattern in the 1920s. Through further research, scholars may gain a deeper understanding of the Scopes Trial and even establish similar fascinating connections.

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A Down to Earth Astronomer

Lecture and interview with Nobel laureate

Prof. Brian Schmidt



Tobias Meierdierks & Bart Louwers
Psychology & Mathematics



The 2011 Nobel Prize in Physics was awarded “for the discovery of the accelerating expansion of the Universe through observations of distant supernovae”. One of the winners, Prof. Brian Schmidt, visited the Astronomical Society of Groningen to give a lecture. Honours Review had the unique opportunity to interview him afterwards.

Prof. Brian Schmidt was born in Montana (USA) in 1967 and raised as an only child in Anchorage (Southern Alaska, USA). For a long time he intended to become a meteorologist until an internship at the National Weather Service disillusioned him. Quite spontaneously he decided to study Astronomy and Physics at the University of Arizona, where he received two bachelor's degrees in 1989. He then entered Harvard University where he finished his master's degree in Astronomy and went on to receive his PhD in the same subject in 1993. In that year he also became part of the High-Z Supernova Search Team (HZT). In 1994 he moved to Canberra (Australia) together with his wife, but remained part of the HZT, which elected him to be the head of the team in 1995. In 1998 the team published a paper on the accelerating expansion of the universe, which led to his shared bestowal of the Nobel Prize in 2011. Today, Prof. Brian Schmidt teaches at the University of Australia, leads the SkyMapper Telescope Project and the associated Southern Sky Survey, and maintains a winery in the proximity of Canberra. He is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Science, The United States Academy of Science and the Royal Society, and Companion of the Order of Australia.

Various methods are currently employed to track down dark matter. The first method involves gigantic tanks filled with supercooled pure liquid xenon, buried in caves to reduce background noise from cosmic radiation. If dark matter collides with the nucleus of an ordinary particle, energy should be set free in the form of a few photons that are detectable by sensitive sensors. Such projects have been running for some years now and first confirmations have been published (2); however, further evidence still needs to be collected.

Another method uses CERN's Large Hadron Collider (LHC) near Geneva. It was hypothesized that the collisions inside the LHC would need to create “Weakly Interacting Massive Particles” (WIMPs), if there were gravitational interactions between ordinary and dark matter. The creation of WIMPs would be reflected by a loss of energy and momentum in the observable matter that collided, which the sensors of LHC should be able to detect.

The last method uses the Alpha Magnetic Spectrometer (AMS) of the International Space Station to detect peaks in background flux that are thought to be due to the collisions of dark matter (or in this context: “neutralinos”). Such collisions are hypothesized to set free charged particles that could be detected by the AMS.

The Lecture: The Accelerating Universe

Those who came to learn about “The Accelerating Universe” were immediately sobered by Prof. Schmidt: *“To understand the accelerating universe, you really need to understand the universe first.”*

He explained that visible light and other forms of electromagnetic radiation travel at a maximum speed of about 300 million meters per second. This means that it takes light approximately 1.5 seconds to reach the Earth from the Moon. Similarly, when looking at the Sun, we actually see how it was 8 minutes ago, because that is how long it takes for its light to reach us. When we look at the sky we are literally “looking back in time”. Astronomers use instruments, such as the Hubble Space Telescope, to observe light emitted as much as 13 billion years ago (1), i.e. shortly after the Big Bang – something the human eye is not capable of.

In 1916 V. M. Slipher, Schmidt’s personal hero, made observations of distant nebulae (interstellar clouds of cosmic dust) and took their spectra. The absorption lines of these spectra were not where one would expect them to be: the spectra he took were stretched redward or “redshifted”. Due to the Doppler effect, waves created by objects moving away from the observer stretch and hence increase in wavelength. Consequently, objects emitting light produce a “redder” color.

No matter in which direction Slipher looked, the light from the nebulae was redshifted, meaning they were all moving away from him. Prof. Schmidt observed that *“since the Copernican revolution we have had the idea that we should not be a special place in the universe. Yet these observations seemed to indicate that we were! We are a place where everything was moving away from. People could not really figure out what was going on. It was a conundrum of the day.”*

The mystery was solved by measuring distances in between stars and the Earth. In 1929 E. Hubble made use of the fact that, generally speaking, brighter stars are closer and fainter stars are further away from us. He discovered that the velocity at which an object is moving away from the Earth is

proportionate to the distance that object is away from the Earth: the further an object is, the faster it is moving away. However, it is not just that objects are moving away from us; every object is moving away from every other object. This is why Hubble’s discovery led to the acceptance of an expanding universe.

In his early career, Schmidt was particularly interested in the future development of the universe’s expansion. In 1995, he set out to investigate whether the gravitational pull would collapse the Universe back onto itself or if the expansion would slow down and reach an equilibrium. He described looking at the experimental results for the first time: *“People ask, was there a Eureka moment? And the answer is: No. [...] We didn’t say ‘Eureka’, we said: ‘Oh geez, what did we do wrong?’”*.

When we look at the sky we are literally “looking back in time”

Explaining the discovery, he added: *“But I have to admit I never thought we were going to win a Nobel Prize, because I had to ask myself the question: ‘What is pushing on the Universe?’”*. Although little was known, a good guess related to Einstein’s idea: that energy is being contained in the fabric of space itself, an idea embodied by the so-called cosmological constant he added to his equations. Later on, Einstein abandoned it after Hubble settled the expansion of the universe, but it was revived to make the model of an accelerating Universe fit. Today, it is also referred to as “dark energy”. Prof. Schmidt chuckled at his words: *“Now, whenever you meet an astronomer and they use the word ‘dark’, ‘dark’ is a euphemism for ‘We don’t understand!’*. However, what we do know so far is that the existence of dark energy requires the universe to be a mix of 27% gravity that pulls and 73% stuff that makes gravity push, and that’s dark energy.”

To study pulling gravity, an Australian team weighted the matter contained in hundreds of thousands of galaxies in 2001. Surprisingly, they discovered that these galaxies exerted approximately five times more gravitational pull than could be

accounted for by the ordinary matter they contained. To make sense of this observation the concept of dark matter emerged – some form of matter that we can only infer from the existence of its gravity but not from its interaction with light or the ordinary matter we are familiar with. A contemporary conclusion is that the Universe consists of three basic forms of existence: 4.5% atoms, 22.5% dark matter and 73% dark energy.

“You might be saying: Now hold on! If you got to invent 95% of the universe, doesn’t it just mean you don’t know what you are doing?’ And that would be a perfectly good and reasonable explanation and it is how I feel quite often, but the reality is that this model of the Universe, which has been around since 1998, has been able to predict in advance every measurement we have been able to make of the Universe thus far, and that comes to the notion of what reality is. Reality, like it or not, is a set of ideas that predict what you measure or observe in the Universe – nothing more, nothing less. Our view of reality changes as we gain more and more information.”

The Interview

Following up on the lecture, we were warmly greeted by Prof. Schmidt for the interview. His appearance, despite commanding a natural kind of respect, was very humane and reassuring, which made us feel welcome to share thoughts with him. His lively mind and energetic lifestyle showed through, and by the way he answered enthusiastically, concisely and yet very understandably to scientific issues, it was instantly confirmed that he had great experience in doing so.

We started off by talking about the distinction between dark matter and dark energy. According to Schmidt, it is important to realize that dark energy and dark matter both are highly theoretical concepts; however, dark matter is still more feasible as a concept than dark energy. He noted that it might very well be that he will not live to witness the verification of dark energy’s existence.

Dark energy – although we cannot detect it – seems to be everywhere; unlike matter, dark energy appears to be fairly evenly distributed across space. Due to quantum

mechanical fluctuations, energy at one point in space varies from moment to moment. These small fluctuations in energy density seem to violate the conservation of energy, but this apparent violation is compensated for by an exertion of a negative pressure. And that is the most widely accepted idea behind the concept of dark energy: it is the negative pressure associated with empty space (a vacuum) that accelerates the expansion of space-time to even out imbalance of energy density.

I was working way too hard; I would not recommend that to anyone

Dark matter is a completely different story according to Schmidt. There is too little observable mass in the universe to sustain the mass-energy equivalence of Einstein ($E = mc^2$). The gravitational effects of large-scale objects such as galaxies cannot be accounted for by their observable mass only; hence, there must be some kind of (dark) matter that does not interact with light and is therefore not directly observable. Although there is no definite proof that it exists yet, the question is not whether dark matter exists, but rather how it can be detected. Since our conventional observational methods failed to detect it, scientists have been developing many new methods (see information box at introductory page) and Schmidt made clear that he believes *“it is only a matter of time until new revelations will dawn upon us”*.

We then touched upon the topic of science education, of which prof. Schmidt emphasized the importance to increase overall scientific understanding: *“teachers are almost everything. They need to understand children and science.”* The latter is not always the case, which he views as a regrettable problem, because according to him *“facts and figures are considered more important than a scientific understanding.”* Hence, he considers the exchange with fellow students to be essential: challenging each other in debates and helping each other through tutoring. He holds less faith in regular lectures and conventional teaching methods, when there are many options available of visualization and interactive learning. Therefore, Prof.

Schmidt sees a bright future for MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses), and pleads for a change in the way of teaching.

We moved on to talk about his own experiences at university. *“I was working way too hard; I would not recommend that to anyone”*, he admitted. In Schmidt’s case the hard work paid off with regard to the progress of his scientific career, but the astronomer sadly claims he paid a price and sacrificed his personal life for it. He says today there is a high demand placed on scientists to give up much of their private lives and invest time in their research. However, this pressure-laden environment is of little value even with regard to efficiency: *“A happy person is a productive person. We need to realize that scientists are normal people with desires and needs! [...] People don’t just have a single field of interest that they are entirely satisfied with! For example, I am very sure that I could have gone into biology and turned out just as happy with it as I am with astronomy. [...] Scientists should be normal people with hobbies and activities to engage in outside of their research.”*

Prof. Schmidt’s work finally did result in a Noble Prize, and we asked him about his view on this. He says that society treats the Nobel Prize like a celebration of individuals, but he believes that it should rather be viewed as a celebration of scientific progress as a whole. Idolizing several individuals for it makes people more aware of the important scientific discoveries that are being made. Schmidt referred to this process as “branding” – an effective way of selling a scientific breakthrough to the public.

When asking about qualities for real success as a scientist, he stresses the importance of collaboration and communication, rather than a genius-like intelligence. Even though genius minds are sometimes needed to rethink our approaches (more so in the past than now), continuous scientific progress in the 21st century is to be obtained through the diversity of input of researchers all over the world, backed-up by enthusiasm and a strong innate drive. In addition, he believes one should not be afraid to fail or to take risks. *“You can follow the playbook if you want to be on the safe side”*,

he explains, *“but this might turn out a bit dull and it rarely produces actual insights.”*

Next, Prof. Schmidt touched upon the importance of philosophy in his life, specifically his assertion that reality is merely a set of ideas that predicts things. To illustrate this idea, Schmidt held up his empty coffee cup and used it to explain how we have all kinds of predictive intuitions about its behavior. We have an idea about what will happen if we throw it on the ground, without involving any mathematics. We presuppose that it will not just disappear, yet quantum theory predicts that there is an ever so slight chance that exactly that will happen. In everyday life, we are not concerned about our actions and statements being in conflict with, for example, the theory of relativity. Instead, we intuitively employ Newtonian mechanics and absolute time to create a very pragmatic, but nevertheless real perspective on reality; a version of reality that has its limitations as we plainly discover every now and then.

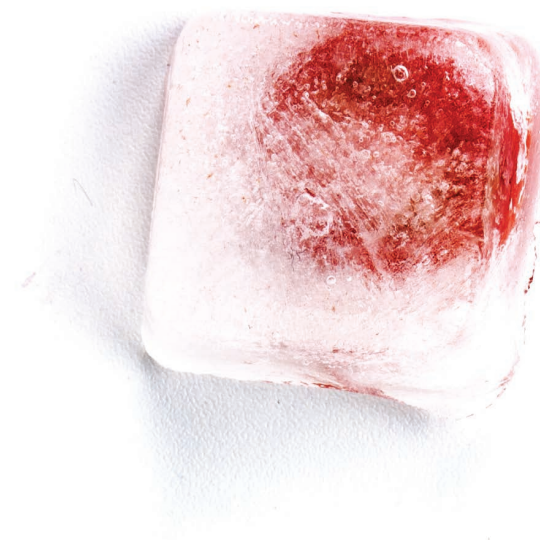
Overwhelmed and impressed by Schmidt’s answering, we devoted a last question to the future of his field of expertise and where he thinks it is heading. He admitted that astronomy (in comparison to other sciences, such as biotechnology and neuroscience) may currently be at its apex, with little more than dark matter and dark energy to explore. Schmidt explained his judgment by referring to the, what he termed, natural cycle of learning: *“Once we have solved the most pressing issues in a field, we turn towards another to tackle the next great mysteries.”* However, at the same time he stressed to be careful with such predictions: *“We suspected physics to have reached its apex at the beginning of the last century as well and see how that turned out!”* There is little more to add to this insight. As long as there is something left to explore, a question unanswered, or a problem to solve, there will always be someone fascinated by it and try to do exactly that. This is the spirit that drives scientific progress.

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When there Seems to Be No Way Out

*Cognitive styles and personality factors
as predictors of suicide attempts*



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Psychology



Megan Taylor Meier was an American teenager from Dardenne Prairie, Missouri, who committed suicide by hanging three weeks before her fourteenth birthday” (1). This and many other similarly tragic headlines about people committing suicide can be found all over the media. According to the World Health Organization (2), each year about a million people commit suicide worldwide. This means that roughly every 40 seconds a person takes his or her life. Suicide is the third most frequent cause of death among people aged 10 to 44 and has been reported to occur in all ethnic groups in all parts of the world. As there has been a 60% increase in suicide rates within the last 45 years (2), numerous attempts have been made to better understand and eventually prevent suicidal behavior. This article gives a brief introduction to the phenomenon of suicide and describes some of the attempts that have been made to grasp why people take their lives. More specifically, risk factors for suicide that have been proposed from a cognitive-behavioral psychological as well as from a personality psychological perspective are examined. It is argued that approaching the topic of suicide from different perspectives may enrich our understanding of it and thereby lead to an improvement of early intervention practices.

Suicide can be defined as the act of intentionally killing oneself. Due to the high number of suicides and even higher rates of suicide attempts each year, many people are affected by instances of suicide in their community, school or workplace. When a person takes his or her life, this primarily takes a toll on close relatives. However, it will also affect others who have somehow been related to the deceased. Suicide is a complex phenomenon that attracts the attention of a broad range of professionals from various sectors (e.g., the public health, mental health, business, media and educational sector).

Approximately 90% of all suicide victims have a diagnosable psychiatric disorder (3). Therefore, much research in the domain of cognitive-behavioral psychology has been focused on identification of risk factors, such as cognitive styles, that may predict possible suicide attempts. Lemogne et al. (4) found that one factor that may be significantly associated with suicide is cognitive hostility (i.e., hostile thoughts such as resentment and suspicion). Several proposals, which relate to some of the motives that supposedly precipitate suicidal behavior, have been put forward to explain this relationship. For instance, the will to end one's own life may be considered an inwardly directed hostile act. Other motives, such as questioning the goodness of fate, compelling the attention of others or inducing guilt in them suggest that hostile thoughts towards others may also play a role in motivating suicide. Hostile thoughts and suspicion may also prevent individuals with suicidal intent from seeking the necessary social support and medical help, resulting in a higher risk of actually committing suicide (4). Empirical evidence from Lemonge et al.'s study also suggests that individuals scoring high on cognitive hostility have an increased risk for employing violent means to commit suicide (e.g., suicide by firearm discharge).

Fergusson and Lynskey (5) followed a birth cohort of New Zealand children for 16 years, gathering data on suicide attempts, suicidal ideation, psychiatric diagnoses, adjustment problems and childhood experiences. They concluded that the degree to which young people express suicidal tendencies depends on the extent to which they meet

criteria for psychiatric disorders, have had adjustment problems and have been exposed to adverse family circumstances. Other studies suggest that low self-esteem as well as an external locus of control are significant risk factors for serious suicide attempts (6). A study by Rotheram-Borus, Trautman, Dopkins and Shrout (7) further supports the claim that dysfunctional cognitive styles predict a person's risk of suicide. In the study Rotheram-Borus et al. looked at teenage girls who attempted suicide and examined whether their cognitive styles and behaviors differed from two comparison groups of individuals who did not attempt suicide. Individuals who had attempted suicide appeared to have various dysfunctional cognitive styles: they generated significantly fewer alternatives for solving stressful interpersonal problems, were more preoccupied with problems and had a wishful thinking style when coping with other stressful situations. These young women were also more likely to view positive events in their lives as unstable and caused by specific external factors, whereas negative events were perceived as stable and due to their own faults. This tendency is often defined as a dysfunctional attributional style. Findings of this and various other studies could prove to be helpful for clinicians to treat at risk individuals. Based on such research, it is possible to design and improve cognitive-behavioral interventions that aim at reducing suicidal tendencies by training individuals in interpersonal problem-solving skills, teaching them how to cope with stressful events and prompting them to engage in self-instructional thought.

Roughly every 40 seconds a person takes his or her life

It has been suggested that one of the best cognitive predictors of long-term suicidal risk is experienced hopelessness. In a study of patients hospitalized for suicidal ideation, researchers used the Hopelessness Scale to predict the likelihood of suicide (8). A high score on the test correctly predicted people would commit suicide in 91% of the cases. The scores on this scale also differed significantly between individuals who survived suicide

attempts and individuals whose attempts were fatal. Such measures enable researchers and therapists to correctly identify individuals who have a high risk of committing suicide.

However, these factors are only one piece of the puzzle. Personality traits are another type of risk factors that have been the focus of psychological research. Personality traits may be especially important for research on suicide and corresponding intervention practices for several reasons. They are a major contributor to how individuals perceive and adapt to the environment and the self, and are generally more stable than other risk factors, which are more changeable and more dependent on any given situation. In a systematic review of studies published in peer-reviewed journals, Brezo, Paris and Turecki (9) examined those that related standardized personality measures to suicidal ideation, suicide attempts or suicide completions. Their results indicate that scoring high on the traits of neuroticism, extraversion or impulsivity is an especially good indicator of suicidal tendencies. Similarly, a recent study by Stringer and colleagues (10) conducted in the Netherlands found a strong association between borderline personality traits, such as difficulties in coping with anger, and suicide attempts. In order to identify people at risk for suicide and to successfully intervene, the researchers recommend screening individuals for borderline personality traits and training patients in how to cope with anger.

Overall, there are many cognitive styles and personality traits that have been proposed as risk factors for serious suicide attempts. There is, however, no single predictor that can accurately identify all individuals that may eventually commit suicide. One may compare this to the emergence of a hurricane: multiple factors, such as a certain sea surface temperature, high relative humidity and a very weak vertical wind shear need to be in place, but none of them can cause a hurricane by itself. Similar rules evidently apply to the phenomenon of suicide: it may be the interaction of multiple factors, such as dysfunctional thinking and certain personality characteristics, that eventually causes a person to commit suicide. For that reason, an overarching approach involving

interdisciplinary research that captures the whole picture is needed to effectively identify people at risk and to intervene. Involving other fields than psychology, such as the business, media and educational sectors, may further enhance our knowledge of suicide and lead us to develop better assessment and intervention techniques, helping to reduce incidence rates of suicidal behavior.

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Us Against Them

How racial stereotypes shaped a common identity in colonial Germany



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The interest in exotic cultures and black people, mostly marginal throughout European art history, increased significantly during the period of colonialism (1, 2). Around the same time (the second half of the 19th century) new printing technologies allowed the cheap reproduction of images in large quantities. Soon, companies started using these reproduction techniques to advertise their products and services. Advertisements serve as a good indicator for the identification of social stereotypes and prejudices, as they make use of common beliefs and clichés, and simultaneously enforce them in society (3, 4). The aim of this article is to analyze how common beliefs about black people have been useful for advertising strategies and how the image of the foreign culture helped to construct a German self-conception in the period from the foundation of the German Empire (1871) to the time around World War I (1914).

Key points. (1) During renaissance and baroque, paintings and illustrations of maps often included female personifications of the 'four' continents. These allegories often communicated the theme of domination and supremacy. (2) African children, preferably boys, between the age of 4 and 12, were displaced from their families and brought to European court, where they served as servants and toys, as status symbols and luxury objects.

The representation of black people in advertisements changed drastically in the late 19th and early 20th century. The mostly innocent representations of the 'noble savage' before 1895 were now charged with symbols of subordination and the idea of white superiority (5). The flag of the German Empire appeared frequently as a sign of colonial power. Natives were shown as servants or slaves, often carrying heavy loads, commanded by white people. In the first decade of the 20th century, the period this article focuses on, the presentation of black people changed again. The images then were more cartooned, often presented in a ridiculous manner and illustrated signs of racial differences and social inferiority. Black people very often appeared as children or as servants, their clothing was incongruous and they exhibited odd behavior. If natives were represented with white people, they took subordinated roles. Images of the romantic transfigured 'noble savage' disappeared almost completely.

Since authentic encounters between German and African societies were rare, the advertisements were strongly influenced by the imaginative realm and artificial encounters such as so-called ethnic shows, a fashion at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. These shows would exhibit exotic natives, selected in and abducted from the colonies, in a zoo-like environment or in staged theater performances. Continent allegories (see key point (1) on facing page) were very popular for 18th century decorations of palaces or city halls. Typical features, such as the naked torso, the turban, or the jewelry, were taken up by the advertisements. Other influences could be found in illustrated books such as fictive or actual travel reports, novels, and children books. For some advertisements, like the Sarotti advertisement from 1908, the black child-servants (see key point (2) on facing page) seemed to be a model.

Allegories of Racial Inferiority

The representations of black people in advertisements hint at a broader context of thinking or an overarching idea and can thus be read as allegories. The belief that African cultures were inferior to European

ones had a long tradition. Even though there were also positive narrations of black people, negative beliefs predominated. In contrast to its perception in antiquity, black color was charged with negative connotations from the middle ages onwards. It was associated with dirt, night, darkness, sin, or evil. In opposition, white color was connected to good and to God. At the turn of the century, the black body was thus not free from predominated expectations. As postcolonial studies researcher Victoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff describes, the black skin color became a marker of identity, determinate with negative expectations, through a process lasting several centuries; starting in the Renaissance and ending at the beginning of the 19th century (6).

In the second half of the 18th century, there was the common belief that physiognomic features could be traced back to the character of a person (7). Thus, the ugliness of the body was connected with the ugliness of the mind, the black skin connected to dirtiness, and the red lips stood for sensuality and a strong sex drive. Trickiness and suspiciousness was reflected in the eyes. The physiognomy became the most important signifier of difference.

It is striking in the advertisements from the beginning of the 20th century that the physiognomic difference between black and white people was more accentuated. Advertisements for the Liebig meat extract showed several black people taking or admiring pictures from a white photographer. Everything that differed from the European physiognomy was highlighted: the very dark or even black skin, the big red lips, the flat nose, and the big white eyes. Shoes, as a marker of civilization, were missing. The men were often emasculated through the wearing of typical female attributes like jewelry, while typical male attributes like pants were missing. It was also not important whether the appearances were ethnologically correct. A black figure could wear oriental clothing, or Native American attributes. All kinds of symbols could be mixed up to create a new exotic image.

Legitimizing Colonialism

In the described advertisements, black people were generally represented in an

unrealistic manner: infantilized, caricaturized, or shown with female attributes. Such a typification can be explained with the allegorical significance of the figures. The infantilization of black people built upon the common belief that the degree of human and cultural development of black people was so low that they had to be treated like children.

Such an ideology legitimated colonialism as a civilizing mission, serving to increase the life standards of the natives. Thus, resistance to the colonial power could be dismissed as unprogressive and without questioning of the own behavior. Through the depiction of the lack of masculinity, the domination over women was transferred to the natives too. Women and natives were often described in a similar way, for example as being emotional in contrast to the male reason (6).

The fear of losing one’s power claim and the justification of colonialism as a mission of adapting the colonial population to Western standards, were processed in the pictorial representation of the ‘inability’ of black people to assimilate. This ideological claim is visible in the figures of the Liebig advertisement. The black people in the picture tried to adapt to the clothing and the behavior of white people. This figuratively shows that black people have recognized the superiority of Western culture, illustrating their incapacity to adjust in a ridiculing manner.

The Construction of the Other as Part of German Self-Conception

The contact with foreign people during colonial times underlay mainly three characteristics: Familiar patterns of order were transferred onto the foreign culture, the existing power structure was legitimized and, importantly, the definition of the other was always also part of the self-definition (8). Not only were common beliefs about black people instrumentalized for advertisement purposes, but also, a common opposite for the German society could be created through the confrontation with foreigners. This contrasting with the other was an important part of white self-definition and self-consciousness, shaping the ‘whiteness-construction’ (9). In dissociation from the

other, a self-consciousness could be created without questioning own values and maxims. The view towards the outside, thus the view on non-European cultures, was therefore doubly coded. It showed as much - or even more - about the viewer, as about the object of the view.

A common opposite for the German society could be created through confrontation with foreigners

The beginning of the 20th century was a period of political, social, and economic change. The society of the German Empire, founded in 1871, was heterogenic and diverse. The political opinions diverged between extreme socialism and conservative monarchists, and lacked a uniform national identity. Postcolonial research has shown that the representation of colonial power across all social classes served as a tool for the German integration, helping to mask problems on a domestic political, social and redistributive level (10, 11). In distancing from foreign people, a feeling of togetherness and a corporate identity could be created disregarding the diverse political opinions and social classes of the German society. Even domestic outsiders could feel integrated in opposition to the other. As pointed out before, the difference between white and black was accentuated in the advertisements of the first decades of the 20th century. Everything that distinguished black people from white people was emphasized in order to create an antitype to white cultural and social ideals.

For the creation of the other, the use of black figures in advertisement played an important role. Not only did they work as effective eye-catchers (since they contrasted familiar European appearances), they also enabled the creation of clear structures of identification. In order to appeal to a large target group, advertisements had to use figures which were not addressed to a specific social or political class. In distancing from the black antitype such a structure could be created (4). This function can partially explain

the use of black people even for products which have no connection to the colonies.

Coming back to the Liebig advertisement, it is now apparent that the beholder should identify with the white photographer. The contrast between black and white figures creates this clear structure of identification: Through the dissociation from the features of the black antitype, physiognomic as well as behavioral, even social outsiders could identify with the white person in the picture.

If the black person would have been shown alone, however, the beholder should not identify with the figure. Instead, the product should merge with the advertisement figure only on an associative level; not a positive result of the consumption of the product, but the demonstration of cultural superiority is shown. The product became an indexical sign through the code system of advertisements; the consumer act became a symbolic one, whose motives and course of action were different from the original desire. Thus, the acquisition of coffee or chocolate did no longer only satisfy the need for nutrition or a sensual experience, but also the desire for superiority or possession of the exotic. The colonial dream was made available to everyone through consumer culture and its advertisements.

Rejection of the Other and Embrace of the Self

Even though advertisements used only selected types of black stereotypes and were mainly based on already existing clichés, they played an active role in the public perception of foreigners. They therefore had a socio-cultural function, as they were simultaneously a sign and source of popular culture. Some of the characteristics of the advertisement figures can be explained by their historical models, such as the continent allegories or the black moor servants, but the changes in the representation and the frequency with which some characteristics appeared hint to a broader socio-cultural context. Xenophobic feelings, prejudices and clichés were taken up and exploited by the advertisement industry for marketing purposes, but at the same time they influenced not only the perception of the

foreigners, but also of the self. At the turn of the past century, Germany was a politically and socially heterogeneous society, but the common feeling of colonial superiority created a feeling of togetherness without the need for further self-reflection or actual integration.

It seems that in times of crisis, today and throughout history, people search for a reference point, a common link which creates the ground for a social identity. In times of profound social, political and economic change, it can be especially tempting to construct this identity in the form of rejection of the culturally different. Instead of identifying domestic problems, searching for their solutions and adapting to change, a feeling of social integration can be created through the rejection of the other. By focusing on the foreign, the discussion of the values of the own society is avoided.

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Criticizing Capitalism

Tactical new media and electronic civic resilience



Today's Western civic resilience is not anymore about storming the barricades and overturning society as a whole. Does this mean that we do not believe in change and resistance nowadays? Have we resigned to the capitalist ideology, even in times of economic crisis? In 'The New Spirit of Capitalism,' Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (1) discuss the transformation of the capitalist ideology between the 1960s and 1980s. They explain that we often take recourse to artistic values and visions to provide us with the means to criticize the capitalist spirit from an autonomous position. However, capitalism has shown itself to be quite creative in its response to this kind of critique. The artistic calling for authenticity and freedom was met with new capitalist work ethics, which incorporated artistic values of adaptability, creativity and self-management. The question is whether it is possible to form an artistic critique which can resist this kind of capitalist appropriation and at the same time be powerful enough to make a difference.

Critical theorists worry that we cannot escape habits and established cultural structures. They feel that due to our immersion in society we lack overview and cannot form a critical strategy for deviation. Critical theorists tend to be normative scholars (usually with emancipatory goals, think of feminism or gay rights), who wish to change the world for the better.

We need to be able to transcend everyday life in order to change it. Even when we lack an outsider's perspective on our culture, we still resist copying its products uncritically. Every time we use cultural objects and meanings, we appropriate them. Appropriation can take many guises, as it transforms and exaggerates some aspects of the source material, while blurring and removing others.

De Certeau illustrates appropriation with the activity of walking through a city. City planners have structured the streets and buildings according to a fixed design, but the person walking around in the city appropriates the space while moving through it. When we walk from one location to another, using the same fixed paths, the experience is never exactly the same. In addition, we can deviate from our habitual route, wander purposelessly, or even stray from the designated path, thereby actively creating new patterns (2, 3). This is how we perform tactical critique without locating ourselves outside the structure.

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It is a common intuition that, in order to be critical, we must distance ourselves from the object or event we are criticizing. But how can we distance ourselves from our own involvement with society? Michel de Certeau, philosopher of everyday practice, argues that even when we are immersed in a cultural structure, we still have the power to change it. We might lack overview, but every time we use cultural artifacts and conventions, we appropriate them and deviate from them (see information box on facing page). This tactical activity does not require distance. Today's citizens can be critical from within their engagements rather than from an external, autonomous position.

In this article, we will encounter and explain two artistic tactics in new media technology aimed at resisting capitalist ideology: haptic visuality and appropriation. They share an intrinsic approach to criticism, but are they successful in somehow changing what they criticize? Could they be used as a modern day equivalent of storming the barricades?

Pink Bits

Our actions within an established structure always exceed fixed patterns, De Certeau explains, because we experience the movements of our body involved in the activity (2). No matter how automatic our behavior, there will always be a sensing agent present. This leaves us with a surplus of experience, thereby creating room for critical reflection and deviation. Translating this concept to new media art, the first tactic to resist capitalism would be to shift focus from fixed meanings towards bodily experience. We can disturb the habitual way in which we perceive and judge the world around us, by reflecting on the way the world affects us.

Furthermore, Gilles Deleuze's film theory explains that we only see what we are interested in and what already has meaning to us. We reduce our perceptions to fixed patterns of interpretation. However, Deleuze also describes the effect of "pure optical images," found in neorealist films at the time. He claims that these optical situations break the automatic connection between perception and understanding.

They puzzle the viewer, and an interval of estrangement emerges between perception and interpretation, making room for associations with memory and imagination (4).

We only see what we are interested in and what already has meaning to us

Laura U. Marks further develops Deleuze's film theory of optical images and renames them haptic images, or images that can be touched with our eyes. She argues that images can create a haptic effect by using means like blurring, ambiguity, and vagueness, among others (5). An example of such haptic imagery is the digital video Pink Bits by Tracy Cornish (6, 7). All we see at first is a pink blot appearing and disappearing in the upper right-hand corner of a black television screen. The abstraction of the image hinders immediate recognition and allows our haptic visuality – or free association – to take over the reins. However, at the same time we are enticed to discern a world within the shifting shape, as if looking through an opaque, pink-tinted window. After a period of gazing at the surface of the screen, we start peering into it, trying to find a silhouette of a walking body, a fragment of a building, a blazing fire. Still, the impenetrability and mobility of the pink shape obstructs our efforts to look beyond the surface; the recognition never truly succeeds.

According to Marks, haptic visuality provides a way to reconnect with a more sensuous way of viewing. In everyday life, we only see those things that are useful and meaningful to us. Such an instrumental view of the world supports exploitation and alienates us from our bodies and surroundings (5). Haptic visuality can provide us with the means to resist instrumental reason, associated with the capitalist ideology, and to feel a part of the world, instead of feeling opposed to it. It thereby is a critical activity with regard to capitalism, because it resists an instrumental and commoditized view on objects and people. It is also a tactic, because it does not require a distant perspective, but rather depends on immersion in our affective relation with the world around us.

However, this tactic can be used to the advantage of the ideology it tries to resist. Most advertisements nowadays entice the customer with sensory experience, instead of with an objective enumeration of features. Perfume, car and phone commercials hardly inform us about the product at hand, but instead show us the sensual world we can experience when acquiring it. The Verizon commercial for the HTC Droid Incredible smart phone, for example, uses haptic images to seduce the customer (8). Notably, the commercial never shows the device or any of its features. Instead, we are treated to vague and abstract moving images with flashing lights and dizzyingly, flying symbols. We are compelled to adopt a haptic visuality and to affectively associate ourselves with the images, rather than to ponder the represented product and how it may be of use. Imaginably, this alternative stance of haptic visuality is quite harmful when employed commercially, because haptic images speak to us on an "irrational," affective level, which undermines a more distanced investigation of the product. Haptic visuality separates us from viewing the world instrumentally, so we do not question whether we actually need the product. We merely feel that we genuinely want it.

It is not immediately clear how a countermove can be performed, without resorting to an objective analysis of the commercial appropriation. Indeed, it seems that the only way to critique commercial haptic imagery would be to use the distant stance that haptic visuality tries to counter in the first place.

The Not-so-friendly Clown

Another form of critical activity is the tactic of appropriation, which in this context alludes to the transformation of source material. Appropriation can concern the formal qualities of this source material – style, colors, and motives – or it can be content related – notions, themes, and values –, but it can also regard the setting in which the material is presented.

The concept is best explained by considering the McDonald's Video Game developed by Molleindustria (9). At first sight, the game seems to copy the franchise

uncritically. The bright colors and the simplified imagery accord well with the graphic design of the McDonald's brand. The smiling workers and the cows grazing happily in a meadow look like they recently stepped out of a McDonald's advertisement. So far, nothing would strike the player of the game as criticism on the way the McDonald's corporation impacts society and the environment. There are no horrible images of slaughtered animals and overworked, disgruntled employees, for instance. No gloomy colors or crude designs to refer to the indictments and to induce an unpleasant sensation.

Haptic images speak to us on an "irrational," affective level

Several examples of appropriation can be detected here. For instance, in the appearance of Ronald McDonald, the friendly clown mascot of the fast-food restaurant chain. In the McDonald's Video Game, this smiling character has been distorted into a mean-looking manager. On the webpage "Why this game," Molleindustria appropriates Ronald McDonald again, but in a different way. In a short message the character "admits" that McDonalds plays a part in "rainforest destruction, livelihood losses in the third world, desertification, precarization of working conditions, food poisoning and so on..." (10). In this case the spin on the source material does not concern the appearance of the character, but rather his ideas. Lastly, in the overall goal of the game, the tactic of appropriation also emerges. The goal is to make as much money as possible by managing the four sections of the company (agriculture, the feedlot, the fast food area and headquarters) efficiently, which is perfectly in line with the capitalist ideology. However, while playing the game it becomes apparent that this goal can only be attained by making severe social and environmental sacrifices.

The critical potential of appropriation is clear; while using existing cultural forms, the accompanying values can be severely distorted or even detached. However, as with haptic visuality, corporate re-appropriation

of the tactic is lurking. Today, McDonald's puts extra focus on the fashionable notion of sustainability to indicate their engagement with local community, charity projects, and the environment (11, 12). Additionally, they have dedicated a section on their website to 'food quality', in which they justify the origin and quality of their products (13). They have apparently taken the accusations by leftist critics like Molleindustria to heart, and appropriated some central notions from their critique to assimilate into their own story. Salient detail is that the Dutch website of McDonald's has even substituted the characteristic red in their logo to an environmentally friendly green (14). This might seem disheartening, but critics have become quite skillful at detecting such deceitful re-appropriation. The Dutch animal welfare foundation Wakker Dier declared McDonald's the winner of the 2013 Liar-liar election for producing the most misleading advertisement campaign with regard to animal welfare (15). They point out that McDonald's boasts about the freshness of their lettuce and tomatoes, but conceals the fact that they still use bloated, factory-farmed chickens (16).

To summarize, the second tactic of appropriation illustrates that we do not need an autonomous form or content of our critique. The way we use material that is already available, always entails some kind of transformation, because we connect it to other things and meanings along the way. However, such critical appropriation seems to have the same flaw of easily being assimilated into the capitalist framework. On the other hand, these dynamics between appropriation and re-appropriation do not come to an abrupt halt, as in the case of haptic visuality. Instead, they instigate a fruitful back and forth in which values are ever again being renegotiated. Being critical does not mean being immune to (re-)appropriation. In any case, the goal of tactical interventions is never to criticize the culture we live in definitively. Any tactic will only cause minor shifts in the existing structure, because it will never truly cast off the ideology it aims to resist. However, in a time where the belief in revolutionary strategy is waning, tactical action might be the most resilient alternative (16, 17).

Conclusion

As the capitalist ideology continually transforms itself and appropriates critique in order to defuse it, it becomes a slippery, ephemeral ghost. Indeed, there is no clear enemy to oppose, or a determined alternative ideal to strive for. However, this does not mean that there are no tactics at hand to which resilient civilians can resort.

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The Art of Abnegation

Interwar jazz, passing, and the "white negro"



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Race has been widely considered to be at the heart of jazz since its first syncopated beats sounded over one hundred years ago. Today, race still complicates jazz performances, as shown by the dismissal of Stanley Crouch, a rhetorically fierce jazz critic, following his assertion that modern “white musicians [are] frequently elevated far beyond their abilities [...] to make themselves feel more comfortable about being in the role of evaluating an art from which they feel substantially alienated” (1). Such controversies suggest that jazz remains a battleground for racial identification, yet some argue that this was not always the case. Many contemporary critics have asserted that interwar jazz was an art of assimilation for African-Americans. For instance, McNally argues that jazz has cured racism in America since the early twentieth century (2). Similarly, Krane affirms that jazz has proved a successful instrument of assimilation into white American society since the late 1910s for otherwise outcast non-whites (3). They echo the earlier thoughts of jazz musicians such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, who saw a similar potential in jazz if it were to be made into a high-art – art typically defined by elites as deserving of everlasting respect – comparable with classical music during the 1920s and 1930s. This assertion, however, only truly applies to the American music industry in New York rather than the broader American society during the Jazz Age. Furthermore, when these musicians were able to assimilate, it was through a more Europeanised form of jazz called swing, which only became popular within white America following white performances of jazz in the mid 1920s by Benny Goodman. Black jazz was adopted, not accepted.

Black jazz was a culture unique to black performers in the eyes of many middle class white writers during the early twentieth century. Whilst black jazz would come to symbolise the “authentic” African-American form of self-expression among many African-Americans, this racial branding, when utilised by white writers in white media of the late 1910s, reflected an emerging paranoia and insecurity against black assimilation. This is highlighted by a white Manhattan rector’s assertion that black jazz was solely an African-American tool for domestic destruction that, if allowed to manifest by white Americans, could become America’s “National Anthem” (4). However, the black jazz did appeal to the emerging white hipsters of the late 1920s and 1930s Swing Era, who attempted to transcend the social conventions of interwar white America.

By imitating the music and language of African-American jazz players, the racial, cultural, and social passing of hipsters such as Milton “Mezz” Mezzrow instigated the materialisation of the “white negro” (a term coined by Mailer retrospectively in 1957) in the 1930s, which, paradoxically, led to the decline of the “authentic” black jazz culture of the late-1910s that Mezzrow and other hipsters sought to support (5). Therefore, whilst some African-Americans initially saw jazz as an art of assimilation into white middle class America by attempting to construct it into a high-art comparable to classical music, the white adoption of jazz, in fact, transformed the “authentic” black jazz culture of self-expression into an art of abnegation for African-Americans, as hipsters began to project their own desires of transcending social conventions onto the Harlem Renaissance.

Behind the Black Jazz Disguise

McNally commented in 2000 that jazz was, and continues to be, a vehicle of racial integration (2). This assertion reflects similar contemporary claims that jazz has contributed to the assimilation of many immigrants since the late 1910s in the US (3). Yet, white American culture of the early Jazz Age was considered Eurocentric (6), and focussed on imitating established European traditions

such as classical music, and jazz was portrayed as a uniquely African-American and criticised as a result. For instance, Literary Digest’s “The Appeal of the Primitive Jazz” (1917) harkens back to the “old plantation days” to pejoratively define the meaning of jazz shortly after asserting that it is African in origin (7). The author seamlessly shifts from mentioning Africa to writing about slavery, indicating that African-Americans were synonymous with subservience in some white writings of the late 1910s, and hence struggled against the white stubbornness to accept “ex-slaves” into mainstream society (8). The African-American jazz player consequently emerged in white media as the stereotypical black man (8), who is a slave to the jazz that “infected” him (7), rather than a serious artist.

The stereotypical black man is a slave to the jazz that “infected” him, rather than a serious artist

This general perception of jazz flourished in white media of the late 1910s as a criticism of the African-American culture dragging white America into its “jungle” (4), and whilst jazz did not necessarily reinforce racial stereotypes it also did not appear to be the art of assimilation. Instead, jazz acted as an artistic form of self-expression in black districts that kept alive the unique culture and traditions (9).

Bleaching Jazz into High Art?

In response to critical white media, Armstrong and Ellington attempted to mould jazz into a high-art that could be accepted and compared to white America’s classical music. This was because black jazz was exclusive to whorehouses, nightclubs, and gangster-run speakeasies of Harlem during the 1920s (10), and was a hedonistic inspiration of a counterculture rife in broad white American perceptions (11). However, Armstrong altered this understanding of jazz in the early 1920s within the music industry, and his relaxed and flexible style began to make jazz attractive to outsiders

(12). Some white critics consequently began to accept jazz as a serious art form played by a serious African-American artist (13).

Ellington also sought to transform the typical white perceptions of jazz and adapt them to the bastions of classical music concert halls during the mid 1920s (11). Unlike Armstrong, Ellington was versed in jazz and classical music (14), and composed more classically-styled pieces such as “A Rhapsody of Negro Life” (1935). Through his success among the rich white audiences of the racially segregated Cotton Club, Ellington demonstrated that the black jazz of the early Jazz Age could have only been regarded as a high-art if jazz performers erased the “‘jungle’ bits” that white media of the late 1910s associated with African-American improvisational and unwritten music (8). It therefore seems that black jazz was not accepted and did not assimilate into white culture, but was actually adapted during the 1920s: or, in Ellington’s case, bleached. Yet, even though Armstrong and Ellington attempted to appeal to the wider white American audience with a more respectable African-American jazz that reflected not only a black America (8), a conventional early 1920s white stubbornness to racial assimilation remained prevalent, and whites were winning almost all the jazz polls by the 1930s (14).

Some Assimilation through Swing

McNally and Krane’s representations of jazz, however, did materialise later during the Swing Era. For instance, Armstrong was able to publish over sixty-five recordings in the late 1920s and was paid 50 dollars a side (15), which was rare, as black artists were not commonly commercialised (8). Furthermore, Ellington was reportedly invited to the White House in 1931 after becoming popular among rich white audiences (14). Nonetheless, Ellington continued to experience segregation, and was censored from national radio in 1931 (16). This highlights the continued racial prejudice extending beyond the music industry (8). Therefore, McNally and Krane’s assertions are only applicable to a minority within the Harlem music industry, and not to the broader American society, as is further

demonstrated by the fact that, whilst Armstrong created recordings and was paid a small amount, he never saw a dime in royalties (15).

It was not until white musicians such as Benny Goodman began to perform Henderson’s music that it was embraced by mainstream America (16). For instance, whilst some national media stations continued to censor Ellington, Goodman regularly performed on NBC’s nationally-broadcast Let’s Dance in 1934 (16), and jazz swing subsequently became widely accepted by white audiences in the late 1920s and 1930s after passing completely into the mainstream (8) as a white culture performed by white players.

The White Negro

Nonetheless, the black jazz that had caused outrage among white writers of the late 1910s did appeal to some white Americans: hipsters. The acceptance of jazz during the Swing Era invited its adoption by many young white Americans who wanted to transcend the social constraints of the interwar white America. It was the societal detachment of black America’s nonconformist jazz (5) that appealed to the “white negro” (17). However, while hipsters generally supported the African-American attempt, the emergence of the “white negro” paradoxically led to the decline of the true black jazz culture that they sought to support. This is evident in the success of Goodman who began to buy arrangements from Negroes so that his orchestra would have more of an authentic tone (8), hence making “pure Negro jazz” musicians like Fletcher Henderson superfluous.

Mezzrow’s Complications of Passing

As a Jewish American, Mezzrow inspired the counterculture by challenging his jungle of white conformity following a brief period in gaol, eventually settling in Harlem as a decent, but by no means natural, clarinetist determined to live amongst those he felt closest to: African-Americans. Mezzrow’s experience of passing, however, reveals more racially-interesting complications of the “white negro” that explore why hipsters chose black art as their ideal source for interwar

introspective discussions. For instance, Mezzrow describes an overwhelming “queer dreamy state” during his first experience of jazz in prison (5), before explicitly exclaiming that he “loved those coloured boys” in the cell with him (5), defining his racial passing in gendered terms. He offers a reason for choosing black culture within a homoerotic framework of a brotherhood, and indicates that he felt more of a community within the self-expressive black culture than within his middle class white culture, highlighted by both his utilisation of the jive phrase “brother” (5), and by the Fourth Cat’s call to Mezzrow to “get gay” (5). By utilising sexualised language to create the sense of many becoming one, and through his apparent pride of the “interracial male intimacy [that] blurs the boundaries that define the human body” (18), Mezzrow complicates the paradigms of racial passing to highlight his personal need to transgress white-American society by passing into African-American society, whilst also establishing his passing as “authentic” through his linguistic identity with African-Americans.

Black jazz that caused outrage did appeal to some white Americans: hipsters

Mezzrow appears to recognise the abstention of the African-American attempt to assimilate through the white adoption of jazz when he claims that white jazz musicians are “out to make money, not music” (5). Interestingly, Mezzrow does not appear to label himself as a white jazzman. He instead passes as an “authentic” African-American, contrary to Wald’s assertion that he is, in fact, “crossing the line” (18). Whereas “crossing” implies a physical transformation of the visible racial agency, “passing” aptly defines the psychological transformation of Mezzrow, who aims to eradicate any internal remnants of his “whiteness” (19), which is explained through Benn-Michaels’s assertion that whites that pass are “ex-whites” who want “to cease to be white (emphasis in original)” (19). Russell quotes Ebony’s claim that Mezzrow “couldn’t [physically] pass for Negro by any stretch of the imagination [as]

his skin [was] too white” (20), which suggests that Mezzrow’s racial transformation had indeed occurred psychologically within him.

It seems that Mezzrow, then, perceives his own race as a social construct; yet, he alternatively appears to perceive the race of other white jazzmen, such as Goodman and Whiteman, as essential, who he argues are merely “out to make money” simply because they are white (5), and are therefore not “authentic.” Jones’s assertion that “music of the white jazz musician [is] a learned art” explains why Mezzrow blurs the paradigms within which the contravention of racial discourse between “crossing” and “passing” is conventionally broken (8), as Mezzrow understands that, by preserving any previously-conditioned “whiteness,” he, too, is not “authentic,” since jazz is “a black music and a black music only” (14). Furthermore, Mezzrow suggests that he was never white, as he entered school “green” and “came out chocolate brown” (5). However, these flourishes highlight the inherent contradictions of Mezzrow’s, and the wider hipster’s, passing, as, by perceiving himself as physically coloured, Mezzrow appears to also perceive race as an essence, which would mean that his psychological passing, like Goodman’s, is not “authentic.”

Conclusions

Mezzrow’s unresolved contradictions demonstrate the broader contradictions between African-American aims and white American wishes during the Swing Era. For instance, Jones asserts that African-American jazz players, such as Armstrong and Ellington, wanted “not only to disappear within the confines of a completely white America but to erase forever any aspect of a black America that had ever existed” (emphasis in original) (8). This can be seen in Armstrong and Ellington’s attempts to appeal to white America with a more Europeanised version of jazz. Conversely, hipsters wanted to pass by adopting the jazz culture to become “ex-white men” (19), therefore destroying all trace of their “whiteness” in the process.

Whilst “white negroes” such as Goodman and Mezzrow supported the

“authentic” black jazz culture of the late 1910s, they paradoxically contributed to the transformation of jazz by the wider hipster movement into a white culture of self-expression. This emphasises the contradictions in aims between African-Americans and hipsters through the manipulation of jazz, as whilst African-Americans wanted to assimilate into white American society through a more nuanced form of passing, hipsters wanted to cross the line, and become black men.

Jazz, then, became a form of self-expressive play for both blacks and nonconformist whites during the Swing Era. However, whilst the “white negro” of the unconscious counter-counterculture initially adopted interwar jazz, this adoption became increasingly characterised by appropriation approaching the 1940s, with white musicians such as Goodman and Henry Fink progressively disconnecting the African-American claim on jazz, declaring that jazz “is white (...) there is nothing African about it” (21).

Yet, this brief challenge to the common assumptions of McNally and Krane, who argue that jazz was an art of assimilation for African-Americans during the first half of the twentieth century, must be further considered alongside the current role of jazz in constructing, or deconstructing, modern American racial identities. Still, from the discernments of late 1910s white media that deemed jazz exclusively “African in origin,” it appears that, whilst the initial adoption of jazz hindered the hopes of African-American musicians for an art of assimilation, the developing white-appropriation not only reinforced jazz as an art of abnegation for African-Americans, but additionally left them with no discernible black culture whatsoever; a culture that remains racially insecure to this day.

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Honours Review started two years ago and was envisioned as an all-encompassing multidisciplinary platform for students. All-encompassing and multidisciplinary have always been the key terms, and we work hard on bringing these ideals to life. In the last months we set the stage for collaboration with students of the Minerva Art Academy. The result is this design – staying true to the original concept behind the magazine, it offers a fresh, exciting packaging for the quality content. Each article corresponds to an ice cube on the cover. Opening the magazine reveals the juicy inside of the (now melted) blocks of ice, and thereby the content of each article. Bon appétit!

APR

Colophon.....

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