University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Oshkosh Scholar

Volume IV, 2009

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, *Oshkosh Scholar*,
Volume IV, November 2009.

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
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Preface

The pages of each edition of *Oshkosh Scholar* are a testament to the rich representation of our undergraduates' achievements, and this year's edition is no exception. The journal provides students the opportunity to realize the rigors of research publication and the benefits of working closely with faculty mentors. Through these collaborative projects, students gain a valuable understanding of high-quality professional research. The projects also help to foster a quality teaching experience for both students and their mentors. As a result, teaching and learning move beyond the classroom setting.

UW Oshkosh has a research-rich history, and *Oshkosh Scholar* is part of that strong tradition. By publishing the best scholarly works of university undergraduates, *Oshkosh Scholar* celebrates intellectual curiosity and scholarly achievements.

A special thanks to faculty mentors/advisers and student authors whose hard work is represented on these pages. Thanks to Susan Surendonk and Tracy Slagter for their incredible enthusiasm and determination to produce a quality journal. The hard work and dedication of this edition's student editors, Jacki Thering, Madison Pilarski, and Jonathan "Leviathan" Whitfield, is reflected on every page.

Linda S. Freed
Director
Office of Grants and Faculty Development

For this fourth edition, we changed the submission deadline from late October to early June to accommodate student academic schedules, and our reward was more than *double* the highest number of submissions we had received in previous years. Our editorial staff had a delightfully hectic summer editing submissions, sending them out for review, and meeting with student authors and their faculty advisers to discuss revisions and improvements. We were able to be selective in the manuscripts we published here. The pieces you are about to read are excellent examples of the research students have undertaken at UW Oshkosh.

With many manuscripts to choose from and personal meetings with student authors, the journal has had to rely more than ever on a small team of dedicated editors. Leviathan Whitfield (a veteran *Oshkosh Scholar* editor) and Madison Pilarski (our newest editor) flexed their editing muscles in some of the pieces you see here. Jacki Thering spent many evenings poring over manuscripts and answering e-mails, and she served as the final set of eyes on every piece submitted. The journal would not exist without the tireless efforts and devotion of Susan Surendonk in the Office of Grants and Faculty Development. It has been a privilege to work with all of these people to bring this volume of *Oshkosh Scholar* to you today. Enjoy!

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"This coffee cup represents the countless hours and endless nights students spend studying in pursuit of knowledge and mastery of their chosen disciplines."—Ching Ly

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Special Thanks

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Content Analysis of Online Commenters on Sexism in the 2008 Presidential Campaign

Kathryn Gruber, author
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Dr. Michael Jasinski, Political Science, faculty adviser

Kathryn Gruber will graduate from UW Oshkosh in May 2010 with a degree in communication and political science. She is in the University Honors Program and has been on the Dean's List six consecutive semesters. Because of her interest in both communication and political science, her research is a collaboration of these disciplines. In her senior year, Kathryn looks forward to continuing to pursue her research interests and preparing for graduate school.

Dr. Lori Carrell is professor of communication and director of the Center for Scholarly Teaching at UW Oshkosh. A passionate teacher, she is committed to research, teaching, and service that focuses on communication education. Her vision is to educate, inspire, and equip others to maximize the transformative power of the spoken word.

Dr. Michael Jasinski is an assistant professor in political science and received his Ph.D. from the University of Georgia. He began teaching at UW Oshkosh in 2008. His research interests include violent political conflict, origins of national identity, politics of post-Communist states, and political psychology.

Abstract

Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin played prominent roles in the 2008 presidential primary and general campaigns, inviting a discussion of sexism. The unstoppable growth of the Internet has allowed news consumers to share opinions with ease. In this study, I compared comments left on the comment board following an article on perceived sexism by Clinton supporters to the comments left on the comment board following an article on perceived sexism by Palin supporters. The comments were coded for sexist content using positive/negative versions of subtle, covert, and blatant sexism. The results indicate that 75.9% of the comments about Palin were negatively sexist, while only 67.2% of the comments about Clinton were negatively sexist. Results suggest that factors influencing sexist perceptions may include the candidate's family, the candidate's stage in his or her political career, and pre-existing commenter characteristics.

Introduction

The 2008 U.S. presidential campaign contained all the elements of a dream come true for political junkies. Religion and religious public figures, spouses suffering from severe illnesses, politically powerful spouses, questionable associates, the candidates' newspaper preferences, race, gender, age, excessive amounts of money, endless primaries, polarizing candidates, intelligence and qualifications of candidates, cute children, teenage pregnancy, grabs for power, dark-horse candidates—all of

these were issues present in the campaign, making this campaign equally ripe for and difficult to research.

Of all these issues, I was particularly interested in the discussion of gender and sexism. These two issues were prominently on display as Hillary Clinton emerged as an early favorite in the Democratic Party primaries and as Sarah Palin surprised the political pundits as the Republican vice presidential candidate selection. It was fascinating to watch the discussion of sexism ferment over the summer and into the conventions while focusing on Clinton and then to see the discussion pick up almost immediately when Palin's candidacy was announced. As a younger voter, this focus on gender is not one I had witnessed prior to the campaign; perhaps I had taken for granted that sexism was a diminished—but still real—challenge facing female candidates. It made me think about how sexism is manifested in this time where a certain amount of political correctness is expected. What factors produced this sexism, and how do voters express it?

In this research, I focused on the discussion surrounding the sexism these two candidates faced by using comments focused on sexism left at the end of online articles. Following online news articles, readers have the opportunity to write and post comments in reaction to the article's subject. I conducted a content analysis (the process of coding language to describe what is being said) of the comments made by readers discussing sexism in the campaigns of Clinton and Palin. In order to focus my research, I developed the following research question: How frequently and to what degree is sexism manifested in reader comments?

Literature Review

My research question is based on the assumption that language can influence a person's behavior and actions. Buker (1996) argued that semiotics can help explain the use of political language by examining the communication system that rules citizens and how citizen readers can actively participate in creating meanings in the system. In order to find meanings, one must look at the language of the group rather than that of individual speakers. Meanings are socially constructed within the community of the speakers, and these collective meanings help anchor the community together. This conceptual framework is grounded in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity. Parks and Robertson (2000) found evidence supporting the moderate version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that "holds that culture and language are intertwined such that the meanings people ascribe to language affect their realities, their self-concepts, and their world views" (p. 416). Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) cited language as both socially constructed and conditioned in their use of the critical discourse analysis method.

I researched different ways of looking at individual instances of language in order to develop my research methodology. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) presented a critical discourse analysis, which focused on relationships between power and inequality in our language and on bringing these relationships to light. To study society, we study the language; therefore, by studying written comments, sexism in society can be explored. By using the micro-level ("concrete instances of talk"), the highly contextualized setting can be captured (p. 460). Likewise, Houser (1998) focused on

the importance of language from individual actors. In order to identify public opinion, there must be a public sphere where people can communicate and reach a common judgment. In my research, the message boards following online articles would serve as the public sphere where people can collectively discuss and attempt to reach a common judgment. Houser emphasized that unofficial members of society participate in these publics and can be influential in shaping public opinion. In order to provide a whole picture of public opinion, we must "widen [political commentary's] scope to include vernacular exchanges in addition to those of institutional actors" to find the dialogue that reflects a common understanding and collective reasoning process (Houser, p. 86). Because my goal was to examine how the most basic actors of the political process viewed sexism, I followed Houser's method of examining individuals. The examined individuals were the readers of articles, not institutional actors, and this fulfills Houser's requirement of including vernacular exchanges to see the true political picture. To code these vernacular exchanges, the three categories (blatant, covert, and subtle sexism) of sexism developed by Swim, Mallett, and Stangor (2004) provide definitions to differentiate and code comments.

Through my literature review, I researched articles to find factors that would potentially influence my research. Kahn (1994) conducted a content analysis of gubernatorial and senatorial campaign media coverage and used these results to examine reader reactions to the coverage of men versus women. The study showed that there is a media difference in the way that women and men are covered. It also demonstrated that viewers are influenced by their own sex stereotypes. Because of this, female senatorial candidates face more critical media and stereotypes than male candidates face. Gubernatorial candidates could use the stereotypes to their advantage because gubernatorial issues are domestic, while senatorial candidates must respond to foreign issues. This research could reveal some confounding or intervening variables in my research. Because of Clinton's background as a senator, she faced more critical media coverage prior to her presidential bid than had she not come from that background. Conversely, before being selected as the Republican vice-presidential candidate, Palin had not faced many of the questions and issues that female candidates must face nationally. Because of this disparity in prior experience with campaign coverage, expectations, and stereotypes, Clinton may have been more prepared to face sexism than Palin (Kahn, 1994). Additional research by Mezey (1978) found that a female politician's family and gender have an effect on campaigning and serving in public offices. She found that women entered political office an average of 5 years later than their male colleagues and that males had a higher number of children and were more likely to be married than women upon entering office. Mezey also found that voters much more frequently asked women about how they would manage their family responsibilities while in office. While Clinton conforms to Mezey's findings, as she entered into a political office at a later age after her child was grown, Palin does not.

Research Design
Data Description and Source

I gathered data from the comment sections of two different online articles written concerning sexism in the 2008 presidential campaign and conducted a comparison of the comments made after the September 2, 2008, article "Cindy McCain:

Sarah Palin Coverage is Sexist" and the reader comments about the May 20, 2008, "For Some Clinton Supporters, Sexism is the Only Explanation" to examine how the candidates were discussed (Goldman, 2008; Sawyer, 2008). Because the purpose of this study was to see what the reaction of readers was to the possible sexism, I selected these non-editorial news articles in order to avoid biases and opinions that the original author of the article could have inserted and provoked. Both articles were from the ABC.com news section so that the variables of access and readership were held as constant as possible. In addition, ABC.com is not perceived as particularly slanted ideologically, so data were gathered from a representative population of politically active citizens with Internet access. While the nature of the comments may have introduced a self-selection bias, this was not a major problem because these were the individuals who were the most politically motivated and therefore most likely to vote. The self-selection bias is a benefit to the research design because it is a way to concentrate on the members of society who are in the best position to influence political campaigns.

Variables

Each comment was coded into three categories: blatant, covert, and subtle sexism, as Swim, Mallett, and Stangor (2004) suggested in their research. For each category, there are two subcategories that may be identified: positive sexism (e.g., she is the better candidate simply because she is a woman) and negative sexism (e.g., she cannot be president because she is a woman). Each comment had the potential to be coded in one of seven ways. Using categories and definitions used in previous research contributed to the credibility of the measurement technique in this study. In addition, reading of all the comments prior to coding and identifying common words and phrases allowed context-specific definitions of the categories to be developed, as shown in Table 1.

Method

The comments were coded individually and then recorded in an SPSS datasheet. After all data were coded and entered, I analyzed the data to see how the commenters as a whole reacted to sexism concerning Clinton and Palin. To analyze the data, I conducted a cross tabulation between the variables *comment found after article concerning Hillary Clinton or Sarah Palin* and *level of sexism found in the comment*. For simplicity of viewing, the variables and data were recoded in order to remove the comments coded 0, or *no sexism detected*.

Results

As shown in Table 2, Palin received the most negative and blatant sexism overall. On the positive side of the sexism scale, Palin also received far more blatantly sexist comments. The Clinton commenters demonstrate little sexism on the negative side, with only a strong representation in negative subtle comments, while comments were found to be more resolutely in the positive categories of covert and blatant. Meanwhile, Palin commenters produced more strongly negative comments, and Palin also received fewer positive sexist comments.

Table 1
Comment Code Definitions and Examples

Code	Label	Definition	Actual example (unedited)
-3	Negative blatant	Only qualification for being chosen/got this far is that she is a woman; name calling; telling woman speaker to not speak; concern over candidate's family (children or spouse)	"Hillary has tried every gimmick to play on peoples emotion in this election. She tried crying in New Hampshire, her husband tried the race card in SC, she also tried the race card in "white hard working Americans" speech, she pretended to choke in a cnn interview. Now she says it's sexism. Hillary should be ashamed and just get the hell out of here."
-2	Negative covert	Expectation of women all voting the same	"I personally do not trust Senator Hillary Clinton, I do not believe her, and I do not like her. I am also speaking for my close female friend. I am not against any female being President of our country but I am against a phony."
-1	Negative subtle	Blaming of candidate for losing; blaming of vetting for poor pick	"Hillary will look for any excuse to cover up the fact that she ran a poor campaign. Why can't the Clintons simply accept the truth?"
0	No sexism detected	No sexism perceivable; off topic comments	Comments about other candidates, off-topic arguments between commenters
1	Positive subtle	Candidate not to blame for losing or poor press	"I can't help but laugh as I read through these posts and watching folks trying every possible angle to discredit the choice of Palin for VP. It seems quite apparent to me that they are doing this because they see that their candidates are fraught with inadequacy so much so that they are separate to make the Republican contenders look more inferior. Good luck with that."
2	Positive covert	Expectation of women all voting the same	"51% of the population are women. For all those media outlets who spent your time tearing down Palin and her family. It will all come out in the voting booth. How lucky do you feel?"
3	Positive blatant	Very fact that she is a woman is a qualification; motherhood as a qualification	"Anyone who doesn't see how the male media has turned on her is brain dead. I am also disappointed that young women don't get it. Being a housewife in the fifties and doting on your man wasn't a whole lot better than living under a burka. Obama may get the nomination but if she isn't at least on the ticket – then the Democratic party has lost me and my contributions."

Table 2
*Cross Tabulation of Variables Comment Found After Article Concerning Hillary Clinton or Sarah Palin * Level of Sexism Found in Comment*

	Level of sexism found in comment						
	Negative blatant sexism	Negative covert sexism	Negative subtle sexism	Positive subtle sexism	Positive covert sexism	Positive blatant sexism	Total
Hillary Clinton	8	12	23	1	11	9	64
	8.8%	11.7%	24.2%	6.7%	21.6%	27.3%	16.5%
Sarah Palin	83	91	72	14	40	24	324
	91.2%	88.3%	75.8%	93.3%	78.4%	72.7%	83.5%
Total	91	103	95	15	51	33	388
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure 1
Levels of Sexism Found in Comments Specific to Candidate
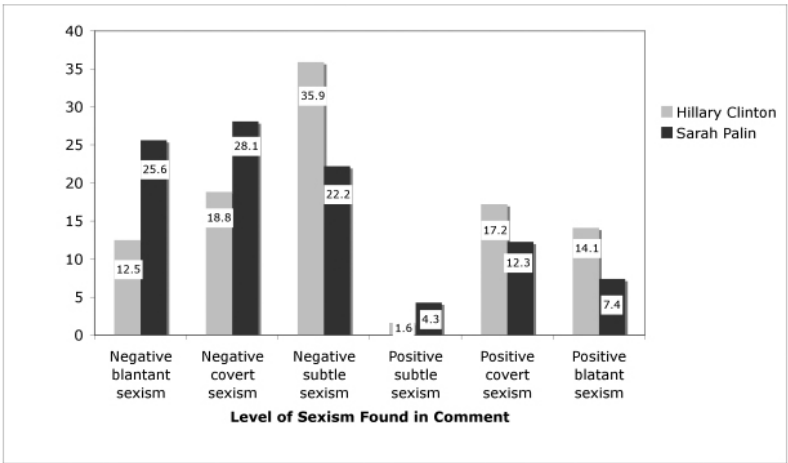
        The trend that each candidate's commenters exhibited as a group can be seen in Figure 1. For Clinton, the highest group was the negative subtle sexism, as opposed to Palin's highest categories of negative blatant sexism and negative covert sexism. Negative sexism presented much more strongly than positive sexism. Clinton's results were nearly a bell curve, with the exception of positive subtle sexism, meaning that there were nearly equal amounts of positive and negative blatant sexism and positive and negative amounts of covert sexism. Palin's results are heavily focused on the negative side. Overall, I found that 75.9% of the comments about Palin were negatively sexist, while only 67.2% of the comments about Clinton were negatively sexist.

Discussion

Because of media coverage emphasizing sexist attitudes toward Clinton, these results are surprising. Overall, in a comparison of Clinton and Palin, Clinton received less negative sexism and more positive sexism. If these results are consistent across the voting block, Clinton benefits from the sexist attitudes toward her. Several factors could have contributed to this result. First, the timing of the articles selected may have influenced the data. Cindy McCain was strongly associated with the article about Palin, and the comments and coding were influenced by that additional variable.

Next, Palin was new to the national political stage at the time the article was published and comments were posted. Just a few weeks prior to this article being written, many of the commenters had likely never heard of Palin. According to Kahn (1994), gubernatorial candidates face different expectations and sexism challenges than senatorial candidates. Because of their backgrounds, Clinton had experience in responding to situations and comments that Palin may not have had. In addition, Kahn found that female gubernatorial candidates use many sex stereotypes to their advantage. Palin may have tried to use the techniques that had worked for her in her gubernatorial politics (strong emphasis on family, "hottest governor" buttons, etc.) at a national level where Kahn showed that these tactics do not work to the candidate's advantage.

As found by Mezey (1978), women with families and family responsibilities have a much more difficult time entering politics. Palin's children were a major factor in the negative sexist comments—many of the commenters had a hard time accepting her ability to adequately deal with pending vice-presidential responsibilities, particularly with her newborn child and her pregnant teenage daughter. Conversely, Clinton did not face such circumstances.

Limitations

My study was limited by several factors. There was inequity between coded comments about Palin (large number of comments) and coded comments about Clinton (small number of comments). This may be a consequence of the newness of Palin or some other confounding variable. Additionally, it must be noted that Cindy McCain may be a confounding variable in the research because the news article about Palin included comments made by McCain. This led many of the commenters to make extremely sexist remarks about McCain. While conducting my research, I made a decision rule early in the study to include sexist remarks in the coding whether they were specific to the candidate or merely involving the people surrounding the candidate. For example, sexist comments about female voters were coded as sexist and not ignored because they were not about the candidate specifically. Because of this decision rule, all comments were included that were made about McCain in the coding of sexism studying Palin. One product of this research is that questions about political spouses and the special kinds of sexism they face may be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Further Research and Questions

This study reveals many avenues for future research. First, I plan to collect data from more comments following similar articles to see if these results are further substantiated. An expansion beyond these articles to include a discussion of perceived

sexism facing Clinton earlier in the primary campaign and a discussion of perceived sexism facing Palin later in the campaign would provide a larger context for the total discussion of sexism. Building on the results found here, future research questions might include: Are political spouses (i.e., Cindy McCain, Michelle Obama) subject to sexism that affects the election of their spouses? Do candidates who are appointed face different kinds of sexism than candidates who run independently? Was there a novelty factor that contributed to the heightened level of sexism facing Palin? If so, female candidates might prepare for an early onslaught of sexism, knowing that such attacks may dissipate so that issues can become the focus as the campaign continues.

There are also questions about methodology of using comments as data: What is the best research design involving comment boards and forums? What prompts readers to leave comments? Are these readers representative of the population? How are commenters influenced by previous comments? How do commenters create a public opinion in this specific public sphere (see Houser, 1998)? Do comments create communication conflict spirals in comment boards? When and how do commenters react to other commenters?

Significance

Because a woman has not yet reached the highest U.S. political office, these results hold significance for the future of female candidates. On an individual level, the results hold importance for the future of Clinton's and Palin's political careers. Despite their defeats in the 2008 election, they have shown that they will not quietly leave the political stage. They continue to be the two most visible women in their respective parties as they move on to new goals. To be viable at a national stage, Palin needs to find a way to address the strong negative sexist attitudes toward her. Clinton faces a unique challenge, where it may be politically profitable to quietly nurture the positive sexist attitudes that may help her. However, she must not make this obvious in order to avoid a backlash.

Moving past the individual futures of Palin and Clinton, any woman hoping to enter politics must be aware of the special challenges surrounding the issue of sexism. Children, spouses, political offices, appearance, abilities, and their own personal communication about sexism all factor heavily into the results. The politically ambitious woman will have to consider these potential stumbling blocks when making life decisions. Many (including myself) cringe at the thought that women today continue to have to make decisions of whether getting married or having children or supporting a politically ambitious husband will eventually interfere with their political ambitions. Unfortunately, I find no contrary evidence.

However, there is reason to be optimistic. The defeated Palin and Clinton did not shrink from the political spotlight after their losses but remain a central part of politics 1 year later. Many speculate of a 2012 presidential bid by Palin, and Secretary of State Clinton should not be forgotten. The lessons learned from the 2008 campaign will not be lost on them and should not be lost on younger women who plan on becoming politically involved. Sexism exists, but it applies differently to women depending on their situations or circumstances. A vacuum exists for a candidate to come and stir up sexism once again. Political junkies will not need to wait long.

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Global Gene Expression in Cyanobacterial Electron Transfer Mutants

George L. Weir IV and **Kraig Short**, co-authors
Dr. Toivo Kallas, Biology & Microbiology, faculty adviser

George Weir graduated from UW Oshkosh in August 2009 with a degree in microbiology. In 2006 he participated in the NSF-REU summer research program at UW Oshkosh where he became interested in biotechnology and genetics. He was accepted to the biology/microbiology graduate program at UW Oshkosh where he will continue to work with Dr. Kallas on photosynthesis and gene expression profiling in cyanobacteria.

Kraig Short graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2008 with a degree in microbiology. His research under Dr. Kallas began in spring 2008 as part of a biotechnology class. Biofuels have always been of interest to him, and his undergraduate research has shown him the numerous ways to explore energy sources. Kraig plans to attend graduate school at UW Oshkosh in spring 2010.

Dr. Toivo Kallas is a professor of microbial genetics and biotechnology and director of the Proteomics and Functional Genomics Core Facility in the Department of Biology & Microbiology. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Oregon and postdoctoral training from the Institut Pasteur and University of California Berkeley. His research concerns photosynthetic energy conversion and adaptive mechanisms of microalgae.

Abstract

In photosynthesis, microalgae such as cyanobacteria capture enormous amounts of solar energy and convert carbon dioxide (CO_2) into biopolymers that support life on earth and hold great potential for production of carbon-neutral biofuels. The photosynthetic process involves electron transfer reactions mediated by reaction center and cytochrome *bf* protein complexes. The *bf* complex also functions in regulation of photosynthesis by mechanisms that are not fully understood. We used the marine cyanobacterium *Synechococcus* PCC 7002 and mutants with genetically altered cytochrome *bf* complexes to investigate the role of this complex in regulation of adaptive gene expression responses. Native and mutant *Synechococcus* cultures were grown in CO_2-limited photosynthetic conditions, RNA molecules were extracted, and fluorescently labeled copies of these were hybridized to whole-genome microarrays ("gene chips") to detect gene expression levels. Numerous genes were differentially expressed in the cytochrome *bf* mutants, illustrating the importance of the *bf* complex for gene regulation and adaptation. The research contributes to understanding the regulation of electron transport in globally important microalgae and to potential biofuels applications of these organisms.

Introduction

         Cyanobacteria, once known as blue-green algae (Greek = κυανός [kyanós] meaning blue), account for ~50% of oceanic photosynthesis and overall ~25% globally (Partensky, Hess, & Vaulot, 1999). They have persisted on earth for ~3.5 billion years and are responsible for supplying the earth's atmosphere with oxygen (O_2). Cyanobacteria convert atmospheric carbon dioxide (CO_2) into energy-rich biomass and produce oxygen as a byproduct in photosynthesis, requiring only simple inorganic nutrients (CO_2, nitrogen, phosphorus, sulfur, and trace nutrients) for growth and survival. They are the evolutionary ancestors of plant chloroplasts and thus established photosynthesis as a novel and globally important mechanism for energy conversion that supports the abundant and vast biodiversity we see on our planet today (Grey, 1989).

Figure 1
Cytochrome **bf** *Complex at the Crossroads of Photosynthesis and Respiration*
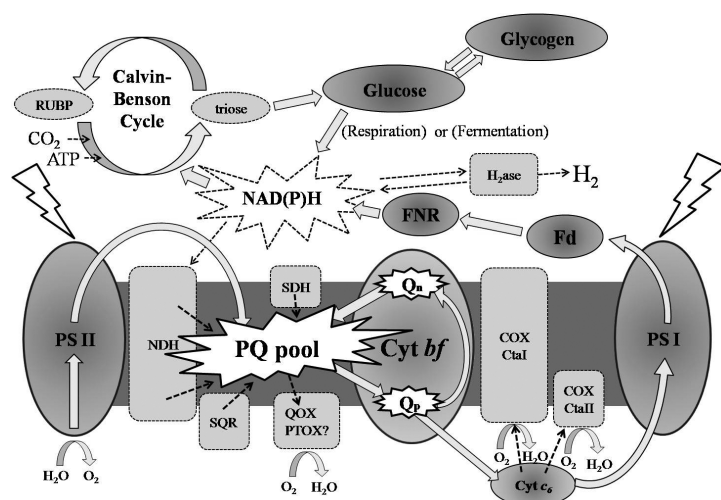
Note. Photosystems II and I (PS II and PS I), plastoquinone pool (PQ pool), cytochrome *bf* complex (Cyt *bf*), the two plastoquinone binding sites of the *bf* complex (Q_n and Q_p), NAD(P)H dehydrogenase (NDH), succinate dehydrogenase (SDH), sulfide-quinone oxidoreductase (SQR), quinol oxidase (QOX), cytochrome oxidase (COX), cytochrome c_6 (Cyt c_6), ferredoxin (Fd), ferredoxin-NAD(P)H oxidoreductase (FNR), bidirectional hydrogenase (H_2ase), hydrogen (H_2), sunlight (lightning bolts), carbon dioxide (CO_2), adenosine tri-phosphate (ATP), ribulose bisphosphate (RUBP), triose phosphates or glyceraldehyde-3-phosphate (triose). The dark region depicts the thylakoid membrane, and thick, light arrows indicate major electron transfer pathways.

         The photosynthetic apparatus consists of photosystem II (PS II), photosystem I (PS I), and cytochrome (Cyt) *bf* protein complexes located within thylakoid membranes (see Figure 1). The light-harvesting phycobiliprotein (PBS) complexes (see Figure 2) capture sunlight, causing electrons to flow between the two photosystems via the plastoquinone pool (PQ pool) and Cyt *bf* complex (Blankenship, 2002). The electron

transport chain between PS II and PS I consists of a series of oxidation/reduction (loss or gain of electrons) reactions, or "redox" reactions. Through such redox reactions, the Cyt *bf* complex generates a transmembrane gradient of hydrogen ions (H+ or protons) that drives adenosine triphosphate (ATP) synthesis to supply chemical energy for cellular processes (Kallas, 1994). Two electron transfer pathways occur within the cytochrome *bf* complex. Briefly, oxidation (loss of electrons), of plastoquinol from the PQ pool results in electron flow into both the high- and low-potential chains (see Figure 2). Mutations that impede electron transfer in either the high- or low-potential chains slow the turnover of the *bf* complex (Yan & Cramer, 2003; Nelson, Finazzi, Wang, Middleton-Zarka, Whitmarsh, & Kallas, 2005). However, impaired electron flow in the low-potential chain, as in our *Synechococcus* PetB-R214H mutant (Nelson et al.), results in electron transfer to O_2 and production of damaging oxygen radicals (Horn, 2005).

Figure 2
Electron Transfer Pathways and Mutations of the Cytochrome **bf** *Complex*
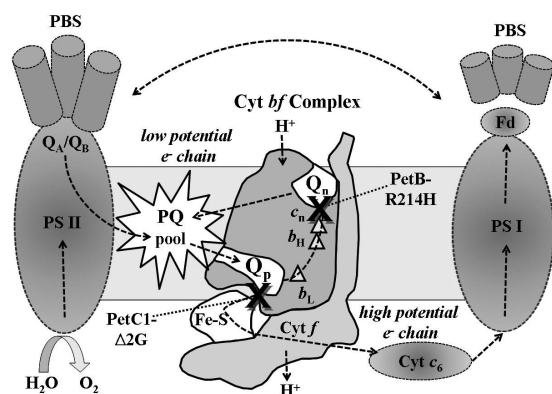
Note. Rieske iron-sulfur protein (Fe-S), plastoquinol oxidation site (Q_p), plastoquinone reduction site (Q_n), cytochrome *f* (Cyt *f*), b_L, b_H, and c_n hemes, phycobiliprotein light-harvesting proteins (PBS), ferredoxin (Fd), plastoquinone pool (PQ pool), plastoquinone sites of PS II (Q_A/Q_B). Dashed arrows indicate the Cyt *bf* high- and low-potential electron transfer pathways. PetC-Δ2G and PetB-R214H show the locations of these mutations in these pathways, and the black Xs show the sites of electron blockage. Arching dashed arrow illustrates the redistribution of PBS light-harvesting complexes mediated by redox-sensing and signaling by the Cyt *bf* complex.

The cytochrome *bf* complex also senses the redox level of electron transport and signals the redistribution of light-harvesting PBS proteins to adjust electron flow between PS II and PS I (Wollman, 2001) as illustrated in Figure 2. This regulation allows cyanobacteria to adjust their metabolism to changing environments. Moreover, the *bf* complex has been implicated in redox signaling of longer-term, adaptive gene expression events (Allen, 2004). In living organisms, the genetic information in deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) is transcribed into messenger ribonucleic acid (mRNA)

and then translated into the proteins that perform most biological functions. Therefore, knowledge of transcription (gene expression) provides ways to understand and manipulate biological processes. The electron transport pathways in photosynthesis that allow cyanobacteria to adapt to different environments are poorly understood. Such knowledge will be important for understanding the intrinsic biology of cyanobacteria and for applications such as the development of hydrogen or triacyglycerol (biodiesel) biofuels production strategies. We used high-density microarrays ("gene chips") and strains of the marine cyanobacterium *Synechococcus* PCC 7002 (Van Baalen, 1962) with genetically altered cytochrome *bf* complexes to investigate the hypothesis that the low- and high-potential chains of this complex play specific roles in signaling changes in gene expression. Mutants PetB-R214H (Nelson et al., 2005) and PetC1-Δ2G (Yan & Cramer, 2003) have impaired electron flow in the low- and high-potential chains, respectively. We show that perturbations of the cytochrome *bf* complex profoundly alter the expression levels of numerous genes.

Methods
Cyanobacterial Strains and Culture Conditions
Strains of the unicellular, marine cyanobacterium *Synechococcus* 7002 were grown as described by Nelson et al. (2005). Mutant PetB-R214H has a mutation in the cytochrome *bf* low potential chain causing slower turnover of the *bf* complex, slower growth (Nelson et al.), and overproduction of oxygen radicals (Horn, 2005). Mutant PetC1-Δ2G (Yan & Cramer, 2003) has a mutation in the *bf* high-potential chain, also causing slower turnover of the complex, only somewhat slower growth relative to the wild type, and no increase in oxygen radical production.

RNA Isolation, Purification, and Quantification
RNA molecules were extracted by a hot phenol method as in Brudler et al. (2003) with modifications. The method relies on rapid cell harvest and quenching of metabolism followed by extractions with phenol and chloroform, phase separations, and alcohol precipitation to remove contaminating proteins. DNA was removed from the resulting "crude RNA" preparation by means of Ambion® Turbo DNA-free reagents. RNAs were quantified by UV absorbance measurements at 260 nm (A_{260}) according to the formula 1.0 A_{260} = 33 μg RNA/mL.

Fluorescent Labeling and Dye Incorporation
Complementary DNA (cDNA) copies of RNAs were synthesized by reverse transcription (RT) from random primers and labeled with fluorescent tags by ChipShot™ Indirect Labeling reagents (Promega, Madison, WI). The RT reaction incorporated an aminoallyl uridine-5'-triphosphate (UTP) into the cDNA which was then covalently linked to Cy3 fluorescent dye. The frequencies of dye incorporation (FOI) and quantities of recovered cDNA were calculated by means of extinction coefficients for Cy3 dye at 550 nm and single-stranded DNA at 260 nm according to the manufacturer's instructions. FOI ranged from ~14–29 pmol dye per ng cDNA.

High-Density Oligonucleotide Microarrays and cDNA Hybridizations
Custom, 4-plex microarrays of *Synechococcus* 7002 were purchased from

NimbleGen®. These microarrays are synthesized by a massively parallel, "on-chip," DNA synthesis process that employs nanomirror arrays and light-activated catalysis (Singh-Gasson et al., 1999). Each 4-plex slide contains four microarrays (each 1 x 0.5 cm). Each microarray contains ~72,000, 60-mer oligonucleotide probes (short segments of *Synechococcus* DNA) with seven probes for most genes repeated three times on each array. In addition, each array contains ~6,000 high-density probes for upstream, untranslated (UTR) regions of ~100 selected genes. These UTR probes were designed to map RNA transcription start sites and regulatory regions of genes of interest.

In gene expression microarrays, labeled cDNA copies of mRNAs bind through complementary base pairing to corresponding, single-stranded probe DNAs on the microarray. The intensity of the fluorescent signal on each spot of the microarray is proportional to the amount of cDNA bound and therefore to the amount of mRNA in the sample and to the expression level of a particular gene. Microarray hybridizations were performed at the UW Madison Gene Expression Center. A four-chambered mixer was glued onto the 4-plex array slide to cover and separate each of the four microarray compartments on the slide. Labeled cDNAs (~800–1600 ng) from *Synechococcus* wild type, PetB-R214H, or PetC1-Δ2G mutants and alignment oligonucleotides in a final volume of 8.0 μL of hybridization buffer were applied to each array and incubated at 42°C. After ~16 hours of incubation, the mixing chamber was removed and unbound cDNAs were removed through a series of washes.

Microarray Scanning and Software

Following washes and drying, the microarray slide was immediately scanned at 5 μm resolution in an Axon GenePix™ 4000B scanner with 532 nm excitation light and Cy3 fluorescence emission detected at ~570 nm. Initial data processing was done with NimbleScan™ software. The four individual microarrays were aligned to each other by means of signals from the alignment oligonucleotides. The mean signal intensities of the four arrays were normalized via a Robust Multichip Average (RMA) algorithm (Irizarry et al., 2003) in the NimbleScan™ software. Data files containing normalized, mean expression levels for each of the ~3,000 genes of *Synechococcus* from the wild type and mutant datasets were exported for further analysis in ArrayStar® v3.0 software. ArrayStar® is a user-friendly microarray analysis software package that allows gene expression data to be linked to known or putative gene functions and has remarkable visualization graphics for data analysis.

Results

To investigate the impacts of the cytochrome *bf* complex mutations on gene expression, the *Synechococcus* PetB-R214H low-potential chain and PetC1-Δ2G high-potential chain mutant cultures and a wild type (control) were grown in CO_2-limited, photosynthetic conditions to mid-exponential phase (O.D.$_{750nm}$ ~0.5) and harvested for RNA extractions. Labeled cDNA copies of RNAs were hybridized to the NimbleGen® 4-plex microarrays as described in the Methods section. Nearly 800 genes in the PetB-R214H mutant and ~400 genes in the PetC1-Δ2G mutant showed 2-fold or greater difference in expression relative to the control (see Figure 3). More than 60 genes showed 8-fold or greater differences. Eight genes that may be of particular interest with respect to redox regulation or signaling are highlighted in Table 1 and Figures 3 and 4. Three of these genes (A0375, G0126, G0131) were up-regulated extensively in

the PetB-R214H mutant and less so in PetC1-Δ2G (displayed in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1 as circles). Two of these genes (A0486, A0641) were moderately up-regulated in both PetB-R214H and PetC1-Δ2G (displayed in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1 as triangles). The final three genes (D0010, D0015, A1224) were significantly down-regulated in both PetB-R214H and PetC1-Δ2G (displayed in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1 as diamonds). These data demonstrate that large numbers of genes were differentially expressed in response to perturbations either of the cytochrome *bf* complex low- and/or high-potential electron transport chains.

Figure 3
Scatter Plot of Gene Expression Levels in **Synechococcus** *PCC 7002 PetB-R214H vs. Wild Type*
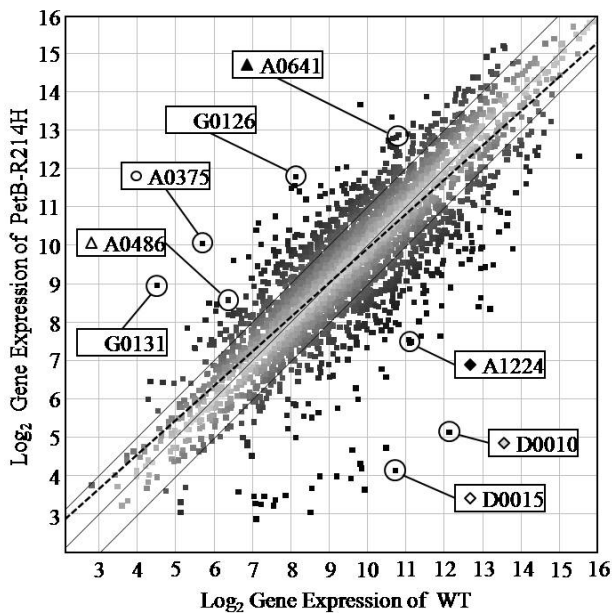
Note. The *x*- and *y*-axes represent $\log_2$ gene expression values in the wild type and PetB-R214H cytochrome *bf* low-potential chain mutant, respectively. Each point represents 1 of the ~3,000 genes in the *Synechococcus* genome. Points outside of the solid lines show genes over- or under-expressed by ≥ 2-fold in PetB-R214H relative to the wild type control. The dotted line represents the best-fit line to all of the data points. Circles indicate selected genes described further in Table 1 and Figure 4 (the same gene symbols are used throughout).

Figure 4
Expression Levels of Selected Genes of Potential Interest
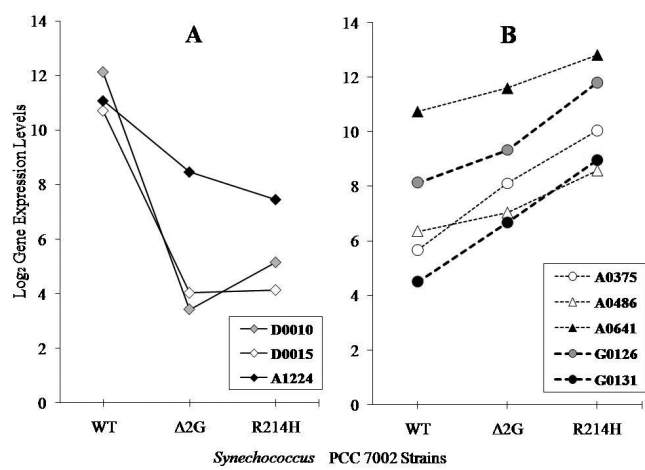
Note. The *y*-axis represents $\log_2$ gene expression values of selected genes in *Synechococcus* PCC 7002 wild type (WT) and the PetC1-Δ2G (Δ2G), and PetB-R214H (R214H) mutants. **Panel A**: Each line represents one gene (D0010, grey diamond; D0015, white diamond; A1224, black diamond) that was significantly down-regulated compared to the wild type. **Panel B**: Each line represents one gene (A0375, white circle; A0486, grey circle; A0641, black circle; G0126, white triangle; G0131, black triangle) that was significantly up-regulated compared to the wild type.

Table 1
Selected Genes Up- or Down-Regulated in Cytochrome **bf** *Mutants*

Gene symbol	Seq ID*	Fold change (+ or −)		Gene name**	Gene function
		R214H vs. WT	Δ2G vs. WT		
○	A0375	+ 21	+4	*cytM*	Cytochrome c_M
● (grey)	G0126	+13	+2	N/A	Hypothetical protein
●	G0131	+22	+4	N/A	Hypothetical protein
△	A0486	+5	+2	*rpaB*	Two-component response regulator (*ycf27*)
▲	A0641	+4	+2	*ompR*	Transcriptional regulator protein, LuxR family
◇	D0015	− 94	−101	N/A	Conserved hypothetical protein containing helix-turn-helix domain
◆ (grey)	D0010	−126	−414	N/A	CobW/P47K family protein
◆	A1224	−12	−6	N/A	Response regulator receiver domain protein

*Seq IDs: abbreviated gene sequence identifiers (e.g., A0375 for SYNPCC7002_A0375) from the National Center for Biotechnology Information Web site (www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov).

**Gene name, N/A: not available or unknown.

Discussion and Conclusions

Cyanobacteria flourish in diverse environments such as those of nutrient-deprived oceans, of extreme high or low light intensity, extreme temperatures, under desiccation, or in dense, anaerobic mats (Johnson et al., 2006). Each environment requires adjustments in metabolism and gene expression activities. In plant and algal chloroplasts, the cytochrome *bf* complex signals the redox-dependent redistribution of light-harvesting proteins between the photosystems (Wollman, 2001) and has been implicated in redox-regulation of gene expression (Allen, 2004). However, many aspects of the signaling mechanisms and the role of the *bf* complex in gene regulation remain unclear. In the current study, mutants of the marine coastal cyanobacterium *Synechococcus* PCC 7002 with impaired electron flow in the cytochrome *bf* low- (PetB-R214H; Nelson et al., 2005) and high-potential chains (PetC1-Δ2G; Yan & Cramer, 2003) were used to investigate the impact of these domains on global gene expression. Data presented here show that perturbation of electron transfer in the *bf* complex altered the expression of numerous genes (see Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1). These data support the hypothesis that the *bf* complex and particularly its low-potential domain play important roles in redox-signaling of gene expression.

The PQ pool and cytochrome *bf* complex occupy central positions at the intersection of photosynthetic and respiratory electron transfer chains in cyanobacteria (see Figure 1). The PQ pool becomes reduced through the activity of PS II during photosynthesis and by NAD(P)H (NDH) and succinate dehydrogenases (SDH) during darkness (Kallas, 1994). Because cytochrome oxidases (COX; see Figure 1) of cyanobacteria have low activities, the PQ pool becomes reduced during dark incubation. Under these conditions, NAD(P)H levels rise and anaerobic fermentation pathways may become active, including that for hydrogen production. Detailed understanding of electron flow through these pathways and the regulatory events mediated by the PQ pool and cytochrome *bf* complex will be important for understanding the intrinsic biology of cyanobacteria and for development of biofuels applications (Hu et al., 2008).

Our preliminary high-density microarray gene expression data show that mutations in the cytochrome *bf* complex altered the expression of hundreds of genes, including many that respond uniquely to perturbations of the cytochrome *bf* low- or high-potential electron transfer chains. Nearly 800 genes in the PetB-R214H mutant and more than 400 in PetC1-Δ2G showed 2-fold or greater differences in expression relative to the wild type control. Sixty genes in PetB-R214H and 34 in PetC1-Δ2G showed 8-fold or greater differences. We selected eight of these as examples of genes that may be targets or components of redox signaling based on the current data (see Table 1 and Figure 4). Three of these genes were up-regulated in both mutants but substantially more so in PetB-R214H. Gene A0375 (see white circles in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) encodes a cryptic cytochrome (Cyt c_M) protein and is widely distributed among cyanobacteria (Bialek et al., 2008). Cyt c_M donates electrons to a cyanobacterial respiratory cytochrome oxidase in vitro, but otherwise its function is unknown (Bernroitner et al., 2009). G0131 and G0126 encode hypothetical, membrane-spanning proteins. G0131 (see black circles in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) and G0126 (see grey circles in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) specify 21.5 kDa and 26 kDa proteins, respectively. The functions of these are completely unknown, but membrane proteins have possible roles in energy transduction and/or signaling.

Genes A0641 (see black triangles in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) and A0486 (see white triangles in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) were moderately up-regulated in both mutants. A0641 is related to known, LuxR family transcriptional regulators. A homolog of this gene, PedR in the cyanobacterium *Synechocystis* PCC 6803, may sense redox potential or electron flux on the acceptor site of PS I (Nakamura & Hihara, 2006). Gene A0486 is related to a 2-component response regulator (RpaB) involved in up-regulation of PS I genes at low light intensity in *Synechocystis* (Seino, Takahashi, & Hihara, 2009). Analysis of the *Synechococcus* 7002 A0641 and A0486 genes could help address whether signaling related to slowed Cyt *bf* turnover (occurring in both PetB-R214H and PetC1-Δ2G mutants) may be mediated in part by the redox state of acceptors "downstream" of PS I.

Genes D0010, D0015, and A1224 were dramatically down-regulated in both the low- (PetB-R214H) and high-potential chain (PetC1-Δ2G) mutants. D0010 (see grey diamonds in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) encodes a 41.6 kDa CobW/P47 protein involved in cobalamin (vitamin B_{12}) synthesis. *Synechococcus* 7002 requires vitamin B_{12} for growth. The steep down-regulation of this gene in both mutants suggests that its expression is regulated by increased reduction of the PQ pool or increased oxidation of carriers downstream of PS I, which should occur in both mutants. Gene D0015 (see white diamonds in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) encodes a 17 kDa hypothetical protein that has a helix-turn-helix domain and is thereby a putative transcriptional regulator. A1224 (see black diamonds in Figures 3 and 4, and Table 1) encodes a 15.4 kDa response-regulator receiver domain protein and is thus also a putative component of a redox signal transduction chain.

Overall, large numbers of genes in the cyanobacterium *Synechococcus* PCC 7002 were differentially expressed in response to mutations in the cytochrome *bf* complex low- or high-potential chains. These data support the hypothesis that many genes are regulated in response to the redox state of the cytochrome *bf* low-potential chain, the high-potential chain, or to overall slowdown of the complex. Differentially regulated genes include ones for several hypothetical proteins as well as putative sensor or response regulator proteins that may have roles in redox sensing and signaling. Data presented here establish the basis for detailed investigations of the impacts of electron transfer mutations and environmental conditions on global gene expression in *Synechococcus* PCC 7002, a marine cyanobacterium that efficiently converts solar radiation and inorganic carbon into biomass. Further studies will involve replicates of the conditions tested here to gain statistically robust data as well as tests of additional mutants and culture conditions to gain insight into mechanism of adaptation and potential biofuels applications. Genes identified in these studies will be potential targets for future mutagenesis and functional studies aimed at determining the roles of specific proteins.

Acknowledgements

Center) for help with NimbleGen® array hybridizations; Matt Nelson (UW Oshkosh) for help with cyanobacterial cultures and RNA isolation techniques; and Will Kovac and other UW Oshkosh Microbial Genetics Lab students from fall 2007–2008 for contributions to the project.

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The Effects of Promotions on Attendance at Major League Baseball Games

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Abstract
What are the effects of promotions on attendance at Major League Baseball games? To examine this question, I collected data from each of the Milwaukee Brewers' 81 home games during the 2008 regular season. Several independent variables relating to the type of promotion, as well as variables relating to the day of the game, winning percentage of both the home and visiting teams, and whether or not the game was a marquee game, were analyzed. Promotions were grouped into four different categories: bobblehead promotions, giveaway promotions, coupon promotions, and event promotions. Results show that promotions have a positive effect on attendance, with bobblehead promotions being the most effective form of promotion, followed by giveaways, events, and coupons.

Introduction
What are the effects of promotions on attendance at Major League Baseball (MLB) games? While the main objective of MLB teams is to win games and, ultimately, the World Series, teams also seek to earn profits. One way teams do this is through ticket sales, and promotions increase attendance. However, promotions are both complex and important to sports marketing executives.

A number of factors, both on the field and off, affect an individual's decision whether or not to attend a MLB game. MLB teams have more home games (81) than the National Basketball Association (41) and the National Football League (8) combined. Consequently, fans are less likely to consider each game critical to attend. Because ticket sales are the main source of revenue for many teams, understanding which factors are most attractive to fans is crucial to a team's survival. Given the current economic situation, finding ways to sell tickets is even more important. Attendance across all 30 MLB teams is down about 4.4% through May 12, 2009, compared to the same time in 2008, and nine of those teams have seen an even more significant decline in attendance (Singer, 2009).

To determine the effects of promotions on attendance, I collected data from each of the Milwaukee Brewers' 81 home games during the 2008 regular season. I analyzed several independent variables that measured the effects of the day of the game, winning percentage of both the home and visiting teams, and whether or not the game was a marquee game. I grouped promotions into four different categories of dummy variables: bobblehead promotions, giveaway promotions, coupon promotions, and event promotions. Results show that promotions have a positive effect on attendance. However, the type of promotion is significant: Different types of promotions have different effects on attendance. Bobblehead promotions are the most effective form of promotion, followed by giveaways, events, and coupons. In its July 13, 2009, issue, *ESPN* ranked the Brewers fourth for the highest-rated promotional giveaways among all 122 teams from the four major U.S. sports. The Brewers earned their ranking due to their frequent use of bobblehead promotions (Keating, 2009).

Literature Review

One of the most important variables that can be controlled by marketers is the promotion variable. Bobblehead, baseball card, and poster giveaways are common. However, some marketers have designed newer, more unique promotion ideas, including Calculator Day at Yankee Stadium, Joe Mauer Fishing Lure Day at the Metrodome, and Sleepover at Chase Field Night (Gallo, 2008). Several studies have been conducted to discover what factors bring fans to the ballpark.

Boyd and Krehbiel (2003) conducted a study of three different types of promotions and their effect on attendance. The dependent variable in their study was attendance. The study's independent variables included three types of promotions: price discounts, giveaways, and special features. Other independent variables included temperature, winning percentage of both the home and visiting teams, time of game, day of game, and whether or not the opponent was a rival. Boyd and Krehbiel collected data from home games for six MLB teams during the 1999 season.

In addition, Boyd and Krehbiel (2003) found that promotions had a positive effect on attendance for each of the six teams studied. The average increase in attendance ranged from 1,963 for one team to 13,151 for another team. Two of the study's three promotion variables, giveaways and special features, proved to be statistically significant. Boyd and Krehbiel found evidence of diminishing returns when two or more factors that increase game attractiveness occur in a single game. While promotions at games against a rival showed no increase in attendance, promotions at weekend games showed a positive increase in attendance but were not significant for all teams. Boyd and Krehbiel concluded that a weekend game versus a rival is already an attractive game, and, therefore, promotions will not significantly increase attendance for such games.

McDonald and Rascher (2000) examined the effect of promotions on attendance as well as the marginal impact (the change in attendance resulting from the addition of a promotion) on attendance of additional promotions. They collected data from 19 MLB teams during each of the teams' home games during the 1996 season. However, the source of the data was unclear. The dependent variable in this study was attendance. The independent variables included 28 time-varying variables, such as the teams' winning percentage and the time of the game, and 12 time-constant variables,

such as the cost of promotional items and stadium seating capacity. McDonald and Rascher found that promotions increase attendance by an average of 14%. They reported a positive correlation between the number of promotion days and the total seasonal impact from promotions. They also reported a negative correlation between marginal impact and the number of promotions. Thus, McDonald and Rascher concluded that while having more promotions may be less effective, it may still be more profitable. They also concluded that the quality of promotion has an effect on attendance. Each dollar increase in the cost of the giveaway increased attendance by 2,688 fans.

   Barilla, Gruben, and Levernier (2008) attempted to first determine which factors affect attendance at MLB games and, second, to determine the strength of those effects. They collected data from each of the 2,431 regular-season games played during the 2005 MLB season. The study's dependent variable was attendance. The model included four categories of independent variables: (a) variables describing characteristics of the home and visiting teams; (b) variables describing the characteristics of the game, including weather conditions, day of the week, and time of the game; (c) variables describing the ethnic background of the home team's announced starting pitcher; and (d) variables describing the type of promotion at the game.

   Barilla, Gruben, and Levernier (2008) first revealed that teams with higher opening day payrolls have higher attendance, attracting an extra 610 fans for every $10 million increase in a team's payroll. They also found that, contrary to Boyd and Krehbiel (2003), promotions at games against rivals did not affect attendance differently than promotions at games against non-rivals. Second, they found that promotional timing is crucial. The results showed that weekday promotions generate much larger increases in attendance than weekend promotions. In addition, interleague games attract up to 700 more fans than intraleague games. Third, the results of this study did not support the findings of Scully (1974) and Krautman (1999), who found that attendance is less likely to increase when the home team's starting pitcher is not White (Barilla, Gruben, & Levernier, 2008). Finally, the results, coinciding with those of Boyd and Krehbiel, showed that certain types of promotions generate larger increases in attendance than others. Barilla, Gruben, and Levernier found that games in which a bobblehead was given away attracted 5,222 more fans than games that did not have a promotion, followed by 2,600 additional fans for textile product giveaways and 2,470 additional fans for memorabilia giveaways.

   The hypothesis that certain types of promotions are more effective than others was supported by all three studies. Barilla, Gruben, and Levernier (2008) used 10 promotion variables, some of which were significant and some of which were not. Boyd and Krehbiel (2003) used three broad promotion variables. Marketers today are creative in their promotions, and it is likely that promotions could be grouped using more than just three categories. Ultimately, marketing managers need to understand which promotions have the largest impact on attendance and when those promotions will be most effective. I developed a model to determine the effects of promotions on attendance at Milwaukee Brewers games during the 2008 season.

Discussion

The dependent variable in the model was *attend*. The independent variables in the model were *hmwinpct*, *opwinpct*, *wkegame*, *mqegame*, *bobpromo*, *givpromo*, *coupromo*, and *evtpromo*. While I expected all of the independent variables to have a positive effect on attendance, some of them proved to be insignificant when tested with the other independent variables.

The *attend* variable indicated the number of fans who attended a Brewers game on a particular day. The seating capacity at Milwaukee's Miller Park is 41,900 ("Facts, Figures," 2009). The Brewers attracted more than 41,900 fans 32 times during the 2008 season because of standing-room-only admission.

The *hmwinpct* variable measured the effect of the Brewers' winning percentage on attendance. This variable was expected to have a positive effect on attendance because better teams tend to draw larger crowds.

The *opwinpct* variable measured the effect of the visiting team's winning percentage on attendance. This variable was expected to have a positive effect on attendance because fans are likely to attend Brewers games when they are playing against a strong opponent. Fans of the opposing team may also be more likely to attend their team's road games when they have a high winning percentage.

The *wkegame* variable measured the effect of a weekday game on attendance versus the effect of a weekend game on attendance. Games played Monday through Thursday are considered weekday games while games played Friday through Sunday are considered weekend games. The Brewers had 39 weekend games during the 2008 season ("2008 Brewers," 2008). Past studies (Boyd & Krehbiel, 2003) showed promotions are more effective for weekday games because weekend games generally draw larger crowds on their own.

The *mqegame* variable measured the effect of a marquee game on attendance versus the effect of a nonmarquee game on attendance. Marquee Brewers games have slightly higher ticket prices and normally occur when the team's closest rivals come to town. In 2008, the Brewers had 11 marquee games ("2008 Brewers," 2008).

The different promotion variables measured the effect of a promotion on attendance. At least one type of promotion was offered at 58 of the Brewers' 81 home games in 2008 ("2008 Brewers," 2008). Promotions were broken down into four categories of dummy variables. A dummy variable is a variable that encodes a particular attribute. It takes on the value of 0 or 1. The *bobpromo* variable measured the effect of a bobblehead promotion on attendance. The variable was given a value of 0 if there was no bobblehead promotion and a value of 1 if there was a bobblehead promotion. Bobblehead giveaways are generally a fan favorite and are considered one of the most effective forms of promotion, which justifies giving the bobblehead promotion its own category. The *givpromo* variable measured the effect of a giveaway promotion on attendance. The variable was given a value of 0 if there was no giveaway promotion and a value of 1 if there was a giveaway promotion. The Brewers' 2008 giveaways included caps, baseball cards, comic books, posters, t-shirts, bags, key chains, state quarters, car flags, and window clings ("2008 Brewers," 2008). The *coupromo* variable measured the effect of a coupon promotion on attendance. The variable was given a value of 0 if there was no coupon promotion and a value of 1 if there was a coupon promotion. The Brewers' 2008 coupon promotions included

coupons for the Harley Davidson Museum®, Quench Gum®, the Sports Authority®, and Valvoline Instant Oil Change® ("2008 Brewers," 2008). The *evtpromo* variable measured the effect of an event promotion on attendance. The variable was given a value of 0 if there was no event promotion and a value of 1 if there was an event promotion. The Brewers' 2008 events included doubleheaders with college baseball teams, pregame parades around the warning track, and a 5K run/walk ("2008 Brewers," 2008). All of the promotion variables were expected to have a positive effect on attendance; however, some were likely to be more significant than others.

I also collected data for whether or not the game was a night game, whether or not there was a promotion, and whether or not a ticket discount was offered. However, these variables were insignificant and were not included in the model.

I collected data for each of the Milwaukee Brewers' 81 home games during the 2008 regular season. All data were collected from the Milwaukee Brewers' official Web site, which provides box scores for all Brewers games ("2008 Brewers," 2008). Table 1 displays the description and summary statistics for the dependent variable.

Table 1
Dependent Variable Descriptions

Variable	Description	Min and max	Mean and standard deviation
attend	The number of people at a game	Min: 23,478 Max: 45,346	Mean: 37,884 Standard deviation: 6,567

The description, predicted sign, and summary statistics for each independent variable are displayed in Table 2. In addition, Table 2 displays means and standard deviations for each of the continuous variables and frequencies for dummy variables.

Table 2
Independent Variable Descriptions

Variable	Description	Predicted sign	Summary statistics
hmwinpct	The winning percentage of the home team	+	Mean: 0.564 Standard deviation: 0.071
opwinpct	The winning percentage of the visiting team	+	Mean: 0.494 Standard deviation: 0.085
wkdgame	Whether or not the game was played on a weekend	+	48.1% of games were played on a weekend
mqegame	Whether or not the game was a marquee game	+	13.6% of games were marquee games
bobpromo	Whether or not there was a bobblehead promotion	+	7.4% of games had a bobblehead promotion
givpromo	Whether or not there was a giveaway promotion	+	27.2% of games had a giveaway promotion
coupromo	Whether or not there was a coupon promotion	+	24.7% of games had a coupon promotion
entpromo	Whether or not there was an event promotion	+	29.6% of games had an event promotion

I expected my economic model to explain which promotions have the greatest effect on attendance. My model is as follows: $attend = \alpha + \beta_1 hmwinpct + \beta_2 opwinpct + \beta_3 wkegame + \beta_4 mqegame + \beta_5 bobpromo + \beta_6 givpromo + \beta_7 coupromo + \beta_8 evtpromo + \varepsilon$.

Regression Results

Table 3 displays the estimated coefficients, standard errors, and *p*-values for the constant and for each independent variable. The estimated coefficient describes the effect of an independent variable on the dependent variable given a unit change. The standard error is the standard deviation between the estimated and true values. Finally, the *p*-value describes the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis and being incorrect. Statistics are given for three equations. The third column reports the statistics when the dependent variable is *attend*. The fourth column reports the statistics when the dependent variable is log(*attend*). The dependent variable was logged so that results could be interpreted as percentages. The fifth column reports the statistics after the

first equation has been adjusted for heteroskedasticity, which occurs when the variance in the error terms is related to the explanatory variables. This causes the estimated standard errors to be biased.

Table 3
Regression Results

Variable	Stat	Dep. variable attend	Dep. variable log(attend)	Adjusted for HET
constant	β	46,959.0	10.836	46,959.0
	SE	6,338.0	0.185	5,096.0
	p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000
hmwinpct	β	-13,145.0	-0.415	-13,145.0
	SE	7,557.0	0.221	5,821.0
	p-value	0.086	0.065	0.027
opwinpct	β	-13,650.0	-0.446	-13,650.0
	SE	6,817.0	0.199	6,374.0
	p-value	0.049	0.028	0.036
mqegame	β	6,160.7	0.167	6,160.7
	SE	1,571.0	0.046	1,621.0
	p-value	0.000	0.001	0.000
wkegame	β	4,684.3	0.133	4,684.3
	SE	1,301.0	0.038	1,168.0
	p-value	0.001	0.001	0.000
bobpromo	β	5,562.3	0.146	5,562.3
	SE	2,167.0	0.063	1,127.0
	p-value	0.012	0.024	0.000
givpromo	β	4,459.9	0.126	4,459.9
	SE	1,319.0	0.039	1,034.0
	p-value	0.001	0.002	0.000
coupromo	β	637.0	0.022	637.0
	SE	1,291.0	0.038	1,390.0
	p-value	0.623	0.554	0.648
evtpromo	β	732.7	0.023	732.7
	SE	1,283.0	0.038	955.8
	p-value	0.570	0.544	0.446

The adjusted R^2 measures the percent of the variation in the dependent variable that is explained by variations in the independent variables. When the dependent variable is *attend*, the adjusted R^2 is .533. The adjusted R^2 when the dependent variable is log(*attend*) is .513. When the dependent variable is *attend* and after the equation has been adjusted for heteroskedasticity, the adjusted R^2 is .533.

The *hmwinpct* and *opwinpct* variables do not have the expected sign. All other factors held constant, a 10% increase in the home team's winning percentage will attract 1,315 (4.2%) fewer fans, and a 10% increase in the visiting team's winning percentage will attract 1,365 (4.5%) fewer fans. These coefficients can be explained by small differences in winning percentage throughout the season. The first few games of

the season are generally well attended. Games after the first week or two tend to draw fewer fans. The average attendance for the first three Brewers home games of 2008 was 39,933 fans. The next three games had an average attendance of 28,017 fans.

The results show that marquee games and weekend games both have a positive effect on attendance. All other factors held constant, a marquee game will attract 6,160.7 (16.7%) more fans and a weekend game will attract 4,684.3 (13.3%) more fans.

Each of the four promotion variables has a positive effect on attendance. All other factors held constant, a bobblehead promotion will attract 5,562.3 (14.6%) more fans and a giveaway promotion (posters, t-shirts, etc.) will attract 4,459.9 (12.6%) more fans. All other factors being equal, a coupon promotion (coupons for the Sports Authority®, the Harley Davidson Museum®, etc.) will attract 637.0 (2.2%) more fans and an event promotion (doubleheaders with college baseball teams, pregame parades around the warning track, etc.) will attract 732.7 (2.3%) more fans.

I used the Park test to determine if the regression specification had a problem with heteroskedasticity. A *p*-value of .04 reveals that the standard errors are not normally distributed and that the regression has problems with heteroskedasticity. The fifth column in Table 3 displays the statistics for the regression after it has been adjusted for hereroskedasticity. The estimated coefficients do not change. However, most of the standard errors are smaller and the *t*-ratios and *p*-values are slightly improved. These findings provide valuable insight and can be used to make recommendations to MLB marketing managers.

Conclusion and Recommendations

What are the effects of promotions on attendance at Milwaukee Brewers games? The results of this study show that promotions have a positive effect on attendance, confirming the findings of Barilla, Gruben, and Levernier (2008), Boyd and Krehbiel (2003), and McDonald and Rascher (2003). The findings reveal that certain promotions are more effective than others. Bobblehead promotions are the most effective, followed by giveaways, events, and coupons. Although all promotion variables positively affect attendance, a marquee opponent can attract more fans than a promotion.

These conclusions, however, are subject to limitations. First, data from more than one season should be analyzed. The data only included six bobblehead promotions and 22 giveaway promotions. This is not a large enough dataset to draw a conclusion. A larger sample size would likely help to better explain the effects of winning percentage on attendance. Second, it is unclear to what extent the results can be translated to other MLB teams. Other variables should be examined when comparing attendance across teams. Such variables might relate to demographics of the home team's city, weather, and holiday weekends.

The results from this study can be used to assist marketing managers with their promotional strategies. The findings show that those responsible for planning and scheduling promotions have a powerful tool at their disposal. As with any marketing situation, a perfect strategy to increasing attendance does not exist. Reaching 100% of the target audience and completely understanding consumer behavior is unrealistic. MLB marketing managers should use the results from this study along with their own

expertise to develop effective promotional strategies. In addition, marketing managers must determine when promotions are most effective, the order in which promotions are most effective, and the overall number of promotions that is most effective.

While conducting studies of past promotions will help the Brewers, one event proved to be the best marketing tool of all: getting to the playoffs. In 2008, the Brewers reached the postseason for the first time since 1982. Consequently, the Brewers saw a 20% jump in season-ticket sales during this past offseason and, as of May 12, 2009, were one of only three teams to see an increase in attendance (Nightengale, 2009). As long as the Brewers keep winning and giving away bobbleheads, the fans will keep coming.

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Understanding Unemployment Rates in U.S. Metropolitan Areas

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Abstract

By July 2009, the U.S. unemployment rate had increased to levels not seen in 26 years, leaving millions of Americans out of work. By looking at factors associated with unemployment in the past, we can gain greater insight into the causes of unemployment today. This paper explores factors associated with unemployment rates across metropolitan areas in the United States in 2007. I investigated how the rate of unemployment is affected by various economic components such as economic diversity, housing prices, population, salary, and region. I found that population has a positive relationship on the rate of unemployment, that there is an interval in which increasing the number of manufacturing jobs will decrease the unemployment rate, and that wage and housing prices have an inverse relationship with unemployment rates.

Introduction

This unemployment rate has increased significantly from 4.5% in April 2007 to 5.0% in April 2008 to 8.9% in April 2009 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). The number of available jobs has fallen dramatically because companies were forced to cut positions as a response to the recession. If there were a way to predict how unemployment rates respond to different economic factors, it would be possible that the economic repercussions of unemployment could be made less severe or even preventable in the future. In this paper, I explored the variables affecting the unemployment rate in U.S. metropolitan areas in 2007 in order to gain a better understanding of the economic downturn of 2009.

In particular, the focus of this paper is on the relationship between economic diversity and unemployment rates. This is an important issue to be addressed, especially in the midst of the largest economic downturn since 1980. Many people are faced with unemployment as companies close their doors. If an area is more economically diverse, one would expect the change in unemployment to be

less dramatic, as individuals could find employment in other sectors of the economy. In addition, I examined the relationship between unemployment rates and housing prices, as much of the 2009 recession has been blamed on the infamous bursting of the "housing bubble."

Literature Review

Each of the following three articles addressed to some extent the effects of a diversified economy. Despite the range of time periods studied, all three sets of authors concluded that the industrial composition plays a role in an area's stability.

Cutler and Hansz (1971) summarized their assessment of the relative degrees of response that various Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) had to economic activity during a period of general economic expansion. The dependent variable for their analysis was sensitivity of cities to fluctuations in the economy. They defined sensitivity to be the relative showings of change with respect to bank debits and non-agricultural employment. The primary independent variable used was industrial composition. During their tests for the relationship between sensitivity and industrial composition, they employed the following variants of composition: employment in the manufacturing of durable goods as a percentage of all manufacturing employment and as a percentage of total employment, and manufacturing employment as a percentage of total employment. Their research summarized that the hypothesis, which stated that a genuine connection between industrial composition and sensitivity to economic fluctuations, was corroborated when attention is paid solely to the most industrialized part of the country.

Gittell and Sohl (2005) concentrated on the technology sector. Their objective was to gain insight into regional high-technology areas during times of economic contraction. The regions they focused on were 25 of the 287 U.S. MSAs. The 25 MSAs chosen for this study were those "top ranked" by the Milken Institute in 1999. In the model by Gittell and Sohl the dependent variable was the percentage change in MSA total employment from March 2001 to February 2003. They used five explanatory variables: venture capital per worker, average wages across all industries, employment in the high-tech sector, diversity in high-tech employment, and information industry concentration. They found that, even though high-tech centers perform at or near the national average, some fared poorly during the downturn. Gittell and Sohl speculated that this was due to a poorly diversified base, high wages, and high levels of venture capital funding. They concluded that high-tech centers are just as vulnerable as other industries to pronounced economic cycles of growth and decline because they are no more resilient during periods of economic decline than other industries.

Izraeli and Murphy (2003) examined the effect of industrial diversification on the unemployment rate and per capita income of states. They tested to see if more industrially diverse states were less prone to the spells of high unemployment and if more specialization within a state would lead to higher incomes. The dependent variable used for this model was the state unemployment rate. The model took into account the following independent variables: (a) the measure of the degree of industrial diversity, (b) state per capita income, (c) population density, (d) working age of population, (e) percent of total population that was non-White, (f) percent of total population ages 16–19, (g) percent of total population over 65, and (h) the national

unemployment rate. Both Gittel and Sohl and Izraeli and Murphy took their data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Similar to the findings of Gittell and Sohl, there was evidence to suggest that diversity leads to decreased unemployment. Izraeli and Murphy's research led them to recommend that diversification policies be implemented because the policies seemed to have little downside.

Economic Model

I explored the changes in the unemployment rate in various U.S. metropolitan areas, using the rate of unemployment (*unemploy*) as my dependent variable. The data in my regression came from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Web site. I focused on 317 of the 350 MSAs. The subset of metropolitan areas chosen was determined by including only the areas that had information available for each variable in my model at the time of study. The independent variables included population (*popul*), wage and salary disbursements (*wage*), the median housing prices (*house*), and the number of manufacturing jobs in a given location (*manuf*). My proposed model is represented in the equation below:

$$Unemployment = \alpha + \beta_1(popul) + \beta_2(wage) + \beta_3(manuf) + \beta_4(house) + \beta_5(north) + \beta_6(south) + \beta_7(west) + \varepsilon$$

The coefficient for population was expected to be positive. That is, as population increases so will the rate of unemployment. As more people live in an area, more people may be unemployed at any one time, which will cause a higher rate of unemployment. To test this prediction, I used the population numbers provided by the Population Division of the U.S. Census Bureau. I anticipated that the coefficient on salary would be negative. The data for this variable was actually the value of wage and salary disbursements, in the given MSA, which I found on the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Web site. Areas with higher salaries may be more stable and thus less susceptible to higher instances of unemployment.

Based on the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) data, I expected the coefficient on median house price to be negative. As the median price of a house in the housing market increases, one would expect to see less unemployment because people will have steady employment in order to make their housing payments. This was a variable of particular interest as the instability of housing prices was a primary focus during the analysis of the 2009 economic downturn.

To measure economic diversity, I used the total number of manufacturing jobs in the state in which the metropolitan area is located. Because the effect of the downturn varied by industry, I anticipated that if an area is more economically diverse, that is, not reliant on solely one industry, then the amount of unemployment would be less affected by an economic downturn. Historically, the more industrial cities of the rust belt were harder hit than areas with greater economic diversity. This led me to believe that more industrial MSAs would have higher unemployment; therefore, this coefficient would be positive.

I also included dummy variables to control for region of the country; this provides insight into whether the geographic position of the MSA plays a role in determining the rate of unemployment. Based on divisions set forth by the U.S. Census

Bureau, I divided the MSAs into four main regions: Northeast (*north*), South (*south*), Midwest (*midwest*), and West (*west*). Table 1 summarizes the data:

Table 1
Summary of Variables

Variable	Summary statistics				Sign	Explanation/definition	Source
	Count	%					
north	44	13.88			+	Assumes the value of 1 for states located in the Northeast Census Region.	U.S. Census Bureau
midwest	75	23.66			N/A	Assumes the value of 1 for states located in the Midwest Census Region.	U.S. Census Bureau
south	125	39.43			-	Assumes the value of 1 for states located in the South Census Region.	U.S. Census Bureau
west	73	23.03			-	Assumes the value of 1 for states located in the West Census Region.	U.S. Census Bureau
	Mean	Standard deviation	Min	Max			
wage	16.2	44.1	1.1	580.0	-	Wage and salary disbursements (billions of dollars) – This variable helps to indicate how the disbursement of wages within a given metropolitan area affects unemployment.	U.S. Department of Commerce – Bureau of Economic Analysis
popul	0.7	1.6	0.0007	19.0	+	Population (2007 estimate in millions) – This variable shows how population affects unemployment in a given metropolitan area.	U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division
house	252,849	105,446	85,804	849,020	-	Median housing prices (2007 in dollars) – This variable is included to explain the relationship that may exist between housing prices and unemployment.	NAHB/Housing Economics
unemploy	4.7	1.6	2.0	18.0	N/A	Unemployment rate (2007) – This is our dependent variable; I tried to find a model to predict unemployment rate in given metropolitan areas based on the other variables.	U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
manuf	4,863	4,052	284	15,136	+	Number of manufacturing jobs (by state, in thousands for Jan. 2007) – This variable helps to explain how the number of manufacturing jobs affects the rate of unemployment.	www.cnn.com/ SPECIALS/2009/ map.economy/ind ex.html

Note: Sample size = 317

The metropolitan area with the largest population was New York City, with 19 million residents; it was also the metropolitan area with the highest incomes, totaling more than $577 million. The metropolitan area with the smallest population was Casper, WY, with 71,784 inhabitants. However, the smallest population did not coincide with the metropolitan with the smallest wage and salary distribution. Instead, Danville, IL, had the smallest wage and salary distribution at $1.1 million. The metropolitan area of San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA, had the highest median home price at $849,022. Charleston, WV, had the lowest reported median home price at $85,804. California had the largest total number of manufacturing jobs, and Wyoming had the smallest. Of the 317 MSAs in the study, 39% were located in the South, 24% in the Midwest, 23% in the West, and 14% in the Northeast.

Data Analysis

All of the models that were tested were generated using Ordinary Least Squares multiple regression analysis, which provided estimated coefficients, standard errors, *t*-ratios, and *p*-values for each of the variables in the regression (see Table 2). The natural log was taken of total wage and salary disbursements (*lnwage*), of median home price (*lnhouse*), and of population (*lnpopul*) to allow interpretation as a percentage value. I also included nonlinear terms for manufacturing (*manuf*, *manufsq*, *manufcb*) and an interaction between the Northeast region of the United States and manufacturing (*normanuf*). The interaction term was used because the two variables were suspected of having different effects together than separately. This new variable allowed me to ask whether manufacturing in the Northeastern region had a different effect on unemployment than manufacturing in other regions.

As indicated in Table 2, almost all of the variables in the regression are statistically significant at the 1% level or better. The final regression had an R^2 value of 0.4178 and an adjusted R^2 value of 0.3987. From this information, I concluded that the model explained approximately 40% of the variation in the rate of unemployment.

Table 2
Coefficients and Standard Errors of Variables in Final Regression

| Variable	Estimated coefficient	Standard error	*t*-ratio	*p*-value
constant	16.94	3.02	5.61	0.00
lnwage	-2.36	0.33	-7.06	0.00
lnhouse	-0.69	0.24	-2.86	0.01
lnpopul	2.51	0.37	6.82	0.00
manuf	0.00009	0.0002	6.06	0.00
manufsq	-0.000002	0.0000002	-6.63	0.00
manufcb	0.72 E-11	0.10 E-11	7.05	0.00
south	-0.87	0.15	-5.76	0.00
west	-0.48	0.30	-1.59	0.11
north	0.43	0.30	1.45	0.15
normanuf	-0.0001	0.0004	-3.43	0.00

Table 3 summarizes the interpretations of the coefficients corresponding to each variable in Table 2. While examining the interpretations of the coefficients in the table below, it is important to keep in mind the scale in which unemployment is measured. The data used for the regression has a range of unemployment rates of 2–18, a median value of 4.4, an average value of 5, and a standard deviation of 1.55.

Table 3
Coefficient Interpretations

Variable	Estimated coefficient	Interpretation of coefficient
constant	16.94	This number indicates that the unemployment rate would be 16.94%, assuming all other variables took the value 0.
lnwage	-2.36	Holding all else equal, a 1% increase in wage and salary distributions in a given metropolitan area is associated with a drop in the unemployment rate of 0.024%.
lnpopul	2.5	Holding all else equal, a 1% increase in the population of a given metropolitan area is associated with an increase of 0.03% in the unemployment rate.
lnhouse	-0.69	Holding all else equal, a 1% increase in the median housing price in a given metropolitan area is associated with a 0.07% drop in the unemployment rate.
manuf	$0.94798*10^{-3}$	*See Figure 1.
manufsq	$-0.15338*10^{-6}$	*See Figure 1.
manufcb	$0.71753*10^{-11}$	*See Figure 1.
south	-0.87	Holding all else equal, metropolitan areas located in the Southern Census Region on average have an unemployment rate 0.87% lower than the Midwest.
west	-0.48	Holding all else equal, being located in the West Census Region is associated with an unemployment rate that is 0.48% lower than in the Midwest.
north	0.43	*See Figure 1.
normanuf	$-0.14664*10^{-03}$	*See Figure 1.

By plotting manufacturing against the unemployment rate, the complicated relationship that exists between the two variables became visible in Figure 1. The lower curve represents the effect seen in the Northeast Census Region, and the upper curve shows manufacturing's effect in the other regions. Changes in the number of manufacturing jobs in the Northeast cause greater variability in the unemployment rate than is seen in other regions. However, the unemployment rates in regions outside the Northeast are always higher. In the Northeast Census Region, the unemployment rate increases until the number of manufacturing jobs reaches 3,445, then it decreases until there are 10,805 manufacturing jobs, after which it increases again. All other regions follow a similar trend, but the number of manufacturing jobs at which the unemployment rate changes direction is different. The rate of unemployment for non-Northeastern census regions increases until the number of manufacturing jobs equals 4,530, after which it falls until there are 9,719 manufacturing jobs, before rising again. This suggests that in all regions there is an optimal number of jobs that should exist in the manufacturing sector.

Figure 1
Plot of Manufacturing Jobs Against Rate of Unemployment

Number of Jobs in Manufacturing
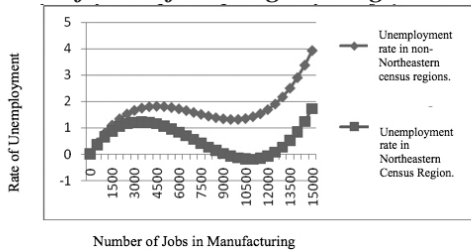
Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to determine the factors associated with the unemployment rate in cities in 2007 in order to better understand possible causes for the increase in unemployment in 2009. With my model, I was able to offer an explanation for 40% of the variations in unemployment rates across the country. I found that median housing price, population, salary, and region were all associated with fluctuations in the rate of unemployment in a given metropolitan area. In particular, population has a positive relationship with the rate of unemployment, there is an interval in which increasing the number of manufacturing jobs will decrease the unemployment rate, and wage and housing prices have an inverse relationship with unemployment rates in metropolitan areas.

These results imply that metropolitan areas seeking to reduce unemployment rates should pay close attention to the number of manufacturing jobs in their region, ideally existing in the interval where additional manufacturing jobs coincide with decreasing unemployment rates. This suggests that local governments should work to promote economic diversity to not be underreliant or overreliant on manufacturing.

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Global Capitalism in *Oryx and Crake*

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Abstract

In her speculative fiction novel *Oryx and Crake*, Margaret Atwood follows emerging global capitalism to its possible ends. As a response to our own world, her novel provides us with an opportunity to examine our global state and conceivable destiny. The result is the discovery of a globalized society dominated by transnational corporations determined to control the population for their benefits. These corporations are reliant on the production of myths to convince consumers to buy their products of sex, beauty, and youth. In Atwood's world everything is available for a price. These myths, perpetuated by various media sources, infuse people with desires and ideals that benefit corporations even as the people responding to these desires recognize them only as natural. From this revelation in a fictional work, we can better understand the risks of globalization in our own world.

Globalization is often thought of as the creation of a global community that is aided by technology in producing "a better life and a more equitable society" (Poster, 2001, p. 611). Something like Disney World's Spaceship Earth, which shows how communication connects people in global communities in futuristic ways, this dream-like concept of globalization has yet to be achieved in this postmodern era in which technology already allows people to connect to other places on the earth instantly. According to Shiva (1997), an Indian physicist who concentrates on globalization, "economic globalization as we are seeing it unfold is not a process of ever widening circles of inclusion. It is a process of ascending hierarchies that concentrate power and exclude people from participation in the political and economic life of their societies" (p. 22). The economic powers behind the technologies that allow for a globalized world produce benefits only for those holding greater financial strength and withhold benefits from those unable to pay for them.

Margaret Atwood's creation of the globalized world of *Oryx and Crake*, published in 2003, follows this concept in refuting the theory that globalization results in a worldwide community of equality. This is evident in Atwood's descriptions of

the health gap and the living standards gap between the communities in the corporate compounds where various research is done and the communities in the pleeblands where those people with no intellectual use to science reside. The extreme differences between the rich and poor in *Oryx and Crake* are a reflection of the same condition in our globalized world made more obvious by Atwood's creation of physical barriers between the two communities. The myth that abundant technologies will deliver a great and unified world is disproved by Atwood in *Oryx and Crake* through her presentation of a world in which these technologies are only made available to people who have money and power.

Critics of globalization argue that the capitalistic consumerism of transnational corporations is what prevents the growth of a true global community. According to Shiva (1997), "though globalization is made to appear as natural, spontaneous, and inevitable it is, in fact, a political process shaped by the dominant interests of society, and especially the transnational corporations" (p. 22). Shiva suggests that the global marketplace is controlled by no true governing body but by corporations that do not have to answer to the public interest. Atwood follows this same model in *Oryx and Crake* in her creation of the corporate compounds. In Atwood's novel it is the compounds—not the government or the people—that control how the global world is run. The compounds produce and market food, medicine, and entertainment with no apparent government regulation and no intervention on the part of non-corporate society. They build themselves up to become, in a way, their own countries and to compete with each other for global dominance. These companies are under corporate leadership and enforce their power through a system of paid mercenaries, the CorpSeCorps men, and are outside of the reach of public interest. Jimmy, the main character of the novel and whose father is a worker within a compound, expounds in corporate rhetoric that "when there [is] so much at stake, there [is] no telling what the other side might resort to" (Atwood, 2003, p. 27) in order to justify this militaristic presence in a non-governmental institution. Through this creation of an atmosphere of corporate domination and control, "the 'global' as construct does not symbolize planetary consciousness" (Shiva, p. 22). Instead, "it excludes the planet and peoples from the mind, and puts global institutions in their place" (Shiva, p. 22). As with *Oryx and Crake*, the corporations themselves are the only concern of the corporations.

In order to reveal these corporate interests and the lack of equality between classes as the underlying truth in the myth of globalization, Atwood exposes the myths created by corporations that are used to control the world's populations. Throughout the novel, Atwood creates myths for the population of *Oryx and Crake* to consume; there are myths of sex, beauty, and motherhood and myths about how people should eat, make love, breed, live, and dream. These myths converge to create a society that is built on an obsession with fictions and with the construction of the fictional to create a better reality. The purpose of these myths, from the capitalistic standpoint, is to increase the wealth of corporations. Myths work well in this context because they "make sense of the inchoate flux of life, and provide a sense of purpose and conviction" (Cornwall, Harrison, & Whitehead, 2007, p. 5). Myths do this by providing, through media, images of the ideal life that are able to be realized through the consumption of products. Sorel explains this concept with the argument that "myths are not descriptions of things, but expressions of a determination to act" (Cornwall et al., p. 4).

Each myth created in *Oryx and Crake* corresponds to a desired outcome that can be achieved by people should they have the funds to act upon their desire to align their lives with the suggestions of the myth. These suggestions are particularly effective because "they are composed of a series of familiar images and devices, and work to produce an order-of-things that is compelling precisely because it resonates with the affective dimensions of values and norms" (Cornwall et al., 2007, p. 6). The most productive myth to advance, therefore, is a myth that builds upon what is already desired culturally. In other words, new myths must follow old myths, but to further extremes. In *Oryx and Crake* Atwood takes cultural myths to extremes in order to allow readers to perceive the myths present in current culture.

Sex as Commodity in Oryx and Crake

In Atwood's novel, the concept that sex is a consumable commodity has been instilled into culture by corporations through various forms of media. Through this commodification, sexual situations are altered and become no longer genuine. According to Baudrillard (1998), a prominent French theorist with expertise in media, once people aspire to create their realities from fictional ideas of what reality should be, "never again will the real have to be produced" (p. 167). His theory suggests that the real is replaced by replications of the real, and all further replications are based not on the real, but on the most recent replication. In *Oryx and Crake*, technology and myths of what sex should be have become so prominent that sex itself is provided technologically.

These myths suggest that sex is a commodity to be bought and that one needs only to use a search engine to discover exactly the sexual situation desired with every option free of responsibility and consequences. From Jimmy's and his friend Crake's adventures into online sex sites to Crake's college experiences with school-sanctioned prostitution to the creation of the BlyssPluss pill, sex is altered to fit the sexual myths of society. Following Baudrillard's theory, Internet pornography acts as source of many different simulations of sex, which helps people to form concepts of what sex is and should be. In just one session of online surfing, Crake and Jimmy encounter "elaborate confectionery in the usual orifices, then went to Superswallowers; then to a Russian site that employed ex-acrobats, ballerinas, and contortionists...the high-wire act with six flaming torches [and finally] HottTotts, a global sex-trotting site [advertised as] the next best thing to being there" (Atwood, 2003, p. 89). The act of watching from a distance has replaced the need to be there at all. Watching is participation in the sex act.

It is on the HottTotts site that Jimmy and Crake first encounter Oryx performing sex acts as a small child. Oryx is sold into slavery by her parents in a distant country and broadcast over the Internet to Jimmy who becomes obsessed with her. She was forced into these sexual situations by her handler without being provided with any understanding of what she was doing. While Jimmy admits that in these child sex videos "there were at least three layers of contradictory make-believe, one on top of the other. *I want to, I want to not, I want to*" (Atwood, 2003, p. 90), these images of sex still create the myth of sex for Jimmy and Crake, which is evident in both of their future liaisons with Oryx as an adult. The image of someone who looks like Oryx as a desirable sexual partner, one who is pictured to provide "agonizing pleasures" (Atwood, p. 90), is forever in the minds of Jimmy and Crake.

For Crake, the appropriation of a sexual partner during college is even more of a capitalistic venture than watching Internet pornography. Student Services provides students at Crake's school with sexual companionship in the form of prostitutes, adding the cost of such services directly to the students' tuition bills. According to Crake, "you could be very specific there, take them a picture or a video stimulations, stuff like that, and they'd do their best to match you up" (Atwood, 2003, p. 310). The Student Services system allows users to purchase as close to their concept of ideal sex as possible. According to Deery (1997), "Atwood's male observers try to impose on women a definite and containable shape or shapes to their liking" (p. 476), which is made evident through the various instructions students can give for sex workers to fulfill. For Crake, the ideal sexual partner is found not in the image of anyone Crake knows, but in an old screen capture of Oryx from when she was in a HottTotts video. In this situation, Baudrillard's idea that "'take your desires for reality!' can be understood as the ultimate slogan of power" (1998, p. 178) is realized when "Crake gave Jimmy a smug little smile, an alpha smile" (Atwood, p. 310). Crake, as buyer of Oryx sexually, has power over Jimmy who has not attained ownership of Oryx for any period of time. Jimmy is incapable of purchasing Oryx because his station in society is less than that of Crake, and the same opportunities are not available to him. Though Jimmy has his own experiences with prostitution in the pleeblands, his experience is not tailored to his deep desire for Oryx, nor is he able to make the purchase himself. Instead, Crake purchases for them "two girls covered from head to toe in sequins that were glued onto their skin and shimmered like the scales of a virtual fish" (Atwood, p. 289). In this world, purchased sexual simulations give Crake power over Jimmy, and Jimmy gains nothing from the more real instances of sex that he has with women who volunteer to engage in sex with him for free. Crake has power over the women through his money, but Jimmy has no power over the women he sleeps with; they can come and go as they please. The simulation has surpassed the real in *Oryx and Crake*.

Chemically modified sexual engagements are also more valued than natural ones in *Oryx and Crake*. The BlyssPluss pill, a sexual supplement produced by Crake's corporation, as Crake describes it to Jimmy, is the height of this modification of sex and the human body in order to mirror the more ideal myth of the perfect human. The pill will "take a set of givens, namely the nature of human nature, and steer these givens in a more beneficial direction than ones hitherto taken" (Atwood, 2003, p. 293). This more beneficial direction involves three myths of ideal sexual humans: shelter from "all known sexually transmitted diseases," "an unlimited supply of libido and sexual prowess, coupled with a generalized sense of energy and well-being," and "prolong[ed] youth" (Atwood, p. 294). All of this will occur without "jealousy and violence, eliminating feelings of low self-worth" (Atwood, p. 294), therefore corrupting the natural emotions of human beings. Through the BlyssPluss pill, even sexual encounters between two willing participants not involved in sex trade are made artificial and a part of commerce. Because libido is purchased, sex becomes nothing but an artificial corporate creation. People on the BlyssPluss pill, the virtual representations of child sex workers through video over the Internet, and the physical sex workers at Crake's school and in the pleeblands are all simulators of sex, though all groups engage in what onlookers and participants would consider sex acts.

There can be sex with the BlyssPluss pill, but it cannot be real sex; it can only be a representation of the idea of real sex because many of the natural features of sex have been removed or covered by the pill. The most audacious of these removals is the revoking of the ability to procreate, which is the fourth capability of the pill. BlyssPluss "act[s] as a sure-fire one-time-does-it-all birth-control pill, for male and female alike, thus automatically lowering the population level" (Atwood, 2003, p. 294). Sex enacted while participants are on BlyssPluss can only be artificial because the pill produces an artificial reproduction of sexual hormones and removes the aspect of mating from sex, making sex itself a simulation of the mating act that involves none of the reality. For the population of *Oryx and Crake*, all that will remain of sex is the illusion of the hormonal impulse that was once caused by the necessity of mating.

Capitalistic globalization in *Oryx and Crake* goes beyond just sex. The production of food to feed the global marketplace also relies on the spreading of global myths in order to make the food produced by corporations desirable. A team at Crake's school, Watson-Crick, is fundamental in the creation of a new frontier: food-related global commerce. While other corporations have created chickens that mature quickly, the students at Watson-Crick have engineered a way to create just the parts and have "a three-week improvement on the most efficient low-light, high-density chicken farming operations so far devised" (Atwood, 2003, p. 203). In a stunning example of how the real is replaced by the myth, Crake, when asked what these creations are, replies, "those are chickens" (Atwood, p. 202). Through the marketing of chicken to a globalized economy that does not interact with live animals but sustains itself on their parts, the economy has essentially already reduced animals down to their parts in the minds of consumers; the creation of an animal made only of parts is simply the next step in this cultural trend. These ChickieNobs, as they are called, look nothing like the birds they claim to be modeled after but are "large bulblike object[s] that seemed to be covered with stippled whitish-yellow skin. Out of it came twenty thick fleshy tubes, and at the end of each tube another bulb was growing" (Atwood, p. 202). This creature produces "chicken parts" (Atwood, p. 202). The myth of animals as consumable parts is fulfilled in the reality of an animal being created that is nearly all consumable parts and contains very little of the animal from which the parts were once taken. In her essay *Feminist Epistemology After Postmodernism*, Braidotti (2007) deconstructs the workings of strong bio-powers, or those corporations that deal in genetics and biology for profit. Braidotti claims that "bio-power has already turned into a form of bio-piracy in that it aims at exploiting the generative powers of women, animals, plants, genes and cells. The self-replicating vitality of living matter is targeted for consumption and commercial exploitation" (p. 70). The biology students at Watson-Crick pirate the power of the creation of animal parts and redistribute this power to false animals, thereby exploiting the powers that were once available only to natural animals. They have removed even the need for animals to be bred to produce food, and the remaining original animals have no more use to humanity.

Following the same theory, employees at the OrganInc and HealthWyzer compounds are pirates of human generative powers. Scientists in both compounds work with pigoons to create human genetic material in non-human creatures. At OrganInc Farms, the goal of the corporation is to "grow an assortment of foolproof human-tissue organs in a transgenic knockout pig-host organs that would transplant

smoothly and avoid rejection" (Atwood, 2003, p. 23), thereby removing humans from the process of growing their own organs. At HealthWyzer, scientists are using pigoons to do research on regenerative skin cells and are attempting to "grow a young, plump skin cell that would eat up the worn cells in the skins of those on whom it was planted" (Atwood, p. 55), thereby growing human tissue on non-human animals. These artificially grown organs and implantable skin cells, through marketing, are viewed as human replacement parts and not as animal-farmed human genetic material. Through "glossy and discreetly worded" (Atwood, p. 23) brochures and catchy slogans such as "NooSkins for Olds" (Atwood, p. 55), the global market is convinced to purchase simulations of human body parts. Similarly, Braidotti (2007) argues that in our culture

> contemporary genetic-driven societies euphorically associate the
> genetic code or DNA to marketable brandnames. Genetic materials
> (like stem cells) become data banks of potentially profitable informa-
> tion and are commercialized as such. The very widespread practice
> of patenting and enforcing intellectual property rights as a standard
> way of doing scientific research demonstrates the point. (p. 70)

This branding of genetic material is the basis on which the compounds of *Oryx and Crake* build their empires. Pigoons create humanity from the parts of humanity that are bred in them in much the same way that ChickieNobs take over the marketplace and create new versions of the real chicken from only parts of the chicken.

      The generation of new concepts of humans and animals by global corporations changes what is perceived as real. These new ways of considering reality lead to "a broad and extensive change in the culture, in the way identities are structured" (Poster, 2001, p. 611). People no longer base their self-images on the self they were born with because that self is easily manipulated. They need no longer to consider animals as food or their food as animals because the concept of food as coming from nature is no longer appropriate. The new reality of *Oryx and Crake* is one of the promise of eternal youth. The global economy, through its product marketing, has created the ideal human for people to attempt to become. The capitalist compound counts on this myth to create demand for its product, operating on the belief that no

> well-to-do and once-young, once-beautiful woman or man, cranked
> up on hormonal supplements and shot full of vitamins but hampered
> by the unforgiving mirror, wouldn't sell their house, their gated
> retirement villa, their kids, and their soul to get a second kick at the
> sexual can. (Atwood, 2003, p. 55)

This ideal human is perfectly young and healthy and has the money to remain in this state for generations, if not forever. This is a reflection of the current spread of "new bio-technologies of 'Life'" which involve "the widespread phenomenon of the traffic in organs and body-parts; and the growing industry of genetic engineering and farming of living tissues and cells" (Braidotti, 2007, pp. 70–71). *Oryx and Crake* hypothesizes a future to our world's current ventures into the manipulation of nature. In Atwood's novel, nature is overcome by technology so that a new nature might take its place and be made available for purchase in a system of capitalist globalization. In our world, as well as in the world of *Oryx and Crake*, "invading territories and putting down stakes are not the only ways of conquering nature. Western scientists, too, have traditionally been depicted as subduing nature…They share some of the same attitudes as colonists:

conquer, map, know, sell" (Deery, 1997, p. 482). Jimmy's father, in this way, is similar to a cartographer who maps territories and then becomes conquerer of the lands he maps. His job is that of a "geneographer[:] He'd done some of the key studies on mapping the proteonome…and then he'd helped engineer the Methuselah Mouse" (Atwood, p. 22). Jimmy's father, like transnational corporations, moves from creation of the map to manipulation of the territory to benefiting from the sale of the results of this manipulation.

While the upper-class scientists benefit from the manipulation of the population to buy into the concept of humanity that powerful corporations offer them, the true benefactors are the corporations themselves. The transnational corporations of *Oryx and Crake* and of our own world take part in global commerce—not for the altruistic reason of merging the gap between cultures and classes, but to widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Through capitalist globalization, the wealthy have access to foods, technologies, medicines, and ideas to which those in poverty will never have access. When Jimmy goes to visit Crake's college, there is a considerable difference between the images of Crake's more affluent school and Jimmy's less affluent school. While Jimmy "shared a dorm suite [with] one cramped room either side, silverfish-ridden bathroom in the middle" (Atwood, 2003, p. 188), Crake got "real shrimps instead of the CrustaeSoy they got at Marth Graham, and real chicken" (Atwood, p. 208). While Jimmy is with Crake at his school, he savors the real food and the clean environment that he cannot achieve himself. Even worse is the difference between these schools and the pleeblands; the pleeblands are "a giant Petri dish: a lot of guck and contagious plasm got spread around there...the air was worse in the pleeblands... more junk blowing in the wind" (Atwood, p. 287). Despite the obvious standard of living gap, the people of the pleeblands also savor what pieces of the capitalist myth of perfection they are allowed. Jimmy and Crake encounter advertising in the poorer areas of the pleeblands for products that compounds like theirs have produced. The people of the pleeblands are the greatest consumers of these products, leading Crake to comment that "this is where [their] stuff turns to gold" (Atwood, p. 288). The people who are unable to receive the financial benefits of technology choose instead to physically benefit through purchase while pushing themselves further into poverty and providing those not in poverty with their meager earnings, widening the economic gap.

For a price, corporations will fulfill the desires that they instill in society, creating a cycle of fulfillment and desire through commerce that results in greater and greater riches for corporations and greater and greater desires to be fulfilled by scientists and embodied by the masses. This unending cycle of human alteration and corporate riches that is found in *Oryx and Crake* is Atwood's interpretation of the effects of globalization through capitalism and her prediction of what might occur if global capitalism is left unchecked.

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Confidence and Legitimization: The Role of the Protestant Church in Fostering Opposition in the GDR

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Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to pursue the answer to a perplexing question in German history; namely, how did serious domestic opposition to the East German state develop in the 1980s given the extremely oppressive nature of its society? The results of my research reveal that the East German Evangelical Church's decision in 1971 to become a "church in socialism" coupled with the March 6, 1978, summit between church and state leaders provided the church with a legitimate place in German Democratic Republic (GDR) society and its associates with the confidence necessary to shelter serious opposition to the state within its physical and metaphorical boundaries in the 1980s. Although not all opposition to the GDR's communist regime was church-based, I conclude that the church's protection from state oppression afforded the East German citizenry an opportunity to effectively voice dissent. When combined with the public expression of dissent from thousands of others and placed within the broader context of tumultuous events in the Soviet Bloc in the late 1980s, church-based dissent made possible by the church's accommodation with the East German state most certainly contributed to bringing about the end of the GDR.

The 70,000 people who gathered in the Leipzig city center on October 9, 1989, to hold peace prayers and hear sermons calling for non-violent resistance to the state put a culminating stamp on a decade of protest in the German Democratic Republic (GDR; Steele, 1994). Regardless of their specific causes or demands, many of those who protested that night did so under the protection of the East German Evangelical Protestant Church, the predominant religious denomination in the GDR (Cordell, 2000). Prior to the late 1970s, the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) successfully kept political dissidents disorganized and isolated by penetrating essentially all aspects of life in the GDR, but from the late 1970s onward the Protestant Church provided a free space, sheltered from the incursions of the East German state in which its citizens

came together in solidarity to create alternative groups (Pfaff, 2001). These groups, "though small and seemingly powerless, were able to develop an alternative politics that eventually helped stimulate the emergence of a mass, public opposition" (Burgess, 1997, p. 60). Although not all opposition to the GDR's repressive regime was church-based, the church's protection from state incursions allowed many East Germans to publicly voice dissent against their government. This public dissent, when placed in the broader context of ongoing dissent against communist regimes throughout Eastern Europe in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, certainly contributed to bringing about the end of the GDR.

External politics aside, what changed in East Germany to allow the church to harbor dissent within its walls and to shelter opposition groups from the state? In this paper, I argue that the tenants of the "church in socialism" formula and the March 6, 1978, summit between church and state leaders provided the legitimization and confidence that church associates needed in order to foster major opposition against the state in the 1980s.

To illustrate this argument, I begin with an overview of church-state relations prior to 1969 and the events leading up to the creation of the church in socialism formula and the March 6, 1978, summit. Second, I will explain the important implications of these church-state agreements for the position of the church in society. Finally, I will explore how the confidence and legitimization gained by those associated with the church led to the proliferation of the peace and environmental movements under its protection in the 1980s.

The Evangelical Church began its postwar relationship with the state as an anchor in the chaos at the end of World War II. The institutional structures of the church remained intact during the Nazi era and thus the church found itself in a position to administer much-needed aid immediately after the war (Fulbrook, 1995). The important social functions provided by the Protestant Church and the personal relationships forged between Christians and communists imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps combined to create a "honeymoon period" between the church and Soviet occupation forces from roughly 1945 to 1948 (S. P. Ramet, 1992).

This notion of a partnership in which "Christians and communists would work together in a broad, democratic, anti-fascist front" quickly melted away as "anti-Christian policies became more forceful under Ulbricht" (the head of the SED) after the founding of the GDR in 1949 (Fulbrook, 1995, pp. 92–93). In the early 1950s, the incompatibility of Christian and Marxist world views became increasingly apparent as the state systematically discriminated against Christian school children, banned Bible study and church youth groups, and discontinued state subsidies to churches (S. P. Ramet, 1992). In 1954, the state also introduced the *Jugendweihe*, a secular alternative to Christian confirmation (Fulbrook).

Church leaders responded to this repression by protesting and issuing official declarations against state policy, but not until 1958 did church and state leaders establish a tentative working relationship. State leaders agreed not to undertake overtly repressive actions against the church if the church agreed to refrain from vocal protest and to submit to state policy. With the new working agreement in place, the SED increasingly shied away from overt repression and focused on covert methods to drive a wedge between conservative church leaders, whom the state saw as capable of

cooperation, and more liberal leaders, whom the state saw as incapable of working with officials to forge a state-centered relationship. As Steele explained, "the main issue of dispute changed from curtailment of rights to…determining who would speak for the East German church" (1994, p. 122).

To facilitate this process, in 1960 the SED created an agency known as the State Secretariat for Church Questions. Working closely with the SED hierarchy and the Stasi, the Secretariat used "differentiation cleverly and skillfully in order to persuade other church leaders to change their attitudes" (Fulbrook, 1995, pp. 98–99). Stasi agents and informers infiltrated the church and in many cases successfully steered church leaders toward a course of accommodation with the state, as in the case of "red" bishop Mitzenheim of the church in Thuringia (Fulbrook, pp. 98–99). In short, throughout the 1960s state officials worked to create a church dominated by conservative leaders with whom it could work to keep the church compliant with state policy.

Despite the SED's attempt to divide church leadership and to steer church leaders toward an accommodationist course with the state, the church fought back in the 1960s. Although the state proclaimed a willingness to speak only with those church leaders who "recognized the common humanistic responsibility of Christians and Marxists," the tendency of local Protestant pastors to make decisions independently of the church hierarchy made the SED's top-down strategy of negotiating with more conservative church leaders insufficient to cultivate a pervasive atmosphere of cooperation with the state throughout the church (Steele, 1994, p. 122).

Furthermore, the church took steps in the early 1960s to speak to youth culture. Specifically, when the state imposed a draft for the armed forces, the church aided young conscientious objectors by making young men aware of an alternative service branch of the military known as *construction soldiers* and supporting individuals who decided to join them. Here young men could serve out their term of service by engaging in construction projects rather than military actions (Fulbrook, 1995). This initial positive experience with the church influenced many contentious objectors to later become members of the peace movement, which developed under the protection of the church in the 1980s.

By the latter half of the 1960s, the church's efforts to fight back against the incursions of the state could not stem the rising tide of state dominance. For one, the citizenry became increasingly secular; in fact, between 1945 and 1964 membership in the East German Evangelical Church fell from 82% to 60% (Burgess, 1997). Furthermore, the church's efforts to maintain ties with the West German Church became more difficult with the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the new 1968 GDR constitution, which specified that the East German churches had to "conduct their activities in conformity with the GDR's legislative and administrative limitations" (S. P. Ramet, 1992, p. 56). In short, the constitution made it illegal for any organization, including the church, to operate beyond the borders of the GDR.

Given its increasingly marginalized position in society, the East German Protestant Church slowly accepted that the GDR was there to stay and that no possibility of creating a federation of Protestant churches from both East and West Germany existed. In sum, the church realized it would have to work within the East German system if it hoped to survive. This realization at the end of the 1960s marked an important turning point in church-state relations in the GDR.

In June 1969 the East German Protestant churches broke away from the all-German Evangelical Church in Germany to form the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, or *Kirchenbund*. Under the leadership of Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, the organization played a critical role in developing relations between church and state (Steele, 1994). Not all church leaders voiced approval of what they saw as accommodation to the state, but, as Fulbrook (1995) explained, "the forces in the Church leadership who were in favour of coming to terms with political realities…had attained dominance in the church" (p. 106).

Despite the church's new basic policy of working with the state, discrimination against Christians persisted as long as communists dominated the country. In 1971, Bishop Schoenherr attempted to partially remedy the problem of continuing repression with the introduction of the church in socialism formula. Church leaders who met at the Evangelical Church's synod conference in Eisenach in July 1971 accepted the programmatic formula that "the church did not want to be a church alongside socialism, or a church against socialism, but a church in socialism" (S. P. Ramet, 1992, p. 57). What the statement meant remained intentionally vague, but it clearly implied reciprocity in the relationship between church and state. Cordell (2000) more succinctly described the meaning of the church in socialism formula as one in which the SED recognized the right of the church to care for its congregations and the church recognized the socialist nature of the GDR and the right of the SED to rule and define society. Whatever Schoenherr's original intent, the formula gained widespread acceptance among both church and state leaders in the 1970s.

With the church in socialism formula in place, it became increasingly possible during the 1970s for the state and church to collaborate in many areas of GDR society. The state had a vested interest in supporting the variety of social services provided by the church that played a key role in sustaining the country's social infrastructure. The Kirchenbund in turn participated in the geo-political strategy of the GDR when it partnered with the state to speak out against NATO nuclear proliferation in the 1970s (Fulbrook, 1995).

On the other hand, the church-state relationship was never entirely smooth—even after the creation of the church in socialism. Old issues such as restrictions on church meetings and publications, discrimination against publicly-professed Christian children in the education system, and compulsory military service for young men created tension between SED officials and church leaders. This policy of working with and yet remaining independent from the state created a rift between "the rapprochement and accommodation approach of the Kirchenbund leadership and the ideological tension experienced by local pastors" (Steele, 1994, p. 125). These tensions culminated in the state-church summit between the executive committee of the Kirchenbund and Head of State Erich Honecker on March 6, 1978. This meeting played a critical role in creating an environment conducive to the development of church-based opposition against the state in the 1980s.

The historic meeting between church and state leaders developed not only at the request of the church, but also as a result of state recognition that religion was not disappearing and that it would be to the SED's advantage to "co-opt Christians for their own purposes" (Fulbrook, 1995, p. 110). The meeting ran according to a pre-negotiated plan to ensure ideological substance. The church requested many concessions including

access to television and radio, a pension for clergy over the age of 65, and permission to construct church facilities in the new churchless cities built after World War II (S. P. Ramet, 1992). Bishop Schoenherr also called for peace, the improvement of the life of the individual, the protection of the individual's right to practice his or her faith, and the recognition of the importance of a relationship of trust between the state and the church in the GDR (Fulbrook). In response, Honecker avoided all points of serious criticism leveled against the state but agreed to the church's many requests. Specifically, he pledged to end discrimination against Christians in education and employment, to lift obstacles to church construction projects, and to allow for the renovation of church buildings (P. Ramet, 1984). Furthermore, Honecker allowed dissident groups to use church facilities, but only if the groups remained physically and metaphorically within it. In short, the state would not allow public expressions of dissent (Pfaff, 2001).

What motivated the state to grant these concessions? S. P. Ramet (1992) held that the meeting represented Honecker's attempt at putting church-state relations on a more tranquil footing before introducing mandatory pre-military training in schools in September 1978. Whatever the state's motivations, the result of the March 6, 1978, summit was that the church and state expressed mutual commitments to respect their ideological differences, to cooperate in areas of common social and political concern, and to resolve political differences through dialogue rather than confrontation (Burgess, 1997).

How then did this more liberal church-state relationship provide the impetus the church needed to foster serious opposition against the state in the 1980s? The partnership created by the church in socialism formula represented the first step in a policy of small steps undertaken by the church to abandon outright opposition to the state and to instead assume a policy of accommodation to gain improvements in conditions for people in the GDR (Fulbrook, 1995). This policy allowed the church to survive within the socialist system of the GDR and accumulate further gains at, and even after, the March 6, 1978, summit.

The list of specific gains won by the leaders of the church at the summit figures less prominently than the legitimization of the church's role as an independent institution in the GDR and the confidence its members felt to push the boundaries of state control. As Fulbrook (1995) reiterated, "the church-state agreement of 6 March 1978 appeared to signify that the boundaries of the politically possible had indeed begun to shift….Activists were able to make use of new found spaces for discussion and organization within a rather ambivalent Protestant Church" (p. 206). Many GDR citizens came together in the free space of the church to organize, experience solidarity, and criticize the state in a manner that was possible in only a precious few other places and ways in East German society.

This does not mean that the church in socialism formula and the 1978 summit created a free space within the church. Rather, these agreements gave those associated with the church the confidence needed to fully use the church's free space as a safe haven in which to express dissent against the SED. How then did the new confidence of the church associates and their legitimate place in society lead peace and environmental movements to develop within the protection of the church and affect serious opposition to the state in the 1980s?

The church provided an excellent base for a peace movement to develop. Christianity offered peace groups powerful symbols and themes, such as the biblical symbol from Micah 4:3 of a man beating swords into plowshares, a symbol which was adopted and employed with great effectiveness by the peace movement. The theme of pacifism implied in Christ's Sermon on the Mount also led many dissidents such as Pastor Rainer Eppelmann to pursue peace initiatives (Burgess, 1997). The church's tradition of peace coupled with its newly legitimized role in society caused leaders to feel responsible for maintaining national and international peace (Burgess). In short, church leaders felt confident enough to foster and protect a peace movement in which citizens who disagreed with the state's handling of peace issues met within the context of religious gatherings to voice dissent and discuss how best to solve peace problems.

Peace protests began as early as November 1978 when a placard criticizing the state's defense policies appeared outside a church-owned building in Leipzig. The ratcheting up of Cold War tensions in the late 1970s and early 1980s coupled with NATO's decision to station new missiles in Europe in December 1979 provided a further impetus for the development of the peace movement. Church-based peace initiatives developed on a broad scale when the Evangelical Church began its official Prayers for Peace campaign on November 9, 1980 (Cordell, 2000). Also in 1980, the statewide Peace Decade conference could meet under the slogan "make peace without weapons," which morphed into the "Swords to Plowshares" symbol and motto that became the unofficial slogan of the peace movement. Despite the state's official ban on the symbol, an estimated 100,000 people sported it on pins and clothing (Pfaff, 2001).

The rapidly emerging church-based peace movement received further support from the Peace Forum held in Dresden in 1982 to commemorate the anniversary of the 1945 firebombing of the city. Five thousand supporters came out to stage a protest vigil at this event (Pfaff, 2001). Beginning in 1980, regional churches additionally held annual peace weeks where leaders presented peace workshops designed to educate the citizenry. These meetings facilitated contacts between parishioners of individual churches and thereby developed a contact network of peace movement workers (Fulbrook, 1995).

The early peace movement also received a boost from the Berlin Appeal, a document written by intellectual Robert Havemann and dissident Eppelmann in 1982. The appeal called for the disarmament and removal of all occupation troops from Germany (Pfaff, 2001). The high point of the independent peace movement came between 1982 and 1983 when within the estimated 100 independent church-based peace groups, "a new confidence and self awareness among activists was plainly evident" that stemmed directly from the independence and legitimacy gained from the church in socialism formula and the 1978 church-state summit (Pfaff, p. 289).

Despite the rapid growth of the peace movement, it did not develop at all levels and in all places within the church. In fact, no cohesive, unofficial peace movement existed in the GDR. Instead, local pastors largely determined whether or not their individual congregation would become involved in the peace movement (Fulbrook, 1995). In-fighting between more conservative church leaders and more liberal pastors also occurred over the extent of protest. One activist pastor, Eppelmann, explained that although the church hierarchy generally supported his efforts with "trembling and hesitation," church leaders frequently came to him and said

"Eppelmann, you're putting the fate of the entire church at risk with your activities" (Eppelmann, 1993, p. 65). Although he described the pressure from the church hierarchy as difficult to bear, Eppelmann did little to explicitly censor his church's protest activities.

It is also noteworthy that the majority of the people associated with individual peace groups affiliated with the church did so not for purely religious reasons, but rather because of the free space the church provided in an otherwise almost entirely censored society. The exception to this trend is Leipzig pastor Klaus Kaden, who, in addition to supporting political protest, emphasized religion in his work with dissidents and maintained that "the gospel of Jesus Christ represented an immense life support for these people" (Kaden, 1993, p. 145).

In spite of the rapid growth of the peace movement within the church in the early 1980s, popular momentum slowed toward the middle part of the decade. The November 22, 1983, decision to station nuclear missiles on German soil coupled with the relaxation of travel visas, which reduced the number of current and potential participants in peace groups, created an atmosphere of resignation within the peace movement (Fulbrook, 1995). Despite the disappearance of roughly half of all peace groups after 1984, the peace movement of the early 1980s set the stage for later protest movements because it placed a significant portion of opposition to the state within the church and established the methods of engaging in protest that would be picked up by later movements (Pfaff, 2001). Perhaps most importantly, the tremendous growth and willingness to push the bounds of protest undertaken by the peace movement demonstrated to existing and potential dissidents that the church had confidence as a legitimate societal organization to shield oppositional groups from state oppression within its free space.

The growth of the environmental movement in the 1980s represented another manifestation of serious opposition to the state that developed within the church. Like the peace movement, the church provided an ideologically sound place for environmental groups to develop because "on theological grounds, mistreatment of the environment could be seen as a sin against the handiwork of God...Man's stewardship role on earth…was cited by the church in opposing environmental degradation" (Jones, 1993, p. 240). The church's traditional theology on environmental stewardship, together with the confidence it gained from the church in socialism formula and the 1978 summit, led the church to provide protection for dissidents who saw environmental damage as a major threat to the future of the GDR (Burgess, 1997).

Environmental pollution posed a serious problem for the GDR as early as the 1960s after years of emphasis on economic over sustainable growth led to substantial levels of environmental degradation. By the 1980s, mounting evidence of environmental damage forced the state to address the problem, and, in 1980, the SED formed the Society for Nature and the Environment (Fulbrook). The organization's goals included the co-option of citizens concerned about environmental issues under a state-dominated organization and the silencing of any public demand for changes in economic policy that would limit damage to the environment (Markham, 2005). To further suppress public knowledge of environmental damage, the state banned the publication of any information related to the deteriorating environmental situation in 1982 (Fulbrook).

Roots of an independent environmental movement within the church stretched as far back as 1927 with the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Research Center in Wittenberg (KFH) to explore nature's relationship to Christianity and flesh out theological matters concerning the environment. In 1974 the KFH came under the direction of Dr. Han-Peter Gensichen, who frequently met with groups of theologians and scientists to discuss environmental issues during the late 1970s. The KFH's efforts culminated in the first independent publication about environmental matters in the GDR, *The Earth is Ours to Save*, in 1980 (Jones, 1993). In addition to this publication, the KFH created a traveling exhibition, organized meetings, and gave demonstrations on ecologically sound lifestyles (Fulbrook, 1995).

One might ask why the state felt threatened by a movement whose very name revealed its focus on environmental rather than political issues. According to socialist ideology, "environmental problems cannot exist under communism, for ecological destruction is the result of profit driven capitalism" (Jones, 1993, p. 236). Therefore, to the leaders of the SED, any leaked information about rampant environmental degradation in the GDR would undermine socialist ideology in the eyes of the world. With its emphasis on ethics and personal lifestyle changes however, the early environmental movement did not pose a serious political threat to the state. Thus, although the SED remained concerned about the early environmental movement, it shied away from overt repression (Markham, 2005). Furthermore, like the peace movement, local pastors determined if and to what extent individual churches would become involved in the environmental movement. In short, environmental groups remained isolated and largely ineffective during the early stages of the movement and thus did not incur the wrath of the SED.

The account of Gerhard Ruden, an environmental activist who worked within the church at Magdeburg, provides an inside look at how environmental opposition developed within the church. Ruden explained that "my political activities started within the realm of the church…since about 1979 our pastor began to talk about problems concerning the environment" (1993, p.167). He admits that his group's first activities did not attract much attention. For example, Ruden and other concerned parishioners eventually initiated dialogue with authorities involved in building a nuclear reactor near Magdeburg and "attempted to convince them that nuclear energy was too dangerous to pursue" (p. 167). He readily admits "of course this was perhaps a bit naïve on our part" (p. 167). In short, Ruden's account illuminates the fact that the small and non-political nature of the early environmental movement did not pose a significant threat to the state.

The aims of the environmental movement changed dramatically when the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident sparked a new wave of environmental activism throughout the Eastern Bloc. As international awareness grew, so too did the abilities of independent environmental groups to access international channels of communication while remaining under the protection of the church in the GDR (Jones, 1993). The unofficial headquarters of the environmental movement moved from the KFH in Wittenberg to the more accessible city of East Berlin. In the summer of 1986, Pastor Hans Simon constructed an *Umweltbibliothek* (UB), or environmental library, in the basement of the Zion church in East Berlin (Fulbrook, 1995). The UB published a monthly newsletter, the *Umweltblätter*, which would become the center of future grass-roots environmental activism in the GDR.

This politicizing shift of the environmental movement occurred as groups began to "conclude that environmental problems could not be addressed without a thorough overhaul and democratization of the system" (Markham, 2005, p. 22). Further politicization manifested itself in the founding of *Arche*, a group that broke away from the UB over Arche members' insistence on forming a network of environmental groups (Jones, 1993). The state did not take the environmental movement's increasing political affront lightly. In November 1987 the Stasi raided the UB library, accusing it of illegally printing non-church material. Agents confiscated printing presses and arrested several UB workers, an act which the church countered with widespread protest. Although public pressure led to the eventual release of the prisoners and the return of printing equipment, the SED could do nothing to quell the growing discontent of the populace (Fulbrook, 1995). In the end, environmental groups joined together with other opposition groups in roundtable discussions as the regime collapsed in 1989 (Markham).

Although some environmental groups eventually worked outside the church, by necessity the base of the environmental movement remained under the church's protection throughout its period of opposition to the state. Through the church in socialism formula and the 1978 summit, church leaders gained the confidence to provide environmental groups with places to meet, scarce printing presses, and even employment opportunities and legal help (Jones, 1993). In short, the growth of the environmental movement and its opposition to the state in the 1980s proved that the church possessed the necessary confidence to shield oppositional groups from state oppression as a result of its legitimate role in society.

Many of the 70,000 people who gathered together in the Leipzig city center on October 9, 1989, to protest the injustices of the GDR did so because of the shelter given by the East German Evangelical Church from incursions of the state. As I have demonstrated, the tenuous relationship between the church and state prior to the 1970s stifled the development of any church-based opposition to the state. The major turning point in church-state relations came with the church's 1971 decision to become a church in socialism. This formula redefined the church's position vis-à-vis the state and allowed the church to operate within the socialist system for society's benefit. Furthermore, the March 6, 1978, summit between church and state leaders established a climate of mutual respect and cooperation between church and state, which in turn provided associates of the church with a legitimate place in East German society and the confidence to shelter opposition to the state within its physical and metaphorical boundaries. The shelter that peace and environmental movements found within the church allowed them to develop serious opposition to the East German state in the 1980s.

Perhaps most importantly, church-protected peace and environmental groups allowed GDR citizens to speak out against the state during the 1980s. As a result, the Evangelical Church in East Germany became one of a growing number of intermediaries between an increasingly alienated populace and a totalitarian state. In the end, the church's protection of many opposition movements by virtue of the confidence and legitimization granted by the tenants of the church in socialism and the March 6, 1978, summit finally allowed the voices of an oppressed citizenry to be heard. These church-based voices of dissent against oppressive government, when combined

with those of thousands of others from separate groups inside the GDR and other
Eastern Bloc countries, had a powerful effect on bringing about the end of the GDR.

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The Early Black Press and Social Obligation to Abolish Slavery

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Abstract
    The creation of the black press was spurred by the growing abolitionist sentiment of the antebellum period in America. The growing press developed different methods to reach free blacks and encourage them to join the abolitionist movement. One approach sought to promote the enrichment and advancement of African Americans within white society, while the other focused on attacking slavery and bringing to the surface its evils. By examining archived antebellum black papers and historians' research, this study considers the effectiveness of both methods of the black press to help bring about the abolition of slavery. A critical analysis of these resources indicates that both approaches were indeed crucial in garnering support for the abolitionist movement and successful in getting free blacks to join the movement.

During the mid-19th century, a growing abolitionist movement spread freedom and anti-slavery rhetoric. The antebellum black press was born out of that trend, allowing free blacks to take up the call for mobilization of their abolitionist sentiments and create their own periodicals and newspapers. Through these publications, African Americans penned their opinions and used their own voices to influence the abolitionist movement. Some publications pushed for the advancement and self-betterment of free blacks within society, while others focused on attacking slavery and pointing out the evils and immorality of the institution itself. Both methods provided free blacks with motivation to work for the abolition of slavery.

Historians vary in their analysis of the antebellum black press. Tripp (1992) argued that the publications that covered the advancement of blacks were more influential than the anti-slavery papers. Hutton (1993) argued that the methods of the black press editors are too varying themselves to be completely analyzed and assessed. While it may be difficult to gauge the results the black press achieved in freeing slaves directly, the effect the methods of the press had on free blacks is too often overlooked by historians like Tripp and Hutton. Using research that included the examination of

collections of antebellum black publications, this paper will show the black press was able to instill a sense of social obligation toward anti-slavery within the middle class of free blacks. This was done by advocating social responsibility and pushing for the formation of a respectable free black middle class.

This paper contains analysis of articles from the black press publications found in the University of Wisconsin bound periodical collection and microfilm via interlibrary loan: *The Colored American* (1837), *Douglass's Monthly* (1859), *The North Star* (1848, 1849), *Freedom's Journal* (1827), *The Anglo-African Magazine* (1859), *The Weekly Anglo-African* (1859), *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (1852), and *The Emancipator* (1835).

The first black press publication was *Freedom's Journal*, which was printed in March 1827 in New York—the same year that slavery was abolished in the state (Daniel, 1982). The weekly four-page paper was founded and edited by the Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm. Both were highly educated black men and upstanding members of society. Cornish was an ordained Presbyterian minister, and Russwurm was one of the first African Americans to graduate from college (Tripp, 1992).

Cornish and Russwurm published *Freedom's Journal*, intending to be the first voice of blacks in the press and to replace the overwhelmingly white voices that had been allowed to speak for and about blacks in unfair ways. The editors made this clear from the statement of purpose included in the journal's first issue:

> We wish to plead our cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick [*sic*] been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly, though in estimation of some mere trifles; for though there are many in society who exercise towards us benevolent feelings; still (with sorrow we confess it) there are others who make it their business to enlarge upon the least trifle, which tends to the discredit of any person of colour. (Cornish & Russwurm, 1827, p. 1)

Blacks would use the press as a vehicle of their own to spread their abolitionist sentiments and to clear up misconceptions that had, over the years, been made about blacks.

It was not only the opinion of Cornish, Russwurm, and *Freedom's Journal* that blacks, enslaved or free, had not been portrayed accurately in the press. From the publication of *Freedom's Journal* until the Civil War, more than 40 black-owned and edited newspapers and periodicals emerged across the North, most stating the same purpose as *Freedom's Journal* (Tripp, 1992).

In January 1859, the first issue of *The Anglo-African Magazine* was published. Thomas Hamilton called for all blacks to start writing and fighting for their own freedom. He wrote that the purpose of black newspapers was to give blacks their own voice "in order to assert and maintain their rank as men among men, must speak for themselves, no outside tongue however gifted with eloquence, can tell their story" (p. 1). Hamilton, along with other editors, echoed these sentiments throughout the pages of their papers.

Black press editors wanted to reach out specifically to the literate base of free blacks in the North. Editors knew that it would be futile to attempt to put too much

effort in writing for those enslaved and mostly illiterate in the South (Tripp, 1992). For years, slaveholders had prevented blacks from learning to read and write. As a result, enslaved blacks were not connected to the developing black press. Black editors instead addressed the free black population, hoping they might in turn be inspired to help those still enslaved in the South.

Tate (1998) asserted that the Northern free black resistance was the second half of the rebellion against slavery:

> Northern Black political protest and abolition, on the other hand, consisting of political agitation that clarified the parameters and praxis of struggle, vigilantism, slave rescues, and the Underground Railroad, was the counterpart to the slave rebellions and served to mark free Black resistance in the antebellum era. (p. 767)

The "political protest and agitation" that Tate wrote of took place within the pages of the antebellum black press publications. She explained that the individual efforts of Northern free blacks in aiding rescue efforts and involvement in the Underground Railroad were key in the fight against slavery and in freeing enslaved blacks. But it was the involvement of the black press that put all those components together and laid the foundation of the abolitionist movement. The black press instructed free blacks how they could help end slavery.

Free blacks in the North had the ability to make social changes that could help advance blacks within society. In his book *The Early Black Press in America: 1827 to 1860*, Hutton (1993) wrote about the reliance on the free black class and explained that "from the black press we witness that the middle class assumed more and more responsibility for the advancement of the race, both socially and educationally" (p. 2). Like no other time in history, Hutton's words rang true for the free blacks in the North, and African Americans had a real opportunity to mobilize and use their free status to aid their enslaved counterparts.

Not only did free blacks move without the restraint of chains, but they had the ability to organize and to collaborate with the abolitionist movement for freedom for all blacks. Free blacks could fight slavery from outside of the institution, and the black press realized that the free black population could be its greatest ally.

Many black papers pushed free blacks to take their own futures, as well as the future of their race, into their own hands. These papers stressed self-improvement and advancement for free blacks in order to improve on their place within white society. They wanted to erase the illusion of white superiority by proving the worth of blacks in multiple areas. In the July 23, 1859, issue of *The Weekly Anglo-African*, Hamilton spoke of the need for blacks to take control of their status in society. "We shall direct the attention of the masses to industry, to perseverance, to economy, to self-reliance, to the substantial footing in the land of our birth" (p. 1). Hamilton wanted the black press to focus on these elements to build a respectable base of morals and ethics so blacks could argue against white supremacy.

The black papers highlighted the importance of education, black involvement in politics and culture, and the achievements of black artists, actors, and musicians to their base of free black readers. They also advocated personal improvement by encouraging blacks to maintain high moral standards. The editors believed that if they could directly show that blacks were capable of attaining respectable and high positions

in society, they could build a case refuting the white idea of black inferiority as a reason for black enslavement.

J. Holland Townsend (1859) wrote in *The Anglo-African Magazine* about free blacks diligently ascending in society to gain freedom for all:

> The Revolution that we are engaging in is one of greater moment
> to us than the dominion of the sea; peacefully and quietly we are
> fighting the battle; we need no weapons but what are of a radically
> conservative character…they are more potent than the sinewy arm,
> have wider sway than the conqueror, with such effectual and potent
> weapons as the printing press, common school and machine shop on
> our side, there is no word as fail. (p. 327)

According to Townsend, in the fight against slavery there would be no organized military push of the masses against the slaveholders to free the slaves. The fight would be won with the pen of black press editors, in the classroom by free black children seeking education, and by the calloused hands and sweat on the brows of those working diligently in Northern factories. Abolition was a quiet revolution that would take place on the shoulders of free blacks. It was through hard work and advancement that liberty would be won.

Black leaders wanted to establish their own institutions of learning. They believed educated children could become free of any dependence on whites (Pride & Wilson, 1997). In an issue of *The Colored American* (1837), the editors focused on the importance of childhood education:

> Let us do our part, fill up the schools, and affect a punctual atten-
> dance, and the trustees will spare no pains nor expenses in furnish-
> ing all the means of a useful and finished education.…We are not
> always to be a downtrodden people. Our infant sons, should we give
> them suitable advantages, will be as eligible to the Presidency of
> the United States…and it is our wisdom, if possible, to give them as
> ample qualifications. (Ray, Cornish, & Bell, 1837, p. 1)

It was thought by black editors that whites who already supported abolition would be drawn to help free blacks who were already proving they could help themselves. Editors of publications like *The Colored American* understood that education was the key to winning over doubters. By using the opportunity that came from education, free blacks would be creating a better future not only for themselves, but for future generations.

These periodicals also focused on the creative and artistic achievements of blacks as a way to show other contributions they made to society. *The Anglo-African Magazine* featured a series in each issue that reviewed a picture gallery depicting slave life at several stages. The publication also featured a "selected items" section that highlighted black actors, authors, poets, and musicians who had found success in the North.

Tripp (1992) wrote in *Origins of the Black Press* that black press editors understood that it was essential to focus on cultural and economic advancement in order to create a more unified black population. Free black actors, artists, and musicians were establishing themselves within Northern society, making names for themselves in the creative arts among whites and blacks alike. Their successes in the arts and

entertainment were a testament to the worth and ability of blacks, and the black press publications sought to use those achievements as a sticking point against the argument that they were inferior to whites.

        Black papers also called upon free blacks to raise their moral expectations. Tate (1998) wrote that most black abolitionist leaders believed that freedom would be achieved through a "moral revolution" (p. 772). Most editors felt that whites would seize on any shortcomings or vices blacks demonstrated, generalizing and identifying all blacks with any immoral behavior. So it was preached in the early black press writings that blacks must strive to be socially and morally responsible (Hutton, 1993).

        In *The North Star*, Frederick Douglass (1848) advised blacks how to act in social interactions with whites:

> Be reserved, but not sour; grave, but not formal; bold, but not rash;
> humble, but not servile; patient, but not insensible; constant, but not
> obstinate; cheerful, but not light. Rather be sweet-tempered, rather
> than familiar; and intimate with very few, and with those few upon
> good grounds. (p. 3)

By not giving whites an opportunity to criticize their behavior, black editors and writers like Douglass thought they would be making a case against slavery. They wanted to dispel the stereotype that pegged blacks as violent or unintelligent or as tricksters. Editors urged blacks to maintain a clean social image to keep pro-slavery whites from being able to use any missteps against blacks and to motivate non-slaveholding whites to join in the fight against slavery. It was often a sort of mask that these black papers and periodicals urged their readers to put on.

        In an 1837 issue of *The Colored American*, Cornish further emphasized the idea that blacks needed to maintain a respectable public image:

> …all eyes are upon us. Many philanthropic minds are waiting the
> result of the measures of our improvement before they enlist in the
> holy cause of the slave. And many tyrants are waiting and praying
> for our deeper degradation as an opiate for their consciences and an
> extenuation for their guilt. (p. 2)

        This approach sought to prove that through hard work anything was possible. If free blacks were willing to take advantage of the opportunities they had as unbonded men and women, then eventually their progress would benefit all blacks. These articles aimed to motivate free blacks to want to improve themselves and in turn raise the hopes of an entire race.

        Merely encouraging good social behavior and education for free blacks was not enough action for some black abolitionist publications. The writers of many of these papers claimed it was their purpose to speak out against the evils of slavery and the atrocities that slaveholders had inflicted upon blacks. These publications directly attacked slavery and slaveholders, often acting as a rallying cry to blacks to join in the abolitionist movement (Tripp, 1992).

        Douglass (1849) wrote an editorial in *The North Star* that emphasized his views on the actions blacks should take against slavery.

> For two hundred and twenty-eight years has the colored man toiled
> over the soil of America, under a burning sun and a driver's lash—
> plowing, planting, reaping, that white men might roll in ease, their

> hands unhardened by labor, and their brows unmoistened by the
> waters of genial toil; and now that the moral sense of mankind is
> beginning to revolt at this system of foul treachery and cruel wrong,
> and is demanding its overthrow. (p. 2)

Douglass (1849) spoke of outright revolt and revolution by the slaves and urged blacks to seek justice against those who enslaved them. He criticized the behaviors and reactions of white slaveholders, accusing them of not only holding them in slavery, but of a plot to rid the country of blacks no matter their status. In another of his publications, *Douglass's Monthly*, Douglass (1859) wrote eloquently and strongly against any movement by whites to undermine black opposition to slavery. He also chastised other abolitionists that had previously suggested that blacks leave the United States and form their own sovereign state.

Douglass (1859) wrote an editorial in his *Monthly* against that very notion of colonization that some groups had previously suggested: "[They] say to us, go to Africa, raise cotton, civilize the natives, become planters, merchants, compete with slave states in which we simply and briefly reply, 'we prefer to remain in America'" (p. 20). As an ex-slave, Douglass was passionate about unearthing the immorality of slavery and the damage done by slaveholders to slaves; avoiding the issue was not the solution.

Other black press publications of the antebellum period were forthright that their papers were staunchly against slavery. They carried names such as *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and *Radical Abolitionist*. These were not publications that focused on pushing free blacks to be upstanding citizens to get an education. Instead, they were fodder to fuel the involvement of free blacks in the fight against slavery.

In *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (1852), an unsigned letter explained ardent abolitionists' opposition to the less brash approach of papers that stressed personal improvement. The first section of the letter read:

> The real objection to the Anti-Slavery movement is, not its aim,
> but the manner in which it is conducted; and, as the race of fools is
> never-ending, so incorrigible and thick-headed individuals will be
> extant till the fact that slavery ever existed on this continent is
> altogether forgotten. (p. 5)

The letter exemplifies the dissatisfaction that many of the more ardent black press papers felt with the slower, advancement-based tactics of other publications. Publications like *National Anti-Slavery Standard* thought that the advancement-based course was a foolish one that would not result in the end of slavery.

Forgetting about slavery and trying to assimilate or gradually advance the status of blacks within society was not the goal of these papers. Many of the editors and contributors of these papers ardently disagreed with the personal improvement approach. They wanted immediate and widespread action by free blacks and sympathetic whites to free slaves.

Not all papers advocated solely for ardent abolition or personal improvement. Some, like *The Anglo-African Magazine*, were a blend of the two, providing articles that preached the education of blacks and in the same issue featured articles about the deplorable conditions on slave ships and attempts at escape by fugitive slaves. Editors applauded these successful escapes with the hope of motivating blacks to aid these runaways.

The Anglo-African Magazine, along with many other black publications, reported slave insurrections not only to help spread fear that whites might have in the wake of a revolt but to spread the news to the blacks that something was indeed happening in the fight against slavery. One issue featured an obituary that celebrated the life of a black abolitionist by the name of Thomas Jennings, drawing attention to the things he had done in his life to fight slavery (Hamilton, 1859c, p. 126). Along with intellectual essays about black society and culture, the editors also wrote responses and analyses to laws and codes that the government made that the black publications did not support. *The Anglo-African Magazine* (1859a, 1859b) featured a series that criticized the Fugitive Slave Law and outlined what was wrong with the law and needed revision.

Several papers reported on news of blacks outside the country. *The Anglo-African Magazine* (1859d) offered commentary on several revolutions and revolts of slaves in the Caribbean. To the editors, it proved that slaves could rid themselves of their oppressors, survive after the revolution, and create a stable environment. The editors hailed this as testimony and "vindication of the capacity of the negro race for self-government and civilized progress" (Hamilton, 1859d, p. 185). The commentary provided motivation for free blacks to do their part in abolishing slavery and proved that emancipation was not an unreasonable goal.

Although the black press took varying approaches to abolish slavery, the overall effort of the antebellum black press succeeded in getting free blacks socially motivated to join the cause against slavery. Both methods succeeded in getting blacks involved in the emancipation efforts at both a policy and ground level. What the antebellum black press knew and the editors understood was that they themselves could not free the slaves. The press consisted of blacks who could not vote and could not do anything to directly change policy. But they could influence, no matter what tactics they used.

David Ruggles, founder of *The Mirror of Liberty*, acknowledged the shortcomings of the press in the quest for liberty but emphasized the overall power it had to influence free blacks and whites who had more power to change things. In an 1835 issue of *The Emancipator*, Ruggles wrote:

> It may be urged that the press cannot alter the laws of our country which may make us slaves; this I admit. It cannot directly, but it can indirectly, changing the public opinion which creates the laws. What is the public opinion? It is the opinion of the majority of the intelli-gent people who inhabit our country. (p. 1)

Ruggles himself aided escaped slaves. He took in fugitive slaves and worked to keep free blacks from being kidnapped and re-enslaved (Bullock, 1981).

Reaction and participation of free blacks as a result of the antebellum black press was not limited to individual acts of the writers and editors. In the time between the publication of *Freedom's Journal* in 1827 and the end of slavery, more than 40 black-owned and edited publications were founded across the North and Canada (Tripp, 1992). The increase in the number of publications resulted in increased circulation and more widespread readership of free blacks.

The Anglo-African Magazine often printed statistics in the beginning sections of its issues, documenting the growing number of free blacks in the North. Each year

the number steadily increased—an indicator that the efforts of the antebellum black press were influencing people to help slaves escape and secure their freedom. The black press was affecting the masses.

The antebellum black press drew abolitionists from different areas, as well as newcomers. A number of black-run organizations sprang up because of the black press. More blacks were helping the Underground Railroad that allowed slaves to escape to the North. Groups like the New York Committee of Vigilance were integral in creating a network that would allow more people to gain freedom (Bullock, 1981). Thanks in part to black press outlets advocating elevation of blacks within society, free blacks were in better economic positions to act against slavery (Tripp, 1992). By being better off financially and living respectfully within society, free blacks were more able to help slaves gain freedom. They had the means to supply provisions for and harbor runaway slaves and could dedicate time to abolitionist efforts.

While using different tactics to end slavery, the antebellum black press succeeded in garnering the support of free blacks in the North. As a result of the black press writings, free blacks were motivated to work against slavery. Black papers impressed in free blacks an overwhelming sense of social obligation and a growing sense of a black community so that they would work toward helping their enslaved counterparts. The antebellum black press pushed for free blacks to provide for enslaved blacks with the hope that slavery would be abolished permanently.

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The Power Complex: The WSU System's Response to Dissent in the Late 1960s

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Abstract

In the late 1960s, liberal and radical students enrolled in the Wisconsin State University (WSU) System coalesced into organizations to challenge the policies of the System's administration. One of these liberal-left organizations was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a national student organization known for confronting educational and political establishments. In order to prevent SDS from creating dissent on their campuses, WSU administrators established new policies that prevented SDS from being recognized and then used these policies to create guidelines that gave the administration greater control over student life in general.

Small numbers of African American WSU students also rebelled between 1968 and 1970, causing a systemwide crisis. After racially based vandalism and violence occurred on several WSU campuses, the administration bypassed traditional disciplinary practices and redefined due process within the System. As a result, the administration expanded its disciplinary authority, and ethnic minorities were left with minimal access to due process. By the end of the 1960s, the administration's reactions to these events had facilitated significant growth of power for the System's administrators.

Introduction

By the end of the 1960s, America's political landscape had been irrevocably changed by dissenters throughout the nation. In many ways, Wisconsin was a key battleground in the fight between conservative traditionalists and advocates of a new way of thinking. Nowhere was this battle more apparent than in the Wisconsin State University (WSU) System. At the end of the decade, WSU students of divergent cultures began to react against what they viewed as an unjust system. These students formed their own separate coalitions and fought these issues, both through established

channels and through unorthodox means. Confronting these forces was an established hierarchy of power headed by individual university presidents and a resistant Board of Regents. The administrators of the WSU System used all of their power in an attempt to maintain or exceed traditional standards of administrative authority in response to the students' struggle. In order to maintain complete dominance, System administrators manipulated, enlarged, and consolidated their already significant power in an attempt to become the supreme authority within the System.

An Attack on Dissent

In the late 1960s, student activism on college campuses had become a national concern. At the beginning of the 1967–1968 academic year, college administrators across the nation were witnessing student-inspired events unfold with a ferocious intensity. In October alone, the anti-war movement at the University of California-Berkeley staged a highly publicized "Stop the Draft Week" in nearby Oakland, and a national coalition took its protest straight to the Pentagon (Isserman & Kazin, 2008, pp. 192–193). Closer to home, radical and moderate students alike sat-in at the University of Wisconsin in Madison to protest Dow Corporation's campus interviews. The results of the protest were bloody and gained nationwide attention while placing Wisconsin institutions of higher education under the watchful eye of the state legislature (Maraniss, 2003). During this period, the university system in Wisconsin was separated into two groups, each with its own administrators and Board of Regents: the more prestigious University of Wisconsin System, and the larger, more rural system of the Wisconsin State Universities (Trahan, 1976). By the middle of the 20th century, the WSU System had started to transition from being a system of locally oriented teaching colleges to developing into a system of nine universities offering liberal arts degrees (Trahan, 1976). However, despite the growth, the administration and governing Board of Regents still seemed to prefer a traditional, ordered atmosphere and a distinct distaste for change.

The one student group that clearly held the attention of the regents was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). By 1965, SDS was "the best-known radical group in the country" (Isserman & Kazin, 2008, p. 179). The regents were aware of this, and in 1967 they sought to solidify their stance on SDS's student radicalism. In February 1967, President Gates of Wisconsin State University-La Crosse denied the local SDS chapter a charter at the university, a decision that was affirmed by the Board of Regents in its March 10, 1967, meeting (Board of Regents, March 10, 1967). Soon after, the La Crosse SDS chapter filed a lawsuit against the university and the regents, instigating a legal battle that would last more than a year (Kopp, 1967; McPhee, June 6, 1968). During this period, Regent John Dixon of Appleton, Wisconsin, crusaded against the group with zeal. In a message to regents, presidents, and the Education Committee, Dixon mounted a blistering attack against SDS. He stated that "the S.D.S. has emerged in this country as a disruptive, destructive, demonic organization, dedicated to violence, committed to political revolution, and pledged to complete a student take-over of administrative control of our colleges and universities" (Dixon, 1968). To supplement this information, E. L. Wingert, a lawyer retained by the board to assist in legal issues, compiled 13 pages of handwritten notes about SDS articles, documentation, and

statements. These notes also included the phone numbers and addresses of the Appleton detective departments and FBI special agents (Wingert, n.d.).

While the thought of an SDS presence on WSU campuses concerned the regents, they were able to use the situation for their own benefit, increasing the power of the System's administration. After the district judge ruled in favor of the university and affirmed that a president could deny charter to student organizations, Wingert and Dixon co-wrote a policy confirmed by the board as Resolution 3161 during its June 21, 1968, meeting (Board of Regents, June 21, 1968). The resolution states, in part:

> It is…the stated policy of the Board of Regents of the Wisconsin
> State University System to refuse to approve, recognize, or encour-
> age any disruptive, subversive, or anarchistic organization or
> activity…having such violence or disruption as an objective or likely
> consequence. The authority to implement and administer this policy
> is delegated to the presidents. The presidents may seek and welcome
> assistance, suggestions, and recommendations from faculty, admin-
> istrative staff, or students. The obligation for the final decision at the
> University, however, rests with the President, who in turn is respon-
> sible to the Board of Regents. (Board of Regents, June 21, 1968)

This statement was a significant change from the due process procedures then conducted on the nine campuses. While this policy did not negate the normal process of obtaining a charter for a student group, which required an approval from the student legislature, it did create a systemwide policy that gave the campus presidents the power to deny charter based on their individual opinions of the group (Munns, 1968). Furthermore, the last clause of the statement implied that in these cases a president's decision was subject to the scrutiny of the regents, therefore giving the Board complete control over which organizations were recognized by the institutions. This factor was exemplified by a July 18, 1968, letter to the presidents from Eugene McPhee, the WSU System executive director. The letter determined that, according to his interpretation of the above resolution, the recognition of SDS by university presidents was contrary to board policy. Thus, a systemwide ban was created for SDS.

Even as the regents were consolidating their power using this policy statement, a new policy that would prove to be much more pervasive grew out of the fear of radical groups. Less than 2 months after the La Crosse SDS chapter began legal proceedings, the regents were discussing the creation of a Uniform Student Conduct Code for the entire WSU System (Board of Regents, July 13, 1967). WSU administrators cited protests in 1967 as the reason for their desire to create the code (Hinkley, 1967). In August, the board initiated a plan to acquire recommendations from the entire university community to be examined by the WSU Council of Presidents and the Board Education Committee (Board of Regents, August 17, 1967). Student, faculty, and administrative groups submitted recommendations in the following months to work out a mutually agreeable code. However, on December 1, 1967, the regents voted for a resolution approving a rushed version of the Conduct Code, despite protests by the Chippewa Valley Civil Liberties Union and the United Council of Student Governments (Board of Regents, December 1, 1967).

Across the state of Wisconsin, conservative groups, such as the Family Life Education and Marriage Counseling Committee, applauded the adoption of the code

(Bruening, 1967). However, some groups were less pleased. In an editorial by *The Racquet*, a student newspaper in La Crosse, the writer labeled the code "ambiguous" and "in violation of student rights" (*The Racquet* Staff, 1967). The article expressed concern that the Conduct Code subjected students to double jeopardy. Their primary concern was with a line that stated, "Students are subject to such disciplinary action as the university may consider appropriate, including expulsion for breach of federal, state, or local laws and university rules and regulations, both on or off campus" (*The Racquet* Staff). Throughout the System, students argued that the clause allowed the universities to initiate administrative discipline for off-campus activities, even if civil or criminal action had been taken by law enforcement. *The Racquet* editorial noted that the line was "rejected by the student government of every school in the system," yet the regents had shown little concern (*The Racquet* Staff).

With the creation of the Student Conduct Code, the Board of Regents undeniably broadened its base of power to control student activities outside of the campus. However, by showing a lack of concern for the student governments' opinion, the regents seemed to indicate that students had little influence in policy decisions that directly affected their lives. To ensure the strength of this resolution, the regents considered a more restrictive version of the code a month later. In violation of a bylaw stating that a notice of proposal must be given in advance of the meeting, they adopted the new conduct code without consulting any student organizations (Board of Regents, January 18, 1968; Wingert, January 30, 1968). By the final approval of the code, the regents had begun to exhibit distinct tendencies of consolidating power and disregarding the opinions of the WSU System community.

A Clash of Culture

Beginning in the mid-1960s, the almost universally white WSU System began to step up efforts to enroll minority students. In November 1967, the Office for Civil Rights, a national bureau, began collecting racial statistics for all colleges receiving federal aid, an action that may have prodded universities to enroll more ethnically diverse students (Arbeiter, 1967). This new emphasis on enrolling minority students coincided with individual university recruiting policies. Sociologist Richard Trahan (1976) noted that in the mid-1960s administrators from Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh (WSU-O) agreed to begin recruiting "disadvantaged" students from urban poverty areas, such as those in Milwaukee and Racine. This eventually led to the formation of the Advisory Committee for Culturally Distinct Students (ACCDS), which initiated a program to provide "a flexible admission and probation policy, special summer orientation and pre-registration, [and] a counseling laboratory staffed by faculty members and volunteer students" (Coordinating Council for Higher Education, n.d.; Trahan).

Despite the good intentions of certain administrators in Oshkosh and across the System, the situation for black students remained challenging. The institutions showed some advances in recruiting, but once the students arrived, they found little guidance. James Bealer, dean of students at Oshkosh, expressed the opinion that many recruited black students "used their loan money to buy clothing, alcohol, parties, etc." rather than pay tuition (Bealer, 1968). Coming from poverty-stricken areas of Wisconsin, these students had little experience with the mechanics of a predominantly white bureaucracy. With little experience in allocating financial aid, the students were

arguably less prepared than middle-class white students to handle this new financial situation. In addition, many financial administrators were reluctant to assist these students. Maurice Spitler, financial aid director for WSU-O, felt that there was no problem using "self-help programs" because the students should have a "personal financial stake in their education" (Spitler, 1968). Sandra McCreary, a black student at WSU-O, described Spitler as having "a way of making each one of the black students who went into his office feel like they were begging" ("Racism—As Different," 1969). Administrators like Spitler forced unprepared students to accept work-study jobs that limited their hours of study, placing them at a distinct disadvantage. At the same time they were dealing with institutional difficulties, these students also experienced racism from the local community. In a *Milwaukee Journal* article, McCreary cited many examples of prejudice in Oshkosh, including hostile whites who shouted "nigger" and instances where she was "stared at in an Oshkosh Department Store" ("Black Students," 1969). Struggling with financial assistance, unresponsive administrators, and a hostile community, these students felt trapped.

During October 1968, black students at WSU-O began to publicize their grievances. The Black Student Union (BSU), a coalition of black students on the Oshkosh campus, created a list of demands to improve the school for black students and gave them to James McKee, a black coordinator for the ACCDS program (Trahan,1976). These demands made their way to President Guiles, the administrative head of the campus (Trahan). A statement headed the list, saying, "What Black people in America now need is not exposure to and absorption of traditional European academic ideas, but rather preparation in fields directly related to our own lives and especially designed to better prepare us to improve our lives and the welfare of our people" (Trahan, p. 136). The students were asking for a college experience that would relate to situations they knew and the problems that affected them and their families. Traditional liberal arts education, based predominantly on European beliefs and concepts, had little meaning for black students whose backgrounds and experiences were vastly different from their white counterparts. The BSU demanded an Afro-American Center, black professors and courses, and a black student fund to obtain black speakers, black literature, and to finance the center (Trahan).

In response, the University attempted to meet these demands, but policy makers had little enthusiasm for change. Three classes were added dealing with minority students; however, the university made little headway in recruiting black faculty (Advisory Committee for Culturally Distinct Students, November 21, 1968). For example, Dr. Justin Obi, one of the few black employees of WSU-O, related in an open letter that a black professor he recommended was not hired because he had not earned his doctorate yet, even though many white professors in the department also lacked this degree (Obi, 1968). In addition, the university authorized the allocation of an old house for an African American cultural center. Although temporary, even the university admitted that the house was in "poor condition" ("Racism—As Different," 1969).

The black students at Oshkosh considered the response unacceptable, and tensions boiled over on "Black Thursday," November 21, 1968. Early that morning, a large group of students entered Dempsey Hall and filled Guiles' office, as well as surrounding offices. They presented him with the same list of demands, along with

a new demand to remove Spitler (Trahan, 1976). When Guiles refused, some of the students proceeded to tear apart the office, knocking over books, damaging paintings, and ruining files (Trahan). Police officers were called in, and they arrested 94 black students and four white students who "volunteered to be arrested in a gesture of solidarity" (Trahan, p. 142).

Although this incident was a difficult situation for the community to deal with, it was the administrative reaction in the aftermath that proved to be explosive. Soon after the incident, Guiles issued suspension orders for all 94 of the black students without any form of due process, while the four white students were ignored by administrators (Guiles, 1968; Trahan, 1976). Guiles accused the students of interfering with the functions of the university and infringing on the rights of others (Guiles). The following month, the students sought a restraining order in federal court to force the System to give them an impartial hearing and reinstate them until due process had been given (Barbee & Julian, 1968). The students won the case, and the regents were forced to act (Doyle, 1968).

In general, the Board of Regents was not sympathetic toward the students. Regent Siinto Wessman authored a personal memo that stated, "I'm glad Guiles socked it to 'em. As the Chinese say…'a few knocked heads is worth a million words'" (Wessman, 1968). Adding to this bias, the Wisconsin Legislature was pressuring the regents to act sternly or suffer monetary consequences. Assemblyman Herbert Grover threatened to "come in fighting against the State University System budget if you people [the regents] fail to deal strongly in this situation" (Grover, 1968). In the end, the regents chose to take on new power (which they called "original jurisdiction") by bypassing the established tribunal system and appointing a hand-picked hearing agent, J. Ward Rector (Board of Regents, December 6, 1968).

During the hearing, all of the students were tried as a whole and faced the same charges: blocking the executive offices in Dempsey Hall and failing to withdraw after having been ordered (Guiles, n.d.). On December 19, 1968, one day before the regent's executive committee would meet and determine the fate of the students, the ACCDS issued a statement listing six different possible actions to be taken in regard to the students—actions that ranged from immediate reinstatement to expulsion (Advisory Committee for Culturally Distinct Students, December 19, 1968). The committee itself "preferred some middle ground" (Behrendt, 1968). However, the regents were less forgiving. Ninety of the students were given the maximum penalty of expulsion, while four of the students were found to be "less culpable" and were only suspended for the remainder of the fall semester (Board of Regents, December 20, 1968). The fact that four students were found less guilty, even though all had violated the student conduct code by blocking access to Dempsey Hall, indicated to some that the regents were convicting the 90 students of another unspoken charge (Board of Christian Social Concerns of the United Methodist Church, 1969). Determining the precise reason the regents chose the maximum punishment for the majority of these students is difficult. Perhaps it is more germane to consider that an outraged board was the sole judge of the case, taking unprecedented action over the recommendations of the local campus committees. The regents had created a powerful new policy that allowed them to set the boundaries of due process within the System.

Racial strife proved to be too persistent to stay isolated in Oshkosh. A little over a year later, at Wisconsin State University-Whitewater (WSU-W), tensions flared again as blacks and whites on campus clashed in violent encounters. On December 15, 1969, after an intramural basketball game, white fraternity students cornered the black team and their girlfriends in the gym and a fight ensued. The black students were outnumbered, and the white students became violent. Trahan notes that one black girl was hit and pushed down the stairs by a white male. After little action was taken by the police, the black students regrouped at the new Afro-American Center, then raided the Phi Chi Epsilon house, breaking furniture and punching the fraternity members. At some point, a handgun was fired into the wall, escalating the issue to a crisis (Trahan, 1976).

In the immediate aftermath, the administration's actions were reminiscent of the Oshkosh ruling. President William Carter issued immediate suspension orders without a prior hearing (Carter, December 17, 1969). Learning from the Oshkosh court case, the administration immediately scheduled a hearing but chose to use a hearing agent for the second time in the System's history (Carter, December 22, 1969). The fact that the administrators had only chosen to do this when black students were concerned did not go unnoticed. In an anonymous flyer, a student stated, "The outright violation of the student disciplinary code is a race event....Only twice has the Board of Regents intervened in the history of the organization to break the student law—both times involving black students" (Anonymous Student from Wisconsin State University-Whitewater, 1970).

Headed again by Rector, the hearing proceeded with some concern. The regents seemed to desire ultimate control over these students' fates. Soliciting E. L. Wingert's opinion, the regents wanted to find out if Rector's recommendation could be delivered to Carter. This was in contrast to a System policy that called for a student-faculty tribunal to receive it (Kopp, 1970). Wingert (1970) replied by stating, "the applicable guideline clearly requires that the report be made to the standing tribunal." However, he continued by saying that, in "exceptional situations," the president could direct the report to come directly to him "and then [the president] could hear and decide the case upon receipt of the report" (Wingert, 1970). Carter took this action, allowing the regents a solid base of influence (Board of Regents, February 20, 1970). Of the 12 students involved, two were expelled, and seven were suspended for various periods, while charges against three were dropped (Board of Regents, February 20, 1970). In the same meeting, the regents agreed on a resolution reviewing all black culture centers and requiring the board's approval for their continuance (Board of Regents, February 20, 1970). This action was preceded by the closing of the Afro-American Center at WSU-W for classroom space (Trahan, 1976; Concerned Students of WSU-Whitewater, 1970). The administration had not only used original jurisdiction once again in the case of black students, but administrators had manipulated their power to ensure a definite punishment and retaliated against the black population that had challenged their status quo. By the end of WSU's major racial struggles, the administration was more powerful than ever, and the minority students in the System were left disenfranchised, with little access to due process.

Conclusion

Each example discussed above can be looked at separately as a different strand of administrative policy for the WSU System in the late 1960s. The regent's reaction to SDS and the creation of the Student Conduct Code implies that they were willing to manipulate policy to serve their own ends, particularly to prevent the radical student dissent that was changing campuses around the country. In the case of minority dissent, the regents showed no intention of allowing the black protestors, a dissident minority on a largely Caucasian campus, to change the status quo. Such a change would have invited unacceptable criticism from state legislators and the surrounding communities. Yet, when examined as a whole, there can be no doubt that the primary objective of the administration was to gather and consolidate as much power as possible while in office. In every scenario, the regents and administrative heads of campus attempted to distance themselves from social change, ensuring they had the means to control the WSU System at the cost of student liberty. Many factors can be considered as partial reasoning for their actions, including racism, government and community pressure, and personal political views. There is no doubt, however, that all these factors belie the administration's predominant goal of wielding power in the face of challenge.

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The Internet as Utopia: Reality, Virtuality, and Politics

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Abstract

Literary utopias have the important function of social critique. They point out flaws in society by way of implicit comparison to an imaginary ideal place and society and help to create a desire for change. Like most technologies, the mainstream adoption of the Internet was surrounded by utopian rhetoric. But the Internet is more than just technology; it offers a virtual reality that is designed to simulate place, and this makes the Internet a utopia in itself rather than merely the subject of utopian thought. Simultaneously, the Internet is a firm part of traditional (non-virtual) reality, subject at least in part to the control of business interests and territorial governments. This weakens the social critique of the Internet. I argue that because of its unique character as a virtual reality, the Internet possesses a powerful transformative potential that inspires public and private attempts to control it. This tension is inherent in the relationship between reality and virtuality and manifests in legal clashes over issues of intellectual property and free speech.

Introduction

A utopia offers alternative visions of the "good life" that challenge the nature of current social, economic, and political relationships. It is an ideal imaginary world created usually—but not always—through literary fiction within which new ideas can be explored. The early pioneers of the Internet envisioned a world without states in which abundant "free" information would equalize social relations and challenge traditional (pre-digital) property rights. Long before the Internet became mainstream, Ferkiss (1980) wrote about the political importance of technology and the utopian visions attached to it by society. He considered technology a hidden variable in American politics that would surface in unpredictable ways and, if not addressed adequately, cause a political crisis. Others have written at length about the social and political importance of utopias and utopian thought (Goodwin & Taylor, 1983; Jacoby, 1999, 2005). In this paper, I considered the unique implications the Internet holds for politics and society as more than just a technology and as something that is not quite a traditional (fully fictional as well as ideal) utopia. I argue that the political implications of the Internet must be understood in the context of the inherent tension created by the utopian potential of the Internet in order to challenge and alter traditional social,

economic, and political power structures. This tension has been most clearly evident in legal struggles over intellectual property. These struggles have inspired private and public attempts to regulate and limit the Internet. At the same time, the Internet's status as "partially real" (its physical infrastructure and its use as a tool, as opposed to the virtual world it engenders) limits its ability to serve the traditional role of utopia, that of social critique.

          Study of the Internet offers a range of politically significant questions and perspectives on utopia. However, intellectual property is likely the most salient issue for considering the Internet as a utopia for two reasons: (a) it is related to abundance, which is a utopian theme as old as the genre itself, and (b) this abundance is only possible because of the Internet. That is, much of what the Internet is used for is merely an extension of things we do without the Internet, such as online banking or shopping, placing classified ads, and booking plane tickets. What is truly novel and utopian about the Internet is the ability to create unlimited copies of information or creative work at no cost. This point is even more significant if these bits of information are to be considered "property," because of the importance of the disposition and control of property in the history of political thought.

          In order to evaluate the Internet as a utopia, some groundwork is necessary. First, I argue that the Internet *is* technology, but is not only technology. It is more than a technology and can even be considered a utopia in itself. Then I consider the meaning and political significance of utopia and present features of the Internet that make it a utopia. In particular, I focus on intellectual property and, to a lesser extent, government monitoring and regulation.

Internet as Technology

          The Internet *is* technology. It is the most recent plateau in the development of communications technologies, preceded by radio, telephone, and television. But the Internet is not just a technology. Throughout history, the development of new technologies has been closely intermingled with utopian aspirations with each new technology providing the necessary prerequisites for a utopian future. The Industrial Revolution introduced the idea that some day production would become so efficient that human beings would be able to spend most of their time at leisure with their families. At the time, promoters of the new radio technology suggested that the radio could bring world peace because it made long-distance communication instantaneous. Utopian aspirations may actually be a natural part of the technology development process. Nye (2004) noted an interesting cycle in our perception of developing new technologies. Initial development is closely attached to utopian aspirations and prompts a dystopian reply—a warning about the negative possibilities for the technology's impact on society. As technology becomes mainstream, it becomes clear that its utopian potential will not be realized, and a sense of disillusionment sets in, which Nye referred to as *real-topia*. After the technology has been rendered obsolete, a sense of *nos-topia* (as in nostalgia) may set in. Nos-topia is similar to utopia in that it pictures perfection of the technology and its use; however, nos-topia is the coloration of memories of things that have been real and mainstream, while utopia is attached to technologies that have not yet exhausted their potential.

          So how does the Internet fit into this cycle, how is it more than just a technology, and why is this important for politics? Nye (2004) wrote that some

technologies may exist in more than one part of the cycle simultaneously, and the Internet is one such example. The Internet has not yet exhausted its utopian potential, so it still inspires utopian visions and dystopian replies. It is also quite real, and its failure to meet past utopian expectations generates disillusionment. Finally, for some early pioneers, the Internet has taken on a nos-topian character and inspired a longing for the unregulated frontier days, even as obsolete and irrelevant as they may seem today.

The Internet's existence in each of the stages of the cycle simultaneously is a result of the "platform" nature of the Internet. That is, unlike most technologies, the Internet could more accurately be called a platform for technology. The revolutionary aspects of the Internet are not technological, in the traditional sense. In fact, much of the physical infrastructure of the Internet consists of the old telephone and cable networks. Computer inter-networking has been grafted onto the telephone system from the fiber-optic backbones all the way to the last mile, lines that run directly into homes and businesses. As a platform for communications technology, the Internet can contain all of the technologies listed earlier: radio, telephone, and television. Removing the physical infrastructure costs allows the development of new communication technologies: chat, instant messaging, e-mail, World Wide Web pages, and many others. Viewing the Internet as a platform for technology is important to understanding its utopian potential because it is this difference from other technologies that allows us to consider the Internet as more than just a tool with attached utopian aspirations—it is, instead, a kind of utopia in itself.

Perhaps even beyond being a platform, the Internet's role as a "place" supports its utopian potential. From the beginning, and within the very protocols that dictate its operation, the Internet has been designed to simulate place. It is meant to be a virtual world, able to contain infinite places accessible by various locators: IP addresses, URLs, chat channel names, etc. Even in the language we use to describe the Internet experience, it is evident we do not consider it simply a communications medium. For instance, we talk about *visiting* a Web site but we never talk about *visiting* a television show. The term implies the more participatory nature of the Internet, which is important because it is exactly that ability to experience and change the virtual world that makes the Internet's utopian potential different from previous technologies. After the Internet moved beyond military and academic research, many early adopters attempted to codify, in a literary sense, the Internet's role as utopia. Delaney (2004) outlined some of the early utopian visions of the Internet including a now well-known piece by John Perry Barlow titled "Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." This piece asserts a new "civilization of the Mind" that is borderless, free of tyranny, and without privilege or prejudice, where anyone, anywhere may express themselves freely. This piece and a loose set of other writings and ideas—when combined with this sense of online place—form the basis for the utopian Internet.

Utopia Matters

As a fictional vision concerned with the future, utopia acts as a critique of, and sometimes a blueprint for, reality by using an imaginary place to portray an ideal society. Although the word *utopian* has negative connotations and is often used to describe ideas that are considered fatally unrealistic, utopian thinking has certainly

left its mark on the history of politics. From the liberal ideals of individual rights and autonomy that led to the founding of the United States, to failed Marxist experiments around the world, to the values of social democracy, utopian thought is deeply embedded in politics. When utopia and reality meet, it often results in social and political tension as competing ideas reach a loose equilibrium and elements of utopian thought are integrated into the society and political reality.

Looking at utopia more traditionally as a body of mostly fictional writing, there are some themes shared by many, if not most, utopias. Going back to some of the oldest utopian writing such as *The Land of Cokaygne* and Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue*, well before Thomas More's *Utopia*, perhaps the most common theme is abundance without labor (Claeys & Sargent, 1999). It remains common even in the most recent utopian writing. In early works, abundance came as a result of magic or the grace of God. In later works, such as John Adolphus Etzler's *The Paradise Within Reach of All Men, Without Labour, by Powers of Nature and Machinery*, abundance was the result of human ingenuity. In many utopias, abundance formed the foundation of the utopian society (Claeys & Sargent). For example, if there is no conflict over abundant resources, there is little need for police, money, and even government in some more recent anarchist utopias such as Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Day Before the Revolution* and *The Dispossessed*. Anarchist utopias offer interesting parallels to the Internet as a utopia because of the Internet's decentralized power structure. Indeed, early utopian writings like those of Barlow are colored by anarchism. However, as discussed below, the Internet is trending less anarchic and arguably always had control structures in place even if they were at times bizarre or solely pragmatic and not about power (Goldsmith & Wu, 2006).

As the origin of abundance changed in the evolution of utopia, so did the objects of abundance. The earliest utopias focused mostly on feasts, wine, and sensual pleasures. Then, material abundances and access to tools became a part of modern utopian abundance. Finally, the nature of abundance in the post-modern utopias, including the Internet itself, has become intellectual. This represents a shift both in possibilities and in desires, or "felt needs," as discussed below. It also underscores the importance of intellectual property to the Internet as a utopia, since this new kind of abundance may help to create some intellectual, if not economic, equality by giving individuals access to information and empowerment. Equality and distribution are challenges for capitalist societies, but, at least for those who are able to get online, the Internet offers a measure of equality in terms of access and distribution of abundant resources—in this case, intellectual property. Unfortunately, the very inequality that the utopian Internet attempts to remedy is also limiting factors for Internet access, both within developed countries and in the developing world at large.

Utopia in Politics

The word *utopia*, when applied to ideas in reality rather than fiction, has taken on a negative connotation. It is used derisively to describe ideas that are considered idealistic to the point of irrelevance or even misguided attempts at racial purity through ethnic cleansing. It is no wonder that the serious use of utopia in politics has fallen out of favor for many. However, utopia remains, in essence, about humanity's search for the "good life" and is inseparable from politics, whether its influence is direct or indirect.

Goodwin (1983) defended the role of utopia in politics through several arguments. She suggested that utopianism is a loose political theory, similar to utilitarianism in some respects. As a theory, it is "specifically directed towards the creation of human happiness" and "aim[s] at the provision of well-being in a way that does not set the individual above the community or vice versa, and makes virtue secondary to, or coincident with, happiness" (p. 207). Utopians are perfectionists who seek "a fixed, definable, perfect goal, not the infinite increase and acquisition that maximization implies" (p. 208). Because of this focus on perfection, most utopianism presents a problem for diversity and liberalism. In its arguably false assumptions about the sameness of people, utopianism seems to face a choice between the imposed uniformity of authoritarianism and the ordering of priorities for the particular goals and values to be achieved in utopia—a compromise that undermines the perfectionist basis of utopianism. This prioritization and compromise is the great inherent problem with any attempt to realize utopia. While it is necessary to reconcile utopia with reality, the end result may be far from the intended result.

On the other hand, Goodwin defended utopia by writing "some of the innovatory values which utopians promote as means to happiness need time to penetrate our consciousness and to become *felt* needs" (1983, p. 209). It is in this ability to create new "value-conceptions" that utopianism is valuable and important over the long term. "Utopians take a fuller and richer view of happiness, well-being, and satisfaction than other political thinkers, who tend to take a stipulative, non-exploratory view of the ends of human life" (p. 209). Taken together, these elements of perfectionist happiness-seeking and the alteration of value conceptions loosely form the political theory of utopia.

Utopian models also serve as thought experiments, or "counterfactuals" (Goodwin, 1983, p. 210). This justification of utopia has its own problems, namely the inevitable disagreement about which utopias are "possible" enough to be worthy of theoretical consideration as plausible worlds. Nevertheless, it is clear that despite failed attempts to implement utopia in reality, utopia as a mode of thinking has not been discredited and, in fact, remains quite important in political thought.

It should be noted, however, that most utopias are not written as political treatise. They are stories written as entertainment for a broader audience and have a greater opportunity to subtly influence public political preferences. They serve an important function in guiding societies to look at themselves critically by presenting a potential alternative where alternatives were previously absent or unknown. In offering a taste of utopia, these stories rouse a hunger for something better in reality.

The virtual nature of Internet activities may change its ability to act as a utopian critique. For example, the ability of individuals to experience utopia in a virtual setting may offset the felt need to bring these utopian features into reality. Conversely, being at least partially controlled by the "rules" of reality, the utopian critique may be diluted and offer little beyond what is already real outside the virtual world. To an extent, the outside world is replicated within the virtual one. It is for this reason that it may be valuable to study the Internet not only as a utopia but also as a unique new kind of utopia that exists simultaneously as a *virtual* ideal other place, and as a firm part of traditional reality. This leads to a social and political tension that is most clearly evident in the legal struggle over intellectual property rights, which threatens traditional

notions about property and business models based on the ability to control copying and distribution of intellectual property—an ability the Internet has given to all users.

Internet as Utopia: Implications

If the Internet is not exactly a traditional utopia, then the features that justify its inclusion as a utopia should be defined. As stated earlier, the Internet is designed to simulate place by presenting a virtual world of locations that may be visited, whether Web pages, chat rooms, file servers, or other resources. Peer-to-peer networking has opened the door to communication and access to resources that transcends even the metaphor of place and allows direct communication and resource access that is decentralized. However, it could be argued that in this case the communication protocols themselves act as a de facto place in that they hold together a network of peers.

One of the most common themes of utopias throughout time has been abundance without labor. In traditional utopias, the abundance has generally been of food, treasure, or other property. The closest equivalents for the Internet are the bits of culture, creativity, and scholarship that fall under the protection of copyright. This includes most static resources on the Internet: Web pages, software code, journal articles, photos, movies, songs, etc. The Internet and any form of digital technology solve the problem of resource scarcity for resources that can be expressed digitally by enabling the copy and transfer of intellectual property at little to no cost, creating abundance. For example, I can send a copy of an essay to a friend, and then we will both have a copy of the paper at no cost. Similarly, the friend could send my paper to hundreds or thousands of people who will all then have the paper at no cost.

This accounts for much of the Internet's utopian potential but also creates a great deal of tension between the ideals of the Internet, the reality of common property, and business interests with competing traditional intellectual property rights claims. That is, those who make money by creating and selling pieces of digitized intellectual property are being directly confronted by the practice of unauthorized copying and dissemination of that property by Internet users and the diminishing revenue that results.

Some resist the change and attempt to isolate themselves from it by restricting access to their work through technological controls ("digital rights management"), lobbying efforts, and aggressive legal action. Lessig (2004) has argued that this approach is overzealous and endangers the future of creativity and innovation by eliminating the cultural commons of ideas that many creators and innovators of the past have built upon. Expanding copyright terms combined with aggressive legal action and new laws create an atmosphere that stifles innovation. The Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998, among other things, essentially gave technological controls the force of law. This legal environment forces creators and innovators to choose between starting from scratch with wholly original ideas (a rare occurrence in the history of creativity and innovation), finding and gaining permission from those whose ideas they wish to build upon (often at great cost, or with great difficulty if the work has been "orphaned"), or building upon the work of others at the very real risk of being sued (Lessig).

While the simple potential of the Internet has elicited these anti-utopian reactions, a multi-pronged and organized counterresponse has emerged to preserve the utopian potential of the Internet. Part of the counterresponse has its roots in software development in the 1980s at MIT. Frustrated by his inability to alter proprietary computer software because of technological access controls, Richard Stallman began work on an operating system that would be freely modifiable and distributable. Though the operating system did not fully materialize until years later with the addition of independent work by Linus Torvalds, Stallman had created something else: a license that, rather than restricting the user of copyrighted work by laying out the conditions of use as was the traditional purpose of a license, instead listed key freedoms granted to users such as the rights to modify and redistribute the work (Williams, 2002). This new kind of licensing, a concept Stallman referred to as "copyleft," introduced new ways of developing and distributing software and new ways of conducting business. Lessig created his own permissive licensing scheme called "Creative Commons" that took the concept of copyleft and made it more readily applicable to creative work such as songs, writing text, and photos (Lessig, 2004).

Copyleft takes existing copyright law and builds a utopian workaround on top of it. Another prong of the counterreaction works to circumvent or actively violate the law. Copyleft depends on the voluntary consent of the author or creator. While the "commons" of free works continues to grow, proprietary work under a standard "all rights reserved" copyright still accounts for most of the work available on the Internet. Only by circumvention or violation of the law can this work be made available. Technologically, this manifests as a software arms race between those who create technological access controls and those who create software to defeat them. It also leads to the development of anonymization technologies and the exploitation of international political boundaries. For example, The Pirate Bay, a Swedish service that offers access indirectly to copyrighted movies, music, software, and other files, was able to exist in Sweden even as similar services were shut down in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and elsewhere because the legal and political climate allowed it. Even after The Pirate Bay's servers in Sweden were confiscated in 2006, the operators responded by decentralizing and exploiting political boundaries further:

> The various servers' locations are obscured behind a load balancer configured to lie, the crew says. Once the failsafe is triggered, a determined adversary with an international team of litigators might be able to track down the servers, but by that time—according to the plan—the pirates will have deployed mirrors in even more countries. In theory, the corporate lawyers will eventually tire of this game of international copyright Whack-A-Mole. (Norton, 2006)

This presents another interesting aspect of the Internet that could be considered either an inbuilt protection of the utopian Internet or a piece of the utopian potential of the Internet in itself: Who controls the Internet? As a global commons, the Internet as a whole is not controllable by any single party. But, similar to the reaction of business interests to the loss of control over their intellectual property, governments have reacted to reclaim some authority and control over the Internet. In the early days of the mainstream Internet, utopians like Barlow envisioned a borderless Internet that would be a new frontier—unreachable by the territorial governments and primarily

under the control of its inhabitants (Goldsmith & Wu, 2006). What really happened, in reaction to disputes and potential crimes occurring on the Internet, was the intervention of territorial governments in the parts of the Internet they could control—the network at the border and their own citizens. One of the most extreme examples of this is the Great Firewall of China, which attempts to censor politically sensitive information at the border of the network and to punish Chinese citizens who use the Internet as a vehicle for dissent (Goldsmith & Wu). Even within Western democracies, the Internet is increasingly regulated and monitored in order to protect against child pornography, fraud, copyright infringement, and, most recently, terrorism.

As with the copyright issue, a small but determined counterreaction to preserve the Internet's utopian potential exists. Barlow, along with wealthy Silicon Valley partners, created the Electronic Frontier Foundation that set out (with some success) to shield the Internet from misapplication of old laws, based on the idea that everything on the Internet could be considered speech and was protected by the First Amendment. Anonymization and encryption technologies like the Tor onion router (an anonymizing tool that masks the user's origin by routing Internet requests through a number of intermediary hosts) also help to defeat filtering systems like that of China's (Harrison, 2004).

Conclusion

Each of the previous examples has shown the inherent tension of the Internet as a utopia. The Internet is limited, first of all, by its very existence in reality. Simply by existing it cannot be fully ideal. The Internet's utopian potential is limited further by corporations and governments attempting to control it and make it more like traditional reality by imposing rules and trying to create artificial scarcity of information and other digital "goods." Because of these limitations, the Internet cannot fully perform the utopian function of social critique and must be considered a weak utopia. It may even have the opposite effect—by offering a virtual utopia that can be experienced, it reduces the perceived necessity to strive for more perfection in reality or for an alternative good life. Yet, the utopian potential of the Internet is plainly apparent, and the resulting tension is what inspires attempts at its control. The Internet's status as partially real, or a virtual reality contained within, and interactive with traditional reality may make it a strong utopian model in the sense that the utopian ideals of the Internet are much closer to practical application than most. Where the tension between the utopian desires of the Internet and the needs of traditional reality can be satisfactorily reconciled without abandoning utopian goals, there may be serious opportunities to improve our politics and our lives. For example, maintaining free access to a wide variety of information helps to maintain an informed populace and helps address inequality by eliminating barriers to access. The Internet offers a relatively low-stakes way to experiment with utopia. Society will continue to be exposed to the Internet with its full utopian potential simmering just below the surface. Over time, these utopian ideals may become, as Goodwin wrote, "felt needs" (1983, p. 209). People who have used Napster (the original) and other file-sharing services—especially young people who grew up using them—now expect free (or at least inexpensive) access to music and other works. But the true importance of felt needs lies not in free (gratis) work, but in free (libre) works (Williams, 2002). By

creating a felt need for more freedom in the use of intellectual property, the Internet may change the way we think about copyright law and its purpose. Moreover, the general sense of equality, individual autonomy, and empowerment offered by the Internet may generate greater felt needs as well, fulfilling Ferkiss' (1980) ideas of technology as a "hidden variable," helping to steer political preferences. As we struggle through the clash between utopian possibilities and realistic limitations, we must carefully weigh the value of utopian ideas against the value of an unchallenged traditional reality when deciding just how diluted our visions of utopia must become to be integrated with reality.

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Karl Liebknecht, Willy Brandt, and German Socialism

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Abstract
The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) has a history that is as turbulent as that of the country itself. From persecution during the rule of the Kaiser and the Fuhrer to its current status as one of the two premier parties in the Reichstag, its story is wrapped up in the conflict between seeking change through reform and through revolution. In order to study this tension, I examined the lives of Karl Liebknecht and Willy Brandt. The lives of Liebknecht, the disillusioned Social Democrat who helped found the German Communist Party following World War I, and Brandt, the first SPD chancellor following World War II, illustrate the challenges, failures, and successes of the SPD and help explain how and why the SPD was radically transformed during the early Cold War.

Two Berlins, Two Social Democrats
On May 1, 1916, a crowd of approximately 10,000 Berlin workers gathered to hear the words of the popular German Social Democratic (SPD) leader Karl Liebknecht (Trotnow, 1984). They heard words condemning the existing Prussian government—the government which would continue to place "great burdens" on its people by using the media to propagandize the public with a "touching delicacy of patriotic sentiment" (as cited in Zimand, 1918, para. 7). During the speech, Liebknecht railed against the militaristic Prussian society and hoped that the people of Berlin would realize their true power and take hold of their society. Sadly, its main effect was to fulfill the prophecy of the speaker; the man who claimed that Germans had "the unquestionable right to hold [their] tongue between [their] teeth" would be forced to do so following his arrest and subsequent conviction of high treason (as cited in Zimand, para. 8). His last words on that May Day—the demand that the people rise with one voice so as to "have peace now!"—would not be realized until another Social Democrat came to power in the 1960s (as cited in Zimand, para. 14).

Skimming ahead in the pages of history to 1956, one again finds a visionary Social Democrat speaking to masses of Berliners. After the Soviets had decided to exercise their power by killing 8,000 rebellious residents of Budapest, the residents of West Berlin were ready to storm the East (and thus deepen the Cold War freeze).

Conservative leaders in West Berlin were unable to stem the rising emotional tide of the people—people who wanted all of Germany to be free of undue Soviet influence. Peace was only maintained on the night of November 5, 1956, through Willy Brandt's appeal to the patriotic heart of the potentially riotous mobs and his decision to lead them in the "Good Comrade" song (Binder, 1975, p. 154). Had violence ensued, one can only imagine how the Soviet fist on East Germany would have clenched ever-tighter. As Brandt's career unfolded, as he became mayor of Cold War Berlin, leader of the SPD, and German chancellor, he would continually display great strength and confidence. He, like Liebknecht before him, longed for peace, but he realized that peace could be achieved through neither weakness nor impulsive mob actions.

It is doubtful one could imagine a nation that witnessed more turbulence than Germany did over the last century and a half. Finally unifying nearly a millennia after England and France had begun the process and attempting to industrialize at the same time, Germany showed remarkable national progress under Bismarck (even showing the beginnings of a social welfare state, albeit created by conservatives and with the intention of maintaining the status quo). Such progress was undone by defeat in two world wars and at the peace tables of Versailles. Even attempting to cope with and make recompense for one of the greatest crimes of all time, the Holocaust, was not enough when it came to handicapping the once-proud nation; Germany was instead further divided by the adversarial allies. If one had a wish for 21st-century Germany, it would be the wish of Brandt and Liebknecht: peace. Nonetheless, crises tend to create heroes just as they create villains. The Cold War world would bring Brandt to prominence; the icy relations between East and West Germany would allow him to transform the SPD. After the party was persecuted by Bismarck and labeled a failure for its efforts during the Weimar experiment, it would not be until Brandt's leadership in the 1960s that the SPD would decisively take power and reestablish its visionary direction. This essay will analyze the dramatic changes in the SPD through the light of the experiences and characters, successes and failures of Liebknecht and Brandt. Both were men of action and of a very human ethic; when their surroundings changed in radical manners (i.e., German involvement in World War I or Hitler's coming to power), they responded as men of action who would betray theory in order to save persons.

Historiography

The material in this essay came largely from two biographies. Helmut Trotnow's work on Liebknecht titled *Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919): Political Biography* and David Binder's biography of Brandt, *The Other German*, provide the basis for the comparison of the men. Trotnow's piece takes a fresh and more "intelligible" look at Liebknecht than do the works of many of his peers by considering his actions through the light of his commitment to "socialism as an emancipation movement" and the "enlightenment of the workers" (Morgan, 1986, p. 419). Other approaches to Liebknecht's life struggle to create meaning from his often-radical and at times contradictory actions; Karl Meyer's *Karl Liebknecht: Man Without a Country*, for example, leaves the reader with the impression of a man of high morals who was incapable of leading a large-scale movement and never taken seriously by his peers (Snell, 1957). Binder, an American journalist, seems to have written a

biography meriting more consideration of Brandt than the sensationalist Viola Drath's *Willy Brandt: Prisoner of His Past* or Terence Prittie's rather superficial *Willy Brandt: Portrait of a Statesman*. In response to Foster's 1976 critique that the "definitive biography" on Brandt still needed to be written, Peter Merseburger and others have introduced new biographies of Brandt in recent years (Foster, 1976, p. 322).

In order to more fully understand the times and socialist milieu in which Liebknecht and Brandt operated, a third character also merits particular study. Eduard Bernstein, and the revisionist socialism which he represented in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, must have influenced both men. Like Liebknecht, he knew Marx and Engels personally, albeit as much more of a peer than the younger Liebknecht could have claimed. However, before Liebknecht became such, Bernstein was an ideal representative of the unorthodox Marxist. In his "advocacy of universal suffrage" and belief in "the independence of ethical systems from economic conditions," we certainly see a man similar to the subjects of this essay (Morris, p. 141). As he observed the 1890s German economy developing in ways which contradicted Marx's predictions, he became bolder in offering his own evolutionary version of socialism, a version in which real change could be effected through gradual reform. He would even go on to define socialism as "a movement towards—or the state of—an order of society based on the principle of association" (as cited in Morris, p. 145). Similar sentiments reign in *Evolutionary Socialism*, in which Bernstein claimed that "social democracy cannot further this work better than by taking its stand unreservedly on the theory of democracy—on the ground of universal suffrage with all the consequences resulting therefrom to its tactics" and that "the security of civil freedom has always seemed to it to stand higher than the fulfillment of some economic progress" (Bernstein, 1899, chap. 3). Brandt and Liebknecht thus emerge as important figures in the story of revisionist socialism in Germany.

It may be in the light of Bernstein's claim that socialism is a "movement towards…an order of society based on the principle of association," that we most truly see Liebknecht and Brandt (1899, chap. 3). As has been alluded to, neither were completely orthodox socialists or Marxists. Rather, each saw in socialism a movement which sought the betterment of their fellow people, and especially of the oft-mistreated working class. This is why their beliefs and the company they kept changed as often as the world turned; their beliefs and actions were reactions against threats to their most vulnerable neighbors. One does not need to believe Liebknecht was a committed Marxist when he helped found the German Communist Party; instead, he was out of patience with the measures taken by the SPD during World War I. And Brandt's turn from revolutionary young man to reformist leader was not a betrayal of early Marxist principles; it was an acknowledgement of his solidarity with Germany and its people. While claiming that both fit neatly into the reformist role may be a stretch, it should be clear that neither felt compelled to always base actions in socialist doctrine.

Two Men, One Beginning

No environmental psychologist would be surprised that Liebknecht became an SPD member. His father, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was a founder of the SPD and a dissenting voice when it came to German aggression against the French during the Franco-Prussian War (Trotnow, 1984). (In fact, young Karl's home life was so

dominated by socialist thought that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were asked to be his godparents.) Throughout his life, the Liebknecht surname would prove both an asset and a liability to Karl and his children. The Reich, never an advocate for pluralism or diverse viewpoints, had a tendency to create problems for dissidents. The surname would also prove to be at times a hindrance within the SPD itself; despite his father's continual urging to hire Karl, party leaders feared charges of patronage and corruption and would not bring him on as a party lawyer. As will be touched on later, this decision would actually allow him to develop his own philosophy as a lawyer, politician, and revolutionary.

Brandt's history also inclined him to be a Social Democrat. And, incidentally, his name was also targeted by powerful Germans. He was named Herbert Frahm by his parents, and he later adopted the name "Willy Brandt" in order to escape Nazi persecution. Political opponents would eventually attempt to delegitimize Brandt as a candidate by sarcastically referring to him as "Herr Frahm" (Binder, 1975, p. 189). Family also determined Brandt's political ties; his activist grandfather's return from the Great War ensured Brandt would join the SPD. And while it may seem unnecessary to relate an anecdote from Brandt's childhood, the fact that Brandt often told it himself proves its merit. When his grandfather was on strike, the young man once received a seemingly providential gift of bread from a kindly gentleman. Proud to bring his bounty home, one can only imagine the shock experienced when his grandfather ordered him to return the gift to the man quickly perceived to be the enemy, the employer. This lesson in both pride and politics was one which would never be forgotten and which would inspire Brandt's politics throughout his days.

While each person's SPD membership early in life was largely a birthright, each would also be forced to decide in a time of crisis whether or not to renounce the early loyalty. In the words of Trotnow, who was describing the situation faced by the SPD and Liebknecht in 1914, one "either had to be prepared to defend one's national boundaries regardless of that country's domestic politics, or one opposed the idea of suddenly defending a state which one had previously opposed" (1984, p. 175). Brandt, unhappy with the seeming lack of urgency in the SPD's battle against Hitler, was faced with a similar dilemma. For both men, a world war was the crisis that led to them to take seemingly more radical positions.

Liebknecht and World War I

Before turning to Liebknecht's dramatic experiences during World War I, it is necessary to understand the man and the causes he championed before 1914. Otherwise, it is easy to claim that the man who was murdered by the Ebert-led government had been radicalized, that his conversion to communism and his revolutionary founding of the ill-fated Free Socialist Republic of Germany was not the desperate act of a man who had tried everything else but the actual ideological position of an extreme leftist. However, as Trotnow claimed (in a conclusion which departs from that of most Marxist historians), Liebknecht's refusal to "bow to party discipline" meant less that he had become more radical than that he was "levelheaded" in a time when others were swept up in a nationalistic fervor (1984, pp. 153–154). This investigation of Liebknecht will concern itself with Liebknecht's views as a socialist and his denunciation of the militarism that was central to German power relations. Two

other battles that were near to Liebknecht's heart—the fight for the rights of Russian émigrés and the battle for a more fair voting system in Prussia—will be treated later.

Given Liebknecht's proximity to the authors of *Capital* and the *Communist Manifesto*, it may be surprising that he was not a Marxist from his youth. However, it is clear from Liebknecht's writings and actions that he did not subscribe to Marx's dialectical understanding of history; he instead believed that society and class relations could be made fairer through reform just as well as through revolution (Trotnow, 1984). In fact, in Trotnow's words, the "roots of [Liebknecht's] ideas are to be found less in the world of socialist theory than in the tradition of 19th-century German idealism: for the cofounder of the KPD [German Communist Party] was a humanist, Enlightenment figure who wanted to help humanity rise to a higher level through the emancipation of the proletariat" (p. 10). This idea of raising the people's power and quality of life guided Liebknecht throughout his life. Further, he did not see his role as that of leading the masses in revolt; rather, it was his job to ready the people to "do battle" for themselves (p. 53). Sadly, his consistent misjudgment of the people's readiness would lead to both his imprisonment and murder. The man who only wanted to "create for the poorest and most miserable…an existence worthy of human being" would die when the dream must have seemed farther away than ever (p. 50).

The clearest manifestation of Liebknecht's attempts to enlighten the German populace came in his attempt to inform them of the degree that they were merely pawns of a militaristic state. The speech he made on May 1, 1916, which resulted in his imprisonment for 2 years as a traitor, was but the final blow in a struggle he had been waging since 1904 (Trotnow, 1984). In fact, between 1904 and 1907 he made numerous motions at SPD conferences asking the party to propagandize against militarism. When his pleas went unheard, he conducted a private campaign. The campaign was executed within the law and consisted of distributing pamphlets and speaking outside in areas allowed by the law. After 3 years of educating the young men of the proletariat so that "the state power will no longer feel as confident as it does today that the army which obeys it blindly could be used for unlawful acts," the Prussian government decided to try Liebknecht for high treason—the first of his two trials for the offense (p. 56). The show trial resulted in his conviction and imprisonment; however, it also resulted in his election to the Reichstag and his status as second "most popular man" in the party (as cited in Trotnow, p. 71). The fight against militarism, in that it consisted of informing and educating the populace about the manner in which they were being manipulated, is the preeminent example of how Liebknecht's politics met his practice.

Having thus seen Liebknecht's stance on an issue of utmost importance, his actions during World War I should not prove surprising. When his party decided to ally itself with the government and vote for war credits (the means by which the Reichstag approved funding for the war effort), Liebknecht faced the choice of either voting against his party or against everything for which he had fought. (It should be noted that, before casting the lone dissenting Reichstag vote on December 2, 1914, he had voted with the party faction in favor of the credits on August 4 [Trotnow, 1984].) It becomes clear that Liebknecht, who had been willing to fight against militarism on his own, could only say 'this far and no further' when it came to the party actively supporting the hierarchical and militaristic Prussian state that had helped create World War I. The words of Brandt, spoken a half-century later, articulate what Liebknecht must have

been thinking: "Peace has never been saved by weakness. There is a point where you have to recognize that you cannot retreat one step. This point has been reached" (as cited in Binder, 1975, p. 187). While by no means a Marxist, Liebknecht was a strict believer in the international nature of the proletariat. The war (and the armaments industries that were profiting from it) was the most despicable manifestation the class-based system had yet created. Because he could not convince his party to vote against the war budget, he moved away from his party and toward a group of individuals who would take actions against the state (i.e., Luxembourg and the Communists). It was not so much that he had been radicalized; the SPD had become diluted.

Brandt, the Third Reich, and World War II

Brandt also faced a time of great crisis during his formative years. Of course, the crisis that confronted Brandt was largely a result of Liebknecht's failures. Had Liebknecht convinced the SPD to vote against the war credits, the allies may not have imposed such harsh penalties at Versailles and the experiment in hyperdemocracy which was Weimar may have been more stable. The seeming unanimity of the Reichstag in supporting the German war effort (and thus in turn the German people) allowed the allies to declare all Germany guilty and to increase the burden on the defeated nation. Had Liebknecht succeeded, or the SPD remained resolute in opposition to the war effort, Hitler may never have had a populace hungering for the pride and leadership that he provided. Such thoughts are merely conjecture and do little to serve those who were forced to confront the SPD's previous failures. As Brandt became disillusioned with the parliamentary and seemingly ineffective manner in which the SPD was combating Hitler, his politics shifted to the left. After the left-leaning Young Socialist movement was forced to disband by the establishment, Brandt quickly moved into the Socialist Workers Party (SAP), an SPD splinter group, in 1931 (Binder, 1975). Joining the SAP meant that he was moving away from the reformist measures endorsed by the SPD toward the "revolutionary measures" he believed the crisis in German government merited (p. 30). He would even move toward Communism following the Nazis' electoral gains in 1932 for its militancy if nothing else. The early stages of the exile in Norway, in which he was acting as an SAP activist, saw him claiming to be a "Communist in the sense of the *Manifesto* of Marx and Engels" (as cited in Binder, p. 52). Brandt thus also exemplified the "long experienced tension between…reformist and revolutionary" in the SPD; a confrontation which would only be resolved under his leadership in the postwar period (Fulbrook, 1992, p. 23). This was exactly the same tension Liebknecht faced; that Brandt was lucky enough to live through his crisis may explain why he came back to the party and was ultimately able to transform it.

Of course, postwar Brandt would be known for the manner in which he moved the SPD to the center of the political spectrum, the manner in which he valued politics of action more than theoretical ideologies. Was he a different man than the one we have just glanced at? One must answer this in the negative, instead concluding that it was the times that changed just as it was the situation that led Liebknecht to the left. Fighting Hitler demanded extra-legislative actions and alliances with those who valued actions outside the marginalized Reichstag. While it is clear to see from his experience in fighting Hitler why he would value practical actions and the need for democrats to fight for their state just as fascists and communists were willing to fight for theirs, Brandt's

sojourn in the far left would influence him in another manner. Throughout his career, even as he was leading his party toward the center and participation in government, Brandt was criticized for his leniency with the young and leftists.

As a socialist, Brandt was remarkably similar to Liebknecht. Doctrine and orthodoxy seemed to matter much less to either man than achieving something that would help their people. Just as Liebknecht had found the enlightenment and emancipation of the proletariat to be the greatest need in his time, Brandt sought a "united Europe" and a Germany that would exercise "the right of the nation to self-determination" (as cited in Binder, 1975, pp. 89, 93). In fact, in running for mayor of Berlin he portrayed himself as a "moderate reformer" and disallowed all campaigning that "smacked of socialization slogans or of Marxist class struggle" (p. 113). By 1948, the man who had once claimed to be a disciple of Marx now claimed that one could not "be a democrat today without being anti-Communist" (p. 132). That Liebknecht decided during World War I that being a democrat required being a communist should not dissuade one from accepting the parallels between the men; rather, each man continually adapted his politics so that he would be in the best position to fight the people's greatest enemy, be they Prussian militarists, Nazis, or Soviets.

When considering the degree to which the Communist Liebknecht was a democrat, one needs only to examine his commitment to altering the Prussian voting system. (The three-class voting system, which allotted one-third of representation to the richest, another third to a "moderately wealthy," and a final third to the large majority of the Prussian people, ensured that Prussian democracy would be at most a façade [Fulbrook, 1992, p. 20]. It would last until the formation of the Weimar Republic.) And while his statement that "it's complete nonsense to think that we will ever overthrow the three-class suffrage with the aid of the three-class suffrage" might not seem that of a democrat, it is necessary to remember that democracies seldom come into being democratically (as cited in Binder, 1975, p. 87). Sadly, the SPD was not entirely receptive to his ideas; it was "cool towards the suffrage movement from the beginning, for it was afraid that the mass demonstrations would provoke clashes with the state apparatus" (Trotnow, 1984, p. 96). It would not be until Brandt's tenure as leader of the party that a more lively internal democracy would be encouraged, and it was the new dynamism that allowed the SPD to become a meaningful party.

To the East

Being "good" socialists in spirit, if not doctrine, both Liebknecht and Brandt realized that their enemies did not lay in the people of a foreign state but in the governments that profited from their subjugation. And, while Bismarck and the Kaisers may have seen in France and the rest of western Europe the future for Germany, these German socialists realized that they could not act as if the Russian bear was hibernating. For Liebknecht, the belief in the international nature of the proletariat drove him toward Russia. Whether it was protesting the Tsar's visits to Germany or defending Russian émigrés in hopeless show trials, he was the most prominent of the SPD members in advocating for the politically oppressed of his socialist brethren. In fact, he believed that Germans needed to orient themselves toward Russia not only because of the "inhumanity and injustice" of the autocratic system but because "if reaction did not rule in Russia, then the three-class suffrage in Prussia would not

last for another day" (as cited in Trotnow, 1984, p. 101). While Brandt was much more open than Liebknecht when it came to dealing with the Soviet leadership and the tyrannical Soviet rulers of his day were the result of a Communist revolution Liebknecht approved of, the orientation of both to the East proves striking.

  The Soviet Union was so important to Brandt that his policy toward it was given a name, *Ostpolitik*. The "Eastern Policy," or "change through rapprochement" as top aid Bahr termed it, must stand as the hallmark of Brandt's achievements in politics (Bahr, 1963, p. 1). Ostpolitik was not a policy formed to win an election or to create a legacy; it did not come into being when Brandt claimed in 1969 that his government would "not be a comfortable government" for the allies and would seek friendlier relations with the Soviet Bloc (Binder, 1975, p. 256). Instead, Ostpolitik's roots lay in Brandt's experiences in Berlin and as mayor of the contested city. It stemmed specifically from his vision of a united Germany, his promise that "the abandonment of our countrymen will not take place" (as cited in Binder, p. 188). Brandt would never concede that the relations between the German Democratic and Federal Republics should be on the international scale reserved for sovereign states; rather, he believed that there existed a special relationship between the German governments. Further, he believed that both governments had the responsibility to "imbue the people with a boundless will to win the struggle for the reunification of Germany" (as cited in Binder, p. 147). However, realizing that reunification was unlikely to happen during his tenure either as mayor or chancellor, Brandt sought realistic improvements in relations with Eastern governments and easier lives for all German people. Each manifestation of Ostpolitik deserves treatment.

  One must never believe that Brandt's reaching out to the East was a gesture of weakness. Rather, having seen how the left had utterly failed to stop Hitler, he worked hard to ensure that the SPD would take a more militaristic stance in the "problem of the relationship between democratic order and armed power" (as cited in Binder, 1975, p. 151). He maintained the confidence of West Berliners during the "Second Berlin Crisis" of 1958, when Moscow issued notes that many interpreted as notification of a possible movement on the city (p. 163). And after the Berlin Wall was built, his inner drive and political skills shone. He pushed for small gains for the people, like the right of East German pensioners to visit their relations in the West, claiming:

> To hell with politics if it isn't there to make life easier for people
> instead of making it harder for them. And what is good for the people
> in the divided country is good, too, for the nation.… You might say
> that these are all just little steps. I reply: I'd like big ones more, but
> small steps are better than no steps. (as cited in Binder, p. 206)

One doubts that a more succinct or meaningful definition of the policy of Ostpolitik exists, or one which more accurately reflects Brandt's personality. As foreign minister and chancellor, he continued to work toward rapprochement, seeking "Easter visiting privileges for West Berliners in East Berlin," free access to Berlin for Westerners, and telephone lines that crossed the Berlin Wall (pp. 245, 281). Brandt would always be seen as "moving toward the other part of Germany and not away from it" (p. 256). While Liebknecht protested the Tsar's presence on German soil, the man who often used Reichstag "question time" to embarrass the government would likely have favored engaging in dialogue and debate with the Soviets (Trotnow, 1984, p. 159).

The SPD: A Party Transformed

Having examined and compared the lives of Liebknecht and Brandt, the reader is still due an explanation for the fundamental changes that Brandt's achievements led to in both the SPD and Germany. And it is certainly not overstating the case to say that Brandt did succeed in many ways; this winner of the Nobel Peace Prize brought West Berlin through an extremely turbulent time and guided the SPD to its first chancellorship since the Weimar years. While Liebknecht had never been able to lead a party strong enough to grant Bismarck's and his descendants' tongue-in-cheek wish to "sit down for once on the benches of the opposition," Brandt would be able to say just that to the Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Christian Social Union of Bavaria coalition (CDU/CSU), which had led the Federal Republic during the postwar period (as cited in Dahrendorf, 1967, p. 59). While the socialism which Wilhelm Liebknecht desired was long gone from the party platform, so was the Kaiser. The SPD had been transformed from a political nuisance to the face of government itself. And, just as the German Basic Law represented a "new constitutionalism" in response to the experiment in democracy known as Weimar and the horrors of the Third Reich, Brandt came to serve as a new (or "other," as biographer Binder often referred to him) representative of the German people and its largest socialist party (Kommers, 2000, p. 1).

When Brandt returned to Berlin politics, his focus was on making life better for the people of the city and ensuring that the free Berliners were not forgotten by the West. It was not the SPD party program that dictated his actions so much as his desire that the people of Berlin not be sacrificed to the Communist behemoth, a desire that led to seemingly small gains like passes for West Germans to cross into East Berlin to visit relatives during Christmas of 1964 (Kommers, 2000). However, the most important reflections of his belief in practical politics can be seen in his transformation of the SPD at the party convention at Bad Godesberg. Binder, perhaps, put it best when he claimed that under Brandt's leadership the SPD "was abandoning nearly a century of commitment to being exclusively a 'workers' party' in exchange for a broader appeal as a 'people's party'" (1975, p. 170). This transformation, in conjunction with the willingness of the Brandt-led SPD to join into coalition with the CDU/CSU in 1966, represents the degree to which he valued change and progress over theory.

Even more than this, though, Brandt's philosophy and actions were both a reflection of how programmatic differences had weakened democratic Germans' resistance to Hitler and of his experiences with how socialist parties in Norway accomplished change. Interestingly, the moment that most doomed cooperation among Germans resisting Hitler was the murder of Liebknecht (and Rosa Luxembourg); during the Weimar years, the SPD and KPD would never join against their common enemy. These influences led Brandt to claim that "we want to take over the political leadership of the state with the unconsumed energy over which this wing of German politics disposes, and we will take over" (as cited in Binder, 1975, p. 171). He most succinctly stated his philosophy following his resignation from the chancellorship, proposing that "he who gives up the center sacrifices his ability to govern," his was a confidence and mentality which the SPD had long needed (p. 170).

If one wants to study the transformation of the SPD or to understand why Brandt was able to drive the SPD into governing coalitions starting in 1966 and the

chancellorship in 1969, the aforementioned party conference at Bad Godesburg must be examined. Held in November 1959, it was here that the SPD "wheeled on its axis" (Binder, 1975, p. 170). While it has been noted that what occurred was essentially a broadening of the demographic the party sought to appeal to and a dilution of the socialist doctrine, it was much more. And while one can imagine that Liebknecht may have embraced the spirit of the appeal, the party certainly became something he would not have recognized. Not only was Marx completely dropped from the program, but the SPD finally decided to embrace the idea of a strong defensive military (p. 171). Brandt, who Binder calls the "practical father of the Godesburg program," most clearly stated the new spirit of the party in his first speech: "There is no hopeless situation. Hitler didn't have to come to power, the split of Germany does not have to become petrified, and the Federal Republic doesn't have to be suffused with a perverted Kaiser Wilhelm mentality" (as cited in Binder, p. 171). The reform-revolution tension within the SPD that Liebknecht and Brandt had persistently been confronted with was now settled; the SPD would effect change through governmental power and pressure. The party, which Brandt would head even into the 1980s, has stayed the course and shows no signs of departing from his legacy.

Political Geography

To end this commentary about Brandt, Liebknecht, and the party that dominated their lives, a geographic analogy may prove appropriate. Calling to mind the famous words of John Donne (1624) that "no man is an Island entire of itself" for "every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main," Liebknecht and Brandt come quickly to mind. Few lives, paradoxically, both confirm and contradict the statement in such a dramatic fashion. While no person develops in a vacuum, Liebknecht's and Brandt's tumultuous times certainly limited the options these driven and conscientious men had. However, each was also an island at some point of their careers when it came to the mainland that was the SPD. Naturally, their isolation occurred during times of great crisis for themselves, their party, and the world. That Liebknecht died as a Communist and revolutionary meant that he would never have the chance to see the mainland again; Brandt's longer lifespan allowed him and the party to meet in the middle.

A last coincidence bears retelling. The theory of continental drift was first fully developed by a German scientist during World War I, but it would not be until the theory of plate tectonics was developed in the 1960s that continental drift became plausible. Similarly, while Liebknecht offered an alternative for the SPD during World War I, it would not be until Brandt's time and leadership that the party learned how to radically shift its position.

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