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'Connections and Challenges'

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The Independent Scholar

Volume 7 (August 2020)
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FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP

Welcome to Volume 7 of *The Independent Scholar*, the second issue to feature papers given at the NCIS Conference at University of Massachusetts in June 2019. Two papers deal with the phenomenon of Independent Scholarship: in "Widening the Road for Independent Scholarship and Personal Narratives" Darnella Davis focuses on the independence of an Independent Scholar (IS), freed from the shackles of departmental disciplinary constraints, and presents a case study of using otherwise ignored primary evidence in producing historical work, especially about the otherwise marginalized, exploring the perils, problems and pleasures of doing so. In "Together and Apart" Susan Roth Breitzer examines ISs in an institutional context: how ISs fit into the various discipline-based professional organizations, such as the American Historical Association (AHA), the Association of Jewish Studies (AJS), and by tracing changes in these organizations she links them to IS associations such as NCIS.

Jordan Lavender turns from consideration of independent scholarship *per se* to a concrete demonstration, in his "Address forms in Ecuadorian Spanish." He could well have been heeding the address of one of my graduate school advisors, to "dig narrow but deep " as he concentrates on formal/informal address forms in one geographical variant of a major language among a specific cohort, exploring the differences of Ecuadorian from other varieties of Spanish by users of Facebook Messenger.

Yvonne Groseil's review essay, "Beyond Crisis: Higher Education Today and Tomorrow," uses *Austerity Blues* (2016), by Michael Fabricant and Stephen Brier, as the jumping-off point for a discussion of the current state of higher education in the USA, and specifically in New York City. Her essay elicited a response from the authors of *Austerity Blues*, which you can read immediately following Dr Groseil's essay.

Finally, the seven books featured in our Book Review section exhibit the vitality and curiosity of both book authors and reviewers, its diversity reminiscent of "Blues in the Night" by Harold Arlen and Johnny Mercer, part of the Great American Songbook: "From Natchez to Mobile/From Memphis to St. Jo/Wherever the four winds blow…." Let this volume be your inspiration to submit an article, a book, or to otherwise become involved in and with *The Independent Scholar*.

Once again, if you have a paper that you would like to have considered for publication in *TIS*, please send it to tis@ncis.org; our submission guidelines are on the website (see Notes for Contributors above). Likewise, if you would like to offer your services as a peer reviewer or a book reviewer, or if you yourself have a book to review, please let us know on reviews@ncis.org.

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.
General Editor, *TIS*

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Darnella Davis (Ed.D., MFA) is a research analyst who has focused on equality of access to rigorous curricula for underperforming K-12 students. In her work as a writer, researcher, artist, teacher, world traveler, yoga practitioner, and samba enthusiast, she continues to explore diversity. Her book *Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage, A Personal History of the Allotment Era* covers 130 years of her racially mixed family history and its importance to our nation's racial discourse.

Yvonne Groseil (Ph.D. Anthropology, MA TESOL) is an independent scholar who has taught as an adjunct at City University of New York (CUNY), The New School, and Columbia. She is currently writing a paper on reactions to public health restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic. This project is an interruption caused by current events as her ongoing research study focuses on a New York women's heritage society founded in the 19th century. She presented a paper on their efforts in historic home preservation at the 2017 Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Genders, and Sexuality.

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Jordan Lavender (Ph.D. Spanish Linguistics) teaches Spanish and Latin American History at Pomfret School in Pomfret, CT and has conducted research on the use of minority languages on Twitter in Spain, bilingualism in the linguistic landscapes of Azogues, Ecuador, and forms of address in Ecuadorian Spanish, based on ethnographic research in both online and offline contexts.

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Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies), former English-language editor of *Tsum punkt/To the Point,* the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, is currently Associate Editor of *Records of the State of Connecticut*. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with acculturation and American Jewish women in the Yiddish press ; he is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism.

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CRITICAL ESSAYS

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WIDENING THE ROAD FOR INDEPENDENT SCHOLARSHIP AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES

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Abstract

In the field of History, the relative dearth of primary sources from the late nineteenth century has plagued revisionist scholars bent on retracing the shared experiences of divergent groups such as indigenous peoples and the "mixed-bloods" within their communities. Despite the relative paucity of minority voices, new sources and perspectives do emerge. When they do, how are they received? This paper discusses the challenges of meaningfully situating original voices within the broadening landscape of interdisciplinary studies. Drawing on an independent scholar's experiences in seeking an academic publisher, the paper argues that a cross section of scholars—in contesting traditional historical frameworks—are expanding opportunities for fresh perspectives tendered by independently minded researchers. It further suggests that works exploring aspects of the racial mixtures that underpin our collective biography may find receptive audiences across disciplines. The successful publication and subsequent recognition of the manuscript in question indicate a receptivity to unconventional narratives from those whose personal accounts may strengthen rather than undermine their value to the field of mixed-race studies.

Keywords: Interdisciplinary Studies; Mixed-Race Studies; New Social History; Allotment Era; American Indians; African American Studies; Federal Indian policies; personal narrative; our collective biography

In the field of History, the relative dearth of primary sources from the late nineteenth century has plagued revisionist scholars bent on retracing the shared experiences of divergent groups such as indigenous peoples and the "mixed-bloods" within their communities. Despite the relative paucity of minority voices, new sources and perspectives do emerge. When they do, how are they received? This paper discusses the challenges of meaningfully situating original voices within the broadening landscape of interdisciplinary studies. Drawing on an independent scholar's experiences in seeking an academic publisher, the paper argues that a cross section of scholars—in contesting traditional historical frameworks—are expanding opportunities for fresh perspectives tendered by independently minded researchers. It further suggests that works exploring aspects of the racial mixtures that underpin our collective biography may find receptive audiences across disciplines. The successful publication and subsequent recognition of the manuscript in question indicate a receptivity to unconventional narratives from those whose personal accounts may strengthen rather than undermine their value to the field of mixed-race studies.

These concerns arose for me during the development of a recent publication, *Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage: A Personal History of the Allotment Era* (Davis, 2018) which will serve to illustrate the challenges and opportunities afforded independent scholars. Few may be familiar with this span of history, for the events that followed the Trail of Tears and preceded the series of Oklahoma land rushes are rarely linked and generally neglected in the great sweep of western expansion. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Indian Territory and its neighbor, the Oklahoma Territory formed a last frontier, one that closed with the waning of the Indian Wars (Wilson, 1960). The Allotment Era itself was a brief period of rapid transformation prompted by the division of Indian Territory into self-sustaining homesteads, accelerated by throngs eager to possess land, and culminating in the formation of the state of Oklahoma which overlay the former territories of indigenous peoples removed—just 50 years earlier—from the Southeast. Settled west of the Mississippi, these tribal lands had been given in fee simple and the Five Southeast Tribes were promised independence in perpetuity.

For the independent scholar engaging both memoire and history, one challenge can be securing space that resists the boundaries of conventional disciplinary frameworks while negotiating the peerage associated with academic publication. This was the case for me. Recognition meant claiming space within an academic discipline bent upon maintaining high standards but grappling with its own record of integrity in accounts of the western frontier. Without a historian's credential or formal experience in conducting historical research, I nevertheless argued that the project was worthy of joining the canon. The unearthing of collected stories, photos and memorabilia of a seven-generations-long family history would be tantalizing for most scholars. Yet the same scholars who lament the dearth of primary sources can be leery of how these materials are handled and by whom.

Fortunately, questioning the appropriateness of engrained historical standards now has a substantial grounding in revisionist history or what some have called "the new social history" (Limerick et al, 1991; Napier, 2001). These efforts have shifted the framing of historical events away from an "elite" comprised of victors and heroes, or the rich and powerful, toward a fuller account of the lived experiences of "ordinary" people including women, minority groups, and populations eking out lives with the most modest of means. Recent years also have seen a growing recognition of the unsavory side of settler colonialism and the exposure of an underbelly of unseemly acts carried out in the name of democracy (see Chang, 2010; May, 1996). The need for correcting our national narrative may be seen in an increasing awareness of the contradictions embodied in a constitution that declares equality for all while ignoring the rights of selected groups. Examples of the double standards of no less a man than Thomas Jefferson were exposed by Annette Gordon-Reed, while Erica Armstrong Dunbar excavates the prejudices of George and Martha Washington in their endless pursuit of Ona Judge, a runaway slave (Gordan-Reed, 2008; Armstrong Dunbar, 2018).

Nearly 200 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville (2006) anticipated the challenges for a nation comprised of three races coexisting in uneasy proximity. He was certain that the young nation could not remain viable if it continued to sanction slavery. He also stressed the need to reconcile treatment of Native Americans with aspirations for a true democracy if the young republic wished to fulfill its ideals. Yet, based on conventional texts, generations of Americans have taken burnished tales of the founding fathers as gospel.

More recently, scholars have challenged these views, offering alternative perspectives on our shared American experience. Yet, we still struggle with "the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences" (Coates, 2017, p. 202). Attempts to clarify the limitations of our nation's racial discourse quickly confront the intersections of identity politics, interdisciplinary spaces, and a more heterogeneous public square, one where, to quote de Tocqueville, we no longer "remain strangers to each

other." (p. 412). In this space, linguists, historians, legal scholars, and social critics are troubling the canon, poking at comfortable fictions, and unpacking exhausted taxonomies, while collaborating through organizations such as the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) that encourage interdisciplinary scholarship.

Theda Perdue (2003) was among the vanguard of historians to begin tracing the evolution of race thinking among indigenous peoples whose traditional "color-blindness" proved disadvantageous as settlers wielded their Whiteness with increasing power. She questioned the notion of racial purity and the origins of the use and abuse of "blood" quantum to differentiate individuals. Jack D. Forbes (1993) has interrogated the freighted nomenclature of racial hierarchies in examining the language of race and the evolution of "Red-Black" people. Fay Yarbrough (2008) studied the role of Cherokee citizens who created legal templates that were often emulated by other tribes for redressing governmental abuses. She disrupts the conceit that the Cherokee were in any way ill-equipped to represent their legal interests. Celia Naylor, Claudio Saunt and Tiya Miles all have resurrected neglected records of the past, giving fresh interpretations to the events that shaped life among the tribes indigenous to the Southeast who were removed west of the Mississippi in the 1800s (Naylor, 2008; Saunt, 2005; Miles, 2005). In *Ties that Bind, the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, Miles (2005) exposed the hypocrisy of race-based policies invoked by the Cherokee in mirroring a White ethos. Barbara Krauthammer's (2015) work points to the loss of racial complexity embodied within the Five Southeast Tribes with the government-imposed category "freedman" and its baggage of hypo-descent.

All of these scholars are lending greater clarity to the debate over tribal citizenship and cultural integrity that is reflected in tensions among those engaged in tri-racial studies. They also embody the cross-disciplinary value of works that rewrite our national narrative, especially as it undergirds current racial discourse. In particular, Tiya Miles, now a professor at Harvard, has become a frequent contributor to periodicals such as the *New York Times*. She now stands as a public interpreter, most recently reflecting on the 1619 Project commemorating the arrival of the first ship bringing slaves to this continent (Miles 2019a, 2019b). In these respects, their revisionist work has highlighted the benefits of reexamining history with a broader lens. Likewise, my work—covering seven generations of racial mixing—offers a corrective to the devaluation of minority points of view during the waning days of what, until the close of the Indian Wars, had comprised the western frontier. My work also links the past to the present, noting the dated terminology of empire and looking beyond our shores for alternative scenarios that might enliven our conversations about racial mixing. Nonetheless, we still ask: what is the value of personal recollection when peer reviewers consider a potential publication—especially from a first-time author with no academic affiliation, one who asks uncomfortable questions on topics traditionally avoided, and who may be susceptible to the same burnished tales so long taken as fact?

Here again, non-historians are sorting fact from fiction in our complicated national narrative. Innes and Pratt, both legal scholars, have recovered sources that can be joined to the present as minority factions within the Five Southeast Tribes struggle with the adequacy of the racial categories assigned during the Allotment Era that, at times, belie their racial and cultural realities (Innes, 2015; Pratt, 2005). How widely is it known that some of the Five Tribes had ejected Freedmen (descendants of slaves owned by tribal members at the close of the Civil War) from their citizenship rolls and how well do we understand the reasons for this particular type of racial profiling? Although U.S. District Judge Thomas Hogan decided the case for the Cherokee Nation in August 2018—ruling that the ousted Freedmen must be reinstated—other tribes are still struggling with questions of who counts as a citizen and whether "blood" is a viable criterion for inclusion.[1]

In this respect, historians and legal scholars' efforts to unpack uses and abuses of race in our nation's policies add social and political dimensions to the study of contemporary American Indians. Their relevance in understanding how intimately bound we are to our collective biography demands a broadening of our national narrative as well. Their diligence gave me the courage to critically interrogate the archival records, deconstructing accepted narratives and contrasting them with the oral accounts I'd hoped to confirm. That exercise made the value of my family's century-long legacy clear.

Although revisionists may be paving the way for broader interpretations of our nation's narrative, many academics, and perhaps even more historians in that number, are uncomfortable with memoire. Any account that contains it can expect a thorough vetting. My own manuscript underwent a rigorous and illuminating peer review. Happily, early indicators appear positive as the book has been recognized in the national press and garnered a sound review in a scholarly journal. It has drawn interest at talks and discussions at an array of professional conferences that cover disciplines such as History; American, African American and

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[1] Cherokee Nation v. Nash et al., U.S. District Case No. 1 13-CV-1313.

American Indian Studies; Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, as well as Law. Throughout, the neglected study of the history of racial mixing in America forms the thread that connects these disciplines and engages even the general reader (Tucker, 2019, p. B6).

While Interdisciplinary Studies platforms may serve to widen the road for works such as *Untangling a Red, White, and Black Heritage*, they may also expose such works to greater scrutiny if the projects explore uncomfortable, unsettling, and unpopular spaces. As history departments are cut back and competition for scarce tenured positions heats up, some worry that the discipline is falling prey to overspecialization (Grossman, 2017, pp. 5-6). In *Range, Why Generalists Triumph in a Specialized World*, David Epstein underscores this point in asserting that interdisciplinary scholars may be negatively viewed as generalists whose grasp of any single discipline is shallow and possibly even *unobjective*! However, Epstein (2019) argues that specialists, in their narrower fields of expertise often lack the imagination for more supple or even creative interpretations of experiential evidence (p. 278). Such rigidity echoes in the hallways of conferences as attendees question what might be gained if, for example, historians worked more closely with genealogists. More generally, these dynamics place the work of interdisciplinarians in tension with established scholars who may question the education, credentials, methodology, analysis or professional integrity of those working across disciplines and especially independent scholars plying their skills without an institutional affiliation. In this regard, some independent scholarship may even be regarded as an act of refusal to acknowledge rigor rather than a response to greater flexibility and breadth in a rapidly changing landscape.

To illuminate these tensions, we turn to how my own work developed. I started researching my family history as a means of qualifying for graduate school funding. Like my cousins, aunts and uncles, I anticipated that I could provide evidence of my Native American heritage to the appropriate authorities and receive financial support for a master's degree. Using the information that I had for my father's Cherokee forebears led to a dead end as they were listed as former slaves or Freedman of that tribe. Following legal precedent, anyone with a drop of Black blood was rendered "Negro" and no degree—real or imagined—of Indian blood was recorded by census officials. Thus, authorities were unable to provide me with a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood or CDIB required to access funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[2] I was sure of my Indian heritage. However, it took many years and a series of fortunate events before I was able to establish my links by blood to my mother's tribe, the Muscogee Creek Nation. By then, my research into our family's past had taken on a life and significance that far exceeded my modest objective of securing funding for advanced studies.

Among the first (in hindsight) of many fortunate events was a move to Washington, DC that gave me unlimited access to archival documents covering both sides of my family. In the nation's capital, I pursued further opportunities for advanced studies, completing a doctorate in Education Policy that evaluated federal initiatives aimed at engaging our poorest performing students, Native Americans. Rather than the academic route, on completing my terminal degree, I was drawn to research and evaluation, enjoying a career mainly centered on assessing the impact of federally funded programs on increasing access to quality educational opportunities for underperforming student populations. In the course of that work, I had the opportunity to appreciate the power of federal policies and also, through travel, to access the family's Allotment records housed in the western branch of the National Archives in Fort Worth.

As my collection of archival documents grew, I queried family elders about their memories growing up on land we'd held for over 100 years. They added to the many stories I'd heard as a child and fleshed out the evidence I was finding in my archival research. By the time I retired from my day job, the weight of their narrative had grown into a conviction that their voices should be resuscitated and the realization that no one else was in a better position to do so than I. That responsibility was heady. In my hands I had the stories of two families who lived in Indian Territory and were allotted land as a consequence of a dual set of federal policies. One was based on the status as former slaves of the Cherokee using the convention of hypo-descent that erased any blood relation to Indian parentage. The other was based on the blood quantum of the tribal member—with greater restrictions placed on the transfer of land for those with higher blood quanta—under the assumption that they were less assimilated, perhaps spoke less English, and were more likely to be exploited by unscrupulous and land-hungry Whites.

My relations, from both my paternal Cherokee Freedman and maternal Muscogee Creek forebears, had been B-players on the frontier. As relatively minor but still noteworthy members of their communities, they are mentioned with surprising frequency in National Archival files. Whether as laundress or lawyer, judge, council to the house of warriors, midwife, tribal attorney

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[2] Years later, I learned that Cherokee citizenship and even funds could be had without a CDIB.

general, entrepreneur, hunter, rodeo rider, school founder or teacher, representative in our nation's capital, or simple farmer and rancher, my forebears led full lives in their respective communities. And, I was in a position to tell their story. Through their experiences, I could explain just how the federal government identified them racially and how they have identified themselves over 150 years. I could also tell what happened to their Allotment land. In other words, through their stories we can trace the consequences of a federal policy designed to enhance assimilation for what, at the time, were largely mixed-race, and already assimilating peoples.

The many contradictions between my two sources of evidence, official archives and oral narratives, challenged me to reconcile, to deconstruct, their legacy. That meant corroborating evidence and contextualizing their experiences within the activities surrounding the parsing, allotting, and development of the land that formerly had been commonly held but now was to instill its individual owners with the values of yeoman farming or ranching lauded by the founding fathers.

As I studied traditional accounts of the Allotment Era, I discovered that one consequence of the federal policies impacting my family was erasure, especially erasure of the category of "mixed-bloods." For example, the 1890 census of members of the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes" shows only the categories of "White", "Negro" and "Indian." According to that document, the mixed-bloods were gone. Gone were the individuals who had formerly played roles as cultural bridges, translators, negotiators, intermediaries and guides among those pressing into uncharted lands.

Yet, my family remembers its deeply mixed-race past, and continues to embody that legacy to the present. Luckily, I had tools to connect their stories as well as their "erasure" not just with the archival record but with the state of racial discourse consuming our attention in today's headlines. In comparing and contrasting family accounts with archival materials, I experienced the confines of cold objectivity and the merits of well-founded, triangulated documentation. Thanks to the scholars I've mentioned above, I've learned to interrogate traditional histories and to listen for the unheard, to look for the unseen and to detect erasure. They have taught me to engage with uncomfortable issues and to enlarge the space for entertaining contradictory narratives until a more encompassing frame can be discerned. They have secured a space expansive enough to contain conventional *and* revisionist narratives tendered by specialists and generalists, whether within the parameters of academia or from further afield.

In the end, these scholars provided the context for arguing the legitimacy of my work, despite its personal nature. With my original primary sources, missing chapter of history, and lived perspective, I could engage the would-be critics who might question my relative lack of specialized credentials and expertise. With other scholars to lean on, I could envision sceptics as more inclined to give my interdisciplinary approach – part memoire, part history, and part social critique – a fighting chance. While I was convinced of its place in our collective narrative, and every publisher seemed to agree, I had to find one who saw strength in the personal and the academic balance, and, deemed the work worthy of print. I had to find an acquiring editor with a broad view. Drawing on an accumulating arsenal of scholarly "authenticity," I found the wherewithal to persist in my quest.

In an article that seeks to extend tools for excavating meaning from ordinary historical accounts, Eric Hobsbawm (2000) notes, "all historians…are engaged in…the creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past which belong not only to the world of specialist investigation but to the public sphere of man as a political being." In his view, histories contribute not only to social engineering but in doing so must be interdisciplinary (pp. 13-14). I'd like to suggest that we consider how taking a more encompassing point of view, one that makes room for contradictory narratives and multiple perspectives from groups with differing values, may lead to richer and perhaps more thoughtful—more productive—approaches to interpreting history.

This paper has argued against narrow conceptions of our collective biography and its consequences, against the diminishment or exclusion of whole swaths of people and events. It calls for the refusal of such erasure. It asserts that these silenced voices warrant space in the evolving revision of our national narrative. In this spirit, relinquishing our "idealized" past by decoding supposed symbols of progress may yet reveal a more authentic, a more genuine reality. The scholars mentioned above offer new models of scholarship to academia. In their fresh approaches, they are widening the road for scholars whose subjects spill beyond the confines of any one discipline. In the context of the new social history, a reviewer writing in this journal suggested, "Maybe it is time to revisit 'the new' and see the outcome of that intellectual movement in how we 'do' and how we understand history" (Absher, 2019).

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ADDRESS FORMS IN ECUADORIAN SPANISH:
AN ANALYSIS OF PRONOMINAL AND NOMINAL FORMS
IN FACEBOOK MESSENGER DATA

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Abstract

*This study analyzes the use of address forms in Azogues, Ecuador, by collecting data from Facebook Messenger (FBM). It addresses how both pronouns of address (*usted, tú, vos*) and nominal forms of address are used within this digital community and notes how each form encodes social values vis-a-vis the marked formality of an interaction between speakers. It notes the generational differences in preference of forms among the informants of the study, noting that each generation prefers a different pronoun to express informality and also different styles of nominal forms for the same purpose. It notes a dual function of usted, both to mark deference and social distance as well as proximity and social intimacy, depending on the context. The results of this study add to our knowledge of how address forms are used in Ecuador and present a complex picture of how address forms are used and interpreted by interlocutors in social interactions.*

Keywords: address theory, Ecuador, digital communication, sociolinguistics

INTRODUCTION

Address theory is a branch of linguistics that explores how people choose to refer or *address* each other by examining the words they use to do so. This includes the type of pronouns used, in languages that have distinctions between formal and informal pronouns, such as French or Spanish with *tu/vous* or *tú/usted* respectively. It also looks at other words used to address others, which can have a similar function in languages that do not have such distinctions in pronouns. Consider the use of address forms in English such as, *ma'am, bro, sir, dude, man, mom, doctor, professor*, each of which reveals something about the nature of the relationship between these two people, as well as perhaps something of what one person thinks about the other, solely based on what words they choose to use to refer to another human being.

The words we use to address others are the core of what address theory seeks to understand. We call these words **"forms of address"** which are the building blocks of how we talk to other people. Forms of address (or address forms) are words that point to sociocultural values held by a community at large and exhibited in an individual person's feelings and attitudes towards any particular situation. For example, when trying to get someone's attention, there is nothing inherently wrong with calling out, "Hey, you!"

This paper seeks to add to our current understanding of how address theory is displayed in the everyday speech of Ecuadorian speakers of Spanish. It does so by examining the language practices of two informants and their contacts on Facebook Messenger. These informants are from the city of Azogues, Ecuador, which is the capital of the Cañar Province in the Ecuadorian Andes. The city itself is a small urban center of some 40,000 inhabitants[1] and a metropolitan population of 70,064 in the entire *cantón*. The Cañar Province is comprised of a majority *mestizo*[2] with 76.7% of the population identifying as such. There is a minority, Indigenous population, constituting 15.2% of the population. Below is a map of the Cañar Province, as well as a map of the entire country of Ecuador.

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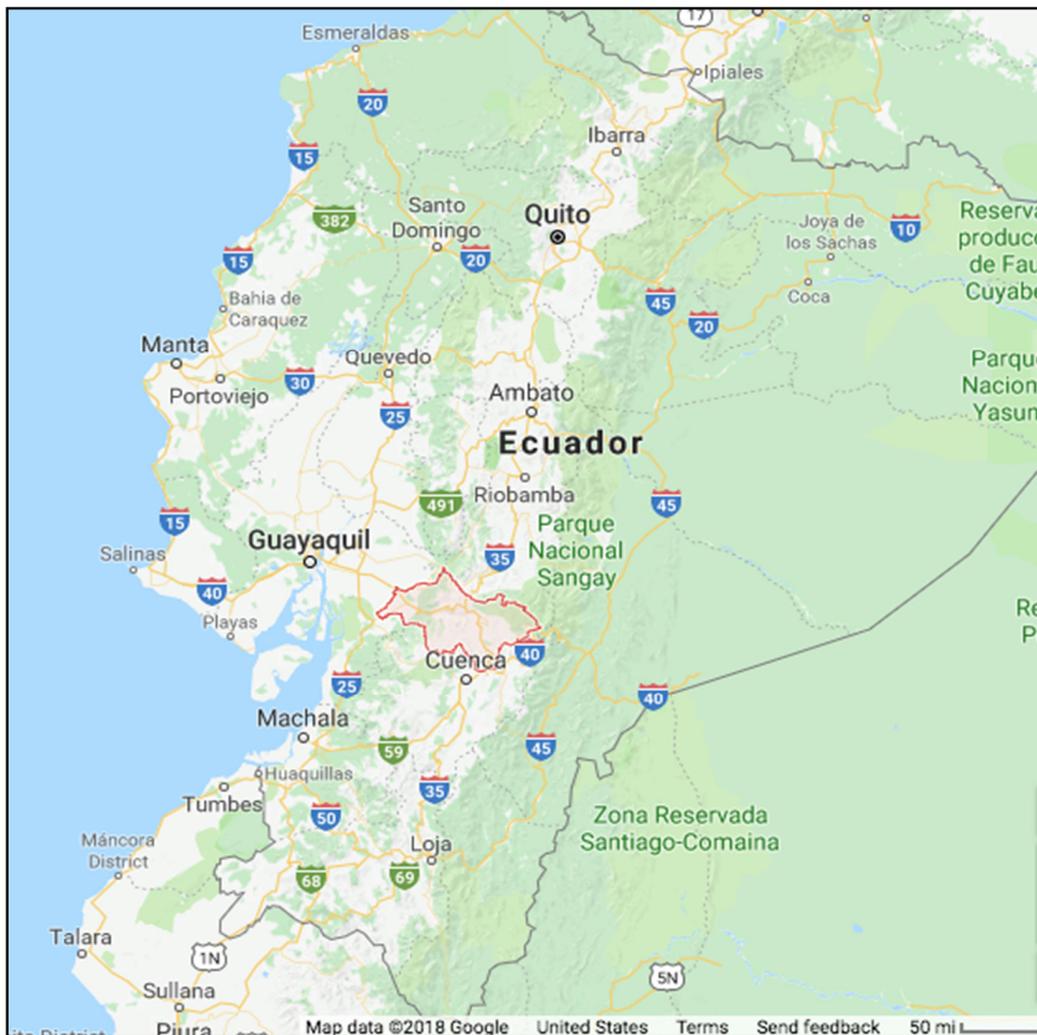
[1] Although precise figures are difficult to find, as the population of the metropolitan area is typically provided.
[2] A person of Spanish and Indigenous ancestry.
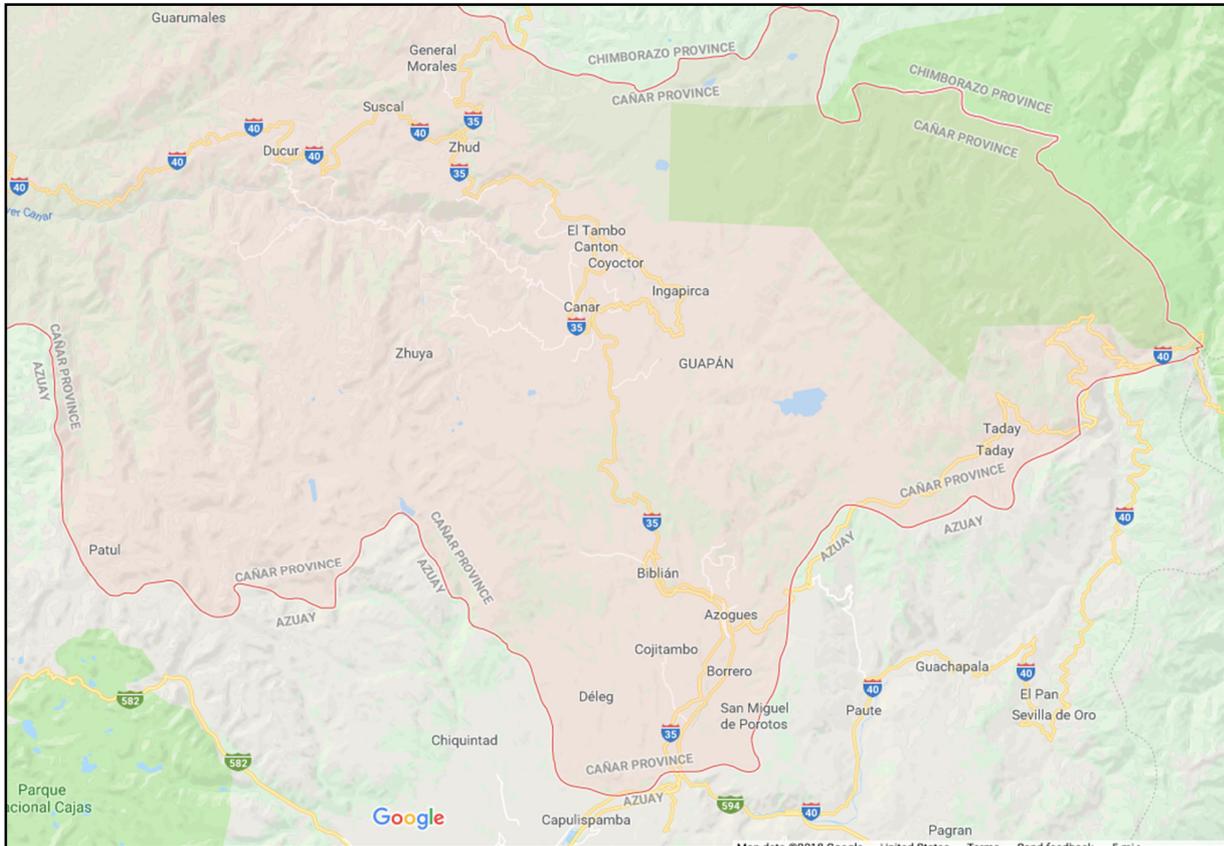
This paper will address the following research questions vis-a-vis the issue of address forms in Ecuadorian Spanish:

1. What are the characteristics of the address system of these Ecuadorian informants?
2. How are *usted*, *tú*, and *vos* used in this community?
3. What are the forms used to mark formality vs. informality?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The framework of Brown and Gilman (1960) is a well-known explanation of the use of address forms, which analyzes the historical development of pronouns from Latin and in modern European languages, which saw an extension of the use of the plural *vos* to address the emperor in the fourth century CE. This extension of the use of *vos* is crucially important as the seed from which address forms in many European languages developed, as these varieties extended the use of *vos* to address persons in power. This led to two frames of viewing how address forms function in a culture, the first being the *nonreciprocal power semantic*, which is a codification of hierarchy into language, due to the inequality of power in world cultures. In all Romance languages, two pronouns correspond to these power relationships: in Spanish, this is accomplished through the pronouns *T* (*tú*) and *V* (*usted*),[3] so that the person of higher "rank" vis-a-vis power relationships would use *tú* to address a person of lower rank, who would respond with *usted*. Power relationships can be based on any number of socio-cultural factors, including religion, age, physical stature and socioeconomic status. The use of language, coupled with whatever socio-cultural

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[3] It is common in address theory literature to use T (informal) and V (formal) to refer to pronouns, based on the French pronouns tu/vous.

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value it might be expressing, is a way of embedding hierarchical values into the means of communication that all humans use to engage with others, and the use of forms may well change throughout a person's lifetime.

Power relationships assume asymmetrical treatment of people, which exists in several frames in which one person will use a T form and another will respond with a V form. However, what would members of the same social class or other relative power relationships use to address each other? This relates to the *solidarity frame* in Brown and Gilman's analysis. Elites have traditionally used V forms to address other members of elite classes, whereas members of lower classes use T forms to address each other. This is because the V forms have been so long associated with elite culture and likewise T forms had been so long associated with subservient members of society. Their use will depend on other factors and asymmetry can develop even in solidarity frames. Brown and Gilman postulate that, in the past, the power dynamic was more commonly dominant in social relationships so that people and society valued power relationships more highly and asymmetrical frames dominated. However, they note that in modern times, the solidarity dynamic has taken over in social relationships. This leads to the reinterpretation of power frames as solidarity frames, which leads to an increase of solidarity and symmetrical use of either T or V.

Many authors have worked to apply these principles directly to Spanish to understand how the pronouns, *tú* and *usted*, reflect these socio-cultural values, which, in this context, is the cultural concept of *confianza*, an interpersonal social value in Latin America that expresses something consisting of trust, intimacy and solidarity in other terms. The use of *tú*, in many contexts, used by Spanish-speakers to show that they have *confianza* with someone, although there are often a number of other important factors that are at play as well. The use of *usted* usually implies social distance, which is not necessarily negative but only implies that there is not yet a social relationship between the interlocutors. The speaker relies on social convention or other forms of obligation to judge the right word in each situation. A misjudgment will result in the perception that the speaker is disrespectful, overreaching in solidarity, or cold, due to being excessively distant.

This is the *theory* of address and its meaning in conversation among regular speakers. We must also address the *mechanics* of address, which consists of three aspects:

1) Pronouns of address
2) Nouns of address
3) Verb address forms

Pronouns of Address in Spanish

Spanish is an inflectional language that encodes pronominal subjects in the morphology of the verb through verbal conjugations. The language has two second person pronouns, *tú* and *usted*, which denote informal and formal subjects respectively. When it comes to current Latin American societies in Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, we must consider their colonial history, which is reflected in current power structures in Latin America, as countries in the region replicated the Spanish colonial governments concentrating wealth and power among a small group of elites.

Colombia is known for its unique address system that uses *usted*, the traditional pronoun associated with power and asymmetrical relationships between interlocutors, among friends, particularly among male friends.[4] Conversely, Colombians, particularly those in Bogotá, the capital of the country, use *tú*, which traditionally was used by elites to address those in lower classes, to imply social distance between interlocutors, such as among acquaintances or coworkers, i.e. those who do not have a strong personal relationship with the person speaking. (Uber, 2011, pp. 244-262).[5]

In Mérida, which is situated in the Venezuelan Andes, *usted* is also used in a novel way, much in the same way as in Bogotá, Colombia.[6] This Andean region of Venezuela is characterized by its dual use of *usted* in both formal and informal situations.

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[4] The following section is based on the research in Flórez, L. (1965). *El español hablado en Santander*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo; Montes Giraldo, J.J., J. Figueroa Lorza, S. Mora Monroy, M. Lozano Ramírez, R. Aparicio Ramírez Caro, M.B. Espejo Olaya, & G.E. Duarte Huertas (1998). *El español hablado en Bogotá: análisis previo de su estratificación social*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo; and Uber, D. (2011). *Forms of Address: The Effect of the Context*. M. Díaz-Campos (ed.), *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, (pp. 244-262). Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK.

[5] Uber's work reviews previous research and shows that this pattern has been maintained throughout the past few decades. This latter study adds that among close friends, either T or V forms may be used and confirms an overall trend in the increase of tú.

[6] This section is based on research conducted by the following authors: Álvarez, A. (Eds.) (2010). La construcción de la identidad del hablante en el uso pronominal. In M. Hummel, B. Kluge, M.E. Vázquez Laslop (Eds.), Formas y fórmulas de tratamiento en el mundo hispánico, (pp.

The use of *usted* in Mérida has been debated but it seems likely that there is a dual function for *usted*, constituting of a formal *usted* and an *usted* of solidarity. Research in this area has also suggested that the use of *usted* in this region might also serve as a regional identity marker (Álvarez & Barros 2001).

Ecuador, the Andean country on which this paper focuses, also exhibits unique behavior vis-a-vis its ideology of address. Ecuadorians are markedly different from both Andean Colombians and Venezuelans. First, they have used all four of the pronoun choices[7] that Spanish offers in a variety of contexts. The context of the interaction can influence address forms but also speakers exhibit considerable intraspeaker variation, such as the use of either *vos* or *usted* to address children. There seems to be a generational divide in preference for certain address pronouns in that older speakers preferred *usted*, while younger speakers preferred *tú*. The use of *usted* in this manner is similar to how *usted* is used in the Andean regions of Colombia and Venezuela, suggesting a broader, Andean pattern of usage, perhaps tied to identity as mentioned by other authors (Álvarez 2010; Freites Barros 2010) and certainly as culturally appropriate means of expressing solidarity in the social value of *confianza*. Those results suggest a preference for the use of *usted* in conversation with friends and family, particularly among middle-age female speakers.

The use of *vos* in Ecuador has varied uses in indexing power and solidarity, often depending on the regional background of a speaker, as it is found in interactions between social 'superiors' and 'inferiors', in which the latter are expected to respond with *usted*; yet, *vos* is also used between interlocutors to index closeness and intimacy. That is to say that the use of *vos* is explicitly tied into the traditional power dynamic and continues to operate in the modern world in much the same way that it has done since the colonial period. Ennis' (2012) study of *voseo*[8] in Quito elaborates on the various use of pronouns of address among a group of speakers, where *usted* is used as a general form of address and with strangers. Among friends, *tú* and *vos* alternate, although the latter expresses greater *confianza*. Children generally use *usted* with parents and teachers, as, in general, older interlocutors are treated with *usted* and older speakers can use *tú* or *vos* to address younger interlocutors; however, *vos* is generally used with one's own children. Ennis (2011) also outlines the ideology of *voseo*, showing its various sociocultural values in Ecuador, noting a dual function of *voseo* to mark closeness but also in expressing emotion, particularly anger. It can also be used to express social distance, particularly when used 'out of context' and, in these cases, indexes social inequality to be used in a derogatory manner.

We can summarize the general Ecuadorian system of address, as it has been observed by linguists up to this point as follows.

- Dual function of *usted*: in informal contexts, among speakers of a similar age; as a general address form, especially with strangers but also used with children
- *Tú*: use among friends and younger people and by some older people to address younger people
- *Vos*: can express closeness or paradoxically to express distance

The problem with this summary of an address system is that it is based on scarce data and research, much of it outdated, except for the work of Ennis' (2011) master's thesis and the work of Lavender (2017).[9] Therefore, a serious call to action should be issued for future and continuing work on understanding the address system of Ecuadorian Spanish, particularly to understand the differences between different varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish, as well as any other generational, racial, or other differences among Ecuadorian speakers.

325-340). El Colegio de México; Álvarez Muro, A. & X. Barros (2001). Sistemas en conflicto: las formas de tratamiento en la ciudad de Mérida, Venezuela. Lengua y Habla, 6; Álvarez Muro, A. & M. Carrera de la Red (Ed.) (2006). El usted de solidaridad en el habla de Mérida. In, M. Schrader Kniffki (Ed.), La cortesía en el mundo hispánico: Nuevos contextos, nuevos enfoques metodológicos, (pp. 117-130). Iberoamericana/Vervuert; Álvarez Muro, A. & F. Freites Barros (2010). Los estudios sobre pronombres de segunda persona en Venezuela. In M. Hummel, B. Kluge, M.E. Vázquez Laslop (Eds.), Formas y fórmulas de tratamiento en el mundo hispánico, (pp. 325- 340). El Colegio de México. Freites-Barros, F. (2008). De hablantes, gravedad y péndulos. Identidad andina fronteriza y uso lingüístico. Caracas: Academia Venezolana de la Lengua.

[7] These include tú, vos, usted, and su merced (sumercé). The first three are relatively common in the Spanish-speaking world. The latter is an explicit relic of the colonial period in that it literally means "your honor" so to speak. However, the latter is only heard in some rural Ecuadorian communities.

[8] This refers to the use of the alternative pronoun, vos, instead of or alongside the pronoun, tú.

[9] To the author's knowledge.

Nominal forms of address

Nominal address forms are part of the overall address system of a language or dialect and often constitute an important element of the overall repertoire of options that a speaker has to convey important information about how they perceive the relationship between themselves and the person with whom they are speaking. Nominal address forms are often divided into many different types, which will be enumerated below, followed by a brief discussion and expansion of this list.

- *Kinship terms* (abbreviated in text as KT): refer to kinship relations; can be literal or metaphorical (i.e. fictive), eg. "Hey bro!"
- *Names*: similar to the classical vocative, use of an explicit name, eg. "Hi, John."
- *Nicknames*: use of creative, alternative names for a person, eg. "Johnny"; "Bob" etc.
- *Hypocoristic terms* (abbreviated in text as HT): often called *terms of endearment* that establish a relationship of proximity between interlocutors eg. "Dear"; "honey"
- *Titles*: use of formal titles, particularly reflecting academic or professional status, eg. "Sir"; "Doctor" etc.

An important distinction is in the use of nicknames, such as *Tere* for *Teresa*, which are called *affectionate apocope*. (Flórez, 1975, p. 176). A common deviation in the use of KTs in Spanish is the prevalence of the term *mijo/a*, "my son/daughter", which is used both in literal familial relationships but often in metaphorical sense among non-relatives. In Spanish, as well, the use of HTs is far more widespread than in English and can be used in ways that might be regarded as offensive by speakers of English, such as the use of the terms *gordo* ("fatty") and *loca* ("crazy"), which is often linked to an attempt to show affection to others. This is also an essential part of the cultural concept of *confianza*, "closeness and a sense of deep familiarity" (Thurén, 1988, p. 222) which Latin Americans, in general, value deeply.

Nominal forms of address are forms of speech acts that require interpretation from their context to understand their indexicalities and typically embody the cultural concept of *confianza*, or social intimacy. The system presented above can be classified as [+/- distant] vis-a-vis the relationship of nominal forms and their association with closeness or not in social contexts. For instance, nicknames and hypocoristics (HTs) are typically [-distant], meaning they codify a socially close relationship between interlocutors, while names and titles are typically [+distant] because they create social distance between interlocutors (Travis, 2005). Nominal forms can also be intensified with adjectives or possessives (Placencia, 1997).

DATA COLLECTION AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study seeks to address the following questions as a way of expanding our knowledge of the current address system in use in Ecuador, particularly the Andean *sierra*[10] of the Cañar Province in the town of Azogues.

1. What are the characteristics of the address system of these Ecuadorian informants?
2. How are *usted*, *tú*, and *vos* used in this community?
3. What are the forms used to mark formality vs. informality?

The manner of finding answers to these questions is through a detailed analysis of Facebook Messenger (FBM) data. FBM is a form of *synchronous* online communication, meaning that the timing of production and the reception of the message and forms of communication online are nearly simultaneous. Working with two female Ecuadorian informants from Azogues, the data from their FBM messages in 2016-2017 were analyzed. One informant (P1) was in her mid-forties during the time of data collection, while the second informant (P2) was in her twenties. In addition to analyzing the conversations of these two informants with forty-four of their FBM contacts, informal interviews were also conducted with them to go over their relationships with each informant and the nature of their interaction online, as well as informal ethnographic observations of the author through interaction with the community on site.

Table 1 shows the number of FBM contacts from each informant and the overall size of the data corpus in total, as well as from each informant and their online interactions. The corpus from P1 is substantially larger than that of P2, which might indicate a generational preference but could be simply a personal preference of one individual over another.

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[10] Meaning the region in the Andean mountains.

Table 1. Size and composition of data corpus

	P1	P2	Total
Number of FBM contacts	32	12	44
Size of corpus in words	23,860	8,786	32,646
Number of messages	2,122	573	2,695
Number of conversations	115	30	145

Table 2 presents the breakdown of each informant's contacts on FBM and their socio-demographic characteristics, broken down by gender identification and nature of the relationship between interlocutors, with options for friend, close family, distant family, and acquaintance.

Table 2. Social relationships in each social network

		P1's Contacts	P2's Contacts
Sex	Male	16	7
	Female	17	5
Type of relationship	Friend	9	4
	Close family	15	6
	Distant family	5	0
	Acquaintance	3	2

The data is analyzed with regard to: (1) the use of *usted* by informants; (2) the use of *tú* by the informants, and; (3) the use of nominal address forms by the informants. This will allow for a thorough examination of these forms of address and their *social value* in the context of the data of the study.

RESULTS

The results of the study will now be presented in a qualitative form by referencing patterns found in the data, following the pattern mentioned in the previous section.

The use of usted by informants

In examining the explicit use of pronouns, we begin to see a pattern that will continue to emerge as we analyze the data from a variety of vantage points, that being the preference for the use of *usted* among P1's social network, both among friends and also among other types of relationships. The pattern observed in the data is a preference for the use of *usted* in most contexts by P1's social group and the prevalence of *tú* among P2's group.

The use of explicit subject pronouns serves the pragmatic function of emphasis in Spanish, because its use is not strictly necessary, due to the morphology of the language. The following conversational extract shows an example of both explicit use of subject pronoun and also a case of *informal usted*, what is often referred to as *usted of solidarity* in the literature, which is an unexpected use of *usted* in an informal context or to show intimacy in a relationship. This extract shows P1 messaging her daughter on FBM. The use of *usted* by parents to speak to their children has been noted by other researchers, most notably Toscano Mateus (1956) and among friends and family by Placencia (1996). We examine an extract from a conversation that exhibits this use of *usted.* In this extract, P1 is having a conversation with her daughter: note the use of forms by her daughter and P1's response.

Extract 1. Conversation between P1 and her daughter[11]:

> 01 Inf. 29: *Buenos días amor!*
> 02 Inf. 29: *Espero que este mejor*
> 03 P1: *Gracias guapa mi muñeca preciosa*
> 04 P1: *Sin **usted** q [que, sic] sería de mi vida*

> 01 Inf. 29: Good morning, dear!
> 02 Inf. 29: I hope you are better
> 03 P1: Thank you, honey, my precious doll
> 04 P1: Without you [formal] what would my life be like

Quantitative analyses of the data indicate that the use of *usted* is generally more frequent among P1's social network. I have included above the most salient example of *usted* of solidarity to demonstrate the phenomenon. However, its use is prevalent in a variety of contexts among P1's FBM contacts, including other family members and friends, in a way that is unexpected vis-a-vis the normative usage of *usted*.

We can see a similar use of *usted* by P2 in her interactions with family members of her own age. This is equally unexpected behavior due to the typical pattern of using *tú* among interlocutors of a similar age, particularly those of a younger age.

Extract 2. Conversation between P2 and a cousin

> 01 P2: *Gracias y ahora le dejo descansar saludos a su familia y a sido un gusto chatear con **Usted** tenga dulces suenos y un excellente dia mañana*
> 02 Inf. 10: *gracias mija igialmente saludos a todos…se me cuida…*

> 01 P2: Thank you and I'll let you rest greetings to your [formal] family and it has been a pleasure to chat with you [formal]. Sweet dreams and an excellent day tomorrow
> 02 Inf. 10: Thanks honey the same greetings to everyone… take care

The above conversational extracts from both P1 and P2 show the nonconventional use of *usted* among these Ecuadorian speakers. This usage must be contrasted with what would be considered a normative usage, to mark formality in the social interaction. We present two extracts, one between P1 and a lesser-known acquaintance, in which the nature of the conversation is markedly different. What distinguishes the use of *usted* in comparison with the informal use above is the use of accompanying nominal address forms: compare Extract 1, line 03, above to the conversation below.

Extract 3. Conversation between P1 and acquaintance

> 01 P1: *Se cuida **tenga** una linda noche*
> 03 Inf. 2: *esta bien igual a **usted***

> 01 P1: Take care, good night
> 03 Inf. 2: okay, the same to you [formal]

The characteristics shared by P1's social interactions with formal *usted* are also shared by P2 and her social network, with the use of verbal morphology and the lack of affective nominal forms. However, P2 does use explicit names with formal interactions, as well as titles, which are both typically marked formal address forms.

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[11] All FBM messages are presented as collected, which includes non-normative spellings and other abbreviations conventions.

Extract 4. Conversation between P2 and an acquaintance

01 Inf. 2: *Buenos dias quiero avisarle que si a **Ud** le interesan....*
02 P2: *Como está señora Inf. 2 [Name] gracias por dejarme saber*

01 Inf. 2: Good morning, I want to let you [formal] know if you [formal] are interested...
02 P2: How are you, Ms. [Name] thanks for letting me know

We have seen that formal interactions are marked with the lack of-solidarity nominal forms and rely on either explicit use of names and titles, the explicit pronoun *usted*, and also the verbal morphology itself, which marks the verb with grammatical association with either *tú* or *usted*. The use of verbal morphology associated with pronominal forms is similar to the use of pronouns overall, with the use of *usted* and associated morphology among P1's friends and the use of *tú* among P2's friends. One additional aspect of verbal morphology should be mentioned, which is that the use of *usted* morphology occurs much more frequently than any explicit use of *usted*, which might suggest that this could be some form of neutral address.

Now that we have seen the use of *usted*, we will compare this to the use of *tú* by the informants of the study.

The use of tú by informants

The use of *tú*, referred to as *tuteo*, is tied to broader generational patterns among the informants. As we saw above, P1's social network prefers *usted*, while P2's prefers *tú*. These results are not surprising, if we compare the broader societal trends in Latin America. The interesting question is to analyze when P1 and her FBM contacts use *tú*, as this reveals a divergent generational preference vis-a-vis pronoun choice. This pronoun selection can be characterized in the following manner. P1 uses *tú* with five of her FBM contacts, of varying degrees of intimacy in the relationships, including two brothers-in-law, one closer to P1 than the other; a male cousin; a male friend and a female friend. The data set is not large enough to arrive at any potential conclusions vis-a-vis an understanding of what the underlying choice entails here, other than an individualized address choice based on previous social interactions with that person. The discussion of P1's use of *tuteo* is similar to the use of *vos* by P2's social network group. *Vos* is only used by three male interlocutors to address P2, some cousins and one friend. In the same manner, conclusions are difficult to draw from the existing sample, but it is important to note that these options exist for speakers and some do use them.

After having compared the pronominal address forms, let us examine the use of nominal address forms by the informants.

Nominal address forms

Table 3 shows the absolute frequency of use of the various types of nominal address forms in the data, recalling that kinship terms (KTs) refer to the fictive or literal use of terms relating to the family to address another and that hypocoristic terms (HTs) are terms of endearment that establish a relationship of solidarity and intimacy among interlocutors. In Table 3, the use of each type of nominal form is presented in absolute frequency (numerical value) followed by relative frequency (percent value) vis-a-vis the number of uses with each pronoun. The total of each pronoun category includes a relative frequency in relation to the total number of uses of nominal forms overall in the data.

Nominal forms can be divided into those that are typically informal and convey intimacy and those that are associated with formality and social distance. Broadly speaking, names and titles are more formal in nature, while nicknames and HTs are more informal. KTs can be interpreted as either conveying social distance or intimacy, depending on the circumstances of the interaction and the relationship between the interlocutors. We proceed to compare these forms on the basis of how they convey social distance or intimacy beginning with those that are interpreted as formal.

Table 3. Nominal address forms

	P1 Group		P1 Group	
	Use with *usted*	Use with *tú*	Use with *usted*	Use with *tú*
Names	24 7.76% of uses	3 2.77%	3 21.42%	7 6.79%
Nicknames	6 1.94% of uses	0	0	**35** 33.98%
KTs	**185** 59.87% of uses	67 62.03%	4 28.57%	**49** 47.57%
HTs	**82** 26.53% of uses	35 32.4%	3 21.42%	4 3.88%
Titles	12 3.88% of uses	3 2.77%	4 28.57%	8 7.76%
Total of each pronoun	309 74.1% of total uses	108 25.89% of total uses	14 11.96%	103 88.03%
Total (of all)	417		117	

The use of titles and names has been associated with more formal treatment of individuals. Let us examine the use of these types of nominal address forms in contexts which are interpreted as formal.

Extract 5. Conversation between P1 and an acquaintance

01 P1: *Hola N un gusto saludarlo a los tiempos imposible olvidar a nuestra gente y gracias a la tegnologia [sic]*

podemos compartir acontecimientos de nuestro diaro vivir... Se cuidan y q Dios los bendiga ese bonito hogar q tienen.

02 Inf. 3: *muchas. Gracias x compartir su amistad ,, Todos mis amigos añaden un gran significado a mi vida diaria. Saludos. Y felicidades. Usd tambien tiene una Hermoza familia.*

01 P1: Hello N it's a pleasure to greet you after so long, it's impossible to forget our people and thanks to technology, we can share updates about our daily lives... Take care and may God bless you all and that beautiful home you have

02 In. 3: Thank you for sharing your friendship... All of my friends add great meaning to my daily life. Greetings and congratulations to you all as well, you have a beautiful family.

In this conversation, P1 uses the explicit name of this individual to address them. Additional facts about the interaction confirm its formality, one being the content of the interaction, which is not extensive and is merely a means of reestablishing contact after a period of time. Additionally, the use of verb's second person plural, *ustedes*, is a means of avoiding the overt marking of an interaction as formal but still establishes this interaction as just that.

However, the use of names and titles is not necessarily always a formal interaction. The use of personalization or adjectives can reinterpret a formal address form in an informal manner, just as the use of formal and informal forms can reshape the scope of

formality in an interaction. We also note that the use of other non-verbal cues can change the interpretation of an utterance to be informal, most notably in the use of emoticons, which introduce an emotional reaction to the conversation and can reinterpret it as informal. The following extract shows this technique at play in an interaction between P1 and a friend.

Extract 6. Conversation between P1 and a friend

01 Inf. 4: *Feliz cumpleaños señora Bonita de verdad le deseo Lo mejor y que cumpla muchos Pero muchos años mas* 🎂🌷 *paselo bien en Union de sus seres queridos* 😃😃😃

02 P1: *Gracias mi N por sus lindos deseos un abrazote se cuida y tenga un precioso día* 😆😆

03 Inf. 4: *Gracias huapa* 😄 *Lindo dia para usted tambien* 😊😊😊

01 Inf. 4: Happy birthday <u>pretty lady</u> [literally "pretty Mrs."], truthfully I wish you the best and that you have a great time with your friends and family

02 P1: Thank you my N for your kind wishes... take care and have a great day

03 Inf. 4: Thank you dear! Have a great day too!

The use of *señora* [Mrs.] in this context, with the added adjective, *bonita*, changes the nature of its interpretation from being a relatively formal title to an informal one. Likewise, P1's response of using *my* before this person's name adds an additional informal tone to the reception of the response to his message, which allows for the use of these titles and names to be informal in nature.

Let us consider one other important aspect of the use of nominal forms of address in the frequent use of kinship terms in the data, which are mostly used in a literal sense in the data between family members, given that there is a large, extended family network at play for both informants. The most frequent terms used are *primo/a* [cousin] by P1's group and *mija* [my daughter] by P2's group. However, because of the presence of a number of literal family relationships, the use of kinship terms in the data is not as significant as the use of other types of nominal address forms.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study further add to our understanding of address forms used in Ecuadorian Spanish and add to the literature on how *usted* can be used in non-formal contexts (Lavender, 2017, 2019; Uber, 2011), which has been referred to variously as either the *usted of solidarity*, to reference the non-formal use of this pronoun or as the *dual function of usted* to highlight both aspects of its use. Seeing this unique practice from the point of view of Brown and Gilman's (1960) theory shows the importance of the *solidarity frame* in understanding the use of address pronouns by these speakers. The difference is found in *which* pronoun is selected as the solidarity marker but both groups of speakers use certain nominal forms to supplement the pronoun to mark these as solidarity forms.

While the data for this study comes from a small network of speakers in Azogues, it is clear that these results can and should be contextualized, even if the weight of the data of this study might not be able to make any greater claims than the representation of these speakers and their linguistic preferences. If we look further afield we can see a pattern similar to the address systems of other regions, particularly Colombia and Venezuela, in their Andean regions, with regard to the use of *usted*, yet not without its own unique characteristics, particularly the preference of females in Azogues to use *usted* among each, paralleling the preference of *usted* among males in Colombia (Uber, 2011). This study did not find enough evidence in Azogues to show a *continuum* in the sense provided by Uber, but this does not imply that such a continuum does not exist but no longitudinal data exists to make such a claim. If we recall the power and solidarity dynamics at play in address forms, as well as the strong identity function claimed by the use of *usted* in Venezuela in particular, we can also think more broadly about the social functions of *usted* and *tú* among these speakers. The use of *usted*, especially, can be interpreted as having a regional identity function, although there was no explicit mention of this function by either informant. However, the network of friendships is composed of individuals from the same area in Ecuador and the informants themselves reference regional identity in several instances in their messages. Additionally, the solidarity frame is an important component of their use of address forms, with the unexpected use of *usted* by P1's network. This might be tied with the regional identity component as the culturally significant way of expressing *confianza* with another individual from the same community.

From a broader perspective, we can examine Ecuadorian Spanish in relation to other Romance languages, particularly Portuguese and Romanian to understand larger patterns that might exist in Romance languages. Cook (2013) notes that there are perhaps three sociocultural values at play in address systems, adding to Brown and Gilman's dichotomy of T/V a third option, N, for neutral forms, proposing a scheme something like this in Portuguese:

O senhor (V) - *você* (N) - *tu* (T) (Cook 2013)

This representation shows the system of European Portuguese, which has clearly distinguished forms coterminous with each value of V/N/T. However, the address system of Brazilian Portuguese more closely parallels that of Ecuadorian Spanish, since it permits address forms to have a dual function of. This pattern is also found in Romanian, which we will present now in a comparative fashion:

Brazilian Portuguese: *O senhor* (V) - (tu) → *você* (N/T) (Araújo Carreira 2005)

Romanian: *Dumneavoastra* (V) → (*dumneata*) → *tu* (N/T) (Slama-Cazacu 2010)

Both of these systems permit a pronoun to have a dual function, in these cases as serving as a neutral and solidarity function. This is exactly what happens in Azogues, except that the pronoun that is used in different manners is the traditionally formal pronoun, instead of the traditional solidarity pronoun. The case with European Portuguese is also important due to its complex system of nominal address forms which are used to mark formality, in addition to its verbal morphology and pronoun inventory (Araújo Carreira 2005; Manole 2012). We can characterize the Azogues address system, as seen by the data representation in this study, in the following manner:

    Formal (V) : *Usted* + titles, names in low frequency

    Neutral (N) : Null pronoun + 3rd person verbal forms

    Solidarity (T): *Usted* + HT, KT, personalized and intensified titles and names

        Tú (rarely *vos*) + nicknames

Much work is needed to verify these results in a broader context in Azogues and Ecuador; however, the data found in this study indicate that the address system can be characterized in this manner.

CONCLUSION

If we reflect on the questions that this study sought to answer, we can see the answers to these questions in the data itself. First, this study sought to address the characteristics of the address system of the Ecuadorian informants of the study and how forms were used to mark formality and informality. The results of the study have shown that *usted* is used by P1's group to *both* mark formality and informality, while P2 and her group prefer *tú* for informality and *usted* for formality. KTs and HTs are preferred by P1's group, while P2's group prefers nicknames as means of expressing informality in nominal address forms, while titles and names express formality. More broadly, this study has addressed how each pronoun is used in these communities. *Usted* is typically a marker of deference and distance that can be made into an informal marker with nominal forms. *Tú* is rarely used by P1's group but an important pronoun choice among P2's group, marking informality. Finally, *voseo* is not used in any form by P1's group and only very rarely in P2's group. The results of this study add to our knowledge of how address forms are used in Ecuador and present a complex picture of how address forms are used and interpreted by interlocutors in social interactions.

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TOGETHER AND APART: THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS AND LEARNED SOCIETIES

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Abstract

Since its founding in 1989, the National Coalition of Independent Scholars has made partnerships ranging from its current affiliation with the American Historical Association (AHA) to its discontinued one with the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), as well as its current partnership with the Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA). Throughout, NCIS leadership has had to address the question of "either-or" vs. "both/and" when it comes to priorities—whether NCIS funds should go to mounting an in-person conferences with all the challenges posed by this organizations' unique interdisciplinary nature or sending its members to disciplinary conferences. In recent years, the answer has come down on the side of "both/and," even as a variety of learned societies have adjusted in a variety of ways to get away from treating independent scholars as second-class members. Learned societies have had a long and mixed history in their relationship with scholars who practice outside the traditional academic structure, but in the long modern era have increasingly marginalized scholars who by choice or circumstance, practice outside of the tenure-stream, including those who work at the margins of the academies as contingent faculty, in ways that have ranged from the question of affiliation to eligibility for grants and awards. In recent years, though, as the modern university faculty has been increasingly eaten away at by adjunctification, learned societies large and small have been forced to confront the reality of growing number of non-tenure stream scholars among their ranks.

Making independent scholars welcome within disciplinary learned societies often comes down to affiliation or lack thereof, with the recognition that it is about much more than what to put on conference name tags. Rather, there is the paradoxical problem of treating non-affiliated post-graduate scholars as much as possible as equals, while recognizing them as a category of conferees who might require some assistance (primarily financial) to attend. And when it comes to issues similar to, but not always identical with contingent faculty, some of the major learned societies have moved beyond the familiar handwringing to include panels, workshops, and other programs related to IS issues. Finally, there is the parameters of meritocracy to be addressed, in making sure that well-published ISs get equal access to awards and prizes as well as opportunities to chair and comment on panels in their area of expertise. While much progress has been made in recent years, there is still more that can be done, that includes incorporating ISs into learned society leadership hierarchies and IS concerns into administrative committee structures, as well as joining NCIS in lobbying for more equitable access to outside fellowships and grants. This paper, based on NCIS archival material, and published primary and secondary sources about other organizations, will therefore take a look at the way a handful of learned societies in the humanities have responded to the growing presence of independent scholars, as well as what additional roles they can play, on their own and in partnership with NCIS, as "part of the solution."

Keywords: independent scholar, learned societies, contingent faculty

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of scholarly organizations, the learned society has gone from being an alternative space for scholarship that was a natural home for non-university affiliated scholars to what is in our own time a frequent excluder of said scholars. While the earliest Royal Societies that emerged from the post-Renaissance era were pointedly founded outside the universities of their era, most contemporary scholarly organizations have become largely structured around the needs of university-affiliated and tenure-stream faculty, who in turn dominate their leadership and set their agendas. Change has begun only in the last few decades and progress has frequently been slow. The first step has been the organizational acknowledgement of the existence of scholars working outside the university setting, the majority of whom have historically been female. It has been fitting therefore, that one of the earliest efforts to create change came through the Coordinating Council for Women in History, which will be described further on in this article.

But the most significant movement for parity within the scholarly organizations was launched by several regional independent scholarly societies that in 1986 coalesced into the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS). Some of the most noteworthy have included the Institute for Historical Research, one of the first organizations of this kind, founded in 1976; the Princeton Research Forum, one of the oldest continuously operating scholarly societies of its kind; and the Institute for Historical Study in San Francisco, which uniquely includes traditional academic as well as independent scholars From there, there have been growing, though still uneven efforts among learned societies to respond to the needs of non-university affiliated scholars, and in some cases to partner with NCIS in response to the changing scholarly landscape that has been especially affected by the decline and adjunctification of the university; this is especially pertinent in creating a category of scholars who have university affiliations but function as independent scholars, and who have joined independent scholars who by choice or circumstance were never part of the university mode of scholarship. This paper will therefore begin by offering a short history of the learned society and its place vis-à-vis the university, especially the increasingly close connection between the learned society and the university. This history will be followed by an unscientific survey of the changing relationship between a handful of learned societies and their non- (or marginally) university-affiliated members, the role played by NCIS in creating change, and prospects for the future.

A VERY BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LEARNED SOCIETY

The learned society as a forum for sharing and supporting research in the traditional intellectual (as opposed to professional) disciplines goes back to the Middle Ages, but really became a serious force for creating and spreading knowledge during the Scientific Revolution that began in the 1500s. The early Royal Societies and similar organizations established then became a formidable alternative space to the universities for scholarship, and notably offered a freer atmosphere than the universities. This was especially true in Catholic countries, where the Church enforced its limits on what knowledge could be pursued and publicized, something that became the source of Galileo's troubles. For example, the Royal Society of London, founded in 1660, initially created an alternative forum for the study of science and "natural philosophy" that is only beginning to be replicated in modern times with the Ronin Institute (Ronin Institute, n.d.; Jorgenson, 2017). Most of these societies also fostered the idea of the non-university affiliated gentleman or lady scholar, unusually making these scholarly forums open to women. Learned societies came to America with the founding of the American Philosophical Society by Benjamin Franklin, in 1743 (American Philosophical Society, n.d.).

It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, though, that the first learned societies that fit the modern definition of professional organizations as well as intellectual forums for a given discipline were founded, most famously the American Historical Association (AHA) whose first meeting took place in 1884, in conjunction with the American Social Science Association at Saratoga New York. The AHA was formally chartered in 1889, by an act of Congress, its stated purpose being "the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America"—deliberately more broad-based, at least on paper, than being intended simply for college and post-graduate level teachers of history. The original non-university nature of the AHA was made especially apparent in 1893, when the annual meeting was held in Chicago as part of the Columbian Exposition, and featured Frederick Jackson Turner's famous public address on the "Frontier Thesis" of American history (American Historical Association (n.d.), *Brief History*). The AHA would eventually set professional standards for the field that created assumptions that professional historians would, by and large, emerge from the academy, yet ironically its early leadership included noted independent historians such as George Bancroft. But this kind of organization that encouraged the prominence of at least white, male, well-connected independent

scholars was not to last. According to Marjorie Lightman (1981), the late-nineteenth-century modernization of the university towards a more corporate-like administrative structure had the side effect of eroding "an older, holistic relationship between the professor and the school, in favor of the specialized teacher/scholar who was categorized by discipline." This change went hand in hand with the nineteenth-century secularization of American institutions of higher education, influenced by the German university model, so that the primary job of the professor was primarily conceived as "conducting research instead of monitoring student behavior" (Cooper, 2018, p. 253). In other words, the modernization of the university contributed to the creation of the ideal of the professional scholar whose work is supported by his (and eventually her) university affiliation, a model that has been reflected in the predominating assumption among the world of scholarly organizations long after it has ceased to be the reality for the majority of scholars, even within the university setting.

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CHANGING DEFINITION OF PROFESSIONALISM

Early its history, the first major challenge to the AHA's focus on academic history and scholarship would arise from the public history community, which may have additionally provided a way in for many de facto independent scholars, given the assumed non-university focus of the practice of public history. In 1907, the Mississippi Valley History Association (later the Organization of American Historians) was founded originally to counter the elitism and Eastern focus of the AHA. The OAH also emphasized public history from its beginnings as the MVHA and thus may have been less academically dominated from the beginning: through its history, the OAH has been comparatively welcoming to the participation and perspectives of public historians and pre-college history teachers, paving the way for its current efforts to address the needs of independent scholars from a variety of backgrounds. But the early struggles within the OAH over the issue of the popularization of history, with all the implications about compromising scholarly rigor for the sake of reaching the non-academic public, further cemented the association of scholarly rigor with academic history that was not too dissimilar from that of the AHA. In fact, one thread running through a published history of the MVHA/OAH is the conflict between perceived professionalism in scholarship (generally identified as traditional academic scholarship), and the inclusion of a broad range of historical professionals besides university professors (though readers should not mistake this association with the assumption that learned societies like the OAH or AHA only welcomed academic historians to their ranks). But while this account did touch on early history job crises, and the possibilities for alternative employment for history PhDs, the association of traditional forms of scholarship with academic employment was left unaddressed, contributing to the current situation in which the structural barriers to scholars practicing scholarship outside the academy have only gradually been recognized, let alone dealt with in a meaningful way for scholars who had no academic affiliation, or the usually automatic associated access to university library resources (Kamen, 2011; Katz, 2011).

An ongoing issue with many of these societies became the issue of professionalism versus appeal to the public, a debate that affected questions of to the degree to which non-college teachers and nonacademic practitioners in the field would be included in terms of organizational concerns. The same issues came up for debate in the American Association of Geographers (AAG), founded in 1904, and which over the years adjusted its focus to a membership that included many who practiced geography in a variety of sectors and with accompanying differences in focuses. Today the AAG welcomes a membership that includes practicing geographers employed in a variety of sectors, as well as graduate students, retirees and others, showing the potential for a society to evolve towards a broad definition of a professional practitioner in its specific field. But for the major learned societies in history and other humanities and social sciences, professionalism became associated with tenure-stream academic affiliation, creating automatic assumptions about which scholars produce quality work in their field, and shaping organizational leadership, and other policy decisions accordingly (Cohen, 1988).

EARLY CAMPAIGNS FOR INCLUSION

Within the AHA itself, the first major challenges to its tenure-stream academic focus would arrive in the 1960s and 1970s, and then in way that brought out the gendered nature of this challenge. One of the first groups to make a major push for change was a group of radical historians who also wanted to politicize the AHA, in the service of opposition to the Vietnam War. The leaders of this effort included Arthur Waskow, who at the 1969 AHA meeting proposed no less than a major expansion of the council to include fifty members that would include in equal numbers, "students, elementary and secondary school teachers, non-professionals interested in history, and eminent scholars." The group also called for funding for those who could not otherwise afford to attend AHA meetings, as well other changes intended to create more equal opportunity within the organization. According to Lightman, "the radical proposal for expanding the council offered legitimacy to members of the profession other than scholars in universities, and the proposal for funding for scholars who did not have the traditional sources

of travel subventions was intended "to alter the demography of the profession" and promote the participation of those "who traditionally had little or no voice" within it, namely those who were not tenure-stream academics. These transformative proposals were unfortunately sidetracked by the simultaneous effort to introduce a resolution for the AHA to take a stand against the Vietnam War. In this instance, this resolution was rejected on the grounds that taking a political stance was beyond the scope of the AHA's purview. The effort of these activists to introduce contemporary politics into the AHA may therefore have undermined their more cogent effort to create real democratization of the organization. Ultimately, the effort to radically alter the AHA was abandoned, leading instead to the creation of the Radical History Caucus within the organization.

The next group to lobby for change was the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession – later the Coordinating Council for Women in History (CCWHP) – founded in 1969 to both bring women into the history itself, which created the early movement for women's history, and to push for the greater inclusion of women in the history profession both within and beyond the academy. The CCWHP in some ways built on the momentum of previous agitation for change within the AHA created by the antiwar and radical caucuses within the AHA. The main difference was that, unlike these radical groups that focus on structural change within the organization, the CCWHP focused on the advancement of women in the profession (though the concern for nontraditionally affiliated scholars was never far from their consideration). These feminist activists also notably raised the question of gender and organizational structure, and how the greater inclusion and incorporation of women and scholars from "the independent sector" could create a more nurturing and supportive scholarly environment (Lightman, 1981). The CCWHP continues its work into the present, including offering grants and awards to women historians and scholars of women's history, including the Catherine Prelinger Award, intended for a woman scholar "whose career has not followed a traditional path through secondary and higher education" (Coordinating Council for Women in History, n.d.); and the efforts of CCWH to create a more "level playing field" within the AHA for nontraditional scholars has in turn provided an important model for NCIS, albeit with a somewhat different set of challenges.

But even with these challenges, the general trend within learned societies during the second half of the twentieth century was towards a greater emphasis on professionalization, greater specialization by subject matter, and a tighter embrace of the university scholar model as the only (or at least principal) legitimate model of scholarly participation in a given field of intellectual inquiry. As Lightman put it, "the associations, which were traditionally open to all interested in the pursuit of specialized knowledge, gradually came to reflect the attitudes of those who were part of higher education," namely that "academic" was essentially the same as "scholar." The American Historical Association, along with the Modern Language Association, and the American Philological Association are all examples of traditional learned societies that in recent times have become academic-dominated, even when they have remained on paper open to all scholars practicing in their given fields. And these and other organizations are only slowly beginning to renegotiate the assumed relationship between scholarly legitimacy and university affiliation (Lightman, 1981).

THE CURRENT SITUATION: AN ANECDOTAL LOOK

What follows, therefore, is an unscientific look at the current state of independent scholars and scholarship within a handful of humanities-focused learned societies that host freestanding conferences at least biennially. I am purposely limiting them to those in the humanities and social sciences (including geography), as scholars in the STEM fields face additional challenges that are beyond the scope of this paper, though it is worth noting that many STEM learned/professional societies may be less academically focused than their humanities and social science counterparts, due to the significant presence of practitioners in industry, pre-college education, and government in most STEM fields (STEMERS College of Education, n.d.). And in the interest of full disclosure, I am focusing primarily on societies to which I have had ties, primarily, though not exclusively in history. So by looking at the current conditions as well as actions those societies have taken to address – or not – the situation of adjuncts, I hope I can paint a reasonably accurate picture of what has changed—or not—over the last couple of decades.

One of the most basic is the question of affiliation—or lack thereof—or more specifically, what to put on one's badge in the absence of a traditional academic affiliation. This is something I personally had to deal with for the first time in 2009, upon losing what in retrospect, was the best job I ever had due to state cutbacks. Before, when working part-time, I had followed the advice of a graduate school mentor to maintain my part-time work in order to maintain a "fig leaf" affiliation, something that I have learned has become a fairly common practice among contingent faculty. After I was totally cut, however, I would for the first time, and reluctantly initially, put "independent scholar" as my affiliation. In subsequent years, how I have identified has depended a lot on my state of employment, and most recently, whether I have been representing NCIS. And as I noticed

the increased (and increasingly unashamed) designation of Independent Scholar over time, I have also taken note which societies seem, at least to varying degrees, to allow for the possibility of scholars working outside academy. These include (but may not be limited to) the Association for Jewish Studies (AJS), with its many rabbi-scholars among its ranks, and the Labor and Working Class History Association (LAWCHA), many of whose members have labor union rather than academic affiliations (and in general tends to make less of a deal of affiliations in the name of solidarity). But for too many societies, affiliation still matters in terms of being taken seriously, and even those faculty who enjoy a "fig leaf" affiliation with a prestigious university face the prospect of being "outed" as "only" adjuncts (Breitzer, n.d.). As adjuncts become the majority of university faculty, the stigma may have lessened somewhat, but it has not totally gone away. Beyond identification is the question of eligibility and advancement—book prizes in most cases are equal opportunity, but some grants may assume an academic affiliation, whether for the purpose of grant management or salary replacement for a faculty member who is expected to return to a tenure-stream academic job after a sabbatical.

Aside from the question of the status of contingent faculty, research support still fails to address the reality of scholars who work entirely outside of academia. For example, Tula Connell, a senior communications officer with a labor organization notes "I never intended to move into academia. But I do want to research and write." Yet after completing her doctorate, she noted "I quickly found out that as an 'independent scholar' I have limited or no access to university libraries and online databases…no funding for conference or research travel; and little academic support network." She also observes that "in general, tenured faculty have demonstrated striking resistance to the concerns of independent historians and contingent faculty, many of whom struggle with the same lack of resource access" (Keough, 2020).

Being advanced to the leadership ranks of a major learned society is something that to the best of my research, has not been achieved by an independent scholar (with the exception of Becky Nicolaides, Councilor of the AHA Research Division) as long as candidates are vetted by preselected nominating committees, making the noteworthy efforts of the 2019 NCIS conference keynote speaker, Emily Rose, to break the AHA Nominating Committee lock via petition, for better and worse Grossman and B. Nicolaides, 2020 ; H-Scholar, 2019). Notably, however the AHA Council passed a resolution the same year, declaring its commitment "to support, encourage, and engage the thousands of history scholars working off the higher education tenure track in a variety of setting." The resolution included the assertion that "these historians should be welcomed into AHA leadership roles and considered in the selection of members of the prize and fellowship committees," along with including non-tenure stream scholars in the editorial process of the AHA's premiere publications, and working at "appropriate leverage points to facilitate and enhance access to scholarly resources," most notably databases and online journals. The resolution also called for the AHA to increase "its own efforts to generate specialized training, funding opportunities geared towards their research goals, and promote collaborative research between scholars working inside and outside of higher education settings" American Historical Association, 2019). How this resolution will translate into action, of course, is only beginning to unfold.

The question is then how efforts like those of Rose to give contingent faculty (whose numbers continue to grow as the majority of those in academia) and non-academic scholars a greater voice in learned societies have changed things, or whether they have changed things at all. The answers have been as varied as the organizations, but for many simple changes, such as sliding-scale dues according to income level, with reduced dues for unemployed or underemployed members have become a reality, as have grants for conference attendance that acknowledge the reality that the need for "financial aid" to present may not necessarily end with graduate school. Indeed, a new issue that has been raised by some independent scholars and contingent faculty is whether they should be classed with and/or have to compete with graduate students (who are more likely to have support and resources) for the same designated grants. Indeed, it is a relatively new thing for some learned societies (including LAWCHA) to designate conference travel grants to independent/contingent faculty travel grants to enable them to present their research, while similar grants for graduate students are well established.

There are now, nonetheless, some learned societies that have grants specifically intended for independent scholars and/or contingent faculty, although the generosity of the grant may vary by organization and conference. For example, the American Jewish Historical Society has helped pay my way to more than one Biennial Scholars Conference with grants that made an appreciable difference when it came to airfare and other travel expenses.[1] Others may not necessarily be able to give more than a token amount, but the gesture of recognition is still worth something. The Association for Jewish Studies also offers,

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[1] T. Brimkmann, personal communication, February 10, 2016.

among its travel grants, special grants to scholars who have little or no other sources of funding. However, most of these are not dedicated to independent scholars and/or contingent faculty, but are also offered to international scholars, and in the case of the Women's Caucus grant for scholars presenting about gender and Jewish studies, also includes graduate students (Association for Jewish Studies, n.d.).

Beyond the inclusion of independent scholars on the program, there is the question of how issues affecting independent scholars, including unfunded contingent faculty, are addressed as part of conference offerings. And when independent or adjunct-focused sessions do appear on the program, the next question is whether they are executed in ways that go beyond pitying and handwringing by the "haves" to allow the affected groups a voice, in panels and workshops specifically "by and for." Here I will begin to address the role played by NCIS in creating these changes. Besides being one the many AHA-affiliated societies, NCIS's presence and visibility within the organization began with our efforts to literally get on the program, first with an affiliated society panel and then with a directly submitted panel, as well as expanding beyond the affiliated society tables to mount an occasional reception. Results have been mixed, but from previous AHA reports, it is fair to say that our efforts have succeeded in getting NCIS's name "out there" (NCIS, n.d. *Conference Travel Grant Winners Announced*; Breitzer, 2014b); this in turn means that while NCIS's status as a recognized learned society (and affiliation) may be a means to an end, it is not sufficient as an end in itself. The AHA has furthermore gone backwards in some ways by the decision of its then Executive Director, Arnita Jones, to change the Herbert Feis Award, created in 1984 for the best monograph by an independent scholar, to a public history prize in 2006 (American Historical Association, n.d. *Herbert Feis Award Recipients*).

Trends may be more hopeful in other organizations, most notably the Organization of American Historians (OAH) which specializes in American history, broadly defined. As a feature of its most recent annual meeting, the OAH sponsored a pre-conference, limited registration workshop designed to address the needs of independent scholars. Curiously, there was no mention of NCIS, though some NCIS members self-reported having attended. This experimental workshop included a "listening session" on how the OAH can better support independent scholars, as well as how to improve the workshop for the future. The OAH had then planned to include a repeat of this workshop at the 2020 annual meeting, but the recent outbreak of the Coronavirus resulted in the meeting being moved online, and the workshop appeared not to have been then held as part of virtual conference (Organization of American Historians, n.d., *Welcome to the OAH Virtual Conference on American History*). It is also noteworthy that the AHA is for the first time offering a travel grant, sponsored by the Mellon Foundation, specifically for independent scholars, as well as a separate one for Contingent/Non-Tenure Track faculty (Organization of American Historians, 2019 ; Organization of American Historians, n.d. *Independent Scholar Travel Grant*; Organization of American Historians, personal communication, March 13, 2020). These hopeful developments therefore raise the interesting question of how NCIS can work with societies that have begun to address the issues without NCIS—how does that shape any potential future partnership towards greater equity for independent scholars?

So far, the potential for active partnership between NCIS and other learned societies has appeared to be the most realizable with the small societies, viz. the growing working partnership between NCIS and the Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA). LAWCHA, in many ways is a natural partner for an organization like NCIS, given then number of scholar-activists among its ranks who are not necessarily tenured academics. In the process of forming a joint committee to address the needs of independent scholars (ISs) within the organization (modeled after an existing committee formed to help contingent faculty), there has been a growing awareness of the possibility to be both contingent and independent, given the marginal status of most adjuncts to their universities, but to function more as one or other, depending on circumstances. LAWCHA furthermore, has established models of provisions for contingent faculty that can be and, in some cases, have been adapted for Independent Scholars. Earlier this year, NCIS and LAWCHA formed a joint committee of members of both organizations (many of whom are active in both), which has come with a number of recommendations, including book reviewing opportunities and opportunities to have appropriate books by ISs reviewed in LAWCHA's journal, *Labor: Studies in the Working Class History of the Americas*. Furthermore, in the summer of 2019, the Contingent Faculty and Independent Scholar Committees convened a plenary session on contingent faculty and independent scholar issues for the organization's 2019 meeting. At this plenary session, reported as "well-attended and highly participatory," the presenters focused primarily on contingent faculty issues, but also acknowledge the continuity of contingent problems with those of independent scholars, from lack of access to libraries to lack of funding to attend conferences (Connell et al, 2019).

But as Connell has pointed out, not all progress has been forward. There is still the issue of graduate students, there has been the ongoing issue of lumping independent scholars and contingent faculty together with graduate students, which some in the first two categories see as demeaning, as well as failing to recognize the reality that while graduate student status is temporary, independent and or contingent status may not be. In addition, the goal of having dedicated LAWCHA Board seats for independent scholars and contingent faculty has yet to be realized. Overall, progress has been made, but there is still much to be done, including a need to generate awareness of the needs of independent scholars in an organization in which, as Connell describes," even sympathetic labor scholars who are quick to support "gig" economy workers, fail to recognize the gig economy academics in their own ranks" (Connell, 2018).

Other efforts of note by other organizations include a book prize for independent scholars sponsored by the Modern Language Association, and a similar essay prize by the American Studies Association (American Studies Association, n.d. *Deadline Gloria E. Anzaldua Award*; Modern Language Association, n.d.). Interestingly, the ASA, which features specially organized caucuses around various issues and topics, does not appear to have one devoted to contingent faculty or independent scholarly issues. Its Digital Humanities Caucus, however, does advertise its inclusiveness, stating that "Our membership includes scholars from across a wide range of institutions and experiences, including university faculty and staff, K-12 educators, graduate students, independent scholars, and activists" American Studies Association, n.d. *Digital Humanities Caucus*). Similarly, and more directly, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) has founded an online Working Group on Non-Tenure Track Employment in Anthropology that mainly addresses contingent faculty issues but is open to all anthropologists practicing off the tenure track (including in the federal government, as my father did for many years). The announcement of this group includes the assurance that "representatives of AAA staff and leadership will be present, hoping to learn about issues you face and find ways to better support anthropologists in precarious employment situations" (American Anthropological Association, n.d. *Non-Tenure-Track Employment in Anthropology*). The AAA also provides a guide to resources and groups intended to support non-academic anthropologists, including NCIS (American Anthropological Association, n.d. *Career Resources*).

THE CONTINUED ROLE OF INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR ORGANIZATIONS

Given these hopeful trends, the flip side of the question is the continued place of NCIS, given its unique multidisciplinary nature, and its being defined with its (ever-changing) membership, rather than by any field or discipline (even if it is historian-heavy in membership). For most of NCIS's members, it is increasingly not a case of either/or bit of both/and, even as beyond "fig leaf" affiliations, the adjunctification of the academy has created a distinct subset of ISs who are "in the university but not of it" and whose equal access to resources ranging from library access to conference travel funds may vary. In fact, conditions themselves vary widely, to the point that some full-time contingent faculty were treated, for all intents and purposes, like "real" faculty, something that remains almost unheard of with part-time faculty. By contrast, for non-university unaffiliated scholars, who work in a variety of settings, library resources, especially in the age of digitization, remains an ongoing challenge, makes the negotiation of an NCIS-rate JPass (for the Holy Grail of JSTOR) a singular achievement, one even more valuable than the letters of introduction to repositories also offered to NCIS members (National Coalition of Independent Scholars. n.d. *JPASS Benefit*). These days, most archives and manuscript repositories, at least those I have worked with, are not that excluding of ISs (essentially, if your project is pertinent to their collections, you are welcome and may even be eligible for travel grants to do research). I myself was able to travel to the Walter Reuther Archives as Wayne State University to do research with the aid of the Albert Shanker Travel Grant (Walter P. Reuther Library, n.d.). University research libraries, however, are another story – checkout limits may vary in generosity and eBooks can often only be viewed onsite with a guest card – and while some universities may offer more generous library privileges to their alumni, not all do.

Beyond matters material is the question of NCIS's value as a scholarly community. For contingent members, it may be a wash, depending firstly on how adjuncts are treated within a given department, and secondly on how many adjuncts within a department have the interest in/wherewithal to do anything beyond teaching. But even for contingent faculty who function as ISs, a university may still be a more automatic place to find a scholarly community, something that may not be the case for ISs who have other forms of institutional employment, let alone those who lack any institutional affiliation. Even so, just as even tenure-stream family may gather their best colleagues from a chosen learned society rather than their department, many ISs continue to find mutual support within the independent scholar organizations. The question, though, is how much? This is especially pertinent in an age when digital communication and (ironically) greater acceptance of ISs within discipline-based learned societies have made NCIS and its regional affiliates to a degree superfluous, at least in terms of networking with

colleagues who have a common scholarly interest. This conundrum has had its effect on NCIS conferences, which from the founding conference in 1989 through 2008, were a biennial to annual occurrence, hosted in varying locations around the country, with varying themes. Then between 2008 and the belated 25th Anniversary conference in 2015, there was a significant hiatus, as NCIS underwent a period of transition. Even the acknowledged success of the 2015 conference, however, did not render future live conferences a given, in consideration of both the expense and significant volunteer labor involved in mounting them. Virtual conferences have been considered as an alternative (and may be considered again in light of the COVID-19 pandemic), but the success of the June 2019 meeting in Amherst, Massachusetts is evidence of the conclusion that there is no substitute for actually meeting in person people whom we are used to dealing with solely by email or Skype (Coons, 2019). In addition to physical meetings, NCIS has lately sponsored more informal, "meet-ups" in various cities in England and France, resulting in the establishment in 2020 of partner groups in those countries. Furthermore, in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, NCIS conducted its first virtual international meetups via distance technology, which themselves have led to a series of hugely susccessful webinars.[2]

But the continuance of the NCIS conferences, as laudable a development as it has become, still does not address the question of the future of the older regional societies, most of which were founded in university communities as a source of mutual support for members who were predominantly women with advanced degrees married to university faculty, who saw themselves as more than stereotypical "faculty wives" but barred from more than secondary adjunct employment in their husbands' workplaces in the bad old days of anti-nepotism policies.[3] A number of these regional organizations have folded in recent years, as a result of ageing memberships and a changing IS population, as well as (again) other ways for independent scholars to connect and greater acceptance in discipline-specific organizations, as more and more scholars who identify as independent appear on conference programs. That said, at the most recent NCIS Conference in 2019 there was discussion of a possible revival of a Five-Colleges-area independent scholars' group that evinced some interest among the local participating scholars at the conference. The partnership of NCIS with independent scholar organizations in the UK, France, and Australia as well as those in the USA also reflects the organization's growing international reach. Even then, independent scholar organizations can lack the cachet of discipline-specific organizations. In recent years, the conferences and the metamorphosis of *The Independent Scholar* from a simple newsletter to an online open-access peer-reviewed journal has helped NCIS raise its profile and restyle itself, as a "real" learned society. In addition, as NCIS seeks to retain its credibility and professionalism, it has become necessary to maintain standards of membership that have, ironically, fallen by the wayside in many disciplinary organizations, for whom interest in the field may be enough, with publication standards for their journals (often published out of university presses) remaining rigorous and competitive (American Historical Association, n.d. *Affiliation with the American Historical Association*; Breitzer, 2018). Even so, more "open admission" to specialized organizations such as the AHA has not affected the essential academic domination of the organizations.

Although NCIS, in its bid to fill the breach for those who didn't have access to regional IS organizations, was originally unable to provide said organizations' intangible benefits, in recent years NCIS has moved on from a difficult period in its history, and has developed its own staying power, as membership continues to grow, and has evolved in response to changing membership demographics and needs. Its growing list of services, ranging from the JPass to letters of introduction to research repositories, and lately additional research support grants, have also reshaped NCIS towards being a full-fledged learned society. Even addressing the question of affiliation, for some members, it has become its own affiliation, and in some cases is required as at least co-affiliation in subsequent publications for conference travel grant awardees (National Coalition of Independent Scholars, n.d. *Membership Benefits*; National Coalition of Independent Scholars, n.d., *The NCIS Conference Support Grant*).

CONCLUSION: MORE TO BE DONE

So where do we go from here? It is clear enough that, especially as current trends continue towards the destruction of the university as we know it, it will be vitally important for learned societies, large and small, to incorporate both ISs into their leadership and IS concerns into their regular committee structure (along with contingent faculty and their concerns). And ISs are beginning to break into disciplinary learned society leadership, at least in terms of getting their names on the ballot, even

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[2] E. Coons, personal communication, November 25, 2019; National Coalition of Independent Scholars, personal communication, April 15, 2020; and S. Breitzer, 'Gender, Independent Scholarship, and the Origins of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars,' 9.

[3] This topic has been addressed at length in Susan Breitzer, 'Gender, Independent Scholarship, and the Origins of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars,' *The Independent Scholar* 4 (December 2018): 1-9.

if is still taking special petitions. For major organizations such as the American Historical Association, though, the best road to success may be via getting independents onto the nominating committees, whose purpose, at least officially with the AHA, has been to ensure that a greater diversity of scholars would be nominated for leadership positions (considering many factors, beyond field of scholarship) (American Historical Association, 2017) and it may still be more likely to happen within smaller, more specialized learned societies. But access to leadership is just the tip of the iceberg, when it comes to addressing the needs of independent scholars in substantive ways, including ensuring as much equal access as possible to society awards, as well as creating (and in the case of the AHA with restoring the Feis Award to its original purpose) prizes that are designated for independent scholars. While again, book and article awards generally do not discriminate, there is still the matter of getting information out; even more critical is equal access to first book subventions for those who are unlikely to get similarly publishing assistance from a university. And while many of the designated "early career" awards and mentoring may still be helpful for those who have graduated relatively recently and gravitated to "the independent track" early on, they may be more problematic for those who arrived there via more circuitous routes. And when it comes to larger grants, while NCIS can act as fiscal sponsor in lieu of a university (another of its services!), the assumption of semester sabbatical salary replacement remains harder to undo, thus barring many otherwise qualified scholars, depending on their employment or lack thereof. Clearly some problems will not be easily solved, and overall, there remains much to be done, but NCIS, both individually and in partnership with other learned societies maintains an important role in strengthening the place of ISs in the world of scholarship.

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REVIEW ESSAY

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BEYOND CRISIS: HIGHER EDUCATION TODAY AND TOMORROW

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FOREWORD

I was originally asked to review *Austerity Blues* (Fabricant, Michael & Brier, Stephen, 2016) but as I engaged with the authors' arguments, I developed a more extensive commentary on the state of higher education, particularly public higher education in the United States. The paper became a review essay in which I have analyzed the premises of the authors and argued with some of their conclusions.

When I first submitted this paper, in August 2019, I thought it was very relevant to current issues in higher education. Since then, the pandemic has upended the status quo and revealed the fault lines in all aspects of our economy and society. Before and after COVID-19 are different countries. I thought about withdrawing this paper as past its time. However, I have decided to let it stand as a marker of the issues of higher education and discussion of a possible future at a time before that future became radically different.

The conditions and problems of institutions of higher education in 2019 are significant for the re-building that will take place later. As different as the future will be, it will be built on the past because there is no place else to stand. Ignoring that past, trying to recreate it, or refusing to acknowledge and investigate its problems will only lead to fossilization.

It is too early to see the forms that will develop post-pandemic. Some changes may be developed from the decisions that have already been made to cope with the emergency. How we go forward now, struggling to resume even while there is neither cure nor vaccine, will affect the future. How we understand and interpret the conditions we thought of as "crisis" for higher education before the pandemic will influence how we think and work in re-building.

I hope this essay can serve to describe the problems of higher education in 2019, and to define some of the causes of those weaknesses. In the Afterword, I will highlight some current issues and point out some possible directions as plans are developing for re-opening in fall 2020.

THE VIEW FROM 2016 TO 2019

Austerity Blues: Fighting for the Soul of Public Education by Fabricant and Brier (2016) is one of a number of volumes in the genre of "critical university studies," which was defined in an article by Jeffrey J. Williams (2012) in *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* According to Williams, critical university studies began in the 1990s and quickly developed into a field of study with articles by scholars in a number of disciplines. Literary and cultural criticism were part of the arena, as well as education, history, sociology and labor studies, all focusing on problems and causes of difficulties facing higher education. The source of the problem has varied over the years: at first, attention was on ways in which business and corporate models influenced traditional faculty procedures. This was followed by concern with broader economic issues, such as the decline of the American middle class as well as institutional financial problems like student debt and increased employment of part-time faculty. In the current decade, the scope and diversity of the studies have increased, with attention to the dominant role of administration, the effort to use technology to supplant live teaching, and an awareness of the global nature of the problem and the struggles it has engendered. Despite the wider view, three aspects of most studies in this field are: (1) a view of the university as an institution in crisis; (2) nostalgia for a golden age of the university that was marked by adequate funding, faculty governance (by the tenured full-time faculty) with administrators who came from the ranks of the tenured faculty, and small classes for well-prepared students with low/no student debt; and, (3) plans and programs for restoring the university to that ideal form. In *Austerity Blues,* Fabricant and Brier follow this pattern with a focus on the impact of neoliberalism on the public university systems in California and New York City and State.

The book's first chapter, "Public Assets in an Era of Austerity," describes neoliberalism as their key analytical concept. The authors state six key propositions that place their study of the university in the larger sphere of "the reconstitution of the state" (p. 20).

> *Proposition 1: We are faced with an epic economic crisis of global capital* (p. 20).
>
> *Proposition 2: The crisis of capital was used to promote intensified rationing and growing inequality in the distribution of public or state resources* (p. 21).
>
> *Proposition 3: Intensified socioeconomic rationing has had a profound impact on the content and structure of public goods and the social reproduction of the labor force* (p.24).
>
> *Proposition 4: The reassembly of the welfare state and its social reproduction processes are tightly aligned with the effort to legitimate the capitalization of public assets during a moment of economic crisis* (p. 29).
>
> *Proposition 5: The starvation of public agencies and the reallocation of public resources to privatized experiments results in dramatic disinvestment in poor and working-class citizens of color and their communities, effectively defining these population as disposable (p. 31).*
>
> *Proposition 6: As wealth and income gaps grow and uneasiness about potential social and political turmoil spreads there is an increased public and private investment in surveillance, control, and outright repression (p.33).* [Italics in original]

Fabricant and Brier see "austerity" as the chief problem affecting not only public higher education, but also other social issues, like health care and the environment. They see the decrease in funding public universities as part of an "attack on the purpose and functions of the state as a drag on the market" (p. 14). They conclude that "[t]he combination of fiscal crisis, the financial sector's search for profit-making sites, globalization, emergent forms of technology, and restoration of American competitiveness are cohering and pointing to higher education as locus for massive reassembly and monetization" (p.39).

Seeking to situate their work in a wider view, Fabricant and Brier assert that they will use "...the policy silence about ecological degradation as both a metaphor and a policy referent to help understand our present course of action regarding public higher education." (p.15). A few pages later, they promise to "...examine the transformative changes presently sweeping through higher education as a window on broader currents of state policy responses to emergent crises." (p.19) However, they never follow through on these ambitions, except in more general references to neoliberalism.

For Fabricant and Brier, neoliberalism is the source of the problems creating a university crisis today: neoliberalism is blamed for generating massive cutbacks in this area because, in the authors' words, higher education is "the public good most susceptible to globalizing trends" (p. 37). Their focus on neoliberalism as the central causative factor is, in my opinion, a significant weakness of their argument because neoliberalism is too blunt a tool for deep analysis of institutions embedded in specific time and social conditions. While it is true that the conservative right has attacked public education, it was because education was one part of the broad array of all public benefits they wished to eliminate. Furthermore, much of the right's fury was directed against the prestigious private colleges that they accused of teaching the liberal creed, rather than the public universities that are the particular focus of Fabricant and Brier. Conservatives supported chairs for conservative economists and historians, created institutes and think tanks to teach their own ideas, such as the Mercatus Center and the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University, both funded by the Koch brothers as Mayer (2016) has discussed at length (pp. 149–150). As far as public education was concerned, the plan was to privatize the lower grades and cut funding for higher education, as part of their overall approach described by MacLean (2017) to decrease all public services while reducing taxes on the wealthy (p. 68).

Mere reference to neoliberalism as cause will not suffice. More is needed: specific details and arguments, such as found in works like those of Mayer and MacLean cited above. Their studies provide detailed reports and analyses of the ideology and actions of the radical right to control the minds of Americans and to develop the mechanisms of taking over education to do so.

The attacks by the conservative right, although they damaged higher education, were not the only factors leading to the decline in funding. As Suzanne Mettler (2014) argues:

> Other present-day policies that would appear unrelated to higher education have influenced funding for it through 'lateral effects.' Medicaid and prisons, for example, have imposed heavy and growing financial burdens on state budgets, and lawmakers have funded them at the expense of public universities and colleges. Revenue policies, along with restrictions that make it difficult for public officials to raise taxes, such as the TABOR provision in Colorado, have also undermined higher education spending. Plutocratic governance at the national level has therefore been mirrored by many states as they have in effect shifted costs from affluent citizens to students at public universities (p. 113).

Education has special problems in the arena of public funding, as Dar (2012) pointed out in her paper, "The Political Dynamics of Higher Education Policy."

> "...the complexity of the higher education sector, as a provider of both public and private goods [e.g. scientific research as well as individual degrees], funded by public and private sources, and often presenting barriers to entry based on academic merit or socioeconomic status, is a source of instability in political coalitions and produces ideologically inconsistent combinations of policy preferences (p.787).

Other studies, such as those by Hacker (2010) and McCarty and Poole (2016) considered the effects of the political polarization of the nation, a factor that prevents consensus on such topics as education spending. This is a topic far beyond the scope of this paper, but it is raised here to indicate the over-simplification of reliance on neoliberalism as the principle explanation for the stresses on public higher education. "Neoliberalism," as Tejaswini Ganti (2014) has written, "is a polysemic concept with multiple referents". Writing as an anthropologist, Ganti said "...as an analytical framework, neoliberalism can also obscure ethnographic particularities and foreclose certain avenues of inquiry." (p.89). It is my contention that neoliberalism has been used in *Austerity Blues* in ways that obscure other factors, and I will discuss this in some detail in reviewing the section on CUNY in the period of the 1970s and beyond. Finally, the emphasis on neoliberalism as the causative factor for today's problems in higher education leads directly to two other weaknesses of *Austerity Blues* that are discussed in detail later in this paper: nostalgia for the past, and the single-minded effort on restoration.

The University as Institution

The heart of *Austerity Blues* is an analysis of the development of public universities in California and New York State and City—the three largest public higher education systems in the United States—from expansion after World War II to retrenchment in the years following the fiscal crisis of 1975. This study is, in my opinion, the strongest part of this book, as the authors present the history of these institutions in detail as a way to clarify the issues now confronting public universities. Chapter 2, "The State

Expansion of Public Higher Education," reviews the factors that led to the creation of these important institutions of public higher education.

Between 1862 and 1890, the extent and aims of public higher educations were transformed by the Morrill Land-Grant Acts, enacted to support the development of colleges for agriculture, engineering and other practical subjects "in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." Several of the historically black colleges were founded by the 1890 expansion of the Acts. Thus the Morrill Acts extended higher education to a broad range of the population as well as establishing the role of the federal government in providing land and funds to the states. It was left to the states to decide how to use the federal resources, and California and New York developed very differently. While New York used its money and land grants to support the development of private institutions and to provide scholarships to enable poor students to attend them, California developed a system of public higher education. These differences became even more defined with the growth of federal interest in and funding for public higher education after World War II, the period in which the university in its modern form was created.

As the War drew to a close, government officials began to consider how to transition to a peace-time economy. There was no wish to repeat the memories of the "Bonus Army" of World War I veterans that had marched on Washington and encamped there until violently expelled in 1932. In addition, it was clear that the nation would have to undertake a major effort to redesign an economy that had been intensely concentrated on the war effort and that would require educated and skilled workers. The War itself had led to major technological developments that would form the basis for the expansion of the peacetime economy. The Draft had revealed a very low level of education among millions of young American men, and the demands of a rapidly developing economy and technological change would require a workforce that could respond to new needs.

The first issue was that of providing benefits for the 15 million young men who were being demobilized, and this was accomplished by the passage of the GI Bill, which included payments for housing, living expenses, and tuition for veterans to attend high school, college, or technical schools. Fabricant and Brier point out the significance of the GI Bill's educational provisions: " ...the United States was unique during the post-war era in making access to a college education *broadly* available to its citizens, and especially its veterans" (p.45). One result of the GI Bill was to create new opportunity for a broad population who would not previously have had access to higher education, as Fabricant and Brier note: "The GI Bill had a leveling effect politically and educationally, albeit one stratified by race and, to a lesser extent, gender. The bill opened higher education to many demographic groups whose previous access was either severely restricted or entirely blocked" (p. 45).

Although most of the credit for the post-war expansion of higher education is popularly attributed to the GI Bill, it was the Zook Commission's work that determined the forms that expansion took and shaped higher education as we know it today, 72 years later. Their six-volume report was published under the title "Higher Education for American Democracy" (Zook,1947) thus indicating the Commission's vision of higher education not only in economic terms, but also as a basic factor in citizenship rights and democratic participation. Fabricant and Brier stress the Commission's position in the context of the period: "This support for the development of an inclusive postwar public higher education system was erected on the foundations of the New Deal's broadly social democratic ethos and the federal government's perceived commitment during the war to defend and extend democratic rights" (p. 47).

The Zook Commission's report not only established a permanent role in higher education for the federal government, but it also sketched out the expansion of institutions that were needed to benefit the numbers and the varied needs of the new students. In his dissertation on the work of the Zook Commission, Aranguena (2011) describes the postwar student body: "Campuses with a veteran population had a diverse student body that included married veteran couples, disabled veterans, and more diverse demographics. Also joining the new college students were veterans of "older age," many in their late 20's and beyond" (p. 16). They had a wide range of educational needs and vocational goals, and the Commission recommended several steps to accommodate them: expansion of local community colleges to assist students not yet ready for four-year colleges; financial assistance, through lowering costs of public institutions and by providing grants and scholarships; programs aimed to eliminate the kinds of discrimination that limited opportunities for all students, not just veterans, to achieve a college education (Aranguena, 2011, pp. 23-26). Also developed were changes to the curriculum to include new majors, like City Planning and Public Health, while maintaining a common core of studies. The focus on higher education included not only access to jobs as the post-war economy rebounded, but it was also a factor in creating the broad "middle class," whose collapse and disappearance is one of the most disturbing aspects of contemporary American society. Christopher Newfield (2008) described

the goal of this expansion of higher education: "This vision was of a full political, economic, and cultural capability that would be in reach of more or less everyone through higher education and related public services" (p. 3).

The increased federal funding for higher education, like that of the Morrill Acts, was distributed to the states to use in developing their programs, and it was during this period that the institutions of higher education took on their modern form. In the case of California and New York City and State, the differences in their educational systems grew even further apart. California had a well-developed public university system in place by this period, with three University of California campuses, nine state colleges, and 38 junior colleges. According to Fabricant and Brier, "California already possessed arguably the most robust public university system in the country on the eve of World War II" (p. 50).

In New York State, private colleges, overseen by a Board of Regents, dominated. In the pre-war era, New York was the only state without any kind of public university system. As a result of the post-war demand, the Regents established scholarships for New York State residents to help pay tuition at private colleges, and created 22 new junior colleges. In 1948, Governor Dewey, over the opposition of the Regents and private universities, signed a bill creating the State University of New York (SUNY) and new community colleges. SUNY did not undergo any expansion as an institution, although the following years saw a number of state measures to increase scholarships for students and state aid to private institutions. New York City, on the other hand, had developed tuition-free, publicly supported higher institutions since the establishment of The College of the City of New York in 1847 and Hunter College in 1870, later adding colleges in Brooklyn and Queens. In addition, New York City, unlike the State, continued to fund public higher education through tax dollars both before and after World War II, delaying tuition charges until the opening of three community colleges in 1955, while maintaining the tuition-free status of the four-year colleges until 1976.

New York and California attempted to maintain their original higher education structures while also accommodating larger enrollments. California planned to develop the junior colleges for vocational and credential programs, the state colleges for technical and engineering professional studies, and the University of California system for higher-level research and professional credentials. The New York system was not so demarcated, with community college graduates able to move on to four-year colleges, and with undergraduate as well as graduate study in the senior colleges.

By 1960, both New York and California had not only generated significant increases in public higher education and public debt to sustain it, but they had also committed themselves, as indeed most Americans had committed themselves, to a role and a vision for public higher education as the road to middle class life as well as a greater good in the creation of an informed citizenry in a national enterprise of democracy and plenty. In that year, Fabricant and Brier point out the California Master Plan had anticipated a 23% increase in enrollment only to find that new students numbered almost twice that estimate (p. 62). In New York State, Governor Rockefeller, introduced a plan in 1961 that dramatically increased the size of the SUNY system. In both states, the strains of increased enrollment as well as demographic, economic, and social changes began to affect the educational system.

Many universities had benefitted from the Cold War years which had brought great increases in government work and research grants. Graduate work in both science and the humanities (in programs like area studies and Russian institutes) received government funding as well as support from nonprofit foundations. These sources provided money for the maintenance and expansion of the universities. However, the prioritizing of research over teaching led to decisions that relegated teaching of undergraduates to adjunct faculty and graduate students. This was particularly marked in California where the university system had become a "multiversity" with the research and professional programs at the top of the pyramid while at the bottom the undergraduates complained of being processed in factory-like conditions. As Gusterson (2017) noted in his presidential address at the American Ethnological Society, the divisions between research and teaching resources created grievances that would spark the California student protests of the sixties (p. 438).

A University in Crisis

The third chapter of *Austerity Blues* is titled "Students and Faculty Take Command" in reference to the upheavals at California and CUNY in the 1960s and 1970s. It is difficult to justify this very positive view because for most of these years, no one was in command: administrators were reacting to student demands and to fiscal and political decisions outside their control, faculty were struggling to keep up with changing academic requirements and the needs of an enlarged student population, and students, many of them unprepared for college, were doing their best to take advantage of new opportunities. Where Fabricant

and Brier see students and faculty in command, an assessment of the period by the Mayor's Task Force (1999) saw "An Institution Adrift."

The greatest transformation of CUNY in this period was the introduction of "open admissions." Beginning in 1964, the university had committed itself to improving opportunities for poor and minority students and developing programs to identify and provide academic assistance for them, with the goal of providing every New York City high school student with a place in a community college by 1975. The impetus behind this plan was the recognition of the greatly changed demographics of New York City. A study of this period in New York City's history by Phillips-Fein (2017) reported: "In 1940, less than 7 percent of New Yorkers were nonwhite; by 1970, more than one-fifth of the city's population was black and 16 percent was Latino" (p. 22). These population changes meant corresponding ethnic redistribution in the city's public schools, but they were not reflected in the student body of CUNY. The disparity was particularly noticeable at the City College of New York (CCNY) an institution of 91 percent white students located in the 98 percent black community of Harlem, in a city where black and Puerto Rican students made up 40 percent of high school students (Stephen Steinberg, 2018).

Racial disparities drove protests in New York City in ways that were very different from California, where it was the "multiversity," top heavy with research funding that left the undergraduate students feeling ignored. Fabricant and Brier see the 1964 Free Speech Movement uprising at Berkeley as a reflection of "simmering discontents among students and supportive faculty members about the nature of the contemporary public university" (p. 77). They also stress the ways in which the student upheavals were responses by students and faculty to the social, economic and political tensions of the period as well as opposition to the existing conditions and goals of the public education system.

In New York City, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the fear of race riots led to the decision to introduce open admissions much earlier than the planned 1975 start date and without the support and remedial services that were needed. As Fabricant and Brier write, "These tensions flared and exploded [...] across the multicampus CUNY system in 1969 as it became one of the nation's primary battlefields in the decade-long fight for the soul of public higher education" (pp.71-72).

This view of Fabricant and Brier, that open admissions was not just a policy for expanding admissions for students of poor and minority backgrounds but somehow reflected a "fight for the soul of public education," reflects their intense personal investment in the principle of open admissions. I submit that their commitment prevents an impartial, scholarly assessment of the period. In addition, their use of neoliberalism as explanatory principle for the problems of the university leads them into another difficulty because, as Phillips-Fein (2019) wrote, "...the concept seems to be too uncritical of the liberal economy of the post-war years. It runs the risk of setting the post-World War II era apart as some kind of 'golden age' or ideal economic order..."(p.357).

Fabricant and Brier sum up the period of open admissions thus: "Despite many immediate challenges, open admissions was indeed a triumph. It transformed CUNY into the most open and perhaps most envied higher education system in the country in the early 1970s" (p.85). It was difficult for me to understand the authors' uncritical and wholly positive view of this difficult time. I finally concluded that a large part of their enthusiastic perspective was based on nostalgia, both for the events of the period and for their own roles in it.

Nostalgia is implied in the very title of the book, with its reference to the blues, a musical form of longing and loss. The subtitle of *Austerity Blues* is *Fighting for the Soul of Public Higher Education,* and the phrase reveals the authors' vision of the significance of the public university as a core institution of American society as well as the depth of their personal experience of public higher education as a defining element in their own lives. In their Introduction to this book, they describe themselves as sons of working-class families who saw college as a door to the middle class. They found the educational experience to be such a defining influence on their minds and spirits that they went on to become professors, committing their lives to service of the institution and their students (p.1).

Nostalgia is a complex emotional state, as described in the title of Annika Lems' (2016) article, "Ambiguous longings: Nostalgia as the interplay among self, time and world." The object of nostalgia is not just a particular time or place, but it involves one's sense of oneself as an actor in that time or place. Philosopher Edward S. Casey (1987) saw it as "...a world, a way of life, a mode of being-in the world," such that "[i]n being nostalgic, what we seem to miss, to lack or need, is a world as it was once established in a place" (p. 363).

The nostalgia that Fabricant and Brier evidence here is based on their recollection of involvement in the changes at CUNY in this period as well as their deep commitment to the principles acted out in the student demands. It is my contention that Fabricant and Brier do not fully take into account the background of the 1975 crisis and its implications for CUNY. Their vision is too narrow and focused only on the university as an institution. Their theoretical viewpoint, which prioritizes conservatism and neoliberalism as root causes, is inadequate for a deep understanding of the problems of higher education then or now.

A City in Crisis

Fabricant and Brier applaud the introduction of open admissions: "CUNY had thus put itself at the forefront of national efforts to make tuition-free public university education available to any high school graduate who wished to attend, a long-deferred dream...." (p. 84). A 1999 study of open admissions prepared for the Mayor's Advisory Task Force on the City University of New York commented on the policy differently:

> . . . CUNY had effectively delegated its admission standards to the New York City Board of Education. Yet CUNY apparently did not realize what level of preparation a non-Regents diploma represented until they administered assessment tests to the Fall 1970 freshmen; CUNY administrators were reportedly 'shocked' to discover that 25 % of students tested were reading at or below a 9th grade level, and an additional 40% scored between the 9th and 11th grade levels" (Renfro & Armour-Garb, 1999, p. 25).

The gulf between these two positions is too great to be bridged by references to "conservative politicians and business leaders" as Fabricant and Brier try to do (p. 88). Their theoretical position is incapable of teasing apart the layers of contradictions and issues involved in these changes to CUNY. To understand what was happening requires a more precise, in-depth investigation of events and actors. Fabricant and Brier fail to provide such a specific study, opting instead for statements that reflect their own experiences and attitudes and, in the course of doing so, they overlook or fail to address some important factors.

We should look carefully at their arguments here in the larger context of the City, State and the United States in this period. Thus, reflecting on events in California in the sixties, they note that Ronald Reagan justified cuts to public higher education as a reaction to out-of-control intellectuals and students, and they generalize from this moment:

> It is no coincidence that the antitax austerity politics Ronald Reagan rode to national political prominence and that has maintained its iron grip on national and state policy four decades later had its origins in the/attack on public higher education in California at the end of the 1960s. It is difficult to overstate how central this ideological confrontation was in triggering the sustained erosion not only of the public university but also of basic state functions, as well as the rise of austerity policies in America" (pp. 79-80).

Although there is validity in this argument, I contend that Fabricant and Brier overstate the role of neoliberal economic theory because the tax cuts can also be seen as popular steps to undermine and punish the student "counterculture" movements of the period.

Can one blame an ideology of neoliberalism for events at CUNY? Unlike California, where the aeronautics and space industries had prospered during the post-War period, New York City was already deep in a process of decline that would culminate in near bankruptcy in 1975. Although Fabricant and Brier do reference the worldwide economic recession of 1973-1974 (pp. 86-87), they do not take account of the long decline of New York City that had begun in the 1950s. The City was not in a position to finance the expansion of numbers and needs demanded by CUNY students, because New York's economy was sliding towards a catastrophe that went largely unacknowledged until the end.

As described in *Fear City: New York's Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics:* "The collapse of New York in the 1970s stunned the nation because for so long, the city had embodied a kind of government and society whose success seemed unassailable (Phillips-Fein, 2017,p. 15). New York City was the very symbol of a model modern city, in the forefront of public transportation, public health, public education, with free museums and libraries, beautiful parks, and, crowning it all, the City University of New York. The foundation of the city was industry, small workplaces with blue-collar jobs in fields like garment manufacturing, electrical supply, and printing, in addition to the many jobs on the docks. The tax base produced by these companies supported the benefits enjoyed by the workers and their local, small business employers.

This was a system in equilibrium, but the balance was destroyed by changes beginning in the 1950s. New York became a destination for southern Blacks and Puerto Ricans seeking economic opportunity. At the same time, however, New York's economy was beginning to lose many of its traditional jobs for newcomers as cheaper labor (without unions) in the South or offshore began to draw small manufacturers. The piers lost business to new technology and larger cargo ships that required more space for off-loading. Real estate developers and financial services became powerful as thousands of workers in manufacturing lost their jobs: "between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s, half a million jobs disappeared from the city" (Phillips-Fein, 2017, p. 21). Communities were destroyed and longtime residents displaced by policies of "urban renewal" and transportation expansion like the Cross Bronx Expressway. "White flight" drove an increasing number of more prosperous New Yorkers to the suburbs, their movement facilitated by federal tax incentives for home ownership and the new highways that opened up Long Island for development. The tax base in the City could not keep pace with the growth of demand for social services, nor were the users of public services primarily the same people paying the taxes.

Political leaders failed to cope with the changes in the city and resorted to borrowing great sums of money to maintain the old style of life. This is not the place to discuss those decisions, but their result was undeniably devastating. By 1975, New York City faced bankruptcy, as the banks and the federal government refused to lend money or to do anything to avert the impending disaster except to force the city to accept a damaging series of cuts in all areas of public services. Education was not singled out as a special target—there were layoffs of hundreds of police, firemen, sanitation workers and hospital employees. In May 1976, when CUNY did not have enough money to meet its June payroll and was forced to shut down for two weeks, New Yorkers were already coping with so many cutbacks in essential services that the closing of the colleges went almost unnoticed. Paul Blumberg (1976) described his experience as one of the CUNY faculty in applying for Unemployment Insurance. The experience was strange and unsettling to colleagues in the line, but it did not cause a ripple in the life of the City.

> Although everything at the university was disrupted—final examinations, grading, graduation, summer school, grant applications pending, important undelivered mail locked up—in a sense nothing was disrupted because the public was completely unaffected. The closing of an institution of 270,000 students and 25,000 faculty and staff made scarcely a ripple in the ongoing life of New Yorkers. (p. 102)

The immediate effects of the layoffs on CUNY were severe: when CUNY re-opened, it was no longer tuition free. The impact on the staff was grave, with 5,000 employees terminated (Phillips-Fein, Kim, 2017, p. 253). The effect on the full-time faculty was limited—none of the tenured professors lost their jobs, but a number of tenure-track faculty were let go. The union, the Professional Staff Congress, managed to blunt some of the impact, especially for tenured faculty. In his dissertation, Tirelli (2007) stated "For full-time faculty, the economic packages offered during the mid-to-late 1980s were the best in the period from 1975-2000 with relatively strong salary gains . . . even though it was a period of a declining overall number of full-time faculty" (p. 290). However, the part-time faculty, also members of the union, did not fare as well during this period, nor have their salaries benefitted from the across-the-board salary increases in subsequent contracts.

The long-term effects on CUNY were more serious. When open admissions was adopted, CUNY was already overcrowded with three new campuses not due to open until 1970. In addition, both the City and the State had deprived CUNY of the financial resources needed for expansion. This was a full five years ahead of schedule, and the preparations of facilities and faculty were not in place, resulting in shortages of classroom space, long lines at registration, and needs for special classes to overcome the lack of academic preparation of many high school graduates.

Fabricant and Brier emphasize one particular reason for the serious problems faced by CUNY after open admissions: the adjunct faculty who were hired to meet the needs of the large increase in student numbers. "CUNY never fully recovered from this diminishment of its full-time instructional workforce" (p.88). They find severe staffing problems in the fact that "[b]y 1974, adjunct faculty already comprised one in three CUNY instructors" (p 86). They note that "[t]he use of adjunct faculty was more pronounced at the new senior and community colleges in CUNY than it was at the older senior college campuses in Queens, Brooklyn, and Manhattan, which had many more senior, tenured faculty" (p.86).

"These fault lines and tensions on CUNY's increasingly diverse campuses intensified as city, state, and national budgets were further constrained by public-sector decision-making," (p.86). It is difficult to understand what "fault lines" and "tensions" the authors are describing. It would seem from the previous paragraph that it has something to do with the presence of more

adjunct faculty at the newer colleges. This perspective reflects the "fault lines" and "tensions" within the PSC, in which full-time and part-time faculty have been in uneven and uneasy alliance since their two unions were merged in 1972.

A pamphlet, *Crisis at CUNY*, was published by a group of younger, untenured faculty, calling themselves the Newt Davidson Collective (1974). in which they analyzed the situation at CUNY as part of larger political and corporate efforts to re-structure the public university. Writing as the University approached the 1975 shutdown of CUNY, the Collective described the weakness of the union in opposing administrative initiatives. "It [the union] reflects and perpetuates the current academic hierarchy imposed by management, and—except on economic issues—is relatively acquiescent to administration policy" (p. 102).

Thirty-seven years after *Crisis at CUNY*, the inability of the union to counter administrative decisions was further revealed when the administration unilaterally imposed a new curriculum, Pathways, upon the university in 2011. The Professional Staff Congress, outraged by this refusal to recognize shared governance, led a vote of no confidence in which, as Fabricant and Brier state, Pathways met with "staunch faculty resistance" when "[o]f the seventy-two hundred full-time faculty at CUNY, more than forty-three hundred voted, and 92 percent voted no confidence" (p. 106). What they do not mention is that the part-time faculty were not permitted to take part in this vote. These disenfranchised, dues-paying union members teach most of the introductory courses affected by Pathways. In the May 2013 newsletter of one group of adjunct faculty, CUNY Contingents Unite (CCU), Sandor John wrote: "A real fight against Pathways would require a genuine revolt by both 'full-' and 'part-time' faculty, staff, and students against the two-tier labor system and the anti-democratic structure of the university itself" (p. 1). The PSC has never willingly engaged in organizing the adjuncts. Indeed, Fabricant and Brier never seem to see the part-time faculty as anything other than a problem to be resolved by hiring more full-time faculty.

Nevertheless, the reliance on part-time faculty continued to increase. "The number of full-time faculty slipped from 11,000 in 1975 to just under 5,600 by 1999" according to The CUNY Master Plan of 2012-2016 (p. 16). It is clear that something happened even after the reopening of CUNY following the 1974 shutdown to create this loss of faculty, but instead if addressing the changes in detail, Fabricant and Brier describe this period in an inadequate and overly general ideological summary that does not provide a real explanation:

> CUNY's decline would continue for two more decades as conservative politicians and business leaders used neoliberal arguments to malign its contributions and further cut public investment in its operating budget. These political attacks reached a fever pitch in 1999 under the Giuliani administration with the formal end of remedial instruction at the CUNY senior colleges (p.88).

Thus Fabricant and Brier refer to "political attacks" and ignore the serious analysis and discussion of the 1999 report of the Mayor's Advisory Committee, "City University of New York: An Institution Adrift." The Task Force found that the New York City public schools were not preparing students for college and that the necessary remediation at CUNY was not only costly but had become a burden on the standards of the university. They found that CUNY was not "...the institution of choice for New Yorkers. On the contrary, for most of them CUNY is simply the institution of last resort. Very few of the graduates of the City's high performing high schools elect to attend CUNY, while CUNY receives a very large share of graduates of the most troubled schools" (p. 44).

The Task Force accepted the conclusions of a report prepared for them that had acknowledged that "[t]hirty years after the implementation of open admissions, CUNY has not yet established valid and reliable remediation tests (....) nor has it promulgated systematic and valid standards to determine when students may exit remediation" (Renfro and Armour-Garb, 1999, p. 7). The Task Force affirmed its commitment to college opportunity for every graduate of the New York high schools while setting forth "recommendations for college level and to ensure that CUNY's senior colleges admit only those students who are prepared to succeed in college-level work" (p. 36).

Fabricant and Brier do not acknowledge the problems of the open admissions period. They perceive all critics of the policy as "a staunch conservative opposition," (p. 84) and they include in that group those who openly discussed the problems, saying that the "...emergence of conservative voices was soon amplified by breakdowns in the implementations of open admissions across CUNY" (p. 85).

Criticism of open admissions did not come only from opponents. James Traub, a journalist, spent 18 months observing the remedial classes at CCNY (The City College of New York) which had been the starting point for the sit-ins and demands of the students that resulted in open admissions policy. Traub (1994) wrote that

> City College is a stage on which the dilemma of the affirmative action idea is enacted every day. [...] what you feel, acutely, if you spend any time there, is the desperate struggle of the students to exploit the opportunity they've been given, and [...] the struggle of the college to make that opportunity real without compromising its own commitments to excellence (p.viii).

Even those academics who supported the goal of expanding access to a wider ethnic and economic population of students, like Theodore Gross, Dean of Humanities at the City College of New York, were highly critical of its implementation, especially the lack of remedial support and what they considered inadequate response to the problems by the administration. While faculty struggled to teach the skills their students needed to succeed in college, the lack of sufficient resources devoured the attention of administrators. Gross (1980)wrote:

> The university could not seem to meet the needs of the new learners and shape an education that brought them into the middle class. In the room where the deans convened, everyone studied flow charts and data and bickered with one another about the few dollars remaining after salaries had been paid and heat and electricity bills settled (p. 80).

Fabricant and Brier do not address the very real struggles of students and faculty in the 1970s, nor do they offer any specific solutions for the difficulties faced by CUNY in 1999. A broad ideological view suffices as they move on to the next section of their book: "It is widely acknowledged that CUNY and other New York City public services and institutions were canaries in the coal mines of the global neoliberal offensive launched in the mid 1970s. . . . It is to that larger national story that we now turn" (p. 88).

The National View

At this point, Fabricant and Brier largely abandon direct attention to CUNY to turn their attention to more generalized discussion in Chapters 4-6, a section titled "The State of Austerity" (pp. 91-199). They do use some specific examples from CUNY in their fourth chapter, "The Making of the Neoliberal Public University,"where they quoting statistics on the decline in state funding, the increase in student debt, and the increased exploitation of an underpaid and marginalized contingent faculty. However, these issues are true of public higher education in general, and they have been covered in many other studies, as listed in the lengthy bibliography of *Austerity Blues*. Fabricant and Brier's chapters in this section, on "The Public University as an Engine of Inequality" (pp.117-157) and "Technology as a 'Magic Bullet" in an Era of Austerity" (pp. 158-1990 do not add anything original to the discussion. These chapters largely abandon the authors' focus on California and New York State entirely, while retaining only marginal attention to CUNY in a superficial analysis of specific problems under cover of theoretical discourse on neoliberalism. This view of the problems of the higher education is an abstraction in which the university is seen only as an institution.

The focus on the institution stops at the bricks and mortar; it does not take into account the many factors that make up the university. In calling for a more holistic account of the university, anthropologist Hugh Gusterson (2017) wrote

> . . . .the ensemble of anthropological writing on the university largely, if not entirely, leaves out: administrators, university presidents, trustees, faculty, graduate students (currently in the US news for their attempts to unionize), academic journals, financial aid bureaucracies, accreditation practices, professional academic societies, curricular debates, the social organization and content of research, janitors and food preparers, and the role of social class in university life (p. 438).

Although Gusterson is speaking as an anthropologist and describing a whole body of literature here, his point also applies to the genre of university crisis literature in general. We have seen in the discussion of crisis at CUNY that Fabricant and Brier did not fully discuss the roles of public officials, especially the city politicians who were closest to CUNY. In the same manner, they overlook any discussion of the role of the faculty union, university administrators, or trustees as actors and agents in the struggles. In lieu of such analysis, they rely on broad phrases about "conservative politicians."

Proposed Solutions

The final chapter of *Austerity Blues* is titled "Fighting for the Soul of Public Higher Education" (pp. 203-48) and it forms the third part of the book, "Resistance Efforts and the Fight for Emancipatory Education". In this section, Fabricant and Brier describe their plans for overcoming the "Austerity Blues". Their desire for a return to the golden age of public higher education is apparent. They call for "an exclusive siting of public higher education governance, financing and instruction under the aegis of state or local governments" (p. 215). It is difficult to see how this could occur, given the deep involvement of the federal government through many programs and much legislation than can hardly be dissolved in one pen stroke. A recent report by the Rockefeller Institute of Government (Schultz & Cummings 2019), revealed that New York State ranks as number one among the states in sending more money to the Federal government than it receives back in aid, which was -$35.6 billion in 2017 (p. 6). Perhaps Fabricant and Brier contemplate a system of state and local control of federal funding, such as that used in the earlier support of public higher education. However, they do not go into specific detail on the exact ways in which such funds would be raised and distributed.

In a brief "Epilogue" (pp. 249-256), Fabricant and Brier indicate some signs that they consider very hopeful for the future they envisage for CUNY in their analysis of the 2015 struggle at CUNY to obtain a contract after working without one for five years. They point to the support of "an emergent alliance of community residents, students, and other New York City union members to defend CUNY in a moment of crisis" (p. 254). They see this support as an example of future coalitions that may be able to reverse the politics of austerity and secure adequate funding for public higher education.

Nevertheless, the problem is deeper than funding, as critical as the financial problems of education are. Like other "university crisis studies" Fabricant and Brier focus, not on the process or ends of higher education so much as on the institution of the university. This "crisis consensus" as it is termed by Boggs & Mitchell (2018) leads to "an analytical predisposition toward rescue and restoration...ill-equipped to contend with the structural paradoxes of the institution itself in a thoroughgoing way..."(p. 436). For Fabricant and Brier, the main avenue to change is a call for "a political struggle joining students with faculty to press for a redistribution of resources sufficient to [...]assure [...] a high-quality education" (p.226). While such a grassroots movement to obtain many improvements in social services, including quality health care and affordable housing among other necessities for a decent life for all Americans, is something many of us would support, I argue that even this political change would not be sufficient to achieve the reforms needed in public higher education. A nostalgic view of smaller class sizes and more full-time faculty available to advise students is not a plan that will suit the needs of today's students or today's economy. That ideal university was created 70 years ago, in the aftermath of a World War that dramatically changed American social life, economy and demographics. We are now living in a very different economy and at the edge of a major generational change.

CONCLUSION

There is an education crisis that is much bigger than a "university crisis." The education crisis starts in the privatization of public education through charter schools (and it is fair to blame the radical right for that). The degradation of public education is compounded by low salaries for teachers, segregation in the public schools, and school boards that censor textbooks. The students get moved along to public high schools that fail to prepare them for college. Finally, the education crisis culminates in colleges, underfunded by the states, and top-heavy with highly paid administrators, where the adjunct faculty who make up a majority of their teachers exist precariously. The university crisis is more than a crisis for the institution as it is now, or as it is recalled nostalgically.

This is a time for the third great configuration of higher education in the United States. The land grant colleges were created by the Morrill Acts at time when the American economy was on the verge of a massive change, one based on new applications of science and invention and in the context of a post-slavery society that would emerge from the Civil War.

War and technological change were the impetus for the re-invention of higher education as the end of World War II. With the influence of the Zook Commission, the system of higher education was expanded to meet the changed economy as well as the needs of this new generation of students. Today the demographics and the economy have changed so that the current higher education system is facing new demands and must change to meet the new needs.

The 2018 report, "Freelancing in America," indicates increasing numbers of Americans who are freelancing—56.7 million people now, which is up 3.7 million since 2014. The report also shows that freelancers highly value skills training over formal education, with many college educated freelancers seeking skills training beyond college (Upwork, 2019,)n.p.).

New forms of postsecondary education in addition to traditional four-year colleges are now needed. We recognize that the economy has changed from one in which manufacturing is dominant to one based on technology and service positions, but we are slower to come to terms with the idea that many people will have two or three different careers (not just different jobs) in their working lives. A four-year college education and a BA are not enough for a lifetime. It is clear that something beyond more funding to recreate the institutional ideal at the heart of so many university crisis studies is needed. The federal government already provides some funding for states to develop programs in career and technical education; in 2018, Congress passed the Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century (Perkins V) Act, which provides about $1.2 billion in federal funding for programs. In private enterprise, Amazon, Google and other tech companies are offering online postsecondary credentialing programs While there are issues to be raised about the value of these programs, as Paul Fain points out in his article, "Employers as Educators," (Fain, Paul, 2019), the investment made by the companies in these programs indicates a need for this kind of training. Whether universities want to be part of this transformation of higher education is an issue far beyond the scope of this essay, but it is one that should be seriously considered. The current crisis of the university can be an opportunity to develop expanded institutions of post-secondary education that will be able to provide students with the abilities for full and productive lives in a democratic society.

AFTERWORD

As noted in the Foreword, this review essay was written before the pandemic and it is presented as an analysis of that period. I have made no attempt to bring it up to date, which would be a futile effort right now. Heraclitus is said to have taught that "all is flux, nothing stays still," an apt observation for this moment. It would be foolish to attempt to predict the future, but we can make some observations about the current early plans for the Fall 2020 semester and consider how they reflect (or don't reflect) attention to problems identified in this paper.

The schools want to reopen as quickly as possible both to reduce the students' educational disruption as well as the financial losses of the institutions. It is notable that there have not been any after action reviews of how the schools handled the shutdown or the interim period. What is even more remarkable is that there seems to be an institutional consensus that the aim should be eventual restoration of the status quo before the emergency.

We have already noted the nostalgia expressed in *Austerity Blues* for the days in which students were better prepared, classes were small, and there was shared governance between the fulltime faculty and administration. In today's context, the "blues" seem even more out of place, although the austerity will be intensified. Cuts in budgets and staff are already taking place. At CUNY, departments have been required to plan pre-emptive cuts in courses and staff, in anticipation of steep reductions in public funding An article in the Chronicle of Higher Education identifies162 institutions that have reported layoffs, furlough, or contract nonrenewal for 44,368 employees, which the author of the article considers to be a "significant undercount." He cites statistics from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics that 19,200 fewer workers were employed in March 2020 than in February 20 (Bauman, Dan, May 13, 20)

For the re-opening of colleges, there is a variety of plans, ranging from in-person to on-line to hybrid classes and a number of institutions are still undecided. The most significant observation about all the plans is that the decisions seem to be made by administrators. Television news channels and the press report statements made by Deans and Presidents. While one could say that it is normal and customary for the top administrators to be the public face of the institutions, I would argue that the detail and the confidence with which these plans are being announced take no notice of other important factors, such as the willingness of students and faculty to return to campus, given the absence of a vaccine or successful treatment. The ability of students and parents to pay for college will be severely restricted in many families as a result of loss of employment, declining stock values, and costs of illness.

While the public media is focused on official statements of re-opening plans, social media is the avenue through which adjuncts are discussing those plans and some of the less-publicized changes already underway. Although the Chronicle article does not break down details of the levels of faculty affected, we know from a number of posts on social media that adjuncts have been especially affected by the layoffs. At some CUNY colleges, all the adjuncts received notices of non-reappointment which were quickly retracted as "an error", to be corrected with a new round of notices later in May. Adjuncts are organizing to protest

these cuts, to require health insurance for all adjuncts as a condition of return to campus, to demand additional pay for hours spent in preparing classes and for the additional expense of their at-home internet service required to teach online.

There has been little news of efforts by the faculty unions of oppose the cuts or to support the demands of adjuncts. At CUNY, the Professional Staff Congress (PSC) has issued statements to administration and trustees and Governor, imploring them all to restore funding to CUNY while at the same time warning adjuncts that any radical actions like withholding grades could be seen as a violation of the Taylor Act, bringing serious repercussions for individuals and the union.

While we cannot foresee the possible success or failure of the actions described above, we can observe that the various groups have remained in their usual roles. Administration, union, tenured faculty, adjuncts all seem to be trying to find ways to respond to this novel situation by various adaptations of their customary, isolated positions.

However, there is some news of other ways of organizing and reacting. The *Tallahassee Democrat* reports that United Faculty of Florida (UFF) which represents faculty and other professionals at many of the colleges and other educational units in Florida "has assembled a diverse cross-section of students, parents, health experts and professors to come up with suggestions it plans to present to the Governor on June 1 (Dobson, Byron, 2020).

The future of adjuncts is only one part of the coming changes in institutions of higher education. The pandemic has made visible the gaps and inadequacies of many social and political institutions. We have been forced beyond continued denial to a full view of the fault lines of class and race. When fault lines slip, there are earthquakes. We have not yet seen the extent of this earthquake and its aftershocks. Higher education and its institutions will not escape the upheaval.

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Response from the Authors of *Austerity Blues*

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Dear Editor,

Authors usually don't spend too much time responding to positive or negative reviews of one's own academic work, especially a book that was published four years ago. But since Yvonne Groseil's critical review of our book, *Austerity Blues: Fighting for the Soul of Public Higher Education*, has been published in your journal we feel compelled to respond.

First and foremost, Groseil criticizes us for focusing too heavily on austerity and neoliberalism as analytical constructs to understand the contemporary crisis of public higher education in general and CUNY in particular. She argues that neoliberalism "is too blunt a tool" (a claim she never quite explains or offers an alternative to). She also criticizes us for two other flaws: nostalgia for the past and a commitment to "a single minded effort on restoration." We will, in this response, respond to the first two criticisms; the third one makes little sense to us and will not be addressed in these comments.

Neoliberalism is a product of the post-1970s political and economic consensus among mainstream Democrats and Republicans, corporate leaders, and cultural and intellectual opinion makers that has ruled the nation's (and the world's) political economy for the past four decades. From our perspective, it's hard to imagine a better analytical framework for understanding how and

why the public sector has been so badly ravaged quite the way it has right up to our present moment of the pandemic and the resulting economic dislocation it brought. Neoliberalism is not merely an "economic theory," as Groseil argues, but rather is a *Weltanshauung* that encompasses politics, culture, history, philosophy and economics. Neoliberalism is a straw man for Groseil, which she repeatedly knocks down in her review. But she never offers anything close to an alternative analytical framework.

As for Groseil's nostalgia critique: We both plead guilty to a strong belief that mass action by students and faculty in the 1960s did much to positively (though hardly perfectly) reshape American society and especially its university culture in the following decades. We actively and proudly participated in those struggles and think the public university is a better place, not only because struggles like the one for open admissions at CUNY positively transformed the demographics of the system's student population but also contributed to a broadening and deepening of the university's curriculum. As we argue in *Austerity Blues*, the fight for Black and Puerto Rican studies at CUNY in1969 led inexorably to the creation of women's and LGBTQ studies across our campuses a few years later, a victory that spread far and wide not only across the CUNY system, but also across the country in the following decade. We stand by our assessment of the importance of the Open Admissions struggle, which Groseil dismisses as an "uncritical and wholly positive view of this difficult time."

Groseil counters our embrace of the positive outcomes of Open Admissions in the 1970s (before the 1976 fiscal crisis undermined it) by quoting in her review not once but three separate times from the reactionary 1999 Giuliani/Schmidt report "CUNY: An Institution Adrift," which led to the ending of remediation instructionat CUNY's senior colleges. Without getting into the weeds on this, we're confident that if you compare *Austerity Blues*'s analysis of the positive impact of Open Admissions with the critical analysis of CUNY offered in "CUNY: An Institution Adrift"[4] our interpretation will prove far more accurate and appropriate, not only in terms of what happened to CUNY in1976 and 1999, but also in the present moment.

Groseil, ironically, lapses into rank nostalgia herself in her loving description of NYC in the 1950s, which she says was "a system in equilibrium." "This balance was destroyed," she claims, first and foremost when Blacks and Puerto Ricans came to the city beginning in the 1950s seeking economic opportunity. That in-migration of nearly one million new New Yorkers of color was matched by an almost equal number of out-migrating white New Yorkers. We agree that the changing demographics of the city in the 1950s and 1960s helped spur the changes that ultimately ended up ushering in the 1976 fiscal. As we now know it was the city's historic social democratic commitment to the broad provision of social services to its citizens, including the world's largest public hospital system, generous welfare payments, and, last but certainly not least, free tuition at CUNY, that were the particular targets of neoliberal politicians and business leaders in both political parties after 1976 once the fiscal crisis was at hand. It's no surprise that once the recipients of the city's social capital became more Black and Brown, politicians of both parties were more than willing and able to pull the plug on ongoing public support. We don't blame the victims of those neoliberal attacks, the city's poor and working class citizens, for the reactionary policies visited upon the city CUNY in the years that followed the fiscal crisis.

By all means read and consider Groseil's critique of our book. But we'd also encourage readers of *The Independent Scholar* to go to our original analysis In *Austerity Blues* as well before you draw any final conclusions about the importance of neoliberalism as a tool to help us understand the current moment of crisis we find ourselves and our institutions in.
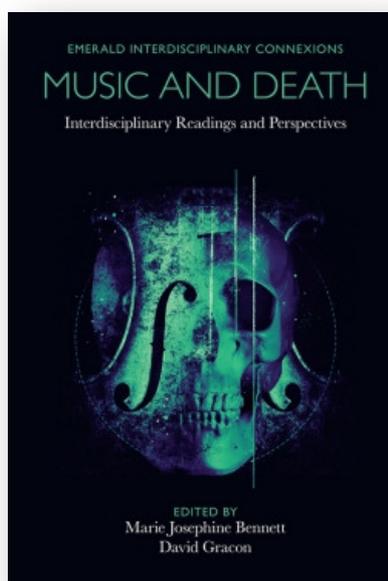
Prof. Stephen Brier, CUNY Graduate Center

Michael Fabricant, Hunter College, CUNY

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[4] http://home.nyc.gov/html/records/rwg/cuny/pdf/adrift.pdf),

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Music and Death: Interdisciplinary Readings and Perspectives

Ed. Marie Josephine Bennett and David Gracon

Emerald Publishing (UK, N. America, Asia, 2019)

Series: Emerald Interdisciplinary Connexions.

Hardback 136 pages   £63 / €75 / $83

ISBN: 9781838679460

https://books.emeraldinsight.com/page/detail/Music-and-Death/?k=9781838679460

Review by Amanda Haste. First published online 27 January 2020.

This edited collection was prompted by an academic conference on *Music and Death* held in Vienna in 2018, and explores the ways in which various musical cultures "imagine, express and provide ways with coping with death, grief and remembrance from a primarily western framework." (1) It forms part of the publisher's Interdisciplinary Connexions series, and its interdisciplinary nature is evident from the start. Its nine chapters are the fruit of scholars in diverse fields such as cultural studies, ethnomusicology, anthropology, media studies, funeral studies and theology, and include some very personal accounts of the authors' own experiences of loss and bereavement, in the form of "non-fiction storytelling" (1).

The book is divided into three sections, Music and Mourning; Underground Scenes, Alternative Music and Transformation; and Performing Death; each containing three chapters. The first chapter, by Janieke Bruin-Mollenhorst, gives an ethnographical exploration of music used in contemporary funeral practices in the increasingly secularized Netherlands. She focuses firstly on the oft-employed imagery of angels (either looking over the deceased, or as a transformation of the deceased into angelic form) in social media posts, exploring the concept of the "angelic dead" providing a means of "articulating continuing bonds" between living and dead and of "lived religion" (passim). She also examines the conundrum of the

popular choice of *Ave Maria* at funerals, and its function in secularized funeral rituals (13).

Marek Jezinski discusses the musical illustration of funeral rites in contemporary Poland, focusing on Adam Strug and Kwadrofonik's *Requiem Lodowe* [Folk Requiem], a 2013 work based on original Polish folk tunes. Jezinski argues that a death is seen as a pivotal event in the life of a community, whether a family or an entire village, and that the main themes of the traditional mourning songs show how "the rural people imagine death itself and express their feelings of loss and grief in art to overcome the fear of the unknown" (20).

In "The Posthumous Nephew" Gary Levy relates his own journey – both metaphorically and geographically – of discovering his musician uncle Claude, whom he never knew, as Levy prepared to travel from Australia to Vienna. Presented in epistolary style, with a *coda* to each section, Levy relates his uncle's Jewish family, his uncle's work, life and death in Vienna; and his own preparation for the conference: "Vienna. The City of Music. [...] I couldn't possibly go. I couldn't not go," and for the musical examples for his presentation, "There had to be Mozart [...] Jewish musicians [...] some who survived the Nazi death camps [... s]ome who did not" (35). Dark stuff, but a worthy illustration of the human need for "continuing bonds" with the dead. And in a transformative ending, Levy apprises the reader of a musical collaboration that sprang from this endeavor: "[Claude's] artistic soul, having lain dormant for nearly 60 years, was re-awakening, and inspiring anew" (46).

In the autoethnographic essay "You're Nothing: Punk and Death" co-editor David Gracon entwines multiple death-related themes – the death of his mother; the demise of his post-industrial hometown, and of indie record stores – to discuss the transformative power of music: "If it wasn't for punk, I'd be dead" (49). Gracon describes the odd sterility of American culture when talking about death (50) and cites punk as "deeply humanizing" and his "vernacular education" (51), while his local independent record store provided a therapeutic lifeline after the loss of his mother from cancer: "I thought of nothing else in that moment and was lost in the records" while the counter-cultural punk genres "openly embraced themes of death and dying" (53); punk thus gave him the vocabulary that society could not.

The salvatic quality of music is reiterated in "Healing the Mother Wound: Metal Performance and Grief Management" by the pseudonymous Nachthexe, whose abstract opens with: "Music saved my life" (59). This brutally honest account of the sudden and unexpected loss of the author's mother at only forty-five analyses "how metal and metal performance helped me write my trauma into a performing life that ultimately liberated me from my grief," with Nachthexe using the Interpretive Performance Autoethnography (IPA) methodological framework to navigate through her own "journey through the abyss" (60). She cites the French phrase *l'appel du vide* [the call to the void] and, as a woman writer and a victim-survivor of domestic violence, writes from a feminist stance of empowerment and post-traumatic growth, asking the question: "how do we use our own experiences as data for our own research?" (61). Nachthexe refers to the "misunderstanding that if you listened to metal then you were a thug" and points to Australian research which, instead of proving "the hypothesis that 'extreme music causes anger'" supports the counter-theory that "extreme music matches and helps to process anger" (68). Following a (frankly) poetic account of a quasi-religious epiphanic experience during a metal gig, her personal epigraph which ends the piece reads: "I still have the grief, loss and pain but I also have metal. Long may she reign" (69).

The section closes with another personal essay in which Brendan Dabkowski explores connections between music, memory, dreams and language through his own life experience, with death taking "centre stage" (71) through his musical and linguistic analysis of the final concert by Canadian rock band Tragically Hip, given when the singer was terminally ill. Dabkowski melds memories of his mother's early death from cancer, and his own feelings about his new fatherhood, with the Tragically Hip performance, suggesting the latter provided him with one of those "otherworldly [...] perfect moments," known to musicians, and the luckier audience members and described by Ben Ratliff as "communicating a complicated human gesture, feeling or interaction" that transcends "the listener's expectation".[1]

The final section, on Performing Death, focuses on performance practices connected with death (79). Silvia Mendonça explores the concept of the "vision of death" in her musical composition *Vision of Death (On a January*

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[1] Ben Ratliff, *Every Song Ever: Twenty Ways to Listen in an Age of Musical Plenty* (New York, NY: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2016) 228.

Day) for solo flute, and the way in which, through their interpretation of the piece, performers construct their own vision through their aleatoric use of the compositional elements (81). Rather than a linear melody, this "short sonic reverie" employs short, fragmentary musical cells of two or three notes (88) which allow for silences, and the composer/author concludes that death is "often associated with an end, a nothingness, a somewhere in the future, but also solitude and silence" and that only in the "linear materialization" of the moment, and the revealing of this "inner space" can the music "be about death" (90).

Jennifer Game then presents a qualitative study examining the interaction of embodied movement and music, with a focus on "emotive narrative representations of risk and death" (93) through Zebastian Hunter's *Empty Bodies* and Game's own circus opera *The Blood Vote*. As she says, death-defying circus acts confront us with the ever-present risk of death, effectively undoing the repression of this knowledge demanded by society, and both these musical works "seek to [...] show us our dreams and anxieties, undoing this repression. That is what captivates us" (104).

The final chapter, by co-editor Marie Josephine Bennett, explores the later music of iconic band Queen in the light of singer Freddie Mercury's impending death from AIDS. Bennett focuses on *The Show Must Go On*, the final track from the album *Innuendo*, released only weeks before Mercury's death in November 1991, and analyses the music, lyrics and accompanying video to highlight three themes: a life prematurely cut short; immortality; and defiance in the face of death (113). Bennett describes Mercury's legacy, and the sense of immortality engendered by the omnipresence of Queen's music, and the recent (2018) film *Bohemian Rhapsody*: in music lies immortality, and for Mercury, "the show does indeed go on" (116).

Conclusion

The topic of *Music and Death* is, it goes without saying, a heavy one, and this volume – and especially the central three autoethnographic essays – is emotionally extremely intense, and at times even painful to read. Coincidentally, I (using my autoethnographic voice) read this volume having just lost my own mother, and the frequent and profound explorations of mother loss and the "mother wound" (Nachthexe, pp59-70 passim) meant I had to take several breaks during my reading to regain my equilibrium and objectivity. The autoethnographic nature of many of the contributions, along with the constant cross-referencing of other authors/chapters gives a sense of community and empathy among the authors, unusual in an edited collection.

A telling stylistic theme also presents itself through the use of sentence fragments, found notably in Levy's personal journal (33-35), but also echoed in other chapters. The result is percussive: an unforgiving, sharp, stabbing rhythm that serves as a brutal reminder of the way in which grief can hit hard, unexpectedly, its intensity momentarily robbing you of breath.

Music and Death is not an easy read, but it is immensely worthwhile: a combination of gripping real-life storytelling with rigorous cross-disciplinary academic and musical analysis. This is a valuable addition to the literature on death and dying: buy this book and prepare to be both emotionally moved and intellectually inspired.

Amanda Haste (Ph.D. Musicology) *teaches as adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University, France and publishes on identity construction through music and language, and musician identity. She co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University)* Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization *(Paris: Ex Modio, 2015) and she is currently in the early stages of planning a collection of essays on autoethnographic analyses of musical performance, emotion and healing.*
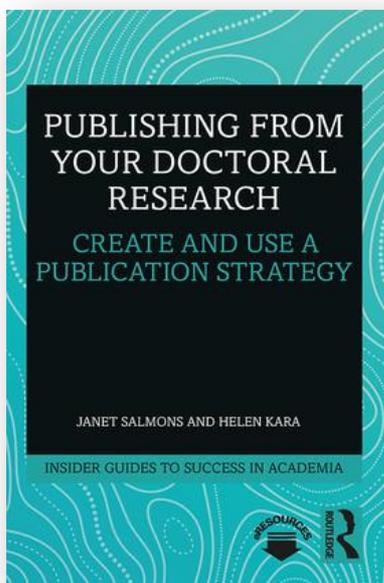
Publishing From Your Doctoral Research: Create and Use a Publication Strategy

Janet Salmons and Helen Kara

Series: Insider Guides to Success in Academia

Routledge (Oxford & New York, 2019)

Paperback 300 pages   £18 / €21 / $23/

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Review by Rasmus Rodineliussen. First published online 10 February 2020.

"So why do you want to write and publish beyond helping your own career? Only you can figure out the answer – and taking that intellectual and emotional step will be worth the effort." (xix).

This question posed by Janet Salmons and Helen Kara encapsulates what I find most intriguing about this well-written gem of a book, the first in the series "Insider Guides to Success in Academia".[1] The authors indeed present a *smorgasbord* of publication possibilities – and advice on how to approach them in turn. But more than this, the authors offer their own reflections, together with fictional characters, "People In Progress", named Kris, Ella, and Nathan (xvi), that allow the reader to not only think strategically about publications, but also to reflect about the important question: why do I want to write?

Throughout the book the reader is guided through a long list of possibilities for publication, while being offered tools to guide and plan a way to both create and implement a publication strategy that will help bring future goals closer. The publication strategy is developed chapter by chapter with exercises adapted for every specific publication type (more exercises and material are offered at the books webpage: www.path2publishing.com).

In Chapter 1 the authors introduce the reader to the books arguments and also introduce the publication strategy that will be developed throughout the book. Chapter 2 follows on from Chapter 1 and begins the work of building and planning the publication strategy. Chapter 3 to 11 all ask the same question: "Why, when, and how should I?", according to the type of publication. These chapters follow the same outline and are easy to navigate and move between. The

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[1] https://www.routledge.com/Insider-Guides-to-Success-in-   Academia/book-series/IGSA

publication types covered are: *journal articles; books; book chapters; case studies; working with publishers; alternative methods of publishing; self-publishing; social media;* and *blogging*. The final chapter sums up the points and helps the reader to start implementing their publication strategy with the assistance of real-life examples from PhD's that already have worked with these tools.

In the beginning the authors state that the quick reader can pick the chapters most relevant to their interests, but they need to read at least Chapter 1, 2 and 12 plus the chapter(s) of choice in order to produce the publication strategy. Due to Chapter 3 to 11 being interchangeable in this way they become a little bit repetitive, but one has to remember that readers can pick and choose from these chapters, and therefore important points needed to be made more than once.

The book is written for those with a PhD that are thinking about using their thesis for publications. But, as the authors also suggest, I find this book to be of as much use to masters students and/or those enrolled in a PhD program. Take myself as an example: I am currently enrolled as a PhD student, and I do find many of the tips and tricks in this book to be very relevant and helpful – not least on how to structure different types of text! Moreover, I wish I had had this book in my hands during my masters when I started drafting my first article for publication. That said, I have tried several of the publication types this book covers:

journal articles (Ch. 3), a case study (Ch. 6), blog posts (the multi-authored type (Ch. 11: 246), and I use Social Media (Ch. 10) to promote the journal I co-edit. My experiences thus resonate with those described in this book.

By way of concluding I wish to return to the question at the beginning. This book does not provide the answer – nor can any book – but what the authors instead succeed in doing, that I find of even more importance than their helpful guide, and aligning with the initial question, is that they are inspirational. I found myself getting more and more in the mood to write with each page turned.

Rasmus Rodineliussen *is a PhD student at the department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University. His current research lies within the domain/intersection of environmental anthropology and political ecology. He has worked with migration and refugee studies, mainly focusing on Syria. Rasmus has published in peer-reviewed journals such as* Anthropology Now, Anthrovision*, and* Visual studies *and is currently co-editor at Anthropology Book Forum.*
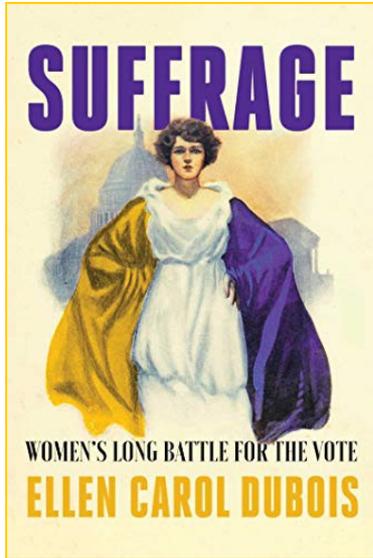
Suffrage: Women′s Long Battle for the Vote

Ellen Carol DuBois

Reviewed by Shelby Shapiro. First published online 10 April 2020.

In *Suffrage: Women′s Long Battle for the Vote*, distinguished historian Ellen Carol DuBois tells the story of American women's struggle for the vote from 1848 to the passage in 1920 of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which granted all American women the right to vote. DuBois points out that the the first women's rights convention, held at Seneca Falls in New York in 1848, occurred in the midst of the European revolutions for democracy, although calls for equal rights date as far back as Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) [71].

DuBois details many of the struggles within the movement as activists worked to define themselves and their aims. Throughout the book, DuBois places events, ideas and action within appropriate contexts. She chronicles the fault lines within the movement, and the consequences of decisions and actions in regard to those points of conflict – over race, immigration, prohibition and temperance. She discusses tactics, attitudes towards the major political parties, and stances on questions such as pacifism and American participation in World War I. She examines geographical contexts – how suffragism played out in

the Northeast, the South and the West—and we also see how the movement went from being universal to particularist: from seeing men and women as the same to emphasizing their differences.

DuBois looks primarily at two groups of suffragists: white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) and, to a lesser extent, African Americans. Attitudes and activities among other ethnic groups receive only occasional mentions. Unfortunately, this is a major shortcoming: mainline suffragists often used the threat of the immigrant masses as an argument for suffrage, giving the impression, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that immigrants were passive recipients rather than active agents. That many New York City immigrants voted for Tammany Hall candidates does not prove that these voters were dough in Tammany's supple fingers. Organizing for suffrage in New York City, Carrie Chapman Catt ''... was suspicious of the immense immigrant population of the city, fearing its ignorance and susceptibility to the dictates of Tammany, the city's powerful Democratic machine.'' [202] This assumes that immigrant support for Tammany was not a rational choice based on what immigrants perceived and observed in their

interactions in a new environment; it assumes that immigrants were incapable of figuring out who was friend or foe.

As noted in the Introduction, DuBois wishes to confront and confound two claims about the suffragists: (1) that they stood for a single issue; and (2) that the suffrage movement was tainted by racism. The first claim she disposes of easily. The second, however, is much more problematic. DuBois writes:

> Nor was it true that the woman suffrage movement was voiced exclusively by and in the name of white women and that deep-seated racism was its fatal flaw. For much of its history, the demands for woman suffrage and black suffrage were bound together, but that statement must be carefully parsed. Women's right to the vote would not have been demanded and not have entered into the political discourse in the first place if its initial leaders had not been deeply involved with the abolitionist and black suffrage movements. *But in the post-Reconstruction years, this bond was broken as the mainstream woman suffrage movement excluded black women. This development was of a piece with the larger social and political reaction to Reconstruction. We have to recognize and examine that white racial exclusivity and its consequences for suffragism. The grand conclusions of the suffrage movement was tainted by the ironic fate of its coinciding with the very nadir of post-slavery racial politics.* [emphasis added] [3-4].

In other words: it *wasn't*, until it *was*. DuBois then tries to mitigate this conclusion by stating that:

> "Still it must be said that every other white-dominated popular political movement of that era similarly accommodated to insurgent white supremacy. And yet only the woman suffrage movement – not the Gilded Age labor movement or the People's Party or even Progressivism itself – has been so fiercely criticized for the fatal flaw of racism." [4]

The Gilded Age labor movement exemplified by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) promoted immigration restriction and white supremacy (union labels insured that the worker's hands were white); the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) – formed in opposition to the AFL—notably banned racism in its ranks and organized workers of all races and ethnicities. Progressivist "reforms" included Jim Crow laws as a way of handling the so-called "Negro problem." *Contra* DuBois, racism and nativism within the Gilded Age and Progressive Era has not been ignored. Any history of the Leo Franks case and lynching notes the rabble-rousing antisemitism of the Popular Party's Tom Watson. The defeat of the mass strikes among railroad workers led by later Socialist presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs had racism as its fatal flaw. (It was during this period that railroad magnate and robber baron Jay Gould famously declared he could get one-half of the working class to kill the other half.)

This reviewer would like to have seen mention of Central European Jewish immigrants, the so-called "German Jews" who, beyond a few individuals, arrived long before their Eastern European cousins. Their views on suffrage had a more divided and conflicted tone than that of Eastern European Jewish immigrants. Another group notably absent from this book are the Finnish-Americans, who stood out as among the most militantly pro-suffrage. In effect, DuBois, who is otherwise very informative about the differences between and among white Protestant Americans, is either conflating all so-called "white" ethnic groups as either allies of the WASPS or as having no well-defined attitudes or taking no action on their own initiative. Did all German-American women feel the same way about Prohibition and temperance as did their husbands, brothers and fathers (assuming, for the sake of argument, gendered unanimity)? What about Irish Americans? Did gendered attitudes about politics being part of the male sphere (as argued by Hasia R. Diner in *Erin's Daughters*) translate into being for or against women's suffrage? How did the fact that so many immigrants were Catholic play out, either within the communities themselves or among mainstream suffragists, many of whom disliked or distrusted Catholics? These, alas, are serious omissions.

This reviewer also takes issue with Dubois' later statement that "[h]istorically affiliated with the Republicans, black women had great hopes that the Republican presidential candidate, Warren G. Harding, would reverse the neo-segregationism of the Wilson administration." [279] Neo-Segregationism? It was under Woodrow Wilson that racism was injected into the Federal employment structure in Washington, D. C. Neo-segregationist? The first film ever screened at the White House was D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* in

1915, based on *The Clansman* by Thomas Dixon Jr. Woodrow Wilson commented that the movie was "like history written with lightning."

To her credit, DuBois follows the twists and turns of suffragists in dealing with racism and with the "threat" of black voters: "Though Cady Stanton now spoke exclusively the name of 'Woman,' she did not really mean all women. 'Woman' became reduced to white and educated, and 'man' to immigrant and former slave. Think of Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Yung Tung . . . making the laws' for women like Lucretia Mott, she frequently challenged" [73], employing stereotyped Irish, Black, German and Chinese names as stand-ins for entire ethnic or racial groups.

Where DuBois excels is in giving us the big picture, while paying attention to major leaders, the variation in tactics over time and space (what worked in one region did not in another), how suffragists of different tendencies worked with those inside and outside the movement, seeking allies and establishing boundaries, and navigating the rocks and shoals of changing circumstances and times. Even if significant battles are not considered, *Suffrage* provides a good general account of the American battle for women's votes.

Shelby Shapiro *is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. in American Studies with a dissertation on the Yiddish press and how various publications of differing political and religious viewpoints sought to construct different identities for Jewish immigrant women. He has written about Jazz, Anarchism, and the labour movement, and presently is Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut.*
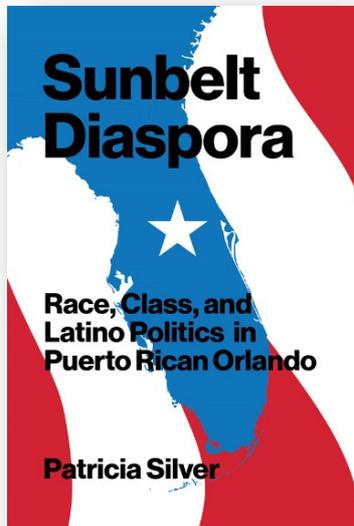
Sunbelt Diaspora: Race, Class and Latino Politics in Puerto Rican Orlando.

Patricia Silver

University of Texas Press (Austin, TX, 2020)

Hardcover 320pp $45.00

ISBN: 978-1-4773-2045-7

https://utpress.utexas.edu/books/silver-sunbelt-diaspora

Review by Gianncarlo Muschi. First published online 7 July 2020.

Orlando, Florida has become a new home for many Puerto Ricans and Latinx migrants and a fascinating scenario to examine their struggles for community formation and political empowerment at the turn of the twentieth century. Patricia Silver offers a ground-breaking perspective on the recent social history and politics of this city by unravelling the dynamics of race, class and place-making in the development of a heterogeneous community. Silver finds that the black-white racial code that has historically shaped Orlando's sociopolitical life intersects with the "divergent experiences" of class, national origin, and politics that Latinxs bring to this space. She argues that in this contested context Latinxs frame "understandings of collective experience as a basis for political action" in order to respond to exclusionary legislation that delineates local political and social structures. Silver presents the case of the Orange County redistricting process that followed the 2010 Census in which she personally became involved.

The book is divided into three sections. In the first, Silver describes Orlando's historical, political, and geographical space as a racialized context to which Puerto Ricans and other Latinxs have arrived and attempted to assert themselves. In chapter one, the author depicts Orlando as a place with its own socioracial order shaped by Jim Crow's black and white binary. These racial codes intersect with different experiences of race, class, and place that Puerto Ricans and other Latinxs bring from their countries of origin and other U.S. cities. These "local and translocal" relations, experiences, and understandings are a source of tension in Orlando's social space and outline the particular dynamics that Latinxs have to navigate to claim social and political space. In chapter two, Silver reveals that public narratives of Orlando as a neoliberal and multicultural color-blind place are actually constructed to maintain racial-ethnic hierarchies and sociopolitical practices in favor of those in power. Puerto Ricans and Latinxs arriving in contemporary Orlando have to confront these rules that reproduce

privileges and inequalities in order to organize themselves for community formation and political participation.

The second section of the book contains three chapters. In chapter three, Silver examines how the racial, ethnic, and class forces at play in Orlando shaped collective identifications of Puerto Ricans and Latinxs in the public sphere. For a while, these groups held an honorary white status that made them invisible in public space, but as more Puerto Ricans and Latinxs began moving to the area, they increased in visibility. Silver finds that "hypervisibility" set Latinxs apart from Orlando's racial binary and gradually became racialized by the local society as a foreign population that speaks a different language. This "exclusionary inclusion," as described by the author, has overlapped with Latinxs' own conceptions of class, race, and place that ultimately have limited the construction of a collective identity for political representation. Chapter four details the emergence of Latinx activism demanding "the right to be different and to belong" in response to exclusion from participation in Orlando's sociopolitical field. Silver reveals that the political experience that Puerto Ricans and other Latinxs brought from other places, along with local initiatives for collective organization, motivate them to politically respond to marginalization and discrimination. Chapter five describes the obstacles Puerto Ricans and other Latinxs faced for participation as an identifiable group in Orlando's political field. Silver scrutinizes a variety of structural and procedural acts that have displaced Latinxs from positions of power.

The third section illustrates how these dynamics of racial and political exclusion blocked Latinxs' access to Orlando's political arena. In order to accomplish this task, Silver focuses on Latinx's confrontation with electoral redistricting in Orange County since 2001. Silver reveals how intra-Latinx tensions associated with racial identification, national origin, deserving citizenship, and class relations disrupted the formation of a collective political representation. She utilizes the

Caribbean saying *balde de jueyes* (bucket of crabs) to portray the internal disputes that undermined Latinx's political solidarity for the benefit of a power elite that ignored their claims for voting rights. Silver argues that the use of mapmaking technologies in the redistricting process served as vehicles for reproducing Orange County's historically racial-ethnic and class hierarchies to maintain control by non-Latinx whites in local politics.

The author uses an anthropological approach that links ethnography, oral history, and archival research. However, the examination of mapping technologies transcends existing standards of research and analysis. The true value of this book is its ability to scrutinize the unseen sociopolitical realities that shape Puerto Ricans and other Latinxs' efforts for community organization and political participation in this new place. Silver has made an impressive contribution to fields of Latinx migration and politics by focusing on the recent history of the understudied area of central Florida. Researchers, students, and a wider audience will be fully satisfied with the vivid life histories of this well-written book.

Dr Gianncarlo Muschi *earned a PhD in History and an MA in Sociology from the University of Houston, Texas where he worked as a lecturer in U.S. History. He investigates international migration, Latin American history, and U.S.-Latin American relations with an emphasis in South America. Dr. Muschi has published articles on the Latinx musical scene in Houston. He is an independent scholar currently writing a chapter about Latinx immigrants in New Jersey.*
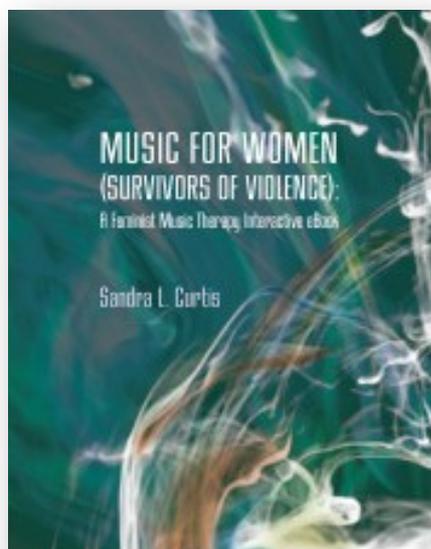
Music for Women (Survivors of Violence): A Feminist Music Therapy Interactive eBook

Sandra L. Curtis

Barcelona Publishers (Dallas, TX, 2019)

E-book   £27.60 / €33.23 / $36

E-ISBN: 9781945411465

https://www.barcelonapublishers.com/Music-for-Women-Survivors-of-Violence-A-Feminist-Music-Therapy-Interactive-eBook

Review by Amanda Haste. First published online 18 February 2020.

Anyone who, like this reviewer, survived various relationship traumas by belting out Gloria Gaynor's 1978 hit *I Will Survive* will recognize the ethos behind this book, designed to harness the power of music to heal and soothe the soul.

In creating *Music for Women (Survivors of Violence)* Sandi Curtis draws on her own long experience as a music therapist working at battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, etc. across the United States and Canada. She recounts the ways in which women survivors of violence responded to music therapy, finding in music "a welcome space [...] to hear and be heard." This involved listening to and discussing the recordings of women singer/ songwriters; singing along with them; writing their own songs and recording and producing them. All these experiences led these women to 'own' the music, to find their voice, and thus "to set themselves free."[1]

The author has taken full advantage of today's hyperconnected technology to produce an interactive e-book with a therapeutic purpose. Published by Barcelona Publishers, who specialize in Music Therapy books and resources, *Music for Women (Survivors of Violence)* is packed with audio and video renditions of pop songs alongside guided readings, drawing on "pop culture and music to explore the phenomenon of male violence against women" and examining this in the light of recent research. The result is "a feminist understanding not only of this violence, but also of the meaning of gender and its impact in women's lives in terms of their health and wellbeing, self-esteem, empowerment, and love."[2]

Intended for music therapists, other health care professionals and their clients but also any woman seeking healing from such experiences, this book allows the reader to access the transformative power of music, and explores the reasons for its effectiveness in this domain.

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[1] Kindle loc. 72

[2] https://www.barcelonapublishers.com/Music-for-Women-Survivors-of-Violence-A-Feminist-Music-Therapy-Interactive-eBook.

The author sets the tone with a telling account of the feminist anthem "Wings" released by Little Mix in 2012: "simple yet effective [the lyrics] speak of women's empowerment"; "a song of resistance and resilience" inviting the listener to ""ignore the haters, believe in yourself, and be true to your own spirit—"Wings are made to fly."[3]

The book features a hugely rich repertoire of songs from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and, just as Little Mix refused to identify "Wings" as feminist, maintaining it was not necessary for other people to "agree that it's feminist [...] for its content to be valuable to them (3lisabeth, 2014), these songs "reflect women's voices" through pop, rap, country, indie, and rock, "wherever they fit on the feminism spectrum."

Each of the nine chapters focuses on an different aspect of recovering from violence. Chapter 1: "If I Were a Boy": The Meaning of Gender explores societal messages and learned gender roles, relating them to the "myriad ways that pop music both perpetuates and challenges the question of gender."[4]

Chapter 2: "A Woman's Worth" places self-esteem and confidence center-stage, favoring resistance and resilience, while Chapter 3: "Bitch": Women, Power, and Empowerment unashamedly calls out the anomaly that sees power as "almost entirely synonymous with masculinity" and any woman daring to challenge the status quo risking "being seen as manly or being labeled a bitch."[5]

Chapter 4: "What's All This Talk About Love?" focuses on power in both heterosexual and same-sex intimate relationships issue of love, while Chapter 5: "Every Woman" examines issues of diversity, even though the author explores diversity in terms of race, socioeconomic status, age, ability, sexual orientation, gender identity, Indigenous identity, immigration status, nationality, size, and looks in an integrated fashion throughout the book.

It is no coincidence that Chapter 6: "What's Love Got to Do with It?" bears the title of Tina Turner's hit song as that singer's experiences of domestic abuse are well known. The author points out the "surprising" number of pop songs about violence "by everyone from Tracy Chapman, Kesha, and Lady Gaga to the Dixie Chicks, Mary J. Blige, and Sia" and asks whether this merely reflects "a keen interest in the topic" or whether violence has touched the lives of so many female singer/songwriters?[6]

The final chapters (7 through 10) include specific readings, and are designed to guide the book's three intended groups of readers: music therapists, VAW[7] professionals, and women survivors and others looking for personal growth. Over 200 songs spanning four decades from the 1980s onwards are grouped thematically, and the author explains her decision to include only those by women singer/songwriters, which in her professional experience "makes it easier for my music therapy clients to hear and see themselves in the songs, thus facilitating therapeutic progress."[8]

As well as hyperlinks throughout the book, the songs are indexed by title, performer, theme and musical genre, and the e-format allows the reader to search at will. All in all this innovative book provides a superb resource for those seeking to heal themselves, or to guide others through their recovery process.

Amanda Haste (Ph.D. Musicology, Bristol University, UK) *teaches as adjunct faculty in the Music Department of Aix-Marseille University, France and has published widely on identity construction through music and language and, on musician identity. She co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University)* Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization *(Paris: Ex Modio, 2015) and she is currently in the early stages of planning a collection of essays on autoethnographic analyses of musical performance, emotion and healing.*
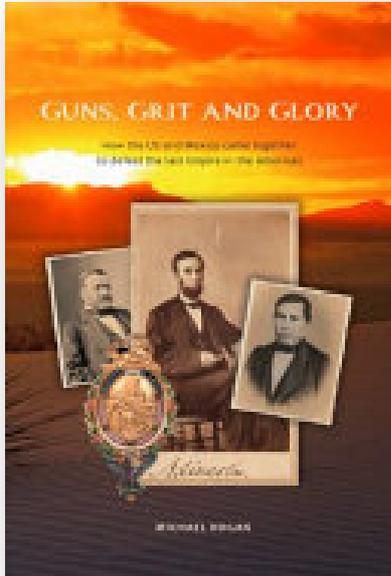
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[3] Kindle loc. 37.
[4] Kindle loc. 185-186.
[5] Kindle loc. 1547-1548.

[6] Kindle loc. 2258-2265.
[7] Violence Against Women
[8] Kindle 129-135.

Guns, Grit, and Glory: How the US and Mexico Came Together to Defeat the Last Empire in the Americas

Michael Hogan

Henselstone Verlag (Amissville, VA, 2019)

Paperback 296pp $21.90
Kindle   294pp $10.33

ISBN 0996955488 / 9780996955485

https://www.amazon.com/Guns-Grit-Glory-together-Americas/dp/0996955488

Reviewed by Phil Stover. First published online 22 July 2020.

Freedom, Fighters, France, Frailties, Ferdinand, and Fido! Once again, NCIS member and Mexican historian Dr. Michael Hogan informs and engages the reader as few historians can. He makes understandable the complex personalities, events, and issues involved in the little-known US participation in the Franco-Mexican War (1861 - 1867).

It was only fifteen years earlier that the United States and Mexico were at war (1846 - 1848). Then, in the early 1860s, after a few years of internal warfare (The Reform Wars), Mexico found itself in a new conflict with France, another colonial power. While the United States civil war garnered the focus of a thousand historians, the Franco-Mexican war received very little attention. The *ayuda escondida* (hidden help) provided by the United States to Mexico during its war with France accumulated even less analysis. Hence, the importance of this book.

Guns, Grit, and Glory begins its historical overview in 1861 when Presidents Lincoln and Juarez assume office; Lincoln for the first time, and Juarez as constitutional president (he had already served for some years as interim president). It ends in 1867 with the capture of Mexico City by Mexican forces and the death of Emperor Maximilian. The analyses and documents in the final fifty pages of the book are very beneficial, especially Chapter 16, "The High Price of Freedom: The Complex Legacy of Benito Juárez." There is a vigorous debate among Mexican historians concerning this subject. This reviewer wishes this chapter had gone on a bit longer.

Drawn from both the enlisted ranks and the highest echelons of senior officers, Hogan explains how retired Union soldiers aided the Mexican military effort. Significant excess armory and weapons were made available to the Mexican war effort. The porous Mexican-US border was made more so by deliberate and conscious efforts at the highest level of the US government to provide covert military aid and supplies to the Mexican cause. For instance, in 1865, General

Grant suggested to General Sheridan that he might "lose" 30,000 rifles by the Rio Grande River! Eventually, President Johnson agreed to provide munitions to the Mexican resistance army via private arms dealers (47).

Hogan summarizes, "In the end, more than 10,000 Americans became involved in harassing French and Austrian troops at the border, preventing the French from obtaining supplies at Texas ports…"(48). Summarizing the complexities of the struggle, Hogan writes, "nevertheless how that death blow came about was neither simple, nor entirely altruistic. It involved manipulations, profiteering, political chicanery, and betrayal. It also brought forth some of the finest qualities of leadership, self-initiative, and mutual cooperation from both American and Mexican officers and men"(49).

Minister of Mexico to the United States Matías Romero concluded that at one point in the conflict, US auxiliary forces composed one-third of the entire Mexican army (116). Of particular interest is the creation of a force of US Civil War veterans known as the American Legion of Honor. These veterans fought in many of the conflicts leading to the recapture of Mexico City in 1867. Hogan informs the readers of the involvement of the Legion, the US Colored Troops, the Texas Volunteers, and the California Volunteers. In addition to the military, Hogan candidly discusses the bankers, investors, and business people who sought to profit through engagement in the war.

What this reviewer most appreciates is the even-handedness of Hogan's perspectives and portrayals. He takes the reader beyond what we think we know and challenges us with new insights that better reflect the human experience so often obscured behind the curtain of bias and preconceived notions.

The author reacquaints the reader with the famous: Lincoln, Maximilian, Díaz, Juárez, Grant, and Sheridan. Hogan opens new horizons for the reader by introducing new and lesser-known figures such as Matías Romero, Prince Felix zu Salm-Salm, his faithful wife Princess Agnes, Lieutenant Thomas Carter, Colonel George Church, Sam Brannan, and of course, Fido. Many hitherto unknown photos help introduce the reader to these new players on the Mexican stage.

One thing which makes Dr. Hogan's writing uniquely interesting is his use of anecdotes to bring his characters to life. The reader feels as if she is in the room, listening to the conversations. Hogan writes in a way that facilitates visualization of the events. When coupled with academic rigor, this makes the story come alive, and helps explain why Dr. Hogan's books end up on bestseller lists.

Less than forty-five years later, Mexico's own civil war, its famous revolution, would consume all the ink in the Mexican historian's pen. Dr. Hogan's excellent book refills the inkwell with a necessary reminder that not always were US - Mexican relations tense and one-sided. This book is an essential contribution to a little-known chapter in the history of both countries. It is a lesson in how to overcome tense relationships when leaders support each other in a common purpose.

Phil Stover *lives in Mata Ortiz, Chihuahua, where he specializes in the study of the religious history of Mexico. Phil has spoken extensively in both the United States and Mexico on religion as conflict. His book,* Religion and Revolution in Mexico's North *won a national non-fiction award from Writer's Digest and has been adopted as a university textbook. Phil enjoys serving as treasurer on the Board of Directors of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars. He is a Ph.D. candidate in Modern Mexican History at the University of Kent in Canterbury, England.*
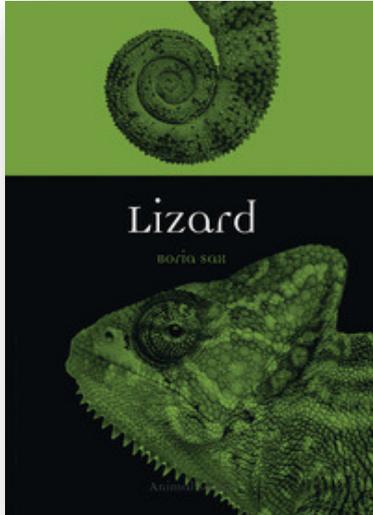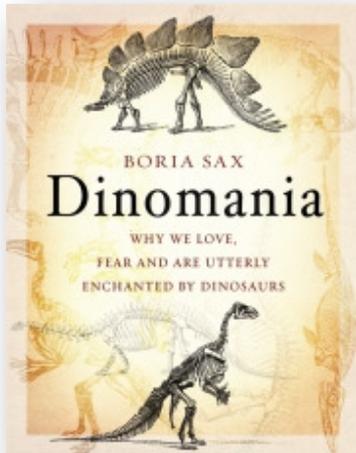
Lizard

Boria Sax

Reaktion Books Ltd. (London, 2017)

Paperback   224pp   £12.95

ISBN 978-1-7802-3828-9

http://www.reaktionbooks.co.uk/display.asp?ISB=9781780238289

Dinomania: Why We Love, Fear and Are Utterly Enchanted by Dinosaurs

Boria Sax

Reaktion Books Ltd. (London, 2018)

Cloth cover 245pp $30

ISBN 978-1-7891-004-0.

https://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/D/bo31238053.html

Reviewed by Shelby Shapiro. First published online 22 March 2020.

Lizard (2017) and *Dinomania* (2018) present author/researcher Boria Sax at his multidisciplinary best: mixing and relating biology, botany, paleontology, anthropology, biography, history, mythology, art history, popular culture and more, into coherent wholes. The skillful way he interweaves these various themes reminds this reviewer of the pictures and models of DNA strands as the complexity of the finished product emerges.

Lizard's six chapters start with the question "What Is a Lizard?" and from there he discusses, in separate chapters, the diversity of lizards, lizards and dragons, dinosaurs in art, and lizards today. What this reviewer finds most interesting is how the meanings of lizards to those in their surrounding environment – and those distanced in space and time – changed.

While *Lizards* deals with animals still among us, *Dinomania* concerns animals no humans ever saw, with the exception of what scientists now believe to be their only survivors/descendants: birds. *Dinomania* raises conceptual questions at every turn. Sax notes how the changing nature of those questions (and proposed answers) interact with changing social patterns, issues and concerns.

Sax points out that "about 85 per cent of non-avian dinosaurs have been named just since 1990" [198]. Among the new findings paleontologists have come to believe that dinosaurs lived in social groupings [198]. With the new excavations of fossils with feather imprints, the picture of the giant loner lizard has increasingly become questioned.

Dinomania's eight chapters start with conceptualizing dinosaurs ("Dragon Bones"): for centuries people knew that large, strange bones existed, but could not conceive of dinosaurs—to imagine dinosaurs meant necessarily imagining in terms of deep time, time beyond the creation myths of peoples around the globe; Sax notes that such bones were found in non-Biblical sites, and the people who found them likewise lacked the necessary world-view to understand what they were seeing. In writing about Johann Scheuzer, an early 18th century Swiss scholar, who described a skeleton from a being that existed before the Flood and Noah's Ark:

Scheuzer's depiction could be dismissed as something like science fiction, but the same thing could be said of just about all writing about dinosaurs up through the present. People seem impelled to construct relatively complete images of them, but they must do so on the basis of evidence that, however sophisticated, is extremely incomplete. They can only attempt the task through the relatively uninhibited use of fantasy and intuition. [31]

From bones and other evidence, we humans constructed in our minds what dinosaurs were, how they must have looked, even sounded and acted. Yet how these imagined dinosaurs existed, behaved and interacted with other species itself changed over time, whether in scientific or popular terms.

In "How Dragons Became Dinosaurs," the author discusses how everything changed with the realization of the existence of "deep time"—beyond centuries to millennia, before the first humans existed, geological eons away. In cultures across the globe, big buried bones had been associated with dragons, demons and mythical monsters. Sax writes:

In many respects, dinosaurs became cultural successors to the dragons of legend, but the modern idea of a 'dinosaur' could not even be articulated until the nineteenth century. It required a very intricate organizations of experience, particularly of time, in which dinosaurs could occupy a niche First, time had had to be conceived as more unequivocally linear. Next, it was necessary to divide time into distinct eras. This was done at first with historical time, and then, very gradually, with prehistory. The chronology of the world gradually widened and became more precise, until a segment could eventually be marked off as the 'Age of Dinosaurs'. Finally, it was necessary to recognize that dinosaurs had become extinct. [43-45].

In "Mister Big and Mister Fierce," Sax points out that "as it happened, dinosaurs were discovered in approximately the same historic era when belief in dragons, devils and angels began to fade. Inevitably, dinosaurs stepped into the vacancy they had left, acquiring the symbolism from all three." [76]. Messrs. Fierce and Big refer, respectively, to *Tyrannosaurus rex* and *Triceratops* [82-83]. The famous museum mural of

the two dinosaurs in battle, painted in the 1920s, sprung from the imagination of the artist alone.

Sax takes readers from "cabinets of curiosity" to museums and beyond in the chapter entitled "From the Crystal Palace to Jurassic Park." Here he talks about problems related to taxonomic classification. That knowledge is contingent by its very nature becomes obvious, as he relates the transformation from Biblical definitions of time and creation to what we now believe (and what others believed between then and now). If eons are macro, then the sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel's work on the arbitrariness of temporal definitions in *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (1985, 1989) presents a micro version of this problem.

In the chapter "The Totem of Modernity," the author points out the slippery nature of both concepts: "totems" and "modernity." Noting that literary scholars place the end of modernity in the late 1960s-1970s, "historians usually date the modern era from 1801 to 1950." [181]; Sax writes that "… by any system of dating, the modern era ended about a half century ago at least." [181]. For a differing view, see sociologist/social theorist Anthony Giddens' *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (1991), where Giddens argues that we presently live in a period of late modernity, setting forth implications of this line of thinking.

Sax manages to introduce readers to all manner of scientific controversies, some still ongoing: cold-blooded or warm-blooded (ectothermic, endothermic or mesothermic), Lamarck vs. Darwin, gradual or accelerated changes, and so forth. The author puts this into the context of historical/social changes, as well as changes in scientific thought, and the historiography of such thought, bringing Thomas Kuhn's theories about "paradigm shifts" into play.

Boria Sax and Reaktion Books, which published both volumes, receive extremely high marks for the quality of these books: not only good binding, but exemplary reproduction of illustrations in both black and white and color. An editorial choice was made to place illustrations throughout – rather than in special sections – something for which all readers should be grateful. In the movie (*Jurassic Park*) that truly sparked a renewed interest in dinosaurs, the Richard Attenborough character (John Hammond), founder of Jurassic Park and its DNA technology, repeats one line throughout, characterizing his work as well as that of Sax and Reaktion Books: "Spared no expense!" Do yourself a favor: go to your local bookstore or mail-order outlet and get copies of both.

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