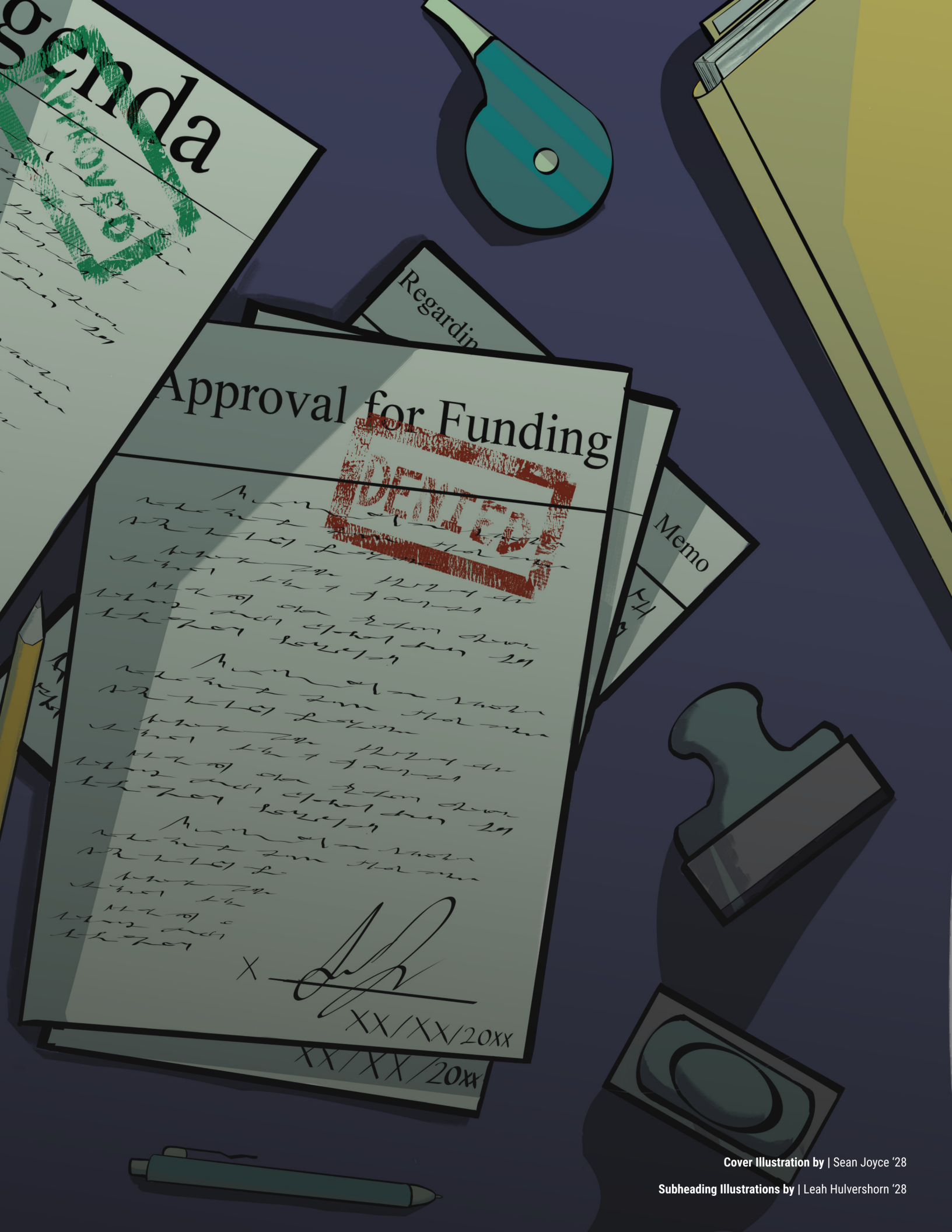

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH

Communicating with the Masses: The Impact of Bureaucratic Autonomy on Integrative Propaganda

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Art as a tool in service of the State is by no means a modern practice. Ancient civilizations had long established the utility of controlling public opinion and image. Take the Cleopatra VII and Caesarion relief on the Temple of Hathor in Dendera, Egypt for example (Ashton, 2011). Through a visual medium, Cleopatra VII and her son legitimize themselves as the heirs of the Ptolemaic dynasty using the goddess Isis' crown and the pharaonic double crown. These practices extend well into the modern and contemporary periods. Art continues to be central to both the politics and culture of the State, embracing its ideology. Modern political art often reflected the concerns of an industrial society and responded to the upending of social, economic, and political orders in the West (MoMA, n.d.). Thus, modern political art and propaganda must be conceived of in the context of the major events of the early twentieth century, specifically World War I (WWI). WWI marked the beginning of the current global power dynamics with the fall of mercantile colonialism. As the 20th century progressed, the world faced various destabilizing events through which democratic States often needed to act to bolster themselves by drawing on tradition.

> ***Are bureaucracies with less autonomy more likely to produce integrative propaganda?***

During these crises, nations often created federal bureaucracies devoted to sustaining their people ideologically through art. The bureaucracy describes a type of large organization that coordinates activities towards a specific goal and implements policies designed by elected officials (Constas, 1958). The art programs were produced under the conditions and aims of the bureaucracy. They engaged shared values and tradition as a call to action in the ever-changing world that they lived in. Amongst these pressing changes was the rise of the welfare state in various nations, which renegotiated the relationship between the State and its citizens. The variation of the propaganda produced can be explained by artists' response to the uniqueness of their sociopolitical context as well as the bureaucratic design and behaviors of the programs themselves.

This line of inquiry leads to the question: *Are bureaucracies with less autonomy more likely to produce integrative propaganda?* Through this investigation, I reveal the ways the State aims to maintain socially cohesive citizenry during periods of national unrest.

My framework is built on the vital role of visual culture in shaping and sustaining national identity. Through the evidence provided by propaganda, I will test the hypothesis: *propaganda produced through bureaucracies with less autonomy are more integrative*. The test will be applied through a comparative study made within periods of social, economic, and political instability in the Weimar Republic—a German State—and the United States in the period between the World Wars. Both States create agencies to produce government sponsored art. However, they diverge because of their bureaucratic differences and consequently impact the integrativeness of the propaganda. In the United States, artists created content at the direction of bureaucrats presenting a vastly different image of democratic ideals, favoring the social welfare state. The behavior of the American bureaucrats supports the hypothesis, whereas the German bureaucratic experience suggests that autonomy leads to less integrative propaganda. Further, the Weimar Republic case study sheds light on how artists as bureaucrats contend with the imperial past. Each respective country's values are reflected in their communication strategy to reinforce a national identity. The level of integrativeness in the State's propaganda during these periods is key to understanding how one State was able to succeed in stabilizing a nation, whereas the other fell further into fascist ideals.



Propaganda

Propaganda can be defined as the use of persuasive techniques—oral, visual, or written—by an agent with the intent to modify the audience's behavior (Adam-Troian, 2024). Propaganda is produced and sponsored by a political institution, cause, or organization (Ross, 2002). This research is primarily concerned with State sponsored propaganda, specifically that which is integrative and produced by bureaucrats.

Since the 20th century, the study of propaganda has focused on the psychological and behavioral impact of media on audiences (Abhishek, 2021). This attention to social psychological research has been largely focused on attitude change, behaviors, and its moderators to produce effective propaganda and solve social issues (Adam-Troian, 2024). There is a rich research history on social influence (Lewin, 1947), norm formation (Sherif, 1936), cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), social representations (Moscovici, 1981) and social identity (Tajfel, 1974) (Adam-Troian, 2024). Notably, there has been a lack of investigation into the role of the bureaucracy in State produced propaganda and the present role of media, providing the motivation for this research.

Propaganda is an increasingly pressing issue with the invention of the Internet (Pearson, 2021). The rate of the news cycle has led to an "information surplus" with one news outlet producing over 200 stories a day (Pearson, 2021). On top of the pressure to produce more stories, there is also a lower cost for people to publish online (Pearson, 2021). With the increasing number of stories being made available from a variety of outlets, journalists no longer serve as information "gatekeepers" with the ability to control the information and its delivery to its audience (Klinger & Svensson, 2015). A lack of gatekeepers allows for an extensive distribution of propaganda. This influx of information, as well as the evolution of its sources, makes an investigation of the foundation and nuances of propaganda necessary.

Integrative – Agitation Propaganda

While not all political art is propaganda, all propaganda art is political (Ross, 2002). This distinction makes differentiating between the two valuable. The following provides definitions and

	Definitions	Relation to Propaganda Art	Areas of Overlap
Theory of Ideology	Ideology is a belief system that explains the ways people in a society should be organized and behave (Zmigrod, 2022, p. 1073).	Ideologies are communicated in art works through content and associated symbols.	Ideology and an agreed upon set of values lay the framework of a State.
Social Identity Theory	Identities are formed through the need for positive association. Consequently, the in-group distinguishes themselves from the out-group (Huddy, 2001, pp. 134-5).	Depictions of people through stylistic choices are the result of conscious inclusion and exclusion.	Ideology plays a key role in the formation of social identity. Oftentimes, social identity has been based on certain ideologies of hierarchy, highlighted in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).
Social Cohesion Theory	Social cohesion describes the connections or forces that have "direct or indirect effects on persons' membership attitudes and behaviors" (Friedkin, 2004, p. 411).	Often, common ideals will be impressed upon the viewer to increase social cohesion. This can be through various symbols.	Scholars debate ideology's role in social cohesion, some saying it is necessary. Regardless, the two theories intersect in the formation of social identity.

Fig. 1 | Foundations of Social Theory in Relation to State and Propaganda.



Image 1 | Nina Vatolina. (1941). Fascism - *The Most Evil Enemy of Women*, Tate Modern, London, United Kingdom.

categorizations within the study of propaganda that must be considered. Agitation and integration propaganda are the two main categories key to this research.

Agitation propaganda art is subversive and must attempt to disrupt the existing order in some capacity (Ellul, 1973). It is found during periods of social unrest, often using stereotypes and discriminatory rhetoric to distinguish certain groups. This type of propaganda is seen in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which embodies the idea of the propaganda State with their use of agitprop—agitation and propaganda (Hass, 2018). Agitprop was used to uphold the Soviet social order and mobilize Communist Party members to overthrow the capitalist system through world revolution (Hass, 2018). The agitprop poster depicts a woman wearing red, and the poster reads "Fascism is women's worst enemy. Everyone to the fight against fascism." The poster is an explicit call to action, targeting women to join in on the fight. This revolutionary focus takes a far more action-oriented approach than integration propaganda.

Integration propaganda art must attempt to reinforce the values to stabilize the social body (Ellul, 1973). It is found largely in developed and stable nations. Integration propaganda is successful because of its omnipresence, stretching for an indefinite period. It remains undetectable due to the influx of information available to consumers. Scholar David Welch argues:

[P]ropaganda is most effective when it is less noticeable. In a totalitarian regime – indeed in any closed society – propaganda is more obvious and visible and largely tolerated for fear of the consequences of objecting to or questioning the 'message'. In a so-called open society, propaganda is much more problematic when it is hidden and integrated into the political culture. Once exposed, people feel duped and betrayed, and this serves only to reinforce the pejorative association with the practice of propaganda, deemed to be at odds with that open society (2019, p. 321).



Image 2 | John Gast. (1872). *American Progress*, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, United States.

Integration propaganda presents a unique set of challenges that re inforce already present ideologies, making it difficult to identify. John Gast's American Progress exemplifies integration propaganda, which depicts the personification of the Manifest Destiny. It draws on and reproduces American ideals and mythology of nation building. The content of integration propaganda is often subtle and is disseminated through avenues outside of leaflets and posters.

The relevant propaganda will fall under these characteristics, aimed to distinguish propaganda from political or protest art. If the art is propaganda:

- The message communicated must be false, inappropriate for the context, or misleading.
- The art must attempt to persuade the intended audience.
- The intended audience must be a socially significant group of people.
- The art is created or used on behalf of a political institution, cause, or organization (Ross, 2002).

These qualities serve to identify art through its content and context, such as the actors involved in creating the art.

This study will focus on propaganda during the interwar period that is expressed vertically through a top-down approach. The period of interest marks an intersection between sociological and political types of propaganda. Sociological propaganda describes the integrating of ideology in the sociological context while the political focuses exclusively on achieving political means (Tal & Gordon, 2016). The sociological context is understood as a way of life that is presented in culture seen through mediums, such as entertainment and art. In return, the projection of a certain way of life can be influenced by a variety of values and belief systems.

Social Theory and the Incentives of Propaganda

While a variety of political actors produce propaganda, government actors are highly motivated to influence public opinion. Despite high-ranking government actors synthesizing these larger ideas to produce propaganda, it is the lower-level bureaucrats who create and carry out these policies in a bureaucracy. The State is rewarded and incentivized to act through social theory to maintain identity formation. Actions within the context of propaganda can be understood through three areas of study: the psychology of ideology, social identity theory, and social cohesion theory. These three foci overlap and share many similarities, which provide an explanation for the functionality of propaganda.

At its core, much of social theory relies upon ideology to conceive the nation-state (Fuchs, 2020). Ideology, a set of beliefs, prescribes how society should be structured and how individuals operate, which can be weaponized by the government to set a standard behavior. Ideology operates with two major components: doctrinal and relational (Zmigrod, 2022). The doctrinal component describes the explanation for existing conditions and expectations for how individuals should think and behave (i.e. religion and its role in creating a shared belief system). The relational component explains social relations and categorizes social groups into hierarchies (i.e. class structures and distinctions). Thus, these relations create in-group favoritism and out-group hostility in addition to dictating groups' functions in society (Zmigrod, 2022).

While there are concrete elements to national identity, like rights inherent to citizens, it is simultaneously composed of intangible shared social beliefs. Within a nation and amongst nations, social identity continues to be driven through the need for positive association, meaning that social identity is likely to originate in high-status groups to distinguish themselves from others (Huddy, 2001). On the other hand, the low-status group must then create an identity through an alternative group characteristic to create a different identity (Huddy, 2001). The salience of group membership is the determinant of identity, which means that identity is often driven by the visibility or invisibility of the in-group versus out-group membership. This characteristic is apparent with race, which is used as a visual determinant of group identity. In the example of the United States, there is a lack of a cohesive American ethnicity. Thus, Americanness is complex as different ethnic groups have varying views on the ways in which race shapes their lives (Cox et al., 2019). This diversity in nations creates the need to then uphold a shared set of values or an ideology through beliefs rather than visual membership. These values create a distinction between different countries, who develop their own ideologies to distinguish themselves.

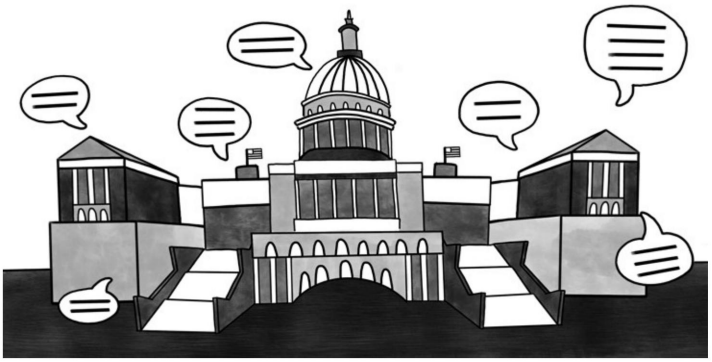
Scholars have differing views on the necessity of ideology in society. Some in the field believe that it creates social cohesion through a shared set of beliefs (Zmigrod, 2022). Social cohesion is understood as the "direct or indirect effects on persons' membership attitudes and behaviors" (Friedkin, 2004). Conversely, other scholars believe that it is a means of control and to "induce false consciousness thinking"—a failure of citizens to recognize their exploitation (Zmigrod, 2022). Regardless of one's view on the necessity of ideology, social cohesion and collective identity are critical to the success of a nation, which often employs ideology (Oliphant, 2014). Ideologies use these doctrinal and relational mechanisms to instill shared beliefs in hopes of achieving collective action (Zmigrod, 2022). Thus, it is in the government's best interest to create a shared ideology on how people should operate. These social theories are then used to create propaganda, depending upon pre-existing national values to deepen these ideals (Figure 1). The repetition of these beliefs entrenches these in and out groups for the sake of forming a national identity. Thus, ideology plays a significant role in propaganda and its persuasive nature.



The Role of National Identity in Propaganda Production

Integrative propaganda aims to stabilize a nation by drawing on State traditions and ideologies to reinforce national identity. Forming and maintaining a national identity requires a standardized narrative that can be communicated to the public. Nations in periods of instability may be understood as those in ongoing internal social, economic, and political conflict. This conflict may look like an economic depression, a civil war, or nation building. A shared national identity means the adoption of a "common identity of language, culture, social and political systems," vital for maintaining nationhood (Grotenhuis, 2016).

Integrative propaganda is particularly useful in forming national identity. This power was exemplified in Rwanda when the regime, post-genocide, focused on emphasizing "the unifying aspects of Rwandan history, such as our shared culture and language and de-emphasizing divisive ones in all activities in the public sphere" (Blouin & Mukand, 2019). The Rwandan government utilized integration propaganda to create a cohesive national identity. This cohesive national identity was achieved through the State radio system, Radio Rwanda, which serves to disseminate State policy. According to the Rwandan government, the broadcast has increased national unity by decreasing inter-ethnic divides (Blouin & Mukand, 2019). The results suggest that ethnic identity can be shifted through propaganda spread via radio (Blouin & Mukand, 2019). This study highlights the effectiveness of propaganda at increasing social cohesion.



Bureaucrats

Within bureaucracies, these actors may choose to perform and

behave in certain ways, often according to bureaucratic structures. In the bureaucracy, differing structures play a vital role in outcomes, like public policy, its implementation, and related socioeconomic results (Suzuki & Hur, 2020). Additionally, individual bureaucrats' attitudes and organizational commitment are vital components of an organization's success (Suzuki & Hur, 2020). The relative amount of autonomy bureaucrats are granted within their operations underlies the implementation of policy (Suzuki & Hur, 2020).

Foundational to my efforts is the work of Bersch and Fukuyama (2023). They define bureaucratic autonomy "as the ability of executive agencies to use their own discretionary authority to implement policies made by political principals, as well as to make policy according to their own wishes when mandates are ambiguous, incomplete, corrupt, or contrary to their perception of national interest" (Bersch & Fukuyama, 2023). The level of bureaucratic autonomy has implications for the ending product and its alignment with the official policy.

Within bureaucracies, there can be a disconnect between the preferences of the highest- ranking officials and the average bureaucrats. This latter group is often called street-level bureaucrats (Wilson, 1989). These are the actors making individual decisions with relatively high levels of discretion and autonomy outside of organizational authority (Lipsky, 1980). Through these decisions, the official policy is implemented through practice, which leads to a disconnect between the one in practice and the official. To address these problems with implementation, a strong bureaucratic culture is beneficial. Scholar James Wilson states that:

> *Every organization has a culture, many have several. When a single culture is broadly shared and warmly endorsed it is a mission. The great advantage of the mission is that it permits the head of the agency to be more confident that operators [street-level bureaucrats] will act in particular cases in ways that the head would have acted had he or she been in their shoes (1989, p. 109).*

The well-developed culture ensures that there is alignment between purpose and implementation. While a strong culture does not eliminate the ambiguity of the official policies, it decreases confusion around the agency's overall goals. When bureaucrats are politically aligned with the elected principals, administrators tend to feel more constrained in their policy decisions due to in group pressures to conform to partisanship (Palus & Yackee, 2016). This phenomenon further highlights the awareness that agents have over expectations. Applying these bureaucratic theories, Weimar Germany and the United States represent different organizational ideas about how to construct the bureaucracy to effectively produce integration propaganda. While this outcome may have been an unconscious goal, the results can be extrapolated to understand the benefits of less autonomy in bureaucratic structures. Weimar chose to operate with artists positioned into the bureaucracy as bureaucrats, whereas the United States organized the bureaucrats as overseeing the artists and the artistic visions.

Argument for the Connection between Autonomy and Integrativeness

Above, I have laid out several reasons why we may expect more constrained bureaucrats to produce propaganda in adherence to the official policies of the government. When there is a strong culture and expectations set for bureaucrats, the actors are under pressure to fall in line. Conversely, when working with unclear expectations, one can conclude that bureaucrats will produce less integrative propaganda, favoring violence and call to action-oriented imagery. Furthermore, there are several social incentives to produce integrative propaganda, concerning the upholding of social cohesion through shared ideologies. The desired social cohesion is obtained through these strict expectations of the bureaucracy. Specifically, I hypothesize that: *Propaganda produced through bureaucracies with less autonomy are more integrative*. I will be testing this hypothesis through the propaganda produced by the United States and the Weimar Republic.

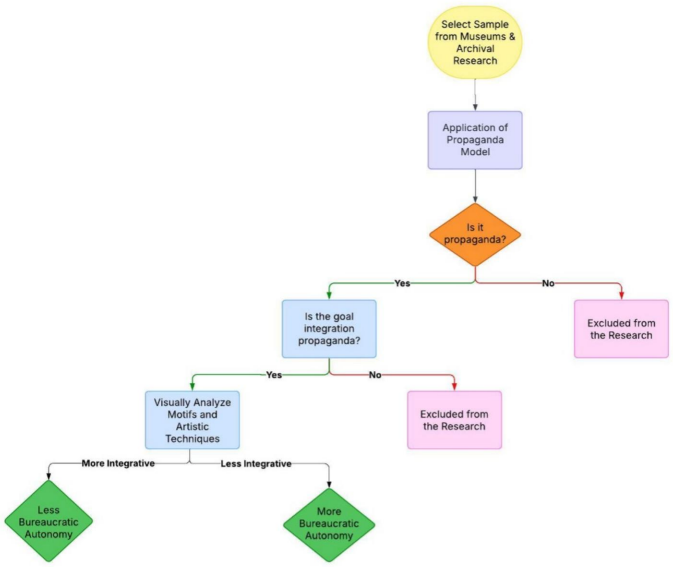


Fig. 2 | Flowchart of Hypothesis Testing.

Methods

I am testing my hypothesis through States that sponsor propaganda during periods of internal instability, relating to the construction of the welfare states and economic crises. The research of the art was conducted through mixed methods: digitally through museum archives and on-site at museums like the National Museum of American History, the National Portrait Gallery, the National Gallery of Art, the Saint Louis Art Museum, the Kemper Art Museum, and the International Museum of Propaganda. After selecting the art, I applied the model of propaganda art. First, the art must meet the characteristics of propaganda, such as a false message that is communicated to a socially significant group of people from a political institution. After determining that the art is propaganda, the next step is to analyze the intent of the propaganda to establish the category: integration or agitation. After being categorized, the motifs and techniques employed by bureaucrats will be analyzed for ways they communicate a shared national identity. To test if less bureaucratic autonomy produces more integrative propaganda, I have adopted a comparative design between Weimar and the United States. As a Western power, the United States' visual culture and political communications have been shaped by its colonial past. At its founding, the United States was influenced by European iconography and in return, it has globally shaped visual traditions. Placing each country of interest within the context of propaganda art is necessary. To fully investigate the propaganda, I root my comparative methods in Caterina Preda's (2017) research—*Art and Politics Under Modern Dictatorships: A Comparison of Chile and Romania*. To provide a roadmap, I lay out an introduction to the relationship between democracy and art writ large. Then, I move to two democracies, where there is a development of different aesthetics that are used in State sponsored art.

My research is based on an interdisciplinary approach combining theories of political science and art history. Both fields offer a unique perspective of propaganda — specifically political art as propaganda. Art history acts as a primary source and a testament to the design of the artist, their patrons, and their audience. There is "a type of 'mnemonic energy' to the objectification of culture, pointing not only to works of high art, but also to posters," which can be used to access the past (Aby Warburg, cited in Assman, 1995). Subsequently, the methods employed by art historians, like visual analysis, lend themselves well to the study of propaganda and its sociocultural context.

I am tracing the connection between the political ideology that appears in propaganda art of specific artistic styles through cultural connections. Oftentimes, these ideologies are mirrored in the formal qualities of the art, which create an aggressive or emotional experience for the audience. Through the analysis of the context and content of the propaganda art, I investigate the intention of specifically integration propaganda, using social identity theory and social cohesion theory to understand the State's motivations. Through these theories, I connect the mechanism of action and the intended impact of integration propaganda. These differences in mechanisms can be explained by the bureaucratic organization. Ultimately, art serves as the evidence through which the mechanism is realized, intertwining ideology and practice.

In the context of propaganda, the iconography and details present in the art are especially important as they reveal the creator's intended message. Throughout the United States and Europe, the repetitive use of allegories became ingrained in the visual political language of societies. Despite this prevalence, "[i]mages such as those mentioned could only be read and understood by an educated audience, and if they were to be useful for both propaganda and legitimation, the audience had to be kept in mind" (Fröschl, 1998). For the propaganda to be effective, the audience must be reached and understand the information that is being disseminated. If not, the propaganda is rendered ineffective. The success of each work relies upon its relative ability to communicate to its audience using these formal qualities: form, function, content, materials, and context (Heck et al., 1999). Artistic choices are vital to understanding the ways in which the bureaucracy shapes a nation through integrative propaganda art.

Case Selection

The United States and Weimar present two cases of nations that produce propaganda through bureaucratic means. This research aims to highlight the relationship between propaganda production and bureaucratic autonomy. The United States serves to demonstrate the theory: propaganda produced through bureaucracies with less autonomy are more integrative. The Weimar Republic supports the hypothesis as it presents contrary evidence: greater autonomy leads to less integrative propaganda.

The Weimar Republic at its founding and the United States during the era of the New Deal respectively present salient examples of two democracies. As democracies, the nations can gain the socio-cultural benefits from integration propaganda, outlined in the previous social theory section. While situated in their unique historical contexts, both nations faced similar instances of internal instability from World War I and economic challenges. During this period, nations were developing their welfare states. The development of the welfare state relies on the process of bureaucratization to increase the State's capacity to provide services to citizens (Hong, 1998). Through bureaucratization, the States began to produce propaganda art, while simultaneously differing in their bureaucratic structures in the organization and therefore the implementation. Essentially, faced with social and economic instability, the nations deemed it necessary to fund a bureaucracy to produce art. These similarities and differences make them ideal candidates to analyze the impact of bureaucratic autonomy on propaganda production.

Additionally, the democratic trajectory of the nations diverged after this period. The Weimar Republic would transform into fascist Germany, and the United States espoused even more democratic principles after the establishment of the social welfare state. These two nations provide a fascinating comparative study of the implementation, motivation, and usage of integration propaganda to create a socially cohesive democratic nation.

Welfare State and the Bureaucratization of Government

Scholar Anne Long White's *Democracy, Justice, and the Welfare State* (2000) defines welfare as "interventions in the form of public social provision aimed at modifying the play of social or market forces and justified by reference to the 'welfare' of recipients" (White, 2000). Before the construction of the modern welfare state, care—"the practice of meeting needs"—was posited as a private practice with autonomy from the State linked to ideas of self-sufficiency and freedom (White, 2000). However, care is intrinsically intertwined with public practice, as care is necessary to create good citizens (White, 2000). Nevertheless, the construction of the public and private spheres had placed care as a private activity rooting itself in Western perceptions of the nuclear family and nation-state (White, 2000). The modern welfare state challenges the association of care in the private sphere, renegotiating the role of the government in its citizens' lives. The development of the State's role required an increasing level of bureaucratization to meet the demands of the growing welfare state. During the early 20th century, Weimar and the United States underwent the construction of their welfare states.

The expansion of the American welfare state was precipitated by the unprecedented economic crisis of the Great Depression (1929-39), which impacted every aspect of the United States economy (Manza, 2000). The economic crash resulted in mass job loss and homelessness, resulting in many Americans living in poverty (Manza, 2000). The economic downturn resulted in the beginnings of several social movements, targeting the unemployed and the industry sector (Manza, 2000). In a landslide election, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) initiated the series of policies, which would become known as the New Deal in the first "Hundred Days" of March through June in 1933 (Manza, 2000). In the following months work and emergency relief programs were adopted, like the Works Progress Administration (WPA). By the midterm elections, there was a second phase, initiating the Second New Deal and including the Social Security Act (Manza, 2000). This period of important legislative acts formed the modern American social welfare state, transforming the relationship between State and citizen with the establishment of the State's responsibility to care for its citizens.

In addition to the increase of social welfare policies, FDR's career and presidency were framed around supporting a reform agenda (Tarbert, 2019). While in office, this agenda manifested in the restructuring of the federal executive to maximize efficiency. These proposed changes allowed the president to have better managerial control over the federal bureaucracy (Tarbert, 2019). He established the Committee of Administrative Management in 1936. In 1939, the Reorganization Act created the Executive Office of the President of the United States—one of the most impor-

tant developments of the modern American administrative State (Tarbert, 2019). As FDR sought to increase presidential oversight, it would stand to reason that there would be a subsequent decrease in bureaucratic autonomy. FDR's presidency represents a period of increasing formalized administrative responsibilities in the United States.

Like the United States, the German welfare state was founded on the growing need of the people in economic distress. The very origins of the welfare state as well as the German welfare state began before WWI in Imperial Germany. Before its dissolution after WWI, Imperial Germany operated for a brief period starting in 1871. The Empire was united by Prussia, a German state. Otto von Bismarck, the prime minister of Prussia, is often credited with the invention of the social welfare state (Ocampo & Stiglitz, 2018). In 1881 with the encouragement of von Bismarck, Emperor Wilhelm I wrote "those who are disabled from work by age and invalidity have a well-grounded claim to care from the state" to the German Parliament (Ocampo & Stiglitz, 2018). Von Bismarck was working under the assumption that the State's concern with its citizens' welfare would result in a more productive work force and reduce the chances of revolt (Ocampo & Stiglitz, 2018). However, the implementation of these social programs had a limited impact on municipal relief for the poor (Hong, 1998). During this period, the internal political turmoil increased. While the German industrial based economy was robust, an authoritarian political system caused growing calls for political freedom, especially in concern to the poor representation of the lower and middle classes in government (McHale & Johnson, 1976). During WWI, the belief that the public had a responsibility for an individual's welfare gained traction, but it was carried out through authoritarian policies (Hong, 1998). In the post WWI era, the November Revolution and the founding of the Weimar Republic ushered in, a belief concerned with the economic relief of its people. On August 11, 1919, the new constitution declared the fundamental social rights of Weimar citizens, granting the Reich government legislative powers over social welfare policies (Hong, 1998). The formation of the social welfare state had implications for its involvement in citizens' lives and an increase in the bureaucratization of State practices.



Case: The United States

Overview of American Visual Political Culture Before WWI

Since the founding of the United States, State sponsored art and architecture aligned the nation with a set of classical ideals. For instance, the European Grand Manner style was employed in the early phase of the United States to align the new nation with the European tradition (Craven, 1979). By aligning the new nation's art with the canon, American artists sought to legitimize their work and country. During this period, another style emerged in American art. Neoclassical art draws on Greco-Roman visual traditions. Neoclassicism is marked by balance, idealized naturalism, and restraint of color (Charles, 2019). The style's subject includes moral themes and patriotism, gaining popularity throughout the West (Charles, 2019). This proximity worked to create a national identity, which is especially valuable during periods of national instability. By borrowing these elements, the United States reasserts itself as the inheritor of democracy. In the modern art period, the divergence, and the call back to these artistic origins highlight the attempt to offer an evolving set of communal ideals during a period of instability— such as the Great Depression.

The New Deal and the Origins of the Federal Art Project

The Federal Art Project (FAP) arose during the Great Depression to provide jobs to American artists. At its core, the FAP can be understood as a stimulus program, aimed at improving the American economy by employing artists. The New Deal was cemented as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which the FAP resided within (Mavigliano, 1984).

Holger Cahill, educated in social research, was the FAP's architect. Cahill advocated for subsidizing the American art scene, believing that American industrialism had "unlovely things, and this in turn has resulted in a degradation of popular taste" (Mavigliano, 1984). In 1935, Cahill was appointed to the FAP. For the FAP, he based his practice on John Dewey's philosophy of *Art as Experience*, which argues for integration between the high and low arts as an extension of culture. Cahill and Dewey's philosophy supported the New Deal agenda. Art was touted as universal communication and instruction.

The arts resurgence in the post-Great Depression era was a result of increased time for leisure activities—art being one of them (Mavigliano, 1984). Cahill was focused on building the relationship between the public and the artist, which the United States government stimulated through the establishment of a series of art projects. There was a desire to bring art to Americans—especially those living in marginalized communities. Art occupied a space deemed exclusively for the elite. The most influential iteration was the FAP, established in May of 1935 with four distinct divisions: fine arts, practical arts, technical and coordinating personnel, and educational services (Mavigliano, 1984).

On paper, the artists were free to create whatever works they wanted; however, in practice, the artists faced restrictions on the content of their art (Harris, 1995). There were controls over the subject and style throughout the FAP and during the 1930s. The FAP bureaucrats favored styles of representational art rather than abstract art. This favoritism towards representational art conflicted with their own desire to steer away from communist implications (Harris, 1995). In general, artists claimed that the administration feared anything too controversial or experimental, which could be viewed as a communist threat (Harris, 1995). This rejection of communism was established through the first Red Scare of 1919-20 (Goldstein, 2014). The following years were mired with political repression, justified by anti-communist sentiments (Goldstein, 2014). Art with communist influences is seen in the popularity of the USSR's social realism and Mexican muralism, which increased concerns that the art would highlight unsavory parts of American life. When Clifford Whyte's mural at Coit Tower in San Francisco was unveiled, a controversy arose. He created three panels: *Rugged Individualism*, *The New Deal*, and *Communism* (Harris, 1995). His work was not well received, as they drew from the social realist styles of his contemporaries. Claims of censorship were not exclusive to Whyte; artists, Burgoyne and Isamu Noguchi, lodged similar claims. The State had control over the production of art; "the plans and the sketches were supposed to receive complete approval from the project's own local review board as well as from the cooperating sponsor" (Harris, 1995). Consequently, artists were subject to limited creative control. Fur-



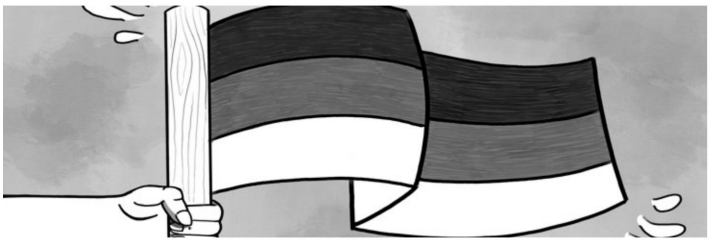
Image 3 | Philip Guston. (1940). *Work and Play,* Queensbridge Housing Mural Project, New York City, United States.

ther, all art created under the FAP was the property of the federal State and could not be sold (Harris, 1995).

The FAP is not the first of its kind in terms of State sponsored art in the United States. However, this case is uniquely emblematic of New Deal policy and a specific "expression of Rooseveltian idealism" (Harris, 1995). Ultimately, the FAP worked to establish a national art consciousness. The FAP had an overarching goal of creating an American visual identity and democratizing art. Before the Project, American visual culture was based on the European canon. There was a desire to reject these external cultural influences in hopes of forging their own independent style, which was uniquely American (Harris, 1995). FDR aimed to create pride in American culture and democracy. The FAP laid claim to the role of the State in Americans' lives. Scholar Jonathan Harris declares:

> *The function of the state must be, paradoxically, both visible and invisible. It must be visible because Cahill's aim was for the state to constitute the American people as citizens through diverse regional cultural activities. It must be invisible because there must never be any sense of 'superimposed' or 'arty' subject matter in these events. The nation-state should simply be recognized to exist, not to have been made. Similarly, the citizen should be recognized as axiomatic, not subject to debate or denial. The cultural activities of regional America were, for Cahill, the grounds and the guarantee of the myth of cultural identity. (1995, p. 114)*

The FAP had to embrace a level of assuredness in the rendering of the State. During an unstable time, any hint of questioning would have led to a weakening of the project's objectives. Additionally, Harris remarks upon the balance that the State must strike in order to be most effective. This discussion of the aim and context behind the creation of the FAP art works provide an integral foundation to the analysis that will follow after a brief context of Weimar's unique concerns in constructing a federal art program.



Case: Weimar Republic

Overview of German Visual Political Culture

The Wilhelmine Empire had a complex artistic vision, made up of competing interests of the central bureaucracy and Kaiser Wilhelm II. The bureaucracy favored a variety of arts, including modernist arts; however, the Kaiser feared aesthetic innovation for its possibility to create political change (Paret, 1983). Imperial German artistic culture was seen as industrial and materialist with a repressive government structure (Riggs, 1993). Despite these complaints, there were a variety of styles that appeared through the artistic production of Max Liebermann, who championed internationalism—a style which drew upon techniques rooted in other countries' histories (Deshmukh, 1998). Oftentimes, artistic styles that lacked roots in German tradition were looked down upon. The arts were an important way to display the prowess of German arts, which State sponsored artists tended to utilize. Simultaneously, Wilhelmine artists idealized the pre-industrial age, where people were free from the problems of modern life. Throughout the industrialized world, these sentiments were shared with the idealization of the country and peasants. It was from this desire that German Expressionism was born.

Overview of German Empire to Republic Politics

At the beginning of the War, many Germans were enthusiastic in their support; however, this enthusiasm soon faded when its realities became apparent. Industrial unrest had started at the beginning of 1918, and by August, WWI was effectively lost. Despite publicly promising peace, German leadership continued to fight through the end of October (Jones, 2016). Rather than admitting defeat, the navy planned an attack on the British fleet (Jones, 2016). The sailors refused to carry out this plan and were arrested, inciting more protests. From there, the November Revolution spread to urban workers, soldiers, and women (Jones, 2016). By November 9th, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) leader, Friedrich Ebert, was appointed to the imperial chancellorship for a few short hours, and Germany was declared a republic against his will (Jones, 2016). The government shortly resigned, and Wilhelm II abdicated the throne. The SPD broke into two parties: the SPD (the majority) and the Independent Socialists (the minority). In addition, a new party called Group International was founded by the Spartacus League. In the following months, the construction of Weimar proved to be unstable.

Weimar's leadership possessed an intense fear of the communist threat, believed to cause the breakdown of the social and political order (Jones, 2016). Their fears seemingly came to fruition when Spartacus League revolutionaries, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, tried to launch a communist revolution in the style of the Bolsheviks in Russia (Jones, 2016). However, the attempt failed and the revolutionaries were exe cuted in mid-January 1919 (Jones, 2016). Nevertheless, the fear of communism persisted, resulting in State sponsored violence, and driven by fear, rumors, and self-generated beliefs (Jones, 2016). There was a fear of losing control to more radical groups. Simultaneously, there was a distinct desire to maintain order through the creation of a new State while simultaneously undergoing an era of great change.



Image 4 | Philip Guston. (1940). Detail of *Work and Play.*

In the post-revolutionary era, Ebert, a member of the SPD, created a provisional social republic to gain the cooperation of Independent Socialists. The Independent Socialists and the Majority Socialists made up the six-person provisional government and bureaucratic administrator (Jones, 2016). In January of 1919, citizens voted for members of a national constituent assembly that was charged with creating a constitution (Jones, 2016). The government began meeting in Weimar, and by August, the constitution was ratified (Jones, 2016). In a matter of a year, the country transformed from an empire to a republic, an extensive change for the German people. German society reacted to these drastic changes in the dramatically shifting conceptions of man's power and economic realities.

Throughout the world, especially in Europe, there was a reckoning with the reality of modern warfare. The invention of weapons, like gas and artillery, allowed for mass casualties that had not been possible before. The war was particularly devastating for the Germans and other Central Powers. In 1919, the conditions laid out in the Treaty of Versailles were particularly extreme, impacting the new government, its economy, and its people. Further, the Treaty of Versailles and the effects of modern warfare resulted in radically new political ideals and art movements in Germany.

Overview of Weimar Republic's Visual Political Culture

German Expressionism describes experimental art in Germany, which began before WWI. Expressionism was associated with "antinaturalism to communicate their critiques of social materialism and their utopian visions" (Riggs, 1993). Artists were at the forefront of political change. Early expressionists during this period welcomed the war because it was seen as a revolution to



Image 5 | Stuart Davis. (1938). *Swing Landscape*, Indiana University, Bloomington, United States.

overthrow the monarchy and the bourgeoisie (Figura and Jelavich, 2011). This idealism quickly ended as many artists took part in the war effort, which changed them forever. These artists' pre- and post-war art styles starkly contrast each other, as seen through the work of Ernest Ludwig Kirchner and Max Beckmann. These artistic transformations are emblematic of the larger shifts that were occurring throughout Europe. People were grappling with the brutality of war and manufactured weapons of mass destruction, making way for the popularity of German Expressionism. The Weimar Republic sought to build on this innovative art style (Riggs, 1993). The style served as a unique vehicle to support the new republic. Abstraction, as an art form, had a unique draw, viewed as free from nationality, race, or religion (Riggs, 1993). German Expressionism would evolve into an artistic movement that attached itself to socialism and became further popularized through political posters (Chapman, 2010).

During the formation of the Weimar Republic, propaganda was produced in the initial stage of a socialist government to support the free democratic election in January 1919. The Werbedienst der deutschen Republik, the transitional State's publicity office, had Novembergruppe members within their staff. The bureau was made up of three Social Democrats and three Independents (Rigby, 1983). Before commissioning members of the Novembergruppe, posters mostly containing ecclesiastical script were produced and written in flaming letters to prompt the ideals and programs of the new republic (Rigby, 1983). The poor reception of the script centered posters led the bureau to involve the Novembergruppe to produce posters that aligned with their ideals (Chapman, 2010). The group changed the style of the posters with colors and imagery to appeal to the public socialist cause. There was a collection of notable artists that were most responsive to the commission: Heinz Fuchs, Cesar Klein, Max Pechstein, Heinrich Richter-Berline and Georg Tappert (Rigby, 1983). These artists believed that the new SPD regime would support their artistic freedoms. Through the political lens, the Novembergruppe artists drafted a manifesto proclaiming their revolutionary focus to support the new republic (Rigby, 1983). The group closely aligned themselves to the politics of the State and sought to produce art that served to damper the volatile environment.

History of the Novembergruppe

The Novembergruppe was founded in December 1918, established in response to the November Revolution (Riggs, 1993). They were one of many artist groups that were established with an explicitly political agenda. Their goals remained oriented toward expanding art to the masses and supporting the socialist revolution through establishing institutions and policies that supported more

artistic freedoms. The desire to institute free artistic policies was in response to the ways the Wilhelmine era was restrictive for artists. The Novembergruppe's motto was "liberty, equality, fraternity!" In the group's manifesto written from 1918-1919, they wrote extensively about their political aspirations: "[w]e consider it our noblest duty to dedicate our best energies to the moral reconstruction of a new free Germany" (Riggs, 1993). They aimed to influence the visual culture and program of the new Republic. The group planned to maintain an active role in public architectural projects, art schools and curricula, museums, exhibition spaces, and arts legislation (Riggs, 1993). The Novembergruppe held public exhibitions, which aimed to bring art to the people. Democratizing art and freedom to make artistic choices was of the utmost importance to the group. They published catalogs and periodicals called *Der Kunsttopf (Artificial Material)* and *Novembergruppe (November Group)*, culminating in their book—*An alle Kunstler (To All Artists)* (Riggs, 1983). The group can be characterized by their desire for artistic freedom and exploration of avant-garde styles.





Image 6 | Max Pechstein. (1919). *Erwürgt nicht die junge Freiheit durch Unordnung und Brudermord, sonst verhungern Eure Kinder*, LACMA, Los Angeles, United States.
Image 7 | Max Pechstein. (1919). *An die Laterne*, MoMA, New York City, United States.

Like many other Weimar political groups at the time, the group had a short-lived political career. By 1920 and 1921, the Novembergruppe's exhibitions had lost their political overtones, which was mirrored by other propagandists at the time (Riggs, 1993). Their depoliticization was increased by the "worker's repudiation of abstraction and resentment of them" (Riggs, 1993). The motivations behind their art did not resonate with the audience that the group hoped to find support in. By playing bureaucrats and artists, they found little success. The innovation and creativity of artists are not advantageous in a political system, such as the bureaucracy. Innovation of artists can misalign the goals of producing propaganda art and its content.

Analysis

Analysis of the United States through the Federal Art Project

Despite the popularity of murals in Europe and later Mexico, the tradition of murals in the United States did not fully develop until the 20th century under the FAP. It was through this project that 1,400 murals were created (O'Connor, 1973). Philip Evergood (cited in O'Connor), a FAP artist, credits Mexican influences, saying:

> [T]he economic depression and the consequent birth of the WPA/FAP has done more in five years for mural painting, and more for the closer understanding between the American artist and his public through the medium of the mural than any individual efforts could have accomplished during a much longer period. (1973, p. 49)

In addition to raising the status of murals in the United States, "It [the FAP] placed painting on a level with the millions of passersby who had never thought about it before, but now began to pay attention, because it was there for them to see. Today a new type of artist has developed who thinks and paints naturally in terms of this new public" (O'Connor, 1973). The FAP transformed the landscape of American art, and murals were particularly effective in democratizing art. Murals are intrinsically tied to place, fully informed by their location and audience. Oftentimes, the content of the murals will follow the location. The artist would have taken the audience and location into consideration in the work (O'Connor, 1973). More so than other mediums, there is a precise space that artists must fill.

Murals induce a form of social cohesion, bridging the ideals of the State and its citizens. Art, as a cultural product, is specific to society, shaped and informed by it. Specifically, "art was seen as having the capacity to unify both individuals and groups, not only because art was how one could imagine (literally, 'give image to') a future society of social and political harmony" (Harris, 1995). Muralism is no exception. Unlike high art of the past, murals are a constant in public life, allowing for a more significant role in social cohesion. Large in scale and ever present, a mural's role "is ideologi-

cal: it must reach many people of various views, differing social concepts, and political outlooks" (O'Connor, 1973). As murals aim to communicate with a diverse audience, they must depict unifying themes to reach across differences. Unifying themes can be identified through everyday objects, family life, and industrial or agricultural scenes. FAP artist Walter Quirt remarked, "[o]ur real job, of course, is to take common experiences and make them articulate in emotional terms, not exclusively intellectual ones" (O'Connor, 1973). While people have differing views on policies and their implementation, unity is easier to achieve when making a claim to how one wants to feel.

The FAP murals were used to promote New Deal policies, often decorating the walls of government funded initiatives. Specifically, "[t]hrough the mural program, FAP policies and values became interactive with other state activities, in particular those involving institutions and the operation of state power" (Harris, 1995). This interaction is made clear through the public housing initiatives that took place under President FDR. It was through these policies that murals and the State's agenda are most clear. Public housing fell under the Public Works Administration Housing Division, which was funded under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (Patterson, 2020). FDR sought to make New York City the blueprint for increasing the standards of working-class housing for the nation (Patterson, 2020). The creation of housing projects and consequent murals decorated the interiors of the space like the Queensbridge Housing Project. This project was built by the New York City Housing Authority (Harris, 1995).

In these buildings, social family roles are often depicted, illustrated through Philip Guston's *Work and Play*. This work is indicative of the prevalence of familial and traditional themes throughout the FAP sponsored works. *Work and Play* depicts, as the scene suggests, work and play. There is a clear attempt to persuade the occupants of the housing projects to look favorably upon the State. The depiction of everyday people seen on one side of the mural working and the other playing creates a utopia. A family of three is seen gathered together in the kitchen with the father physically supporting his wife and child. In another panel, some are putting objects together while a doctor is positioned centrally checking a child's heart (Image 5). The colors are muted, and the figures are not highly individualized. The aim is to perhaps imagine oneself as one of these figures, peacefully coexisting with one another. This projection of a utopia that the housing project aimed to accomplish as a part of the broader New Deal. The figural paintings were a convenient means through which the State was able to convey its intended future. While most of the murals produced during this period were narrative driven and illustrated in accordance with how people and objects appear realistically, the Williamsburg murals, like the Swing Landscape, departed from this tradition in favor of abstraction which discards reality. The use of abstraction highlights the tension between communist ideals and artistic innovation, which was much debated at the time. Stuart Davis, one of the artists contracted to create murals for communal areas at the Williamsburg project argued abstract art was more accessible and allowed people in the public housing projects to be freed from the "reminders of their miserable conditions" (Patterson, 2020). The use of common everyday objects allowed for a more approachable form of art. It did not require the audience to understand references to the European canon, which remained accessible only to the elite. The possibilities of abstract art is seen through Stuart Davis' Swing Landscape. With vivid tones and unmodulated blocks of color, Davis creates a bold design with objects and architecture from the world around. The emphasis is placed on the urban landscape with buildings, removing the focus from people and placing it on the space in which they collectively occupy. The content of the painting directly interacts with its role in the public space. The direct engagement with the current world and people through a modern art form and policy was incredibly innovative. While void of narrative elements, the accessibility of the subject is persuasive, proposing a new inviting type of world.

The FAP's murals explicitly aim to include the audience's perspective through content. While the murals range from communal scenes to everyday objects, the intention of appealing to viewers' commonalities is clear. The ease at which the murals communicated these shared experiences can be attributed to the bureaucratization of the FAP and expectations for the artists. This message is refined through the constraining of the artists by bureaucrats. In this case, the restrictions of the artists result in an appeal for the audience to come together during a period of economic and social instability in the United States.

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Analysis of Weimar Germany through the Werbedienst Office

The propaganda of the Weimar Republic was produced to nation-build with existing artistic tradition in mind. German Expressionism became identifiable as the dominant art style of the new Republic. It is characterized by harsh dark lines with little blending occurring. Oftentimes, there is a high visual contrast between values. The color palette for prints was often reduced and limited to a few colors. The aesthetics of the style create the feeling of assertiveness and assuredness in the message of the art. This result can consequently be helpful for propaganda to persuade the masses. A clear connection between form and content assists with such a task. Identifying features are crucial for State propaganda, lending a level of legitimacy. These features can be produced through symbols and the establishment of State colors. Weimar Republic's colors are black, red, and gold. Additionally, the lit torch became the symbol of Werbedienst visible on State sponsored posters (Rigby, 1983). The use of the color palette and associated symbols made the poster's origins clear. These posters served as utilitarian public art, through their medium and content. Paper posters were easily distributed, resulting in the rapid spread of messages and information throughout cities. State propaganda is a combination of expressing the cultural impulses of the current time in part as a necessity to reach the public during a critical time for the new nation.

Death, violence, and chaos were a hallmark of the Novembergruppe's Werbedienst posters. As members of the bureaucracy, they were provided with artistic freedom when producing the posters. The content and style of the artists served to create aggressive and more dramatic appearances of the subjects' appearances. The State produced posters had clear objectives to persuade citizens to act in support of the new Republic. Of particular interest is Pechstein's lithograph titled *Don't Strangle the Newborn Freedom through Disorder and Fratricide, Otherwise Your Children Will Starve* (Image

6). The poster depicts a naked boy child standing embracing a red flag. Black and red are employed here in the print to symbolize the birth of the new nation, represented by the newborn child. Pechstein and by extension the Werbedienst Office aim to create a socially cohesive State and end any remaining public discord. Similarly, in *Pechstein's To the Lantern* (Image 7), a mob of indistinguishable men are moving in droves holding red flags, representing Communists. A man hanged in a noose is tied to the lamp post in the foreground of the print—an unmistakable violent message. This print too serves as a warning about disrupting the new republic. Political fragmentation is dangerous in a fledgling democracy. The goal of the new government is to create a unified people and remove any threats. Both posters do not construct an ideal republic where everyone is happy and fulfilled. Rather, these posters attempt to show the consequences of a lack of participation, as everyone has their tasks to complete. The stakes are death if there is non-compliance. These posters are stark contrasts in comparison to the utopia that the FAP constructed.

The posters of the Werbedienst Office are distinctly violent in imagery and through the qualities of the art. The Office is directly identifying the threat as the impending communist invasion or the looming threat of social disorder. These posters are indicative of the organization that produced this propaganda, which anointed artists as bureaucrats. The Novembergruppe had a revolutionary purpose, which was utilized during this provisional era in Weimar. While they were attempting to maintain order, they did so through evocative imagery, which more closely falls near agitation rather than integrative propaganda. Agitation propaganda attempts to disrupt the current order rather than maintain it. The difference in production and content is one of the differences between the two cases.

> ***Agitation propaganda attempts to disrupt the current order rather than maintain it.***

Bureaucratic Differences in the Two Interwar Democracies

The programs' differences in direction can be understood by the bureaucratic administrations that oversaw the respective programs. The FAP gives a clear image of what the New Deal is working towards achieving. However, the Weimar Republic is presented as an alternative vision to the destruction represented in the posters. The two programs have chosen different tactics to achieve a similar goal. The Weimar Republic is representative of artists as bureaucrats. In this position, they are given more artistic leniency, allowing for a representation more in line with the original artistic intent. Placing the artistic vision over the political aims, the artistic created a vision that was less conducive to State values.

In contrast, the United States' FPA in the WPA was overseen by strict bureaucrats, who had an overall vision for the mission of the FPA. The bureaucrats were conditioned by professional incentives to achieve outcomes closer to the federal governments. Their conformity is helped by a strong organizational culture. This alignment with a larger vision, produced by artists throughout the country, created more restrictions on artists. In some cases, the restrictions can be considered outright censorship. These differences created a vision to support the goal of democratizing art and stabilizing people after the Great Depression. Some of the decisions between these two State's approaches are the political context in which each of them was situated. The United States was a fully established country that had been suffering economically. However, the Weimar Republic was struggling to create a distinct identity, facing more political and economic obstacles. In other words, the United States benefited from the previous bureaucratic infrastructure and established national values. The United States had long been established as a unified State after the American Civil War. Being in different stages of statehood impacts the organizational abilities of the bureaucrats. Further, the ability to construct a socially cohesive State had larger implications for each of the States. The economic depression in Weimar set the stage for the rise of fascism and the Third Reich. Conversely, the United States' New Deal allowed for the establishment of the social welfare state, in an effort to care for the common man.

Conclusion

In closing, I have laid out two cases that provide insight into the relationship between bureaucratic autonomy and the production of integration propaganda. The cases represent a period of increasing bureaucratization in both States with the formation of their respective social welfare states. The interwar period coincided with a period of instability, necessitating the use of ideology to maintain a socially cohesive State. The United States' FAP provides a compelling case of a State that produced integration propaganda through a bureaucratized federal agency. The artists were under the guidance of bureaucrats, who were informed by New Deal ideologies. The FAP propaganda produced utopian visions of familial scenes and social harmony. Providing contrary evidence, the propaganda produced by the Weimar Republic's Werbedienst Office was less integrative and used blunt messaging to address potential threats to the new State. The provisional government feared the threat to the social order and what they believed to be anarchy. To communicate the desperation of the situation, artists as bureaucrats favored more aggressive and violent imagery. The outcomes of the propaganda can be understood through the structuring of the Werbedienst Office, as the Novembergruppe had primary artist control, in other words more bureaucratic autonomy. My findings suggest that agencies with less bureaucratic autonomy produce more integrative propaganda.

While these cases make an ideal comparison, there are some limitations. For instance, Weimar and the United States are in two distinct stages of nationhood. Weimar was just barely in its infancy and does not have the same baseline bureaucratic capacity that the United States possesses. In comparison, the United States is a relatively stable democracy despite facing economic difficulties during the Great Depression. Despite these obstacles, I argue that these cases are still worth studying in connection with one another, as they are undergoing periods of instability and bureaucratization. Future studies may examine bureaucratic autonomy and propaganda production in different State contexts with special attention paid to the uniqueness of national contexts. Relatedly, I suggest efforts to standardize the range of integrativeness through artificial intelligence (AI). The use of AI in art historical methods has begun to take hold in recent years. Notably, these methods have been used to study Vincent Van Gogh's painting technique in comparison to his contemporaries and have shown great promise (Li et al., 2012).

References

For a full list of references, visit WUJUR.org.