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# Educating Futures Past

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International Yearbook of Futurism Studies, Volume 8: 2018 Open Issue edited by Günter Berghaus, Domenico Pietropaolo and Beatrice Sica [De Gruyter, 9783110574630]

The eighth volume of the International Yearbook of Futurism Studies is again an open issue and presents in its first section new research into the international impact of Futurism on artists and artistic movements in France, Great

Britain, Hungary and Sweden. This is followed by a study that investigates a variety of Futurist inspired developments in architecture, and an essay that demonstrates that the Futurist heritage was far from forgotten after the Second World War. These papers show how a wealth of connections linked Futurism with Archigram, Metabolism, Archizoom and Deconstructivism, as well as the Nuclear Art movement, Spatialism, Environmental Art, Neon Art, Kinetic Art and many other trends of the 1960s and 70s.

The second section focuses on Futurism and Science and contains a number of papers that were first presented atthe fifth bi-annual conference of the European Network for Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies (EAM), held on 1–3 June 2016 in Rennes. They investigate the impact of science on Futurist aesthetics and the Futurist quest for a new perception and rational understanding of the world, as well as the movement's connection with the esoteric domain, especially in the field of theosophy, the Hermetic tradition, Gnostic mysticism and a whole phalanx of Spiritualist beliefs.

The Archive section offers a survey of collections and archives in Northern Italy that are concerned with Futurist ceramics, and a report on the Fondazione Primo Conti in Fiesole, established in April 1980 as a museum, library and archive devoted to the documentation of the international avant-garde, and to Italian Futurism in particular.

A review section dedicated to exhibitions, conferences and publications is followed by an annual bibliography of international Futurism studies, exhibition catalogues, special issues of periodicals and new editions.

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Excerpt: The first section of this eighth volume of the International Yearbook of Futurism Studies contains four studies that present new research into Futurist connections to artists and artistic movements in Great Britain, Hungary and Sweden. Sze Wah Sarah Lee's examination of "Futurism and the English Arts: Imagism and Vorticism" explores two artistic movements that developed in England in the early 1910s in opposition to Edwardian culture and under the influence of Futurism and other avant-garde movements in continental Europe. While this yearbook has repeatedly addressed Futurism's links to Vorticism, it has paid less attention to Imagism, a contemporaneous poetic school that did not possess the same radical features as other coeval movements. As Sze Lee demonstrates, Futurist innovations did not escape the notice of the Imagists, and the internal rivalry amongst its members over its direction subsequently drove some of the poets to adopt many of Futurism's publicity strategies and modes of commodification. Sze Lee explores the manifold interactions between Futurism, Imagism and Vorticism, discussing the many similarities and differences between the three movements and demonstrating that their relations were far from simple imitations or outright rejections.

Gábor Dobó's study "Framing Futurism in Hungary (1909-1944)" expands on two surveys of Hungarian responses to Futurism published in previous volumes of this yearbook.' Dobó's main focus is on Hungarian art criticism in both scholarly and popular publications, and he examines how the reception of Futurism in Hungary depended on a number of local factors in the political and cultural fields. Hungarian critics considered the phenomena of modernity - and Italian Futurism in particular - as an embodiment of decline. By attaching the negative label `degeneration' to Marinetti's movement, it was morphed into a phenomenon deemed `alien' to the Hungarian national character. The situation changed when, from the mid-1920s onwards, Hungarian diplomacy sought to enrol Italy as an ally in the government's attempts to make revisionist territorial claims. This way, Futurism, which had been initially condemned by Hungarian cultural critics as `unintelligible', `crazy' or `alien', came to be re-interpreted and, by the mid-1920s, turned into an embodiment of the modern and at the same time conservative Fascist Italy.


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Quite different in nature and approach is Péter Molnos's essay "Hugó Scheiber: Futurism in the Rhythm of Jazz". Scheiber will be known to readers of the yearbook from Ilona Fried's essay on "Marinetti's Visits to Budapest, 1931, 1932 and 1933", which reported on this painter's participation in the Mostra nazionale d'arte futurista held in 1933 in Rome and the echoes that it received in Italy. Scheiber is highly appreciated today amongst collectors in Hungary and fuses in many of his works an attractive mixture of stylistics traits taken from Expressionism, Futurism and Art Déco. Molnos, who published a 500-page tome on Scheiber, summarizes in this essay what he discovered about the painter's Futurist connection and how he processed his experiences of Big-City life and the popular arts of cabarets, music-halls, circuses and dance halls in his paintings. It has often been said that Futurism was never a good business proposition for painters; Molnos, in his study of Scheiber, substantiates this popular wisdom by discussing the question of why an internationally successful artist could fail to achieve commercial success in his native country and was reduced to bartering his paintings for pig halves or the price of a meal.

Annika Öhrner's examination of "Arturo Ciacelli (1883-1966) and his Activities in Denmark and Sweden" addresses one of several Futurist artists who attempted to pursue a career outside Italy (e. g. Ivo Pannaggi in Norway, Nanni Leone Castelli and Athos Cesarini in the USA, Luigi Russolo and Enrico Prampolini in France, Rugero Vasari in Germany, to name but a few). Ciacelli, who has found little attention so far, spent time in Paris in the circle of Robert and Sonia Delaunay before trying to establish himself in Scandinavia as an artist, publicist and gallerist. Ciacelli's embrace of Futurism was less evident in his painterly work than in his theoretical statements, the most important of which was a partial translation into Swedish of the Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting via a 1912 French edition, to which he added his own signature. Ohrner presents Ciacelli's activities in Stockholm, Lund and Copenhagen, discusses the artist's attempts to foster trans-national exchange of avant-garde formations and discusses his Futurist-Malarnes Manifest of 1913.

Amotz Giladi's study "Futurism and Pan-Latin Ideology: A Contradictory Appropriation" focusses on Futurist links to an ideology that developed in Italy and France in the nineteenth century, had several new developments in the first half of the twentieth century and counted Marinetti as one of its more prominent representatives. On the surface, Marinetti's desire to deliver Italy from the weight of the past seems to be in contradiction to the appropriation of the ancient Roman heritage pursued by the Pan-Latinists. However, Marinetti was active in an environment strongly marked by the notion of a `Latin Renaissance', most noticeably through his collaboration with the Franco-Italian periodical, Anthologie-Revue de France et d'Italie (1897-1900). As early as 1908, the notion of Latinity appeared in reviews written by Paolo Buzzi for Marinetti's periodical Poesia. Later, the Futurists sought to gain legitimacy within the culture of the Fascist regime by contributing to the cult of Latinity promoted by Mussolini in initiatives such as the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution (1932-33) and the città di fondazione (Foundation Cities). Marinetti, for instance, participated as Italian representative in a meeting held in Paris to create a `Latin Bloc'. Another example is Marinetti's collaboration with the book series Collezione Romana, for which he translated Tacitus's Germania. Marinetti also sanctioned Latinity in two official mouthpieces of his movement, the journals Futurismo: Quindicinale dell'artecrazia italiana (1932-33), and Mediterraneo futurista (1938-43). As Giladi shows, Marinetti strove to demonstrate that Latinity was not necessarily synonymous with traditional values and could even be considered `modern' and `Futurist'.

As in previous volumes, we seek to give representation to a variety of artistic disciplines in which Futurism played a notable rôle. This time, we present a study by Ashley Gardini on "The Reception of Futurist Architecture after the Second World War". The author links the rediscovery of Antonio Sant'Elia's Messaggio (Message, 1914) during the 1950s and the ensuing scholarly debate surrounding the transformation of this text into the subsequent Manifesto of Futurist Architecture (1914) to a revived interest in Futurist themes in the work of architects such as Buckminster Fuller in the United States, Archigram in Britain, Metabolism in


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Japan and Archizoom in Italy. Sant'Elia's approach to architecture envisioned a progressive application of technology and novel building materials in order to shape an urban environment for a modern society. This approach has continued to resonate with architects after 1945, and once Futurist theory of architecture became accessible again in the 1960s, it began to affect the works and projects of several small avant-garde architectural cooperatives. As Gardini's essay demonstrates, the Futurists may have failed to develop a cohesive architectural aesthetic and had little success in translating their ideas into actual buildings, their theories continued to influence architects to the present-day.

This essay is complemented by Angela Sanna's research into "Lucio Fontana and Futurism after the Second World War", which uses Fontana as an example to demonstrate that the Futurist heritage was far from forgotten after 1945. Rather, it shows how a wealth of connections linked Futurism with the Nuclear Art movement, Spatialism, the Gruppo T, Interplanetary Art, Environmental Art, Neon Art, abstract art, Kinetic Art and many other trends of the 1960s and 70s. Sanna's detailed investigations demonstrate how themes previously explored by the Futurists, such as scientific progress, plastic dynamism and the adoption of new media, re-emerged in postwar Italy as they were still considered relevant to the most pressing artistic issues of the day.

## Futurism and science

Anybody familiar with the full extent of Marinetti's writings will have noticed in them many direct or indirect references to scientific discoveries and theories. Marinetti's Futurist world view had both a scientific and a metaphysical basis. A large number of fundamental aspects of Futurist art (dynamism, simultaneity, force lines, wireless imagination, vibrations, time-space nexus, geometric splendour etc. etc.) stood in the context of the "endless triumphs of science" and would have been unthinkable without a sound knowledge of the work of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Robert Brown, Charles Darwin, James Clerk Maxwell, Michael Faraday, Alexander Graham Bell, Guglielmo Marconi, Charles Henry, Henri Poincaré, Federigo Enriques, Guido Castelnuovo, Albert Einstein, Niels Bohr, Ernst Mach, Georges Lakhovsky, to name but a few. Marinetti stated that "Futurism is based on the complete renewal of human sensibility brought about by the great discoveries made by science".4 What characterized the Futurist imagination was not so much its technological and scientific basis, but its quest for an art and literature that parallels and competes with the classical rationality of science. Marinetti's interest in the material and immaterial dimension of the world made him conceive of an art that would assimilate the latest advances in science and technology and thus make a daring leap into the future.

At the fifth biannual conference of the European Network for Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies (EAM), held on 1-3 June 2016 in Rennes, a one-day double section analysed two aspects of Futurism: 1) the impact of science on Futurist aesthetics; 2) the Futurist quest for a new perception and understanding of the world. The first topic involved investigations into what Marinetti called "the new currents of ideas which have totally transformed our sensibilities and mentalities as men of the twentieth century.' A number of case studies examined the relations between specific discoveries and their impact on Futurist art, as, for example, Lamarck's transformist hypothesis and the Futurist `Extended Man'; the Futurists' concept of vibrations and their reinterpretations of the time-space nexus; Bell, Marconi and the immaginazione senza fili; Maxwell and Faraday's electromagnetic forces and the Futurist concept of `force lines'; the New Physics of Bohr, Planck, Mach, Einstein, etc. and the Futurist `lyrical obsession with matter'.

As Futurism was not only intimately linked to rational science, but also to various forms of para-science, many of its adherents were actively involved in practical experiments in fields as diverse as spiritist séances and mediumship, hypnotism and psychokinesis, clairvoyance and telepathy. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, research into unexplored territories produced a considerable overlap between fields of knowledge that nowadays are clearly separated. A great many artists and intellectuals ventured into esoteric domains to explore and explain phenomena that had not yet found rational


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explanation by scientists. In this, they took recourse to theosophy, the Kabbala, the Hermetic tradition, Gnostic mysticism and a whole phalanx of Spiritualist beliefs.

Of the nine papers offered to me as organizer of the Futurism section in Rennes, six were actually presented in June 2016. Some speakers were prevented from attending and have offered us their papers for publication in later volumes of this yearbook. Related to the Futurism section was also a keynote address, which I presented to the conference plenum on the topic Marinetti's Quest for an Art Inspired by Science. Following some negotiation with the conference organizers, it was decided that this paper would not be published in this yearbook, but in a volume of essays resulting from the Rennes conference.' Thus, the `Science' section of this volume of the Yearbook assembles six essays.

Gabriella Imposti in "Khlebnikov and Science: Time, Space and the Fourth Dimension" addresses Russian Futurism and its links to those aspects of natural sciences that possessed a particular importance to its acknowledged leader, Velimir Khlebnikov. For him, Lobachevsky's non-Euclidean geometry, the topical debates on the fourth dimension and Einstein's Theory of Relativity became almost an obsession. Science acquired in his works an aesthetic and a visionary significance, shaped his writings in manifold ways and impacted on many other Futurists in Russia.

Ekaterina Lazareva' essay "The Futurist Concept of 'Man Extended by Machines' " also focusses on Russia and shows how Marinetti's images of the new industrial order and the modern city had a counterpart in Russian Futurism, but with an essentially different orientation. Although Marinetti described how the crowds will enter the `Kingdom of the Machine', he rarely addressed the world of factory production and the organization of work. In Russia, by contrast, the Futurist `machine myth' developed much closer ties to politics, industrial work and scientific organization of labour. Lazareva demonstrates how the Futurist fusion of human body and machine had very different consequences in Italy and Russia. Using the example of motion studies, she shows how the Russian Futurists' interests were intimately related to life in real factories and how the `Taylorization' of work processes found a direct reflection in the `biomechanics' of theatrical production.

Domenico Pietropaolo in "Marinetti, Aesthetics and the Lyricism of Electrochemical Romance" examines the rôle of contemporary research into Marinetti's attempt to reground literary aesthetics in the epistemology of science. Throughout his Futurist career, Marinetti took recourse to the language of science and sought to apply it to the creative field. His linguistic and conceptual borrowings from science had both aesthetic and provocative functions and were designed to broach concepts previously regarded as alien to the domains of art and literature. Marinetti's encounter with science occurred chiefly through the foundational theories of modern physics; however, in his later years, he was also motivated by laboratory research undertaken in French and Italian universities. He employed the language and imagery of scientific research as building blocks in an aesthetic universe in which conventional narratives of romantic love were assigned to the scrapyard of history.

Maria Elena Versari in her reassessment of "Boccioni and Science" seeks to go beyond the extensive literature discussing the influence of scientific and para-scientific ideas on Boccioni's work and theories and to address the question of how Boccioni appropriated scientific knowledge and the language of scientific research in order to establish a new aesthetic lexicon. She investigates the rôle that artistic trends such as Divisionism played in Boccioni's early scientific appropriations, as well as some of his more probable linguistic and theoretical sources that shaped his attitude toward science and art.

Julia Nelsen's essay on "Radio-Activity as Sensory Experience in Luciano Folgore's Ponti sull'oceano" plunges into the interstices between science and para-science and addresses the relations between the `sensing body', radioactivity and electro-magnetic vibrations. She argues for a new approach to the Futurist immaginazione senza fili (wireless or untrammelled imagination) by discussing Luciano Folgore's poetry collection Ponti sull'oceano (1914) and the author's marked interest in the emergent discourses of electromagnetism and radiation. She demonstrates that Folgore's


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hypersensitive 'poet-as-medium' was not just a typical trait of Futurist technophilia, but a discourse of `embodied experience'. The human body in Folgore's poems functions variously as an electrified antenna and a radioactive mass able to channel the stirrings of matter into a tactile, affective response. Folgore's artistic imagination sought to accommodate the waves and vibrations of the body's surroundings as well as those within the body itself and thus emphasized `wirelessness' as a sensory experience of sympathetic vibrations between poet, reader and the material world.

Matteo D'Ambrosio's study "Marinetti, Gnosticism and the Occultist Society in Milan" investigates Marinetti's esoteric interest during his early career as well as during the Fascist regime. Although the Futurists' links to occultist practices have been the subject of several books and many essays, some of their para-scientific experiments and theoretical writings have not been considered in a comprehensive and profound manner. D'Ambrosio summarizes some of the research on early Futurism, but mainly focusses on Marinetti's disenchantment with politics and how, during the long phase of `Futurfascism', there were new and unexpected developments in `Occultist Futurism'. He shows how Marinetti's "discovery of new sensess" in his tactilism experiments were related to the Laboratory for the Physiology of Sensations at the Sorbonne and how his manifesto Programma di esperienze spiritiche (A Programme for Spiritist Experiences, 1920) was rooted in spiritist séances undertaken in the house of his Milanese friend E. A. Butti. D'Ambrosio analyses some contemporaneous writings on Futurism and esotericism by Cecco D'Alessio, Aldo De Sanctis and Francesco Zingaropoli, and considers the rôle of the mystic poet and novelist Albert Jounet (a protagonist of the occultist Paris of the Belle Époque and president of the Institut des Hautes Sciences), and two Dutch "Spiritistic physicians", J. L. W. P. Matla and G. J. Zaalberg van Zelst, who had studied and written about human after-life. To complete this wide-ranging collection of little-known material, an appendix translates three important documents from the occultist journal Senza veli (Without Veils).

## Archive reports and reviews

This Yearbook again contains a section on archive reports. Luca Bochicchio offers a survey of "Futurist Ceramics: Collections and Archives in Northern Italy" and discusses a number of institutions that may prove useful to scholars researching Futurist ceramics. His focus is on Emilia Romagna (Faenza) and Liguria (Genoa, Albisola, Savona), but also presents important resources that can also be found at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rovereto and Trento, and some key artifacts at the Museum of Applied Arts at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan. Furthermore, he discusses some private collections that can be accessed via the Archivio d'Arte Contemporanea at the University of Genoa and reports on an initiative to create a digital inventory of all objects and documents relevant to the study of Futurism in Liguria.

Gloria Manghetti's report is concerned with the Fondazione Primo Conti established in Fiesole in April 1980 as a museum, library and archive. The Futurist painter Primo Conti was an eager collector who has rightly been nicknamed "archivist of the avant-garde". He could easily switch between painting and creative writing and combine both with theoretical reflections. For him, works of art and archival documents lived in an osmotic relationship with each other. This made him reflect on ways to establish an institution that could provide a fruitful encounter between museum and archive. Eventually, this idea found realization in the Centro di documentazione e ricerche sulle avanguardie storiche (Documentation and Research Centre on the Historical Avant-gardes), housed in his domicile, Villa Le Coste, just outside Florence. The Foundation is carrying out several equally important tasks that complement each other: on the one hand, ordering, cataloguing, restoring and conserving material (also in digital form), as well as creating databases and publishing inventories and catalogues; on the other hand, interpreting and disseminating its research through exhibitions, conferences, seminars, editions and publications that give testimonial to the international avant-garde, and to Italian Futurism in particular.

This time, the section Critical responses to exhibitions, conferences and publications, contains reviews of two works of fiction, Simona Weller's


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Marinetti amore mio, a novel that seeks to conjure up the life and work of F. T. Marinetti and his spouse Benedetta Cappa, on the backdrop of Futurism's trajectory from 1909-1945. Gianni Biondillo's Come sugli alberi le foglie narrates the life of the Futurist architect Antonio Sant'Elia, from his childhood in Como to his death on the battlefields of the Great War. A major new study on Italian Futurism and the First World War by Selena Daly is based on an impressive amount of archival research and presents sources scarcely known in the English-speaking world. Elena Maria Versari combines a review of the exhibition Umberto Boccioni: Genio e memoria at the Palazzo Reale in Milan with a discussion of a volume of documents related to this event in memory of the centenary of the painter's death in 1916: Umberto Boccioni: Atlas. Documenti dal Fondo Callegari-Boccioni della Biblioteca Civica di Verona. Versari also offers a critical assessment of Umberto Boccioni: Catalogo generale delle opera, a new catalogue raisonné edited by Maurizio Calvesi and Alberto Dambruoso, with the collaboration of Sara De Chiara. Ricardo Marques reviews a collection of essays dedicated to Futurism in Portugal and, in particular, the Futurist group of Coimbra, but also to the postwar fate of the avant-garde (Futurist and otherwise) in Italy and Portugal. This volume edited by Rita Marnoto is the second in a series based on lectures delivered at the University of Coimbra and partly going back to a conference in 2009, Velocidade e movimento, celebrating the centenary of Futurism. Portuguese Futurism also featured prominently in the conference 100 Futurismo held between 30 May and 2 June 2017 in Rio de Janeiro and to be continued in Lisbon on 14-17 November 2017. The "100 years of Futurism" alluded to in the title do not refer to the initial manifesto published by Marinetti in 1909, but to the introduction of Futurism in Portugal, signalled by the launch of the magazine Portugal futurista (Futurist Portugal) in 1917. As this yearbook is going to press before the second instalment has taken place, we intend to review this event in Yearbook 2018 in conjunction with two others at the University of Padua (Futurismo, Futurismos) on 12-13 October 2017 and in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Portugal futurista' e outras revistas) on 7 November 2017.

More anniversary celebrations took place in Grossetto, Florence, Milan and Como, commemorating Sant'Elia's death in 1916 and his work as a Futurist architect. Following on from our review of the centenary of his manifesto L'architettura futurista (Futurist Architecture, 1914) and the books and conferences dedicated to this event," Lorenzo Mingardi discusses the initiatives in 2016, which involved a study day on Il manifesto dell'architettura futurista di Sant'Elia e la sua eredità (Sant'Elia's Futurist Architecture and Its Legacy), held in Grosseto on 18 July 2014, and an international symposium Antonio Sant'Elia e l'architettura del suo tempo (Antonio Sant'Elia and the Architecture of His Time), which took place in Florence from 2 to 3 December 2016. These events were complemented by three exhibitions: Antonio Sant'Elia (1888-1916): Il Futuro delle citta (Antonio Sant'Elia, 1888-1916: The Future of Cities) in Milan, and All'origine del progetto (At the Origin of the Project) and Visione e regola (Vision and Rule) in Como.

Finally, another conference needs mentioning and is discussed in some detail in this volume of the yearbook: Valentine de Saint-Point à la croisée des avant-gardes: Art, danse, performance et politique entre Europe et Orient (Valentine de Saint-Point at the Crossroads of the Avant-gardes: Art, Dance, Performance and Politics between Europe and the Orient). The symposium took place at the Lieu Unique in Nantes on 11 and 12 May 2017 and gathered a significant number of international experts on the poetess, thus providing fresh perspectives on her multifaceted oeuvre.

The last event mentioned here shows that Futurism is not only commemorated in centenary events but also in other gatherings of specialists from all around the world. Such scholarly attention is complemented by exhibitions and a substantial number of publications. The most significant of these are again listed in our annual Bibliography of Futurism Studies, compiled in the last section of this volume, this time containing 30 catalogues, 4 special issues of periodicals, 45 monographs and 15 new editions.

Finally, a preview on future volumes of the International Yearbook of Futurism Studies. Volume 9 (2019) will be dedicated to Russian Futurism. Our


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editorial committee, on this occasion, has been enlarged to include Oleh Ilnytzkyj, Gabriella Imposti and Christina Lodder, who are currently assessing contributions on a range of writers and artists, artistic media and representatives of Neofuturism. Following an Open Issue for 2020, we are considering a theme based volume concerned with Futurism and religion in its multifaceted aspects, ranging from the realms of the Catholic via the Spiritual to the occult. Volume editors, in this case, will be Luca Somigli and Monica Jansen. <>

The Future Is Female! 25 Classic Science Fiction Stories by Women, from Pulp Pioneers to Ursula K. Le Guin: A Library of America Special Publication by Lisa Yaszek [Library of America, 9781598535808]

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Excerpt: Stories speculating about the future of science, technology, and society began to appear across the globe over the course of the nineteenth century. But science fiction (SF) only came into its own in the American SF magazines of the early and mid-twentieth century. Tantalizing readers with sensational cover art and even more sensational titles like Amazing Stories, Fantastic Universe, and Astounding Science Fiction, dozens of new periodicals promised to reveal the shape of things to come. They offered not only action-packed adventure narratives but informed, even sometimes prescient, accounts of real-world scientific discovery and techno-logical innovation. Along the way, they became laboratories for aesthetic exploration as well. Authors used these magazines to test the themes and techniques that would become associated with the genre, probing and expanding the limits of fiction; editors distilled the results of these experiments, commenting on shared histories and future trajectories for SF; and fans volunteered ideas and opinions about everything from scientific accuracy to the necessity of sex in speculative writing. This truly collaborative process, still ongoing, has established SF as the premier story form of techno-scientific modernity.

As the title of this book asserts, SF was never just about boys and their toys. Instead, the future has always been female as well. This collection presents twenty-five stories written by three generations of American women between the launch of the first specialist genre magazines in the 1920s and the emergence of self-identified feminist SF in the 1970s. Adopting personae ranging from warrior queens and heroic astronauts to unhappy housewives and sensitive aliens, women were pioneers in developing our sense of wonder about the many different futures we might inhabit, partners in forging the creative practices associated with the best speculative fiction, and revolutionaries who blew up the genre when necessary to address the hopes and fears of American women.


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So who were the women of early SF? The story of women in this field has long been celebrated by fans, who do the important cul¬tural work of preserving genre history amongst themselves, and, more recently, by authors and scholars who share this history with others outside the SF community. However, such efforts are often overshadowed by "commonsense" assumptions about the historic relations of gender and genre. These assumptions have all but taken on the status of myth and posit that: (1) Mary Shelley's 1818 novel Frankenstein is a foundational SF text, but few other women participated in the genre until the advent of feminist SF; (2) women sometimes wrote SF before the 1970s but had to disguise themselves as men to get published in a community that was inherently hostile to their sex; and (3) even when early women SF authors did write under their own names, they followed the lead of their male counterparts, celebrating science and technology in ways that reinforced rather than transformed our understanding of science and society.

These myths remind us of what we value in the present moment, and enjoy in increasing abundance: women who write scientifically responsible and socially daring fiction that encourages us to see our own world and its many possible futures in startling new ways. But they also began important question. Where did all these modern wonder women—writers like C. J. Cherryh, N. K. Jemisin, Ann Leckie, Nnedi Okorafor, Jo Walton, and Martha Wells, to name just some—come from in the first place?

As it turns out, women have been involved in shaping SF all along. Between the mid-1920s and the late 196os, nearly 300 women published in the principal genre-specialist magazines—about 15 percent of all contributors, just going by the numbers.' Most were fiction writers but some also helped to develop their chosen genre as editors, critics, poets, artists, and science journalists. Still others made their mark in the harder-to-quantify and still-understudied realm of fandom: publishing zines, sharing fan fiction, exerting significant influence on SF as its keenest audience. Women were active within professional organizations (helping to found the Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America, the Fantasy Amateur Press Association, and the Milford and Clarion Writers' Workshops), and won every award and honor the community had to confer (see the Biographical Notes to this volume for individual Hugos, Nebulas, and other distinctions).

While it is true that women in SF occasionally met resistance from male writers, editors, and fans who disliked their presence in the field, most recall such incidents as isolated ones. From the start, SF magazine editors appear to have encouraged women's contributions—as Leigh Brackett put it, "editors aren't buying sex, they're buying stories." At Amazing Stories, the pioneering Hugo Gernsback "liked the idea of a woman invading the field he had opened," as Leslie F. Stone remembered.' C. L. Moore "never felt the least bit downed because I was a woman"—indeed Weird Tales editor Farnsworth Wright is reported to have closed his office for the day in celebration when he received Moore's now-famous story "Shambleau." For Zenna Henderson, Anthony J. Boucher and Francis J. McComas of The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction seemed like "midwives" to her career.

And so the question remains: if women were a small but generally welcome part of the early SF world, why did so many adopt androgynous or male pseudonyms? The short answer is that most didn't—and those who did had good reasons for their deception that had little to do with their SF careers. Almost all of the twenty-six authors featured in this anthology published primarily under their own, clearly feminine names, or under female pseudonyms; others (Leslie F. Stone, Leigh Brackett, Marion Zimmer Bradley) were given androgynous names at birth but published as women. (Throughout this volume, we've used each story's original byline; real names are provided in the Biographical Notes.) In the few well-known cases where women deliberately concealed their true identities, they did so for complex professional reasons. Catherine Lucille Moore became "C. L." so as not to jeopardize her banking job during the Great Depression. Alice Mary Norton reinvented herself as Andre Norton (also writing occasionally as Allen Weston or Andrew North) when she first launched a career writing boys' adventure tales. Alice Sheldon, spotting a jar of Tiptree marmalade


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on a supermarket shelf, came up with the pseudonym James Tiptree, Jr., to protect her identity as a former CIA agent and budding experimental psychologist. As each of these examples suggests, the problem was not the reception of women in SF per se, but patterns of sexual discrimination across American culture. Pseudonymous authorship was common practice for male SF writers as well and is one of the genre's fascinating quirks; a couple of the apparently female authors we considered for the present volume turned out in fact to be men.

The first generation of women writing within the American SF magazine community began their careers in what is commonly known as the Pulp Era: the period from 1926 to 1940, approximately, when genre periodicals were often printed on cheap wood-pulp paper. SF was not, at this point in its history, a genre that radiated social prestige, like the lyric poem or the realist novel. Indeed C. L. Moore, a writer credited then and now with bringing newfound character depth to the pulps, later remembered it as "a great act of daring" for her to purchase her first SF magazine, happening upon Amazing Stories at an Indianapolis newsstand. Her parents "had very definite ideas about literature" and "didn't approve of `trashy' fiction," she recalled.

Readers today with similarly definite ideas about literature, who are looking for subtle allusions or the artful defamiliarization of ordinary language, could certainly describe Pulp Era writers like Clare Winger Harris, Leslie F. Stone, and Moore herself as "pulpy." Less interested in sentence-by-sentence literariness than in big what if questions and the seemingly boundless imaginative possibilities of futures to come—for optimism was one of the hallmarks of the era—these women bravely and collaboratively broke all sorts of new generic ground, trying out speculative themes that now seem like basic elements of American culture. How many of our current SF movie blockbusters still more or less fit the sixteen "Possible Science Fiction Plots" that Harris casually tossed off back in 1931?

1. Interplanetary space travel.
2. Adventures on other worlds.
3. Adventures in other dimensions.
4. Adventures in the micro- or macrocosmos.
5. Gigantic insects.
6. Gigantic man-eating plants.
7. Time travel, past or future.
8. Monstrous forms of unfamiliar life.
9. The creation of supermachines.
10. The creation of synthetic life.
11. Mental telepathy and mental aberration.
12. Invisibility.
13. Ray and vibration stories.
14. Unexplored portions of the globe: submarine, subterranean, etc.
15. Super intelligence.
16. Natural cataclysms: extraterrestrial or confined to the earth.

The first woman to publish in an SF-specialist magazine, Harris seems to have been the first writer of any sex to offer such a taxonomy, and she wrote stories based on several of these possible plots herself. Her contemporary Leslie F. Stone imagined the first woman astronaut, the first black SF hero, and the first alien civilization to win a war against humans, helping to build a new kind of American literature from its foundations up.

Science fiction's Golden Age—from 1940 to 1960, approximately —saw the genre move from the margins of the culture toward its center. In the wake of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the stakes involved in speculation about the future increased exponentially, drawing mainstream authors and critical attention to the genre. For women who began writing during these years, including Judith Merril, Carol Emshwiller, Andre Norton, and others who have been all but lost to history, SF magazines proliferated and paid them increasingly well for their work; a new generation of editors demanded better-crafted sentences and new approaches to already established themes. Book publishers, both genre-specialist and mainstream, increasingly sought story collections, novels, and anthologies. Enabling professional literary careers for some of the writers included here, growing audiences also enjoyed SF radio shows, comic books, and movies; Merril became the first woman—and one of the first authors of any gender—to have her SF adapted for television. (Her post-apocalyptic novel, Shadow on the Hearth, appeared as Atomic Attack for the prestigious Motorola Television Hour in 1954.)


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By the 1960s, with the advent of the Space Age, some of the wildest imaginings of the genre's pioneers had become matters of fact: computers, robots, lasers, and lunar exploration programs were now entirely real. For the generation of women beginning their careers during these years—writers including Sonya Dorman, Ursula K. Le Guin, and Joanna Russ—changing times seemed to have overtaken much of the SF they had grown up reading. Rethinking their predecessors' often utopian investments in the world-altering potential of the hard sciences, they turned to psychology, anthropology, and sociology, and to modernity's many discontents, exploring themes like consumerism, overpopulation, virtual reality, corporatism, and the technoscientific manipulation of sex and gender. Most notably, these New Wave writers (as they came to be called) experimented not only with more contemporary subject matter but with form, style, and modes of expression. For inspiration, some looked to avant-gardes in art, music, and literature, as well as to futurity. More than ever before, they saw their stories ap-pear in literary or mainstream magazines, and deliberately crossed genres; the "science fiction" of earlier generations became, more Popularly, "speculative fiction."

So what drew women to SF, and what were their contributions to it? As they recall in lectures, interviews, and their own writing, women loved the openness of the genre. Leigh Brackett cherished the "sense of wonder" associated with speculative fiction, asking, "where else can I voyage among the `great booming suns of outer space' ... shoot the fiery nebulae, and make planetfall anywhere I want?" 8 Margaret St. Clair valued SF for leading "human attention into areas of experience that might not have otherwise been explored."' Still others turned to the future in order to confront social and political issues in the imperfect present. Indeed, for Judith Merril SF seemed like "virtually the only vehicle of political dissent" available to artists during the Cold War, enabling expressions of protest that publishers or audiences might otherwise have rejected.'° Joanna Russ believed similarly that SF could "crystallize an awful lot of things [people are] already feeling," and could be particularly useful to minority authors hoping to convey new perspectives on science and society to wider audiences."

As they staked claims for themselves in the American future, early women SF authors made three major contributions to their chosen genre. First and foremost, they made complex character development a priority in a genre that initially excelled in big ideas and impressive gadgetry rather than emotional depth. As Andre Norton put it, hard science and technology might well be crucial to making a story SF, but what really interested her was "why people do things and how they might react."' To better explore these questions, women revised one of the oldest and most central relationships in SF: that of humans and aliens. Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, authors drew on widespread assumptions about Darwinian competition between species to cast aliens as bug-eyed monsters whose horrifying appearance reflected their equally horrifying desire to steal scarce resources from humans. But as early as 1928, Clare Winger Harris's "The Miracle of the Lily" challenged such representations with its depiction of a man who struggles against his innate antipathy toward aliens upon meeting sympathetic, intelligent insects from Venus. Other early SF authors included in this volume who elaborate on the startling notion that humans might cooperate rather than compete with those who differ from them include Zenna Henderson, Rosel George Brown, and Ursula K. Le Guin. Women also challenged extant ideas about the natural hostility between species by telling tales from alien points of view. Leslie F. Stone pioneered this technique in her 1931 battle-of-the-sexes tale "The Conquest of Gola," which invites readers to side with the female inhabitants of Venus as they ward off attack by their male Earthly neighbors. Sub-sequent authors, including Margaret St. Clair, Carol Emshwiller, and Sonya Dorman, refined this reversal of perspective to explore a host of issues, including sexism, racism, environmentalism, colonialism, and capitalism.

Not surprisingly, women revised science fictional representations of male-female relations as well. "Readers are tired of the yarn based on the super-hero and the ravishing babe," Leigh Brackett warned would-be SF writers in 1944. For her,


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stereotypical Pulp Era romance narratives, full of stalwart space jocks with their requisite ray-guns saving hysterical damsels in distress from monstrous aliens, were simply "old stuff." Fortunately, Brackett and many other contributors to this anthology felt that "you can get away with practically anything [in SF] as long as it's well and subtly done." 13 Well before their explicitly feminist successors (or in a few cases their explicitly feminist future selves), many of the women included here were rethinking the gender roles that their male counterparts and the broader culture usually took as given—sometimes to an extent that might have been difficult to express without the imaginative freedom or allegorical cover of SF.

Instead of wish-fulfilling fantasies of masculine heroism, Doris Pitkin Buck, Kate Wilhelm, and James Tiptree, Jr., offer stories in which male protagonists not only fail to save the women they love but turn out themselves to be responsible for the scientific and social situations that have endangered these women in the first place. Katherine MacLean, Andre Norton, and others cast women as experts who embrace alternate modes of science emphasizing intuition and empathy with the natural world. C. L. Moore, Leslie Perri, and Joanna Russ transform the damsels of SF cliché into "sheroes" who engage in quests and fight for truth and justice with almost superhuman strength, but who reject the stoicism, rugged individualism, and separation from nature that define the classic male hero. Still other stories by Judith Merril, Rosel George Brown, and Alice Eleanor Jones introduce readers to an entirely new character type: the housewife heroine whose relative happiness or un-happiness in the future becomes a barometer for evaluating the relative merits of our technocultural arrangements in the present. (Jones's "Created He Them"—published in 1955, two years before the debut of Leave It to Beaver—is a striking example of the latter class. Darkly dystopian and profoundly antipatriarchal, it sounds a housewife's note of protest against the expectations and conformities of the baby boom years. Jones is one of those authors, and there are others in this collection, who almost no one has heard of but whom many will find worth reading.)

Traversing interstellar voids, piloting vast spaceships, and exploring exotic planets as nimbly as male SF writers, the women of early SF also built more intimate, down-to-earth worlds for speculation and reflection. The revelations of Wilmar H. Shiras's mutant-child story "In Hiding"—an influential text for the X-Men comics—unfold in an ordinary, present-day office and suburban home, spaces that seem as exciting in Shiras's hands as any high-tech lab. Judith Merril's midcentury classic "That Only a Mother" tackles the consequences of nuclear proliferation without special effects, in modest, near-future interiors. Zenna Henderson's "Ararat" transforms a typical rural schoolhouse and its surroundings into a scene of alien and paranormal encounter. (A first-grade teacher for all of her adult life, Henderson saw Kim Darby and William Shatner portray her characters in The People, made for TV in 1972.)

Motherhood, community survival, and the future of human reproduction are significant concerns in these and other stories featured here, both early and late. The ways in which science and technology might be used to literally reconstruct sex, overturning readers' assumptions about "natural" gendered behavior and enabling radical new modes of living, are a third prominent theme throughout women's speculative fiction. Anticipated on occasion in stories of the Pulp Era and Golden Age, it is particularly evident in the New Wave stories of Sonya Dorman, Marion Zimmer Bradley and John Jay Wells (Juanita Coulson), and Ursula K. Le Guin, all of whom extrapolate from current scientific and technological developments to imagine worlds in which sex, gender, sexual orientation, and individual humanity have been profoundly altered. How will cohorts of clones address each other? How will military men feel about their pregnancies? Shape-shifting and protoplasmic, will we look back with nostalgia on bodies, or on love? From provocative thought-experiments such as these, the overtly feminist SF of the 1970s began to take form. It is one thing to map the limits of traditional gender roles and the damage they do to women and men alike, as many authors in this volume do implicitly. It is another to envision and articulate new arrangements that might have some positive bearing on the present—as several New Wave authors, including Ursula K. Le Guin in The Left Hand of Darkness (1969) and


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Joanna Russ in The Female Man (1975), went on to do over the course of their subsequent careers.

And this is why we need to remember the women of early SF: they are the missing link between the pioneering ex


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begun to retrieve his singularity as a 'Marxist conservative,' a 'creative' or 'Western Marxist' trapped in the Soviet Union, an ultra-Hegelian at odds with the more heterodox and opportunistic totalitarian regime, or as one of the founding figures of a secret socialist humanism whose potentiality has yet to be unlocked. Recently, an entire issue of a scholarly journal was published devoted to different interpretations of his work.

The Crisis of Ugliness has not yet been part of this new international reception, however. Published in 1968 only months before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, it is by far Lifshitz's most controversial book. As a philippic aimed against the canonization of Cubism and Pop, it would finalize Lifshitz's reputation as a hardliner. Yet at the same time, it was one of the few sources on classical modernist and neo-avant-garde art widely available in the Soviet Union in the years to come. It was richly illustrated and served as a valuable source of information even if few agreed with its author's orthodox Marxist views.

The appearance of The Crisis of Ugliness was part of an ongoing scandal that first erupted in 1966 when the nationwide weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta published Lifshitz's manifesto-like essay 'Why Am I Not a Modernist,' the last text in the present volume. During the tentative 'Thaw' after Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin's personality cult at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, modernism had stood for de-Stalinization and democracy. It is exactly this link that Lifshitz called into question in his pamphlet. The idea that early twentieth-century modernism was inherently democratic was simply a myth, he argued. In fact, the campaign against reason waged by the thinkers and artists of the avant-garde opened the doors for the epoch's later barbarism. Lifshitz does not condemn this as complicity but reads it in terms of tragic guilt and historical irony, central themes in his overall work. He admits that there might be 'good modernists', but there is `no such thing as good modernism. Instead, he votes for even the most mediocre academic art, though he winks and says that his faithful readers will know that this is not where he places his ideals.

In the essay's last sentences, Lifshitz dreams of raising Kafka from the grave to write a short story about the worshippers of modernist darkness, including his own. This mention of Kafka is a local reference for the benefit of the Czechoslovak readerships of the Prague-based journal Estetika, for which this text was first commissioned in 1964. But beyond a sympathy for one of the 'good modernists' it also suggests that there might be another, more subversive way of reading Lifshitz's polemic, though very few saw it at the time. Lifshitz's rejection of modernism was broadly interpreted as a demand for an unwanted return to Stalinist orthodoxy. That this demand seemed to come from an otherwise respected intellectual made it look like an act of betrayal.

Some still remembered Lifshitz as a prominent aesthetic theoretician of the 1930s who had fallen silent in the last decade of Stalin's reign. Right after Stalin's death, he had returned to the public eye with one of the first substantial criticisms of the vacuity, sycophancy, and superficiality of Stalinist prose with The Diary of Marietta Shaginian. This article was one of the first signs of the 'Thaw', published in Novy Mir, a monthly literary journal edited by Lifshitz's wartime friend and former student, the poet Alexander Tvardovsky. 1954 proved too soon for such and similar critiques. Tvardovsky was dismissed for this and other contributions, though he was later reinstated in 1958, after which Novy Mir became the mainstay of institutional revisionism in cultural criticism. Perhaps the journal's most significant publication was that of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag novella A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (1962). (Lifshitz wrote an internal review saying that it would be a crime not to publish it.)

Given these affiliations, no one was expecting Lifshitz to offer up any fun-damental critique of modernism, and when he did, the negative response was overwhelming. Letters flooded in from all over the country. A group of prominent academics wrote a public statement, former Stalinist hawks like Alexander Dymshits published rejoinders against Lifshitz's outburst of aesthetic conservatism, future dissident Lev Kopelev wrote to him imploring him to recant and give up his unflattering role at the 'Protopope Avakum' of a new sect of aesthetic Old Believers. Only the literary critic Efim Etkind came to Lifshitz's defence.


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Speaking at a public discussion of The Crisis of Ugliness in Leningrad, he pointed out that it was impossible to conflate Lifshitz with standard government issue anti-modernism. Instead, he was a 'tragic figure' who had made immeasurable contributions and upheld something like culture at the darkest hour. But now, he was out of step with his time.

Etkind was right to emphasize the importance of Lifshitz's earlier contributions. In the early 1930s, he had been the first to gather and systematise all references to art and literature scattered throughout Marx and Engels's writings and correspondence, a project that generated both the Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx, already mentioned above, and the anthology Marx and Engels on Literature and Art, often published under different editorships. Lifshitz's was the first work to examine in detail the implications of Marx's writings before 1848, showing how Marx the disappointed poet first became a radical humanist philosopher, how he developed an anthropology rejecting private property in its stupidity, one-sidedness, and hostility to all culture, and how he foresaw its positive sublation in a coming revolutionary humanism.

In the 1950s-60s, a new generation would massively tap into precisely this 'young' Marx. Especially Marx's manuscripts of 1844 and their use of alienation would become the mainstay of Marxism humanism in the 1950s-60s. Thirty years before, Lifshitz had been one of the first to work with precisely these texts, arguing that they clearly showed how Marx was heir to a legacy of aesthetics running from Schiller to Hegel and his ambiguous theory of 'the end of art,' whose traces could be found in the pores of his mature critique of political economy. Lifshitz's Marx is a defender of the classics who understands their impossibility under a capitalism hostile to art; he is a critic of Romanticism and its liberal alibi for maintaining a bourgeois autocratic status quo, a partisan of realism, understood broadly, and the forethinker of an art of truth to come once capitalism has ended. 'Art is dead! Long live art!' is Marx's slogan, according to Lifshitz.

There is clearly a link between this early work and Lifshitz's later antimodernist writings, including The Crisis of Ugliness. In his introduction to the GD R-translation of his Marx-book in 1960,10 he shows how his views took shape in the mid-to-late 1920S when he was a student and later a lecturer at the avant-garde art school Vkhutemas. In the 'classical period' of the 'negation of classical art,' Lifshitz would make the case for a Marxist interpretation of classical aesthetics. On the one hand, he opposed the productionism of the Soviet avant-garde, as in the group of artists and poets around the journal LEF. On the other hand, he would rebel against the sociological interpretation of art according to psychoideologies of class, which saw itself as a continuation of the 'sociology of art' developed by the father of Russian Marxism, Georgy Plekhanov. Such sociological art critics would include Vladimir Pereverzev or Vladimir Fritsche. Lifshitz's alternative was a return to Hegel and his lectures on aesthetics, read through Lenin (whose philosophical notes were only becoming known at the time), and brought to bear on the avant-garde's much fetishized negativity. Lifshitz's answer was 'the negation of negation', the Leninist conception of 'appropriating cultural legacies' that would later become so central to the entire Soviet aesthetic project under Stalin and beyond. In an interview in the 1970s, he says that he dreamed of a New Renaissance, brought about by the self-activity of the emancipated masses, a dream that, as he admits, was utopian," perhaps even more so than that of his modernist colleagues.

In the late 1920s, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, Lifshitz was branded as a right-wing deviant, and he left his teaching position for a research-er's post at the Marx-Engels-Institute. It was here that he shared an office with philosopher György Lukács, who, though twenty years older, would later credit Lifshitz as a lasting influence 12 Lifshitz and Lukács would become friends for life. Their collaboration was especially intense between 1933 (when Lukács definitively moved to Moscow) and 1940, in ever-darker times overshadowed by the rise of National Socialism in Germany and Stalinism in the USSR. Lifshitz's 1933 introduction to his Marx-book clearly positions his efforts as a comprehensive cultural counterproposal to the supposedly integral but actually wildly ecclectic fascist Weltanschauung that claims classical aesthetics for itself. This anti-fascist pathos resurfaced in a new form in 'Why Am I Not a


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Modernist' and subsequent texts, just as in Lukács' work from the 1950s-60s.

What also resurfaced through the discussion of 'Why Am I Not a Modernist' and The Crisis of Ugliness was Lifshitz's ambivalent role in intellectual life under Stalin. 'Somehow, I am guilty,' he would write in reference to his own participa¬tion in the fierce intellectual battles that continued right up to the time of the Great Terror. 'But of what? Of the fact that I made use of the [regime's] struggle against the opposition to effect a victory over an even greater evil, but the victory proved ephemeral'. That greater evil, to Lifshitz, was the class determinism and proletarian identitarianism that had grown rampant after 1928 in the 'class war' waged against bourgeois ideology and specialists during the Cultural Revolution. He himself had been a victim. But by 1930, the climate began to change with a series of campaigns in the intellectual world, first against the academic Marxist philosophers of the 1920S such as Deborin, Sten, and Luppol, then against the workerist literature of the literary organization RAPP, dissolved in 1932, ending with the readmission of non-Communist 'bourgeois' specialists into the intellectual world in the run-up to the Writers' Congress of 1934. In this time, he would rise to prominence as a critic of 'vulgar sociology', attacking the academic philosophers (many of them former Mensheviks) for not recognizing the significance of Lenin's philosophical insights into Marxism. But at the same time, he would begin to develop ideas fundamentally at odds with Stalinism's radical equalization, its deep-seated anti-intellectualism, and its constant tendency to nationalism and isolation.

Lifshitz would later characterize the period between 1931 and 1935 as a gap between two repressive systems in which he was able to make all of his most important theoretical breakthroughs. As cultural policy shifted, it partially embraced the kind of Marxist humanism he championed, and Lifshitz himself became more visibile, even if he never received an academic or permanent institutional post. He taught extensively at the Communist Academy until its closure in 1936 and in the period before World War Two, at the Chernyshchevsky Institute for Philosophy, Literature, and History (IFLI), where his lectures were remembered as especially powerful. Lifshitz was prolific as an editor for the publishing houses Akademia and Molodoya Gvardia, where he worked on the Zhizn' znamenitykh lyudei [Lives of Famous People] series. In 1936, he became involved with what today would be called curating as deputy director for scholarship at the Tretyakov Gallery. Here, he participated in the dismantling of the radical museological experiments of Alexei Fyodorov-Davydov, and provided the theoretical foundations for the rehabilitation of early 20th century Russian art and icon painting, which he read as a form of realism.

But most importantly, Lifshitz became known from the mid-1930s onward as one of the key intellectuals around Literaturny Kritik, a journal founded in 1933 in the run-up to the First Soviet Writers' Congress of 1934 to consolidate the literary community. Eventually, the monthly journal became a platform for the critique of 'vulgar sociology,' and for the articulation of a Marxist aesthetic opposed to the widespread officiousness and sycophancy of the era's culture. 'Under Stalin's shadow, the journal acquired the paradoxical status of a fronde,' writes Stanley Mitchell, and the place where Lifshitz and Lukács would develop their alternative to the normative notions of Socialist Realism. '[Combining] Hegel's aesthetic theory, Marx's early ontology and anthropo¬logy, Engels's definition of realism and Lenin's concept of reflection ... the two thinkers developed a model of aesthetics and realism that could be applied to the entirety of history, starting with cave paintings'.

This realism would be far more than a heroic reappropriation of nineteenth-century naturalism, reassembled around a quasi-religious messianic expectation; rather it would tap into the artwork's capacity for reflecting the pro¬founder, more uncomfortable truth of outer reality in all its developing contradictions. This truth will not be the subjectivity of one particular class or nation, but the experience of society as a whole, Lifshitz proclaims in his key article 'Leninism and Art Criticism' (1936), also published in English in 1938. Class con¬sciousness is not the egotism of one class; it is the consciousness of the totality of social relations, attained by overcoming the narrowness of class


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origin. In practice, this meant that the writers of Literarurny Kritik defended writers previously branded as class enemies. They endorsed the works of international writers like Thomas Mann, and gave very real support to the writer Andrei Platonov, whose dystopian novellas and stories of the ravages of the Civil War and rapid industrialization Stalin personally disliked, and whose frequent presence on the journal's pages eventually led to its closure.

Platonov's presence in the inner circle of Literaturny Kritik is a little like Lifshitz's mention of Kafka in his late 'Why Am I Not a Modernist'. It disrupts any facile critique of Lukács and Lifshitz's turn to classicism and realism as mere antiquarianism or even more to an idealistic form of art production suited to covering up the crimes of the regime, a 'personal Weimar — a cultural island among power relations unambiguously hostile toward any democratic culture,' as Ferenc Feher once put it in reference to Lukács. Stanley Mitchell more generously speaks of a 'strategic withdrawal' of genuine Marxism to the aesthetic field in response to 'Stalin's suppression of revolutionary politics,' adding that this withdrawal's prototype was the 'reconciliation to reality' that Hegel had reached in the sobering aftermath of the French Revolution. Hegel did not give up on the critical insights or revolutionary ideals of his youth. Instead, he had realized that reason would not prevail on the strength of subjective ideas pitted against reality with willpower alone; if there was such a thing as reason, it was immanent to reality as a whole, even if that whole seemed 'wrong or unreasonable'.

Hegel's 'reconciliation' with reality and his recognition of the ideal immanent to the real set his philosophy apart from other German idealism. His realism allowed later readers to radicalize his philosophy, Lifshitz affirmed. In that sense, Hegel's seeming acquiesence to the state or bourgeois society was actually full of subversive elements, to be reclaimed by generations to come. Such subversive elements can also be found in Lifshitz's own texts. He characterises them as a form of ultra-sound, audible only to the trained ear of the thirties, and imperciptible to the repressive machine. A brilliant stylist, he adopted the bombastic, lethal tone of the time's vicious literary polemics. 'But my task consisted in accepting [this tone as an] inevitable precondition, and in overcoming this element of crude directness with a highly developed literary form. I must admit that this was hellish work,' he later wrote in his notes. The resulting style is very much like his characterization of one of his favourite writers, Nikolai Chernyshchevsky, usually known for the bluntness and even woodenness of his all-too-direct prose: 'It is time to finally recognize that Chernyshchevksy wrote intelligently, with a fine, sometimes nearly imperceptible irony, playing the fool while searching for the truth like Socrates, or goading his contemporaries with crass judgements to wake them from their protracted slumber.

...

Lifshitz's characterization of Chernyshchevsky's bluntness — today one would call it political incorrectness — applies most of all to his anti-modernist texts. Most of his contemporaries and even his faithful readers proved impervious to their irony, especially vis-à-vis a preexisting and continuing anti-modernist discourse, and not only a pro-modernist one. One can already see this unusual combination in the title of the present book, The Crisis of Ugliness. Lifshitz did not invent it but rather lifted it from Georgy Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, who had written about Cubism after a visit to the Salon d' automne of 1912. Plekhanov, in turn, was quoting the late nineteenth—early twentieth-century art critic Camille Mauclair. 'La crise de la laideur' appears in his Trois crises de l' art actuel (1906) in reference to the Fauves, whom he accuses of having gone too far afield from the last viable modern painterly practice, impressionism. Plekhanov translated this turn of phrase into Russian as krizis bezobrazie. Bezobrazie, in Russian, has nuances that the English ugliness does not, connoting infantile, even carnivalesque foolishness, leading far beyond the disfigured, the unattractive or the unsightly of the French laideur.

Lifshitz picks up Plekhanov's turn of phrase in his critical study of Cubism, the first and longest essay in the book, where he elaborates the attack on Picasso. By the early 1960s, Picasso had been fully rehabilitated as a friend of the Soviet Union, a communist party member, and the author of the


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dove of peace and Guernica, symbols of pacificism and resistance to fascist aggression. His status as a normative classic was beyond question, his early radical work domesticated and considered 'beautiful' or 'expressive'. Lifshitz's study of Cubism rails against this consensus. 'Our yellow-pink drooling over Picasso deserves only a good Russian curse,' he would write in private correspondance. Picasso, Braque, and the others were radicals whose work breathed burning kerosene to scandalize the last generation of aesthetes. To canonize them as a new aesthetic norm would completely miss their anti-aesthetic point. Lifshitz deconstructs the Western canonization of Cubism as a 'Copernican turn', showing how the same hackneyed, unquestionable stereotypes migrated from text to text, eventually making their way into the all-too uncritical writing of Western neo-Marxists.

Lifshitz opposes such admixtures of modernism and Marxism, and, in his blunt manner, declares the two utterly incompatible. But on a more subtle level, he also takes issue with the flat-out rejection of modernism in 'Eastern' Marxism, making it clear that censorship or worse are not on his agenda. These are not criminal proceedings against individuals or attacks on personal integrity, he emphasizes, echoing Marx's disclaimer that worker and capitalist are not concrete individuals but character masks. He seeks to complicate the widespread view of modernism as a mere symptom of bourgeois decadence through a critical reading of Plekhanov's 'Art and Social Life'. Plekhanov derides Leger's Woman in Blue as 'nonsense cubed' — Lifshitz clearly loves this blunt phrase — and sees it as an expression of decadent bourgeois idealism. But at the same time, Plekhanov ignores the Cubists' larger intent, their attraction to a new order of a wholly constructed, geometricized life, which politically corresponds to their drift to the right. Plekhanov thus bypasses what Lifshitz terms as the social or ontological utopia of all modernism, namely that of a hyper-personal, collectively organized life. Limiting himself to purely formal and logical aspects, Plekhanov infuses most later Marxist writing on Cubism with a heavy dose of 'vulgar sociology'.

Lifshitz proposes to think beyond Plekhanov and to apply Lenin's 'theory of reflection' to Cubism and modernism: to look at the total objective social relations as reflected in the truth-relations of the actual work. Cubism rejects Enlightenment values both in theory and practice; its grammar of primary volumes, passages, and prisms is a decomposition of the rationalist artistic tradition, where optics would strain to see truthfully past illusion. For Cubism, vision offers no such path to truth; its multiple, simultaneous perspectives are hieroglyphs for the dream of attaining a true objecthood beyond vision — via the worship of materiality itself.

This activates another subtext in the Russian etymology of bezobrazie, literally, image-lessness, as in the lack of vision, images, or ideals. Lifshitz was probably not aware that the only equivalent to this etymological construct appeared in theological debates after the Second World War in Germany as Bildlosigkeit. But there is a (counter-)theological subtext in all of his writing that reaches one of its highpoints in The Crisis of Ugliness. In their iconoclasm and their search for a realm beyond images, the modernists resemble gnostic sectarians and mystics. They are true believers in hopeless times whose honest despair reflects 'the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heartbeat of the heartless world'. But their esoteric cults are adopted by the mainstream as opiates and ciphers for the dream of a world where the tortured spirit-mind has finally overcome itself, returning to matter in the form of a fast-moving mass commodity.

This is a new version of Hegel's legendary return of the spirit to matter from The Phenomenology of the Spirit (1807) that Lifshitz describes in his 'Phenomenology of the Soup Can' (1967), the shorter essay on Pop in this volume. Lifshitz, on the one hand, is making light of the deadly seriousness with which critics and philosophers considered Pop. But deeper down, the irony of his argument targets the conservative soft-modernist attitudes in the Soviet Union: he is mocking those proponents of classical modernism who support the decomposition of painting, but stop short of 'contemporary,' anti-formalist, conceptual practices, scandalized by their vapidity and emptiness.


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In a situation generally starved for information, Lifshitz offers Soviet readers a brief history of Pop in an intricate digest-collage of French, German and English-language press clippings, up-to-date with happenings and performances that Moscow neo-modernist artists of the time did not know. He almost gleefully narrates Pop's ascendency over Abstract Expressionism from the price crisis of abstract painting in 1962 to the Venice Biennial of 1964, and its sprawl into the grey zone between high art and mass culture. Lifshitz's is a view at a remove; he never travelled to the West, compounding an already grandfatherly amazement at the antics — the bezobrazie — of the youth in distant lands. Lifshitz is not as scandalized by Pop as his modernist opponents: in fact, he at times even revels in drawing up an evocative narrative where 'the lovely Ingrid, Batman, and Warhol's factory of superstars all beckon from across the sea. Yet at the same time, he is ruthless in his depiction of Pop's total, self-conscious commodification, its support by the state, but also its role in a society of 'bread and circuses', a massively expanding retail culture of increasingly atomized, alienated individuals. Lifshitz quotes contemporary American authors like David Riesman or Vance Packard, and there is also an overlap with Guy Debord's 'society of the spectacle', especially in a common sensitivity for what Debord calls the 'philanthropy of the commodity; which Lifshitz describes as the new social demagogy of a leisure society that pretends it has a new form of 'popular' art. Here, again, Lifshitz takes up the anti-fascist theme of his book, prefiguring the softer, post-modern authoritarianisms whose emergence we are currently witnessing.

The anti-fascist pathos of The Crisis of Ugliness is not the only link to Lifshitz's Marx-book of 1933. Another common motif is the role of unhappy or disintegrated consciousness (zerissenes Bewusstsein) in Hegel's Phenomenology, and the importance of this idea to Marx. In a disintegrating modernity, disintegrated, unhappy consciousness has an advantage. 'Since ignoble consciousness understands the "universally human" character of its own way of life,' he writes, 'it can rise to an understanding of how social relationships generally "disintegrate". Thus, it becomes immeasurably better than official society, which only pursues self-serving motives under the hypocritical guise of honesty and noblesse'. For Marx, disintegrated consciousness had the chance to rise up in indignation, but in the case of Pop (and its predecessors), the indignation targets consciousness itself. This is why Pop is paradoxically flat, consciously dumbed down and intentionally vapid. It imitates the 'philanthropy of the commodity' — its conversion of leisure into a 'down-time' of non-binding, mindless pleasures — but it is made from a complex, fractured 'meta-position of the spirit' that dwells in the upper floors of consciousness and longs for self-oblivion. Today, such figures are still recognizable as the endless longing for the power of plain human stupidity in the age of technocratically accelerated artificial intelligence.

The Crisis of Ugliness was at odds with the standard government-issue antimodernist propaganda of its time, as we have seen. Taking up arguments and polemics from three decades before, it placed itself beyond both the outright rejection of modern art through Stalinist conservatives — on the grounds of its Western or non-proletarian nature — and its partial rehabilitation through the liberal Soviet intelligentsia. An attentive reader will see that this is only possible because Lifshitz's is not an external but an immanent critique of modernism. He is more than familiar with the logic of negation that far more benevolent critics in the West would fetishize. Its perfomative rejection of the modernist paradigm is at the same time a pastiche of avant-gardist criticism, belying firsthand experience of what it could mean to be a modernist or a contemporary artist.

Part of the historical significance of Crisis is that its publication coincided chronologically with a number of decisive cleavages in the art scene. After 1968, the bifurcation between 'official' and 'inofficial' cultures solidified. Both classical modernism and the local neo-avantgardes were increasingly pushed out of the public sphere into a domestic underground. Lifshitz now clearly belonged to the 'official' world, even if his writing and his positions were somehow alien to it. He had vehemently opposed the denial of publicity to modernist


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(counter)culture, demanding that Soviet audiences make up their own minds on Cubism or Pop. But now, that denial was almost complete. Just as modernism and contemporary art were excluded from the public, Lifshitz's theoretical position — that of Marxism-Leninism — was excluded from any serious debate about what it could mean to be contemporary, modern, or modernist until roughly two decades ago, even though his book was still there as a source.

After 1968, there was another split in the underground itself. Artists like Ilya Kabakov, Erik Bulatov, Viktor Pivovarov, or Komar and Melamid would articulate conceptualist practices, breaking with the 'expressionist' pathos of their neighbours, and rejecting their individual underground quests of metaphysical self-expression as false freedom. This rejection runs parallel to Lifshitz's argumentation against a reconciliatory, aestheticist modernism, but also resonates with his unmasking of its homemade theologies. There is not much evidence of Lifshitz's direct reception among the first generation of Moscow Conceptualists, however. One rare exception is a short enigmatic blank verse by conceptual poet Vsevelod Nekrassov, another is a recent interview of Alexander Melamid by art critic Andrei Kovalev, in which it turns out that Melamid was always familiar with Lifshitz in detail and even met him, because his parents knew him personally.

It is unclear how far thinkers like Boris Groys or artists like Ilya Kabakov were explicitly influenced by Mikhail Lifshitz's Crisis of Ugliness. It is highly suggestive, however, that the first generation of Moscow Conceptualists would be haunted by Socialist Realism and its central contradiction, the universal scope of its aesthetic ambition and its parochial lack of aesthetic means, its cosmic desires to reach the level of species-being — Gattungswesen — and its complete vulgarization and flattening of both classical and modernist means at its disposal. (Ilya Kabakov mentions this as the central drama of his artistic socialization, and one modernist practices could never fully overcome.) One could see this as the aesthetic version of the contradiction that Lifshitz — with Engels — sees at the heart of the revolutionary tragedy: 'the tragic clash between the historically necessary postulate and the impossibility of its execution in practice,' or as Lenin would put it in a marginal note, 'the gulf (chasm) between the immensity of the task and the poverty of our material and cultural means'. In Lifshitz's notes and essays, this 'gulf' resurfaces: 'Choleric revolt on the one side, fake communists on the other. How many bodies must we throw to bridge the chasm between them?'

As one can see, there is a huge difference between the Moscow Conceptualists and Lifshitz's positions. For the Moscow Conceptualists, the contradiction at the heart of Soviet aesthetics reflected little more than exhaustion and failure; Soviet aesthetics were interesting to them because they revolved around an 'empty centre'. Lifshitz's view 0f the revolutionary tragedy — and its possible reflection in aesthetic problems — is full of historical content, of an awareness of the fact that the Soviet experience was far more than just some semiotic construct of a propaganda machine. He would have dismissed the Moscow Conceptualists' obsesssion with linguistic conventions and hollow language as yet another post-modern version of the nothing that nothings. (Heidegger, not Lifshitz, Marx, or Hegel, was the philosopher the Conceptualists quoted and admired.)

In that sense, Lifshitz is a contemporary of the contemporary in the moment of its emergence in the Soviet Union, commenting on developments more and more limited in their relevance to the off-world of in official culture from the increasingly isolated vantage of his own, increasingly conceptual Marxist-Leninist aesthetic philosophy. His untimeliness in the Soviet Sixties, still lingering today, places him in proximity to the figure of the contemporary as described by philosopher Giorgio Agamben through Osip Mandelstam's poetic subject, who mends the broken backbone of the century with his own blood: one foot out of step with the present, yet able to see its darkness, and to understand it as a light from the future that has not reached us. It is this 'darkness' that Lifshitz wants to show when he dreams of reviving Kafka, a darkness that extends far beyond the classics of modernist art or those of the Western or Eastern European neo-avant-gardes into our own present.

That is not to say that Lifshitz should be read as an anticipation of or contribution to contemporary


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theory, to be inserted seamlessly into a row of other neo-Marxist and post-communist thinkers retroactively. Even if many of his insights prefigure those of post-modern art criticism, he opposed the very idea of post-modernism vehemently in his lifetime. Instead, Lifshitz remains untimely. He stands out like a sore thumb in the world of contemporary theory, whose anti-essentialism and post-universalism cannot tolerate his insistance upon an art of apprehensible truth after the 'end of art. In a post-colonial setting, his communist apology for Russian and Western European culture in its orientation toward Greco-Roman antiquity and Christianity as an alternative to the 'artificial barbarism' of modernity seems Eurocentric to say the least. Worse yet, his theories of the popularity of art as a criterion for its truth-value and his polemic against modernist elitism could be perceived as the historical version of today's attacks upon contemporary art and its infrastructure by the resurgent radical right.

In that sense, there may be a danger of reading Lifshitz naively as an argument against a `globalist' contemporary art that encroaches upon national traditions and popular taste, and claiming that this is where his contemporary relevance lies. Such readings are deaf to the 'ultra-sound' of Lifshitz's writing, whose intention is more to overcome or to sublate modernism than to simply reject it, just as his intention was certainly not to embrace ordinary conservatism with all its variants of chauvinism. As for his purported Eurocentrism, it needs to be seen in the context of Russia as a `subaltern Empire' on the margins of Europe, where the October Revolution offered a chance to take over and invert self-colonizing relations. One might read Lifshitz's appropriation of Hegel, Marx, Vico, or Winckelmann against the backdrop of Timothy Brennan's Borrowed Light, which points toward the reworking of Viconian-Hegelian thinking as an emancipative tool in the former colonies. Moreover, Lifshitz's very definition of realism has non-Eurocentric elements. He recognizes the realism of African or Asian art in its own setting, then de-realized, one might add, in its appropriation by Western modernists. Lifshitz envisions a new Renaissance in the underdeveloped East, but without the imperialist-national chauvinist elements he would oppose quite explicitly at the most dangerous of times. That is ultimately the source of his counter-proposal to the global spread of modernist and contemporary culture as we know it today.

In that sense, it seems crucial to read and translate Lifshitz in his tension as a communist contemporary of the contemporary, to place him into the context of the capitalist contemporary art he rejected, in all his untimeliness. Lifshitz acknowledges the ontological radicalism of an anti-aesthetic art and grasps the vector of its conceptual outcome. But he also continues to insist upon an aesthetic alternative to contemporary culture and its proposition-oriented conceptualism. To imagine that alternative today from the situation of a permanent legitimacy crisis — reflecting a very real epistemic uncertainty vis-à-vis an increasingly instable present — is more than intriguing.

At the same time, this alternative is like Agamben's light of some cosmic event in another galaxy that has yet to reach our planet. In Lifshitz's view of history, art will only shift from its ultra-modernizing mode of the eternal 'bad' present into true contemporaneity when the self-activity of the masses cleans the legacies of an oppressed humanity's cultural history, putting them to new use in the emancipation of consciousness from the narrow-mindedness of the past. For as long as this self-activity is absent, the crisis of ugliness persists, and Lifshitz's work stands out as an indictment of the art system and the subjectivity that keeps it intact. <>

It Must Be Art: Big O Poster Artists of the 1960s and 70s, Story and text by Nigel Suckling, Book concept and design by Michael Fishel [Schiffer, 9780764355486]

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, London-based Big O Posters helped define the new and democratic art medium of the psychedelic poster, a vehicle for rebellion against the old order that went hand in hand with the music, literature, and film of the time. This is a comprehensive collection of works published by Big O artists, astonishingly creative folks whose artistry developed almost completely outside the influence of the art establishment. Included in more than 300 images are works by 19 artists, including Martin Sharp, Roger Dean, H.R.


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Giger, Robert Venosa, and Vali Myers whose signature styles include sci-fi, fantasy, visionary, botanical, and surrealism. In addition to hundreds of original works, this book digs below the surface to offer insights and anecdotes about the era, the artistic process, and reveals connections to artists from the past (Aubrey Beardsley, Alphonse Mucha, Kay Nielsen) whose spirit chimed with the age of Big O Posters.

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Excerpt: At the Royal College of Art, in the late sixties, I was in the furniture school and writing my thesis on the psychology of the built environment—architecture. It was an exciting time for design, since much or even more of the experimental work was going on outside the professions and colleges than was going on within.

The magazine Oz really caught my attention as an example of a radical alternative to the way graphic design was taught and practiced. Being simply fascinated with the way it looked, I rarely read it; however, just looking at it was a very freeing experience. Much of it didn't work, much of it was amateurish, but much more of it did work and was amazing.

Peter Ledeboer was business manager at Oz, and as I recall it was the springboard from which he launched Big O. To begin with, like many others, I assumed the "Oz" referred to the Wizard of Oz, but of course it was a reference to that group of Australians who came over at that time and shook up our cultural lives—Richard Neville, Martin Sharp, Germaine Greer, Barry Humphries, Clive James, and the like.

It occurred to me after I had painted my first Osibisa cover that my work might sell directly in its own right and specifically as posters. Although I did not think my work particularly fitted in with what they were doing, Big 0 did the work I liked the best, so I went around to see them. It was wonderfully chaotic. I can't really recall how my work went down at that first meeting, with Peter and Ron Ford, the sales director. Ron told me years later that he had to persuade Peter to publish my work; Peter says he saw a record shop window full of the first Osibisa cover and decided then that he wanted to publish it. Obviously Peter's story is the more flattering so I hope it's the truth.

Peter Ledeboer at Big O was great fun to work with —very informal, but then I was working with other very informal companies, including the formative years of Virgin, so it was not that unusual. However, it did not always work; I once set up a meeting for him with two Frenchmen from Métal Hurlant (Heavy Metal) magazine who were very keen to tie up with Big O for distribution. Afterward I asked Peter how it went and he said "Very strange, they didn't seem to want to talk at all." Later when I asked the French guys they said just the same, adding "Every time we asked him a question he told us to talk to his truck driver."

What had happened was that Peter had gone along to the meeting with Ron Ford, his business partner, and while Ron was in a suit and the French guys were even more extreme in Norfolk jackets and Sherlock Holmes hats, Peter himself was in a psychedelic T-shirt and sandals . . .

## Introduction by Nigel Suckling

As a student in London in the late 60s and early 70s it was impossible not to be conscious of Big 0


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Posters. To begin with, of course, I, like most others, was unaware of the company's name. It was the images that caught the eye, pinned large on bedsit walls and filling shop windows wherever you went. Psychedelic posters such as those by Martin Sharp went hand in hand with hippie music as a new and democratic art medium, and an enormous explosion of imagination was poured into them at the same time as artists were rescued from the past whose spirit chimed with the age—Aubrey Beardsley, Alphonse Mucha, Kay Neilsen. And as with hippie music, after a while you started to pay attention to the labels of the companies providing the inspiration because some showed markedly better and consistent taste than others—Vertigo, Harvest, and Chrysalis, for example, in the case of music—and Big O with posters. There were hosts of other publishers at the time, but Big O was the name found most often in small print at the foot of the posters that caught your eye.

The company was run by Peter Ledeboer, a big, boisterous man bursting with enthusiasm for whatever was the company's latest publication. Its title came from his wife's dry observation that Peter seemed to get more excited by the business than any offers in the bedroom, and on the door of his office on the Fulham Road, where stars

They never usually come back." Then, seeing my incomprehension, he went on: "I mean the artists who come knocking at our door. We never usually see them again. This is great; we'll publish it."

I left with Gerry Rafferty's "So They Made You a Star" chiming in my mind and Battersea looking like paradise. It didn't quite work out like a fairytale in practice, of course, but I did have a lot of fun with Big O over the next five or six years. They published three of my posters and then a self-illustrated fantasy novel in 1979. Along the way I met a few other artists they published such as Rodney Matthews (who showed up in a snarling Lotus) and Bob Venosa. Bob's book Manas Manna was published just before mine, and for some reason I got invited to a party to celebrate its launch in a gallery/bar in Marylebone. This degenerated into a kind of Big O Christmas party where all the office flirtations burst drunkenly out into the open. There must have been a good few blushes and strained marriages at Big O the next day.

Another memorable event was a kind of premier of Alien in London to celebrate HR Giger's contribution to the creepy look of the film. Giger came out on stage looking like a ghost in black leather with kinky silver jewelry to acknowledge applause. Then the audience had the pleasure of witnessing without any forewarning the film's general scariness and famous chest-exploding scene. Giger's book Necronomicon had been a stellar success for Big O, and I believe it helped inspire Ridley Scott to choose him as concept designer for the alien side of the movie (though, lawyers note, that's only the rumor I heard at the time). Incidentally, Bob Venosa once visited Giger at home in Switzerland but did a runner in the middle of the night because the place spooked him out so much. He managed longer visiting Salvador Dalí longer in Spain.

Happy days! I was not a frequent visitor to Big O, but there was always a great friendly atmosphere there and something exciting going on; except I suppose toward the end, when the company found itself in tricky waters and heading for the rocks, despite heroic efforts by Captain Ledeboer and his trusty crew. In the course of this, I said to Peter one day in the pub next to the Fulham Road offices, where he had just spelled out the dire straits they were in: "So I don't suppose there's much chance of the payment due on my book now?"

"My accountants would kill me," he replied. Then, "Oh what the hell!" he said and wrote out the check anyway—and a real lifesaver it was, too, because my wife and I were in the throes of buying a house just then, and that advance was half the cash in hand we needed to go ahead. Ten or fifteen years later I happened to bump into Peter by chance at the London Book Fair and he said: "So how did it go with that house then?" And I was able to tell him that not only had it worked out brilliantly but that we were still happily living there. Which we still are in fact to this day.

## A Day in the Life of the Big O from an interview with Lyn Birkbeck by Nigel Suckling

Lyn Birkbeck, now a professional astrologer with many books to his name, was one of those caught


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up in the phenomenon of Big O from its early days in Battersea to later, when the office had moved to Fulham Road and the warehouse to Gloucestershire. Lyn was a friend of Peter Ledeboer's then girlfriend and now wife, Trish. He was a bit of a lost soul in his youth, unsure what to do with his life. All he really wanted was to write songs, and to this end he holed up in Wales, but from time to time he had to venture down to London to earn pin money at Big O, staying with Peter and Trish.

"Peter was incredibly generous and kind, helping out with money and practical odd jobs in the company alongside the lovely girls that seemed to fill the place, as did a number of the local street characters. He was a kind of father figure to me, as to many others."

Finally Lyn moved completely back to London, staying both with Peter in Battersea and his partner Ron Ford in Peckham, working more regularly with Big O and even achieving the job title of export manager, which mainly involved satisfying the orders that came in from abroad while at the same time turning his hand to anything else that needed doing, as did everyone in the company. On every level, Big O reflected its era, with no real boundaries between management and staff, or between work and pleasure for that matter.

Despite this fine line between business and fun in the organization, "Peter had his head screwed on quite tightly I think," says Lyn. "He was very sensitive to both art and people and somehow he made things work."

People often forget now that the famous partying ethos of the 60s in London actually started quite late in that decade and carried on through most of the 70s. This was reflected at Big O, where the working atmosphere was quite sexually charged, with many affairs going on and spontaneous, often wildly extravagant parties breaking out at the slightest excuse. Such as the occasion when Ron Ford decided to treat the whole firm to a meal at the then-celebrated Tandoori in Fulham Road after staff worked late to get out a big order. Once there, all the other customers in the restaurant, including families, were invited to join in, with Big O footing the whole bill. Ron tended to take a more rock 'n' roll approach to such flamboyant gestures than Peter, who more matter-of-factly would often take numbers of his staff-cum-friends out to meals.

There were noble attempts at greater business efficiency, like the time in Eversleigh Road, Battersea, when it was decided to invest in an early computer for greater stock and accounting control. It took up most of a room, all on its own, petrifying Norma, who was assigned to operate the beast. It never did really work so was left to gather dust like some relic.

More memorably there were company outings to cricket and football matches, but somehow for most of Big O's existence this hippie approach worked and produced some great successes as far as brightening the lives of those who were touched by the company.

"It felt like a family firm, with everyone who worked there being a part of that family. 'Big Pete' was the helmsman in more ways than one. Big O was as much an embodiment of his personality as it was of the times." <>

What China and India Once Were: The Pasts That May Shape the Global Future edited by Sheldon Pollock and Benjamin Elman [Columbia University Press, 9780231184700]

In the early years of the twenty-first century, China and India have emerged as world powers. In many respects, this is a return to the historical norm for both countries. For much of the early modern period, China and India were global leaders in a variety of ways. In this book, prominent scholars seek to understand modern China and India through an unprecedented comparative analysis of their long histories.

Using new sources, making new connections, and reexamining old assumptions, noted scholars of China and India pair up in each chapter to tackle major questions by combining their expertise. What China and India Once Were details how these two cultural giants arrived at their present state, considers their commonalities and divergences, assesses what is at stake in their comparison, and, more widely, questions whether European modernity provides useful contrasts. In jointly composed chapters, contributors explore ecology,


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polity, gender relations, religion, literature, science and technology, and more, to provide the richest comparative account ever offered of China and India before the modern era. What China and India Once Were establishes innovative frameworks for understanding the historical and cultural roots of East and South Asia in global context, drawing on the variety of Asian pasts to offer new ways of thinking about Asian presents.

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What China and India Once Were was from the first conceived as a book for the general educated reader. We have accordingly avoided the narrower scholarly controversies and dense footnoting that mark academic writing, and have tried as far as possible to eliminate the even denser jargon that often mars it. We have provided brief suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter where interested readers can find up-to-date guidance for pursuing particular questions; maps (general maps of China and India in the early modern era, and bearing the names of places cited in the chapters; and political maps illustrating Qing and Mughal expansion); a timeline of all kingdoms, dynasties, and the like referred to in the text; and a brief glossary of technical terms.

Open a recent newspaper and you are likely to read about some incident of Hindu-Muslim violence in India. You are also likely to have read that such incidents happen because Hindus and Muslims have hated each other for centuries. Or you may have learned that, on the contrary, these tensions are the result of the divide-and-rule strategy used by the British during the colonial period, or the mobilizing tactics of contemporary nationalist political parties. In the same way, many observers who reflect on the prevalence of Chinese manufactured goods on our store shelves would think that China has always had abundant and obedient, cheap labor, or that it has always learned from the West, has now adopted capitalism and industrial technology, and is beating us at our own game. People similarly assume that the many successful students from China and India enrolled in U.S. universities are either showing traditional reverence for education or just taking advantage of the opportunities our society offers, as immigrants have always done. The fabulous weddings and dowries of Indian brides and the lavish funerals of Chinese elites are either traditional expressions (of female subordination in the one case and ancestor worship in the other) or demonstrations of how Western consumerism has penetrated every aspect of Eastern life.

In all these cases, the stories are actually much messier than these facile accounts suggest. On the one hand, we are not encountering unchangeable and typically burdensome essences inherited from the hoary past. Yet, on the other, not everything that really matters is a creation of the modern period and the transformative powers the West has exerted. On both sides we find truisms that are seriously misleading. Knowing something about the pasts of China and India can give us a better sense of which features have or have not been perpetuated. And thereby a better understanding


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of the present—not a definitive but a more textured and dynamic understanding—becomes possible, along with better practices. In addition, seeking knowledge of these pasts across the wide spectrum of activities and identities that made traditional life no less complex, if differently complex, than modern life is one way to increase the depth of that knowledge. And last, knowing them comparatively helps ensure that China and India recover their individuality and specificity, and do not fall victim to this or that large, equally facile explanatory account that usually winds up homogenizing all past societies ("Oriental despotism" in the nineteenth century, for example, and "modernization theory" in the twentieth).

These three ways of knowing frame the three aims of this book: (i) to explore the nature of Asian pasts so as to get a better grasp of Asian presents; (2) to establish a domain of inquiry broad enough to investigate both these sets of issues with some hope of adequacy; and (3) to directly compare non-European countries.

While all three objectives have presented challenges to the contributors of this book, there are some basic areas where we achieved clear consensus. While the past is not inevitably prologue, the present cannot come to exist or be understood without it. Making sense of its shaping influence across a wide arena of traditional life allows us to better understand its durability into the present. Understanding its particularities through comparison enables us to better grasp how contingent the present really is—to realize, in other words, that it is the product of enduring forces that might easily have worked out differently, and that may well do so in the future.

## What Parts of Their Pasts Matter?

Ongoing archeological research in both regions takes human habitation and, to some degree, recognizable cultural patterns back to at least the third millennium BCE. It would take another book to explore the processes of unification and consolidation of the two regions and their long-term continuity as early agrarian, literate societies. Instead, our intention here has been to concentrate on what scholars now call, not without some hesitation, the "early modern" period, generally taken to comprise the three or four centuries before 1800. We admittedly lose sight of some important features by foreshortening our gaze. But what we lose in terms of scope we gain, we think, in terms of comprehensiveness.

That said, there is by no means universal agreement about the precise boundaries of this early modern period for either of the two regions, let alone that those boundaries are the same for both. The end point of the early modern is largely unproblematic, for around 1800 many processes were set in motion, especially in global commerce and industrialization, that would constitute the sharpest break with the past in the historical record of both countries and set them on a path toward ever greater convergence with the modern West.

In China, the Opium War (1839-42) epitomized the British empire's triumph over China via the shibboleth of "free" commerce, whereby English opium merchants traded for Chinese tea and thereby reversed the flow of Chinese silver back to India and Great Britain. The Manchu empire ended with the Republican revolution of 1911; Japan took advantage of China's reversal of fortune to invade and make China part of the Japanese empire by 1937. Final independence came with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In India, 180o marks the start in earnest of British colonialism, which would gain momentum through the century: Thanjavur (Tanjore, in south India) was taken by Lord Wellesley in 1776; Varanasi in the north was ceded to the British in 1803; in the west, the Peshwas of Maharashtra were defeated in the course of the following decade (1817-1818). The Indian Rebellion of 1857 led to the nation's formal incorporation into the British empire a year later, where it would remain until gaining independence in 1947.

What causes difficulty, then, is not the chronological end point of our study, which is well known, but the starting point we have chosen—"three or four centuries before 1800"—and the conceptual coherence of the "early modernity" that underlies that choice. While many enduring features of the two regions long antedate even these older eras (and some contributors to the book begin their stories centuries earlier), it was during the early modern period that distinctive form was given to many patterns of polity, society, and culture that


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persisted until the coming of Western modernity. That said, the early modern era more strictly conceived (c. 1500-1800) has historical salience in both spheres, as recent scholarship has been increasingly able to demonstrate. It is characterized by important transformations that mark a new era while at the same time underscoring the durability of older civilizational features. The two regions saw comparable dramatic changes in trade, as they participated in what for the first time became a truly global system; in demography, with the tripling of China's population and the doubling of India's; in state formation, where large-scale imperial formations were consolidated; in urbanization, monetization, and elsewhere.

## Early Modernity in the Ming-Qing Era

The Ming-Qing dynastic rule that marks the beginnings of the early modern period in China produced social, demographic, and economic pressures that placed new demands on the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) that the rulers, now Manchus, and government scholar-officials, still Han Chinese, had never faced before. These pressures include the just-mentioned rise, steep and unprecedented, in general population from about 1500 to 1700 (proportionally paralleling the rates of global population increase), despite severe episodes of prolonged disorder connected to the late Ming rural uprisings that made the Qing invasion possible; the recovery and dramatic expansion of the systems of internal transportation; an increase of arable land and efficiency in agricultural production, making possible larger urban populations and greater commercial specialization in the countryside; the displacement of much of the traditional elite (largely due to the Qing conquest) and promotion of a new ruling caste; greater engagement with regional and global societies through trade, travel, strategic rivalry, and conscious cultural relativity.

This latter infiltration refers to acknowledgment of European achievement in science, technology, architecture; legalization of Christian freedom to proselytize (before the middle eighteenth century), dissemination of American "New World" and African crops, and attendant changes in foodways; customization of Chinese products to meet the specifications of foreign brokers; acceptance of innovative institutions of credit, security, and legal administration in response to growing commercial engagement with Korea, Britain, and France in particular; creation of a recognizably diplomatic treaty relationship with Russia. In addition, ancient ideals drawn from earlier times were already deemed unsatisfactory. Many Han literati realized that the institutions enshrined in the imperial system were not inviolate. To "accord with the new times" became the slogan of a generation of statecraft (jingshi) scholars who during the early nineteenth century sought pragmatic solutions to the myriad organizational and logistical breakdowns that seemed to come all at once. The Opium War and antiManchu Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) exacerbated such tensions. With hindsight, we know that Qing China, like Mughal India, was also on the eve of a confrontation with Western imperialism, which would unleash revolutionary forces at all levels of society.

## Early Modernity in the Mughal Era

In India, a similar political transformation occurred with the founding of the Mughal Empire in 1526. Although the Delhi sultans had nourished an ideal of limitless political space, it was the Mughals who—like their Qing, Ottoman, Spanish, and Habsburg contemporaries—actually achieved the characteristically early modern institution of a large-scale "universal" empire. Proud of their descent from Timur (r. 1370-1405), founder of the Timurid Empire (1307-1526) in Central Asia and Persia, the Mughals emulated their famous ancestor, just as Timur himself had patterned his career of universal world conquest on the remarkable achievement of Chinggis Khan (1162-1227; r. 1206-1227). Regarding statecraft, scientific surveys of a country's resources and products, together with an increased use of skilled bureaucrats, were hallmarks of early modern states everywhere. And in India, it was the Mughals who first established standard units of measurement and maintained offices of meticulous record keepers and auditors, departing from the more haphazard methods of earlier regimes. Meanwhile, professional Hindu banking and clerical castes became prominent in their sprawling bureaucratic machine. By the end of the sixteenth century, their revenue and judicial administrations also exhibited


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an obsessive preoccupation with order, the efficient management of time, and a spirit of rational self-control--all of them characteristics of early modernity.

Mughal India's early modern character, like China's, is also seen in its integration with an expanding global economy. Within just fifty years of the empire's launching, the descendants of Babur (r. 1526-1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty, had conquered the wealthy and commercially vibrant coastal province of Gujarat, and soon Bengal as well. Despite their roots in land-locked, seminomadic Inner Asia, the Mughals thereby joined a global network of maritime trafficking and commerce, with far-reaching consequences. Expanded cash crops (tea, coffee, opium, sugar, tobacco) and new food crops (potatoes, maize, chilies, tomatoes, etc.) transformed India's patterns of production and consumption, while the diffusion of gunpowder and cannon technology helped the Mughals consolidate their power across the flat Indo-Gangetic plain. Perhaps most important, by the early 1600s, Dutch and English trading companies had begun carrying vast quantities of New World silver to Mughal seaports in Gujarat and Bengal. Because India possessed hardly any silver mines of her own, minting this imported metal into coinage significantly monetized the Mughal economy, which in turn enhanced merchant wealth, eroded social barriers, and intensified land use, since mobile cash helped marshal labor to transform dense tracts of jungle into arable fields for cultivating food crops.

The Mughals also created the context for new and dynamic circulation, innovation, and experimentation in many areas of society, including the intellectual and artistic spheres. Mughal cultural life evinces a fascinating blend of Persian and more local styles. Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) is famous for his commitment to translating Sanskrit classics into Persian. He and his son Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) organized philosophical and religious debates at court and were avidly interested in Indian thought. The official political ethos of the day was "peace for all" (sulh-i kull), a guarantee that people of different religious backgrounds would be protected by the state. Persian literati and adventurers from around the globe found a congenial home in the cosmopolitan centers of the empire. Mughal painting offers an especially eloquent example of the new sensibilities. Here the world was embodied more tangibly than in any earlier Indian art form. Master painters in imperial ateliers studied European imagery and adopted techniques according to their own needs. Intuitive perspective and other methods, along with the extensive study of nature and individuation, made for a naturalism that diverged from the Persian tradition from which it had directly descended, as well as from earlier Indic idealism.

Comparing the pasts of China and India is not, however, merely a question of finding parallels that qualify them for the title of "early modern." What we now consider early modern in European terms may have roots in the trading and textual worlds of East and South Asia. But before we consider what to compare, we need to ask why compare at all, and how.

## The Logic of Comparison

Many scholars, especially in the last few decades, have sought to avoid comparison for various reasons, prominent among them the troubling historical origins, in colonial science, of "comparativism," or the systematic method of comparing. More recent times have seen a new interest in capturing what we might call processes of mutuality, where actual interactions of two cases produced exchanges and influences. This sort of "connected history" (sometimes called contingent, entangled, or crossed history) is usually offered as a corrective or even replacement for comparative study. While we acknowledge and try as far as possible to avoid the prejudices of colonial comparison, we have also avoided the connective history approach. China and India have interacted for two or more millennia in every domain from to art to literature, religion, and science, not to speak of the more concrete exchanges of trade and diplomacy, so much so that to try to separate these phenomena is to tear apart a real and densely woven fabric. But what we seek to capture here is not those connections and the ensuing emergence of particular material or cultural phenomena—their embryology, so to speak—but rather the nature of those phenomena when fully achieved—their physiology.


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We are accordingly concerned less with whether or not Chinese painting influenced Indian painting or Indian literature Chinese literature. To know that the Chinese or Indians borrowed this or that cultural element from the other and preserved or changed them only adds to the basic problem of comparison, and does not fundamentally reconstitute it. What interests us is what the Chinese and the Indians did with a given political, social, or cultural form, not where those forms may have originated. One chapter, on science, does occasionally explore connection in addition to comparison, but that procedure is dictated by the peculiar nature of the object of study: no boundary whether regional or civilizational, in the past or today, can bar the movement of science. While traditions of learning in the two worlds developed along their own lines, their history is in considerable part a history of how the learned classes and their patrons responded to the availability of new knowledge from elsewhere. This "elsewhere" in the early modern period was Central Asia, from which both China and India imported new astronomical knowledge.

If comparison is the paramount method of this book, we need to explain what it means, or what we believe it means, to think comparatively. From one rather abstract Western viewpoint going back to Immanuel Kant in the late eighteenth century and Georg Friedrich Hegel in the early nineteenth, it is clear that humans cannot not think comparatively, that comparison is fundamental to knowledge. The identity of any given thing is established by implicit comparison with what it is not. A person cannot be tall or beautiful or rich except by comparison with less fortunate others. Comparativism, however, as a formalized mode of systematic thought, is by no means fundamental or even in fact all that old. It is largely unknown in the world before the rise of early modern Europe and seems to have taken on a particular urgency as European colonialism encountered and sought to master, through systematic knowledge, many of those perceived, comparatively, as less fortunate others.

A crucial aspect of the colonial sort of comparativism is the defining status given to the European "standard" (the secundum comparatum, to use the technical term of Western rhetoric, to which biaozhun in Chinese and upamāna in Indic correspond), and the assertion that everything compared with it (the primum comparandum, Chinese mofang, "model to be emulated," Indic upameya, "thing-to-be-compared") was not just different but deviant and even deficient. This is most evident in the works of Hegel, some of whose stereotypes of China and India are taken up for study in several chapters in this book. Western—non-Western comparison, from Hegel until very recently, would typically and without hesitation—and usually without self-awareness—incorporate this basic aspect of inequality.

This history makes the direct comparison of non-Western entities here—we might call it cosmopolitan comparison—not only novel but also necessary. Such comparison, decentered from the West, hardly escapes all of the epistemological traps of the colonial sort. One obvious danger is—to use an overused term that nonetheless captures a real problem—the essentialization of our objects of study. We have already alluded to worries about the "China" or "India" that we are comparing when, for example, we compare "Chinese painting" and "Indian painting," where at every point illegitimate generalization would seem to lurk. Yet in the many collective discussions among our contributors, all of them sensitive to the threat of essentialization, the coherence and analytical purchase of those geocultural terms were never called into question. All of us clearly believed, without feeling compelled to say so, that larger categories of life than the individual actor do exist and could be studied, and to do so carried no real threat of essentializing misrepresentation.

To be sure, these configurations of political, social, and cultural existence may now bear names in English cited earlier—"region," "area," "civilization," "nation," indeed "China" and "India"—that we may wish to contest whenever they are, as they often are, unhistorically treated. One might even argue that in the very selection of our cases a sort of "civilizationism," or the illegitimate generalization of a particular as a whole, is being smuggled in through the back door. What, after all, is the reason for choosing items for comparison if the one is not somehow marked as Chinese and the other as Indian, and to what do


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those descriptors in the end refer, if not some civilization, empire, nation, country, area?

For one thing, we saw that "China" and "India" are not modern constructs but old spaces created by long-lasting political, social, and cultural forces. We can affirm this while acknowledging that these spaces shifted over time in their boundedness—indeed, they were split by real internal division: just consider the many north/south divergences in both China and India, resulting from real, long-term processes of representation, circulation, language, governance, aesthetic taste, ideas of ultimate concern, and so on. For another, quite aside from our shared sensitivity to the historical processes that underlie collectivizing titles such as "China" and "India," none of the book's contributors ever hesitated to affirm that our different efforts were adding to some whole, that understanding any part—language or historiography or religion or ecology—required understanding it in relation to the other parts.

Even more challenging than addressing the problem of essentialization is making sense of the nature of the knowledge produced by the comparisons explored in this book, and what, if anything distinguishes them from standard comparative research. The goals of standard comparative research are generally held to be fourfold: heuristic, descriptive, analytical, and (let us call it) estranging. Heuristic comparison aims toward generating new questions and problems: we ask whether something that occurred in case A might also have occurred in case B. With descriptive comparison, we aim to clarify case A by contrasting it with case B, something that alone enables us to identify case A's particularity. In this sense, as Kant and Hegel saw, comparison is a basic part of thinking. With analytical comparison, we seek to answer causal questions, to discover robust tendencies, to test hypotheses. The fourth aim is to introduce a certain distance from the paradigmatic nature of the comparatum (for example, the Homeric epic, which for Hegel was the standard of comparison for all epics everywhere), unsettling its self-evident nature, so that it becomes just one case among other possibilities, and hence "estranged."

Much of the comparative work done in the humanities today seems to be largely descriptive; much done in the social sciences, analytical; the heuristic is less explicitly cultivated, and the estranging is less often made an actual theme of inquiry. Many of these aims are evident in this book, but our dominant concern, whether implicitly or explicitly, has been with estrangement, if of a special kind. Not only does our sort of cosmopolitan comparison require that we actively try to bracket the Western objects—paintings, poems, power formations, whatever—that have functioned as the standards, in order to gain as undistorted a view as possible of the non-Western objects of comparison. But it also leaves us with objects that wind up estranging—sometimes profoundly estranging—each other.

## The Knowledge Derived from Historical Comparison

What new knowledge, then, has this procedure actually enabled us to produce in the following chapters? We have found three different kinds. The first two concern categories and disciplines and turn out to be supplemental, not central, to our concerns. The third, which we can call simply the production of diffference—the outcome of the estrangement just mentioned—has proven to be the heart of the matter. (Our chapter review follows these categories, and accordingly does not need to recapitulate their actual order in the book as presented in the table of contents.)

It is hardly surprising, first of all, that cosmopolitan comparison should explode our received conceptual categories for understanding the larger world, given that those categories originated in Western historical experience. But this occurred so frequently in the course of our project that it seems to have been intensified by the act of comparison itself. A useful example is "religion." Confusion about what was and was not religion in China and India can be widely observed among the first European travelers, most prominently the Jesuits in China. The great diversity of spiritual practices in both regions was unlike anything they had previously encountered. For these visitors, "religion" was something that was supposed to have "clear doctrines, founding texts, and ecclesiastical


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institutions," as Zvi Ben-Dor Benite and Richard Davis put it in chapter 7.

A kind of comparative thinking was clearly operating here (the earliest works of European comparativism, in the first half of the eighteenth century, were in fact comparative religion), in which the European standard was deeply buried and never questioned. It brought not just definition and classification but differentiation and separation, with serious historical consequences in both worlds. In addition to having to confront (as most of the chapters do) long-standing popular and historiographical misconceptions of China and India—in the case of religion, "rational China" and "spiritual India" are always lurking in the background—Ben-Dor Benite and Davis show how cosmopolitan comparison enables us to see especially clearly how the new category produced the new totalities now called "Confucianism" and "Hinduism," and, equally important, prompted modern observers to misunderstand much that, historically, was never differentiated and separated to begin with.

It was equally predictable, to move to the second sort of new knowledge, that the degree of uniformity or variation across the two regions that has emerged from the kind of big comparison engaged in here—across diverse objects of study—should depend on the object of analysis, largely in relation to the degree of structure, process, or agency that characterizes it. But again, it has proven particularly important to confirm such uniformity/variation in two non-Western sites.

Deeper, structural determinations seem to have been at issue in producing uniform inequalities in gender relations, for example, in China and India, as Beverly Bossler and Ruby Lal show in chapter 3. The prominence and consequences of patrilocal residence (women always moved to the home of their husband's family); the correlation between status and control (the higher the status of women, the more stringent their confinement in China, the stricter the ban on widow remarriage in India); the control of women's bodies (foot binding in China, widow burning in India); ingrained popular conceptions of the place of women in society; and, not least, the difficulty of using sources predominantly produced by men to grasp the real issues of concern to women—all these phenomena seem to be constant across the two regions, and to be largely unaffected by cultural particularity. Comparable too, in a more counterintuitive way, is the dynamism of gender relations: far from being fixed and abstract constructs imposed on men and women, they involved active negotiations among historical individuals. Even apparently restrictive gender regimes provided emotional rewards and allowed for autonomy of action in both places; individuals worked creatively within, or in defiance of, inherited prescriptions and constraints to construct meaningful lives. Comparison here serves not only to disrupt common stereotypes and deepen the understanding of Chinese and Indian societies but also to demonstrate the fluidity and historical contingency at the heart of the concepts of "gender" and "comparison" themselves.

Other structural determinants were at issue in producing comparable consequences in ecological and to some degree economic history. The process of energy harvesting, for example, followed similar patterns in both regions. As chapter i by Sumit Guha and Kenneth Pomeranz argues, China and India were both low energy-use societies, typically adapting to low energy supplies rather than boosting efforts to increase them—even when in the early modern period population tripled in China and doubled in India—and almost entirely restricted to the year's production of biomass. In other words, both regions were content to tolerate extraordinary levels of poverty.

Structures could obviously vary in the two regions, however, and produce different outcomes. The introduction of New World crops had highly disruptive consequences in overpopulated China and fewer in India, where tastes and patterns of consumption ensured continuity. Importantly, varying cultural factors had ecological consequences too. India preserved most of its original animal population into the early modern era, in particular its "charismatic megafauna," above all elephants, for which religious attitudes were responsible to a considerable degree (not all people ravage their environment as far as resource extraction permits). In China, most large animals became extremely rare, and the elephant vanished entirely. "While China's ecology had been


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engineered to support impressive numbers of one large mammal and its companions (e.g., hogs), this had been done by pushing almost all other large mammals to the margins." The category of estrangement made possible by non-Western comparison, to turn to our third sort, will be of greater interest to the general reader than how comparison has caused us to rethink received categories like "religion" or to discover stable patterns of structural constraint. But it is also less straightforward to characterize in terms of knowledge. We can describe it as emerging from the mutual illumination of objects of analysis that can now be seen to be equally different: neither deficient nor deviant in the light of some standard regarded as perfect, and often radically different from one another. Comparison unencumbered by misapprehensions about the essential nature of things—what a poem or a painting or a power formation like empire really, invariantly, is—allows us to better capture the specificity of a given case, which can be seen only against the backdrop of a comparative partner.

Consider once again the problem of religion (chapter 7), and in particular the history of Buddhism. Buddhism in China had long been marked by a judgment of foreignness. Adherents of the pre-Buddhist religion known as Daoism sought not only to demonstrate their chronological priority to Buddhism but even to prove that Daoism was its source (most dramatically by promulgating legends of Laozi's travels to India and even his fathering the Buddha). By the mid-ninth century Buddhists came under direct attack and were suppressed by the Tang state in what is often referred to as the "Great Anti-Buddhist Persecution," entailing the destruction of temples and monasteries, the confiscation of property, and the exiling of monks.

Indian polities, by contrast, evince over centuries almost complete indifference to the regulation of religious communities (though not to patronizing them, sometimes unequally). Although Buddhism was the object of vigorous philosophical critique for a millennium or more beginning almost from the time of its founder (though never on the grounds of temporal priority), it continued to receive royal patronage in many regions, especially in the northeast (today's West Bengal and Bangladesh), well into the thirteenth century, before it faded under the joint pressures of external attacks by Central Asian power seekers and internal splits and assimilation to local religious forms.

Analogous to the nature and degree of religious management on the part of the polity is the highly differentiated status of historical memory, which emerges clearly in chapter 5 by Cynthia Brokaw and Allison Busch. However complicated it is to make sense of historical discourse in India—poetry, not prose, was the vehicle of history, and the exemplary, not the factual, was its substance—every polity was concerned to define its place in historical memory in one way or another; the inscriptional record provides abundant evidence of this. Yet never did this concern remotely attain the political centrality visible in premodern China, where every imperial court from the seventh century onward had a History Office—and where things could get very serious very quickly.

When, for example, it came to the attention of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), the second leader of the new Manchu dynasty, that a Chinese scholar had completed a history sympathetic to the antecedent Ming dynasty, "he had the text destroyed; its editor's corpse exhumed and burned; the family members of all the scholars who had participated in the work either executed or enslaved; the printers and purchasers of the work executed, together with any officials who had known of its publication and not reported it to the throne. A total of seventy people were put to death, and many others exiled." India saw nothing remotely similar; the closest case known to us is the reluctance on the part the chief of Akbar's translation bureau (c. 1600) to publish his History of Akbar in the emperor's lifetime, lest criticism of the ruler's religious reforms provoke his displeasure.

The capacity of comparison to produce deeply instructive differentiation is illustrated in chapter 4 on literature by Stephen Owen and Sheldon Pollock. Chinese lyric poems, like those of Du Fu (712-770), are usually located securely in time and place. Indian lyrics, like those of Amaru (sixth century? or seventh? or eighth?) seem as if they could have been written at almost any time or place in the vast world of Sanskrit. In both cases, these effects were intentionally sought, in


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conformity with radically different aesthetic standards. In China, poetry could not be understood without a detailed historical apparatus identifying the poet and when and where he wrote. In India, poetry could not be understood with a historical apparatus, since the poem was meant precisely to capture what exists beyond historical particularity. In China, Du Fu's poems were read in the same script, that of Chinese characters, everywhere the culture extended, but everywhere the language was spoken differently. In India, Sanskrit, the language of Amaru's poems, was spoken everywhere more or less similarly, but it was read everywhere in as many as twenty different scripts. In China, the unity of the written language, despite its several demotic versions, produced a unified literary culture. In India, that unity, to the degree it exists, emerged out of a shared pool of narratives, motifs, allusions, and expressive techniques.

Few of these features of literary culture could manifest themselves, certainly not so dramatically, unless the Chinese and Indian cases were brought into comparison. And they could not have emerged as pure, mutually estranging differences, rather than deficiencies, unless compared directly with each other, intentionally distanced from the normative standard of Europe. Many of the same arguments can be made in the realm of art.

In the course of the second millennium in both China and India, landscape painting took a central place in visual culture. Molly Aitken and Eugene Wang in chapter 8 show that there was no single or essential "Asian" tradition of art, as the early twentieth-century pan-Asianist discourse on "haze" in painting tried to suggest. In China, landscape painting became a "self-sufficient" genre, but in a way that never occurred in India. The human element, for example, was largely irrelevant, whereas an unpeopled landscape was of no interest to the Indian artist. In China, landscape painting increasingly became the pursuit of literary elites who inhabited a wide range of social locations; in India, painting was always an artisanal practice, conducted at court, in which the artisan seems usually to have been indifferent to or sometimes even ignorant of the text (when there was a text) that he was illustrating.

Calligraphy was central to Chinese painting and entirely inconsequential in non-Islamicate India, the text often being just scrawled at the top of the picture. The Chinese landscape was an object of intellectual engagement and empiricist scrutiny, and yet haze was a core aesthetic value. The Indian landscape was an object of emotion and imagination, and yet clarity was a core aesthetic value. The relentless secularity of the one contrasts with the relentless spiritualization of the other, a polarity further reinforced by the stunning contrast between the cerebral, plain ink and spare surface in China and the sensual, richly colored and opulent surface in India. Equally distinctive, if more foundational, is the character of the state in the early modern period, as chapter 2 by Pamela Crossley and Richard Eaton demonstrates. Both regions experienced what to today's historical eye appear to be strikingly comparable moments of political rupture, when power was seized by outsiders: in China, the beginning of the Qing conquest with the capture of Beijing by the Manchu Prince Dorgon in 1644; in India, the victory of the Central Asian Turk Babur over Ibrahim Lodi

in the first Battle of Panipat near Delhi in 1526 and the subsequent founding of the Mughal sultanate. But both the responses to these developments and the subsequent character of the regimes differed dramatically. Chinese intellectuals regarded the conquest by what they viewed as a barbarian people who could never in their view legitimately rule China as a profound humiliation that demanded analysis and explanation of what had gone wrong. (Scholars concluded that political autonomy had been lost because the true meaning of the classics had been lost.) In India, there is much evidence that local actors regarded Mughal overlordship as largely continuous with preceding forms of polity, and far less evidence that they saw it as a fundamental and unbridgeable break (which is not to say there was no resistance).

The sorts of governance that evolved in the two cases were equally divergent. Both had to find accommodation with local cultures not fully their own, and to synthesize multiple modalities of rule. But the styles of synthesis differed greatly. In the Qing we find comingling, with the parts preserved in combination; in the Mughal world we find


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mixture, with the parts disappearing in combination. To speak as some scholars do of an organic "composite" culture of Mughals may be something of an overstatement, but it still stands in contrast to the studied conglomeration of the Qing, who "ostensibly uttered simultaneous messages in three [official] languages, governed on the basis of three codes of legitimacy, and occupied the moral center of three civilizations simultaneously."

With regard to the social world broadly viewed, there is a notable distinction in the area of social advancement. Although in China elite families could perpetuate their standing over generations by the careful management of wealth, official status was not legally hereditary, and "rags to riches and back" in five generations was proverbial (as noted in chapter 3); in India, the place of the social group in the status hierarchy may have been movable a notch or two up or down the scale, but that place was always inherited. And the same contrast can be seen in the systems of recruitment and advancement in the two empires.

In the Chinese civil examination system during the Song and Ming, as Benjamin Elman and Christopher Minkowski remark in chapter 6, examinations were for the first time held in the provinces, prefectures, and counties and hence open to local people, not just court and capital elites. "The examination system produced millions of literates who, after repeated failures [only 5 percent succeeded], became doctors, Buddhist priests, pettifoggers, teachers, notaries, merchants, and lineage managers, not to mention astronomers, mathematicians, printers, and publishers." By contrast, in the Indian mansabdari system (a graded hierarchy of officers appointed directly by the emperor), mansabs, or ranks, were only available to the nobility and gentry, and further strengthened it; elite status was therefore constantly being reproduced. Something consequential and long-term seems to have been manifesting itself in the two instances: a constant stimulation, however unintended it may have been, of meritocratic advancement in China; an uninterrupted reproduction of hereditary privilege in India.

With respect to territorial ambitions, very old limits of political geography seem to have constrained the Mughals, whereas the horizons of Qing expansionism at times appear limitless. In the most remarkable contrast of all we can juxtapose the fragmentation of power in the Indian case to the centralization—or at least the aspiration to centralization—in the case of China. Of a piece with this is the ideological control exercised by the Qing and the ideological laxity of the Mughals. In the Mughal world there is nothing comparable to the Chinese state's reclaiming of power, over the course of the eighteenth century, through what Crossley describes as "a torrent of literary inquisitions, prosecutions for corruption and factionalism, and a rewriting of seventeenth-century history aimed at discrediting some of the leading lineages of the civil government." But the most eloquent evidence of this contrast is also in some ways the simplest: the treatment of the calendar.

There are deep commonalities in the structures of production of systematic knowledge in China and India, such as the dominance of high languages with their transregional communicative capacity, the embeddedness of scientific specializations in kinship networks, the systematized nature of the world of learning, created in the Chinese case by the examination system and in India by an ancient system of Vedic learning, and, later, of Perso-Arabic classical culture. But how profound the contrast is between the role of the state in China in the social organization of knowledge and the "delegative and pluralistic forms" in India becomes clear in chapter 6 by Elman and Minkowski. In China, "the state declared a monopoly" on the subjects of astronomy and the calendar system, since calendrical uniformity across the empire was a core feature of the dynasty's political legitimacy and statecraft. For the Indians, divergent dating systems were always available. Even today, we find a wide range of traditional calendars still current, "and calendar makers working in different traditions can decide that a major festival like Diwali should be celebrated on different days, or even in different months." Not only did China and India live in different temporalities, but India itself did.

We have so far explained why China and India have been chosen for this experiment in comparative history; what those terms refer to;


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what parts of their history are of interest to us here, and why; and the challenges especially when comparing two non-Western worlds directly, and the kinds of knowledge this can produce. What we have yet to explain is why we have chosen the themes we did, how these themes interrelate, and what has been left out.

The big comparison engaged in here has no built-in boundaries. Academic knowledge today begins in disciplinary sites, and that is where we began: with economy and ecology; government; gender, language, and literature; history, religion, science, and art. We could easily have added more such disciplinary topics: law, philosophy, music, and so on. To some degree our choices were entirely opportunistic: familiarity with people open to or actually working on China-India comparison, or already linked, by some elective affinity, with a colleague in the neighboring region. We do not doubt that the subjects chosen are core aspects of polity, society, and culture; at the same time we acknowledge that being necessary is not the same thing as being sufficient—even while recognizing that in the end no possible grouping of topics can be sufficient. We were also hostage, if happily so, to the topics that contributors were actually interested in exploring, rather than what they felt, from some preconceived Humean notion of the "national characters" of China and India, should be explored. So in the Chinese case there is more on literati learning and less on neoConfucianism than might be expected, for example; in the Indian, less on caste, although aspects of both are touched on in the various chapters.

Two other features of the nature of discipline-based knowledge presented in this book merit brief comment. First, while the volume is self-evidently multidisciplinary, it was never our intention to conduct an experiment in interdisciplinarity. Individuals within their area may have come to the project already "inter," but that was entirely incidental. Second, and more unfortunately, but also perhaps inevitably, topics that fall into no particular disciplinary catchment area have been treated less directly than a far more open-ended (and better financed) research project might have achieved.

Consider just the nature of archives, a topic fundamental to almost all the subjects treated here. Our contributors were constantly acknowledging the copiousness of the Chinese documentary sources and the relative poverty of the Indian. What accounts for such a striking disparity? One might argue that, as was the case in Absolutist Europe during the seventeenth century, where stunning amounts of data on the citizenry were collected and stored by anxious regimes (even despite periodic deficiencies in the availability of paper in revolutionary Paris, for example), the centralized Chinese state had an apparently insatiable appetite for information about its subjects. Nothing of the sort was felt in India until perhaps the eve of colonial rule (the quasi-absolutist Peshwa dynasty in late-eighteenth-century Maharashtra assembled an unusually large and detailed archive of social and political information). Just consider the fact that, from among the thousands of scholar families in seventeenth-century Varanasi, the capital of Hindu intellectual life, not a single personal document—diary, letter, or the like—survives, while tens of thousands of literary, philosophical, and religious manuscripts do (which rules out the environmental explanation).

Think also of the history of conceptual change, such questions as why the impact of the Jesuits was so great in China and so minor in India. Here is a problem even more complex than that of the archive, one whose ramifications to other aspects of the two societies are potentially large. Are such issues in any way related to other questions of technology? Why, for example, did China take to printing so eagerly and so early, and India actively reject it; why was paper so important in China whereas in India, indigenous materials for writing, birch bark and palm leaf, maintained their currency long after paper was introduced? Why—and here we overstate the case, but only a little—did it turn out that China today makes hardware and India software?

If we have not been able to directly address such themes in this book, we hope at least to have offered some pointers toward how they may be further developed. On the serious comparison of these two complex worlds, the implications of their differences, and the extent of the continuation of


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those differences into the present, ours is merely the first word, and most certainly not the last. <>

Social Media for Strategic Communication: Creative Strategies and Research-Based Applications by Karen Freberg { SAGE Publications, 9781506387109]

Social Media for Strategic Communication: Creative Strategies and Research-Based Applications, by Karen Freberg teaches you the skills and principles needed to use social media in persuasive communication campaigns. The book combines cutting-edge research with practical, on-the-ground instruction to prepare you for the real-world challenges you will face in the workplace. The text addresses the influence of social media technologies, strategies, actions, and the strategic mindset needed by social media professionals today. By focusing on strategic thinking and awareness, it gives you the tools they need to adapt what you learn to new platforms and technologies that may emerge in the future. A broad focus on strategic communication—from PR, advertising, and marketing, to non-profit advocacy—gives you a broad base of knowledge that will serve you wherever your career may lead.

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Excerpt: We have heard it all in the social media space over the years:

- Social media jobs are just a phase. They will not be around forever.
- There's math in social media? I did not sign up for that!
- Analytics are too intimidating to me!
- All you do every day is tweet, snap, and post on Insta, right?
- You do not need a book to learn about social media. Once it's published, it's irrelevant.

Let's clarify these stereotypes once and for all. Yes, we have all heard these points in and out of the classroom. However, I am here to tell you they are not true. You can have a long-standing career in social media. We do more than just post updates—that is the surface-level view of social media. A lot has to happen below the surface to bring these updates to light. Analytics are your friends—they help to identify trends and potential issues that could save time and money, and can be used to justify the work and proposed strategies in moving forward. Interns are great to have on board to give insights on social media, but it is also important to listen to and integrate different perspectives. Just because someone is young, it does not mean he or she is an expert in the use of strategic social media platforms. However, most interns coming into the workplace are getting the training, experience, and education to be strategic in social media, which is very exciting. Plus, interns are coming into the workplace with more experience in classes and


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internships, and with more of an entrepreneurial drive to their work, than ever before. Last but not least, books can provide a more sustainable view of social media that can build on a strategic mindset for how to approach social media.

You may be asking, "Is there a book that does this?" The answer is yes. This one.

The overall goal of Social Media for Strategic Communication is to help rising and established professionals in the field to create a strategic mindset for social media activities, tools, audiences, conversations, and relationships. Social media is the hub of communication, integrating various disciplines and communities to formulate new knowledge, connections, and experiences virtually. Social media has become a rising area of focus for public relations, brand management, marketing, journalism, communication, computer science, and psychology, among other disciplines.

Again, one common question seems to arise in most social media classes: To use a book on social media or not to use a book on social media—that's always the question. With a field that changes every day, there are many difficulties in keeping up with the trends. Once a book is published, it goes out of date, right? This only happens if the book is focused on platform features that are quickly made obsolete or on case studies like common digital folklore (e.g., Oreo's tweet from the 2013 Super Bowl during the blackout). The profession of social media is a living, breathing, and constantly adapting area of study and practice that deserves to have a concentration and book dedicated to not just the new shiny objects but also the strategies, behaviors, and mindset that connect everything together.

Social media, like all disciplines, has some consistent features and attributes. Social media in many ways is both an art and a science, working together to bring forth an integrated and hybrid approach for the profession. Most books that cover social media focus only on its practice and execution, while others focus on theory. Other books skim over areas the authors are not comfortable covering, but none has been able to address all of the aspects that people want to see in social media. I did not just want to write a book about social media. Instead, I wanted to write the book about social media. No universal or dedicated book has been able to connect all of its different facets. This book hopes to achieve that and be a catalyst for shaping and changing the field to be more interconnected and transdisciplinary.

Social Media for Strategic Communication embraces all of these challenges head on to make sure students have a comprehensive view of the strategic approach to social media. Research, practice, case studies, and insights from professionals are included in each chapter, creating a thorough 360-degree perspective on strategic social media practices.

## Behind the Scenes

Reading a book that is outdated and not connected to practice and what's happening in the industry is frustrating. You are not the only one who has experienced this. Before writing Social Media for Strategic Communication, I too was frustrated with the quality of the books available for professors and students. Some were too elementary, some too complicated, and others just had no connection to what was actually happening in research or practice. I truly felt like Goldilocks—no book felt "just right."

As each year went on, my frustrations became more vocal. I felt I was channeling Edna Mode from The Incredibles. I could not be seen with some of the books in the social media market because they were stuck in the past, which, as Edna would say, distracts from the now.

It got to the point where I was mentioning this on a regular basis until the original Dr. Freberg (aka Mom) and Dad finally responded at the holiday dinner table in a way only parents could. They told me:

Karen, you know what you need to do to fix this. You need to write the book on social media.

This put things in perspective. My mom is also a textbook writer (for psychology), and at the time, she was writing three books (I know—I am still the apprentice and have much to learn, Obi-Wan). Was I going write three books at a time as my Mom was doing? There is not enough coffee in the


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world for me to do that! However, I thought, "Well, it's just one book, right? I can do that."

To put a time stamp on everything, this was 2016 after I had been teaching social media at the University of Louisville for three years. So, I decided to write a proposal and submit it to SAGE Publications, and when I got the green light, I started writing. A year later, we are here. This book has been a project for which I spent a lot of hours in between classes and research projects, consuming tons of coffee, waking up early to write before heading to teach my own social media classes, taking advantage of breaks like writing on airplanes from conferences and presentations, and making sure to bounce around ideas with colleagues, students, family, and friends. It's been quite the journey to get to this point.

The nature of this book is to be a strong advocate and endorser for the social media industry as an established yet evolving area in communication. Social media has not received the respect it should get from practitioners, researchers, and even the industry. For many years, social media has been labeled as a "fad," "just for fun," even for those who are classified as digital natives (e.g., Generation Z or younger audiences). There are a lot of perceptions and stereotypes out there, and this book instead hopes to open the vast opportunities made possible by social media by providing a balanced yet fair representation of the field. No sugarcoating is here for the industry, but it is helpful to consider both the benefits and challenges that make social media such a remarkable field.

As a young scholar, I had to justify my interest in and passion for the industry in my research endeavors and teaching opportunities with fellow colleagues. I was told I would never get a job teaching or working in social media and should go into something more "traditional." Years later, social media classes, programs, certifications, and job opportunities are on the rise. Funny how things turn out when you listen to your gut.

## Overview of Social Media for Strategic Communication

The goal of this book is to provide students with an integrated, engaging, and strategic focus on social media as a profession and industry. While most books have focused on tactical executions and specific tools and platforms, this book emphasizes the larger picture of creating a long-standing strategic mindset that helps students, professionals, and brands navigate the ever-changing landscape with sustainable action steps and fundamental skills that will never be outdated.

Chapters. The book is formatted into different sections and chapters. The first section focuses on the foundations of creating a strategic mindset. These chapters provide an overview of how social media is both an art and a science (Chapter 1) while establishing ethical and legal guidelines for social media (Chapter 2) and proactive measures to create a sustainable and authentic personal brand (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 outlines the key skills, expectations, and responsibilities of the social media industry whereas Chapter 5 addresses the growing need to understand research, listening, monitoring, and analyzing the data from social media. The second section of the book focuses on understanding the strategic side of social media with campaign planning (Chapter 6) by outlining key elements for strategic writing for social media (Chapter 7), audience segmentation and rise of specialized audiences like advocates and influencers (Chapter 8), and creating and managing content (Chapter 9). Chapter 10 is the last chapter in this section, connecting all aspects of the previous parts together with measurement and budget/calendar creation. The last part of the book explores the application of social media practice around the world. Specializations are highlighted in Chapters 11 and 12 with specific examples and best practices. Chapter 13 finalizes the book while providing insights into what to look for next. Each chapter features case studies, examples, and notable takeaways (essentially, the "so what" factor). I cover relevant areas like ethics and law, social media strategies, and whether or not social media is a science or an art. The book goes into greater detail with the key components needed for effective listening and monitoring practices on social media, personal branding practices, the pros and cons of influencer and advocate marketing, budgeting (yes—social media costs money!), and outlining key areas of


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specialization that are integrated with social media practices.

Humans of Social Media Features. Most social media books start each chapter with a case study or an example of a social media campaign. This book, however, focuses on some of the leading voices and people behind the campaigns, brands, and work often referenced and discussed in social media books.

The Humans of Social Media feature is inspired by the Humans of New York stories (www.humansofnewyork.com), highlighting the experiences and insights of the professionals leading the way for others in social media. All disciplines and roles are featured here—public relations, marketing, journalism, entrepreneurship, sports, crisis communications, and analytics, to name a few. Like the course book, these stories represent the vast array of professional opportunities in the field.

One of my motivations for writing this book in the first place was to provide students and professors with enough exercises, assignments, discussion board questions, and icebreaker activities to truly be able to walk the walk as well as talk the talk in social media circles. Along with thought questions, each chapter has specific exercises to test out the knowledge covered in the chapter with actionable activities. In addition, the portfolio building workbook provides specific assignments and exercises (50+) to assign, work on, and create for classes, internships, and portfolio materials. To compensate for the lack of assignments integrated within social media books (one of my biggest concerns about the state of social media textbooks in academia and practice), this book supplies professors with an abundance of assignments and exercises to choose from and allows students to work on exercises and projects in class and beyond.

After reading this book, students will walk away with the knowledge and understanding not only of what social media is but of how to use it strategically today, and in the future as well. Providing resources for students to apply what they have learned and read in the classroom with this book is critical. It's one thing to say you have learned all about social media, but when the rubber meets the road (e.g., when asked to apply for a social media position after graduation), this is where it matters.

I realize this field can be quite daunting to cover in classes, especially for professors. As an active educator and researcher in social media pedagogy, I understand the balance needed for professors to provide current, relevant, and applicable activities and insights to best prepare their students for the real world. Many times, like Remy from Pixar's Ratatouille, we are faced with the Anton Egos of the industry and try to answer the question, "What does this professor have that is new?" This subject area, compared to others, can be very intimidating and overwhelming. In my opinion, social media is one of the more challenging (yet rewarding) classes to teach.

Yes, the expectations and demands are high for this area of research, practice, and education, but the rewards are endless. By taking a comprehensive view and bridging the different aspects of social media, you will be marketable and relevant to the industry not just for today but also for the long term. Approaching social media practices with a strategic mindset allows you to be agile, adaptive, and responsive to what is happening and will happen in the industry while tying in both scientific and creative ideas for inspiration. <>

The Routledge Companion to Media Studies and Digital Humanities edited by Jentery Sayers [Routledge Media and Cultural Studies Companions, Routledge, 9781138844308]

Although media studies and digital humanities are established fields, their overlaps have not been examined in depth. This comprehensive collection fills that gap, giving readers a critical guide to understanding the array of methodologies and projects operating at the intersections of media, culture, and practice. Topics include: access, praxis, social justice, design, interaction, interfaces, mediation, materiality, remediation, data, memory, making, programming, and hacking.

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## Excerpt: Media Studies Digital Humanities: Studying Media through New Media

This Companion is about studying media through new media: for instance, making games to better understand their mechanics and politics, writing code and developing interfaces to explore their roles in reading and literacy, stewarding texts for online annotation and public discussion, participating in social networks to locate their biases and occlusions, assembling hardware to expose norms and change default settings, or composing audio, moving images, databases, and augmented reality applications as forms of scholarship at once similar to and different from academic essays. That is quite a list. And it is not exhaustive. Yet it speaks to the Companion's principal impulse, which is to combine media studies with digital humanities to share with readers (especially those who are new to both fields) the various types of research that emerge.

Even though they share interests in technologies, media studies and digital humanities do not always converse. Perhaps this lack of dialogue is explained by divergent histories of theory and practice, with researchers in each field drawing from distinct canons and methodologies. In digital humanities, studies of texts from the 1800s or earlier are quite common; for numerous reasons, these texts are readily available in electronic form and thus conducive to computational analysis. In media studies, research tends to move from the 1800s forward and also focus on nontextual forms, such as sound, images, video, and games. Aside from these differences in substance and period,


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popular definitions of each field suggest a difference in technique, too: whereas media studies treats media and technologies as objects of inquiry, digital humanities integrates them into its methods. Or, if media studies is about media and technologies, then digital humanities works with them. Allow me to elaborate on this assumption for a moment.

Many media studies practitioners avoid the reduction of research to instrumentalism, where technologies are "neutral tools" that simply turn input into output. Against instrumentalism, practitioners should be cognizant of not only the values and histories embedded in technologies, but also how those values and histories shape interpretation. Related concerns in media studies include the risks of researchers colluding with the tech industry or adopting technologies too quickly. Early or enthusiastic adoption may be a knee-jerk endorsement of whiz-bang gadgets and alluring trends—a way to make your project appealing or relevant to the market without necessarily addressing the research questions, social issues, conceptual frameworks, matters of representation, and contexts of use at hand. Meanwhile, digital humanities practitioners experiment with and even build the infrastructures of new media, reminding us that technology is not just a metaphor or an object "over there," to be philosophized at a remove. Technologies are constructed, maintained, preserved, and consumed, and they are intricately interlaced with labor and knowledge production in and beyond the academy. In short, digital projects demand a lot of work. Where there's a technology, there's also a team, some stories, millions of files, thousands of bugs and fixes, and plenty of politics. The result is significant attention to laboratory practices and technical competencies in digital humanities.

Inspired by Tara McPherson's seminal Cinema Journal essay, "Media Studies and the Digital Humanities" (2009), this Companion demonstrates how such assumptions about media studies and digital humanities are in reality hyperbolic, if not mythological. Many researchers, including contributors to this Companion, move routinely across the two fields, which may mutually inform and enrich each other instead of fostering opposition. In fact, when they are combined in theory as well as practice, we could say that media studies and digital humanities work through new media as means and modes of inquiry. We can research media without resorting to naive enthusiasm for technologies or assuming scholarly positions from on high, somehow above or outside the very conditions we study. More specifically, we may borrow language from scholars such as Wendy Hui Kyong Chun (2005) and Karen Barad (2007) to argue that we are entangled with the media we produce and research, not separate from them. This position need not imply a lack of researcher awareness or a disinterest in social change. Rather, the point is to stress how all research is mediated; it is media all the way down. We influence and are influenced by our inquiries and materials, and—as exhibited by each chapter in this Companion—historicizing, assessing, and revising the roles media play in that influence renders our work more compelling and persuasive.

We might start by noting that "media" in this Companion is not synonymous with "the media," or with communication outlets and conglomerates. As an alternative, we may begin with Lev Manovich's five-part definition of new media, even if his definition privileges formal aspects over the contexts of functions and processes:

- New media are numerical representations (composed of digital code),
- They are modular (several distinct parts constitute an object),
- They are automated (their creation and maintenance involve a combination of people and machines),
- They are variable (versions eclipse originals and copies), and
- They are transcoded (a combination of computation and culture).

This last aspect, transcoding, is most central to this Companion, which foregrounds the cultural dimensions of studying media through new media: how new media are about power and control, for example. In doing so, the Companion also echoes W J.T. Mitchell: "There are no `pure' media". Even with established categories such as sound, image, video, text, code, software, hardware, platform,


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interface, story, game, network, and even electricity, light, or water, it is impossible to isolate one medium from the next. Their affordances are fleeting and incredibly difficult to measure. And if no pure media exist, then it is also impossible to extract new media from the contingencies of their histories or settings, even as they transform, rot, disappear, and reappear over time, often without provenance or reference to the motivations for their composition. While anyone may unconsciously or wilfully ignore these histories and settings—these values and configurations—they are active ingredients of

new media's composition; they are the stuff of making and remaking. Once they enter our frame of analysis, new media's formal or technical aspects morph from the common sense of patents, diagrams, and instruction manuals into a hairball of human and nonhuman activities or a matrix of technology and culture.

We could therefore propose that the study of media is the study of entanglements. How and under what assumptions is sound entwined with image? Data with design? Network with node? Old with new? Subject with object? Aesthetics with politics? This approach to combining media studies with digital humanities does not bypass specificity (as if entanglements are antithetical to granularity and difference), and it does not endorse relativism (as if entanglements either absolve us from responsibility or claim equal positioning for everyone and everything) (Haraway 1988: 584). It instead underscores how new media are simultaneously abstract and particular, inhabiting seemingly contradictory positions within systems that invite and track action. It then asks us to account for where we are and how we participate in those systems—in the complex mesh of apparatus with process. This is no simple task, especially when we face the litany of things media may be: both social and material, carrier and content, form and substance, portal and edge, ephemeral and permanent, you and other. Of course, practitioners usually select their preferred terms for research, and these terms unavoidably shape how people draw boundaries and assume responsibility for their demarcations.

Media. A fascinating mess. In the following pages, four palpable issues repeatedly surface from it all. These issues are not just concerns shared by some or even all the authors; they are also indicators of what makes the intersection of media studies with digital humanities unique and necessary right now.

Beyond Text: With its prevalence in English departments and studies of literature and language, digital humanities frequently deems text its primary medium for both composition and analysis. Against this grain, the following chapters give us a very concrete sense of digital humanities and media studies beyond text for inquiry. By extension, they prompt practitioners to consider an array of media in tandem with a constellation of modalities, including listening, seeing, scanning, touching, skimming, hearing, watching, smelling, feeling, toggling, wearing, processing, and inhabiting. These modalities remind us how the study of media through new media is an embodied or material activity, which may be both situated in and distributed across space and time as well as people and machines. Embodiment (including questions of affect and labor) and materiality (including questions of inscription, plasticity, and erasure) are fundamental to research as an entanglement.

Labs and Collaboration: The laboratory, broadly defined, is a core component of many chapters in this Companion. A majority, if not all, of the methods are experimental. They combine disciplines, privilege trial and error, underscore action in context, or develop custom technologies. Rarely is this work done alone, and even when the chapters are written by individuals they draw upon and acknowledge efforts by teams and collectives. Although they are now ubiquitous features of digital work, labs and collaboration remain understudied in the humanities. This Companion contributes additional research to address that gap.

Social Justice: The content of this Companion resists formal or technical treatments of media as if technologies are outside of time, history, culture, society, and material conditions. Many of the chapters focus on the entanglements of technologies with justice, oppression, and power. Rather than asking what media are, they ask what media do.


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How do new media unfold in context? How are they made, by whom, and for whom? According to what norms or standards, and with what influence on social relations? With what acknowledgments and exclusions? How do they circulate, regulate, and discipline? How are they modified or repurposed, and with what changes over time? These questions encourage a media studies and digital humanities of the present moment, when technologies may be modes of activism and decolonization instead of instruments or gadgets.

Expanding Participation: Instead of reducing media studies or digital humanities to practices such as programming—or to the technical particulars of code and platforms—the chapters included here underscore a range of scholarly participation in new media from across disciplines and experiences. Through their methodologies, the authors may intervene in a given research area by prototyping media through new media, but they may also conduct archival research, write monographs, pursue ethnographic methods, or manage scholarly resources, for instance. One by-product of this range is a thorough account of what "making," "doing," or "building" really mean in our current moment. These forms of "active" participation need not be restricted to the creation of shiny, tangible, and measurable things. They need not rehearse the myth of lone white male inventors, either. Scholarship in this Companion involves (among other things) performing, writing, thinking, speaking, listening, resisting, revising, editing, curating, maintaining, fixing, and tinkering, the particulars of which often escape us. Through this expansive approach to participation in new media, the chapters more accurately reflect the actualities of research practice and move beyond the superficial hype of making and building stuff.

To give these four issues some structure, especially for readers who are new to media studies and digital humanities, I organized this Companion into five sections, followed by a Glossary of Acronyms and Initialisms as well as a Glossary of Projects mentioned in the chapters:

Part I. Access, Praxis, Justice: This section highlights social justice issues that permeate the entirety of the Companion. It also demonstrates how social justice work is enacted through new media as a form of praxis, in part by expanding the definition of "access" through an emphasis on participation, but also by sharing various modes of activism involving new media. This part features Tara McPherson on feminist film studies; Alexandra Juhasz on "event-englement"; Moya Bailey and Reina Gossett on social media; Radhika Gajjala, Erika M. Behrmann, and Jeanette M. Dillon on cyberethnography; Aimée Morrison on public scholarship; Michelle Habell-Pallán, Sonnet Retman, Angelica Macklin, and Monica De La Torre on convivencia and archivista praxis; Roopika Risam on decolonization; Isabel Cristina Restrepo Acevedo on interactive narratives; Jacqueline Wernimont and Elizabeth Losh on a "long maker table"; Elizabeth Ellcessor on glitch and disability; Amanda Phillips on videogames and social justice; and Elizabeth LaPensée on Indigenous game design.

Part II. Design, Interface, Interaction: Design, interfaces, and interaction are too often considered additive, as if they are features layered over code just before release. Against such tendencies, this section exhibits the centrality of design to critical and creative inquiry with media. This part features Anne Balsamo on the cultural implications of design; Patrik Svensson on the design of space; Kari Kraus on speculative design; Patrick Jagoda and Peter McDonald on experience design and affective play; Mary Flanagan on critical play; Jessica Rajko on embodied thinking and wearables design; Kim Brillante Knight on wearable interfaces; Maureen Engel on deep mapping; and Beth Coleman on smart subjects in the Internet of Things.

Part III. Mediation, Method, Materiality: Instead of treating media as containers that transmit content, this section of the Companion attends to various forms of mediation, affect, and materiality important to humanities research. Many of the authors also translate mediation into a method for inquiry. Here, mediation is not something delegated to instruments or overwritten by research techniques; it is what prompts interesting questions. This part features Tara Rodgers on sound; Shintaro Miyazaki on algorhythmics; Matthew Fuller on software studies; Nina Belojevic and Shaun


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Macpherson on physical computing; Steven E. Jones on the eversion; Anna Munster on networks; Mark Williams on television; Gregory Zinman on moving images; Virginia Kuhn on analytics; Paul Benzon on media archaeology; and Shannon Mattem on infrastructures.

Part IV. Remediation, Data, Memory: In the humanities, how is media preserved? What role does it play in memory? When does it become "data"? And how does it change across formats over time? Moving between old and new media, the past and present, this section of the Companion addresses these questions and more. In the process, it builds on Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's foundational text, Remediation (1998). This part features Kathleen Fitzpatrick on obsolescence and innovation; Jon Bath, Alyssa Arbuckle, Constance Crompton, Alex Christie, Ray Siemens, and the INKE Research Group on futures of the book; Howard Rambsy II on collaborative annotation; Dene Grigar and Stuart Moulthrop on preserving born-digital texts; Timothy Murray on curating and preserving new media art; Victoria Szabo on apprehension through augmented reality; Bryan Carter on teaching Digital Africana Studies; Angel David Nieves on 3-D histories of South Africa; Kimberly Christen on Indigenous systems of knowledge and archival practices; Eric Hoyt, Tony Tran, Derek Long, Kit Hughes, and Kevin Ponto on applying scaled entity search to media history; Jeffrey Schnapp on the art of description; and Lauren F. Klein on data visualization and memory.

Part V. Making, Programming, Hacking: Practices such as making, programming, and hacking intertwine in many ways with writing, ethnography, and even archival work. Underscoring the critical and creative dimensions of these practices, this section surveys noninstrumentalist approaches to code, platforms, and machines that privilege inquiry over proof. This part features Annette Vee on programming and literacy; Noah Wardrip-Fruin on expressive processing; Anastasia Salter on building interactive stories; Mark C. Marino on critical code studies; Jacob Gaboury on critical unmaking and queer computation; Kat Jungnickel on learning from doing; Jennifer Gabrys on citizen sensing; and Daniela K. Rosner on design as inquiry.

Ultimately, the methods and methodologies presented here do not cohere into an exhaustive or totalizing entanglement of media studies with digital humanities. The differences between them are telling and meaningful, and—encouraged by the HASTAC community, including the affirmative work of Fiona Barnett and Cathy Davidson—it is in the spirit of difference that I invite readers to study media through new media. How are the boundaries drawn, and to what effects? <>

Slave Theater in the Roman Republic: Plautus and Popular Comedy by Amy Richlin [Cambridge University Press, 9781107152311]

Roman comedy evolved early in the war-torn 200s BCE. Troupes of lower-class and slave actors traveled through a militarized landscape full of displaced persons and the newly enslaved; together, the actors made comedy to address mixed-class, hybrid, multilingual audiences. Surveying the whole of the Plautine corpus, where slaves are central figures, and the extant fragments of early comedy, this book is grounded in the history of slavery and integrates theories of resistant speech, humor, and performance. Part I shows how actors joked about what people feared - natal alienation, beatings, sexual abuse, hard labor, hunger, poverty - and how street-theater forms confronted debt, violence, and war loss. Part II catalogues the onstage expression of what people desired: revenge, honor, free will, legal personhood, family, marriage, sex, food, free speech; a way home, through memory; and manumission, or escape - all complicated by the actors' maleness. Comedy starts with anger.

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Excerpt: I wrote this book with a photograph of Eduard Fraenkel in front of me, a photograph that used to sit on the desk of my teacher, Gordon Williams, who was Fraenkel's friend. I thought of them as I worked; I wrote for them, a book they are not here to see. Apart from urging me to work harder, they reminded me daily of the vast wealth of earlier scholarship on the palliata. The Plautine corpus is a universe; every detail of it opens up questions examined by a long genealogy of scholars. A book that took all their remarks into account would be many times the length of this one, already long enough, but I am truly sorry for the omissions. Readers should note that the text itself upon which my arguments are based is a porous one; a century-old collection of actors' notes and performance transcripts assembled by scholars in the first century BCE has fascinated scholars ever since, so that our understanding today depends on two thousand years of scholarship, most of which is now in remote storage, but which still calls out to engage in the ongoing conversation. My goal is to understand what happened between actors and audiences in Latium in the 200s BCE, and in that pursuit I have had much help.

it has been the contention of this book that slaves, not just in Rome but all over central Italy, went to the theater, and that their experiences shaped the early palliata, which primarily addressed slaves, freed slaves, and the poor. That the theater itself served as a magical place where slaves had unusual rights is explicitly stated at several points in the plays. The prologue speaker ín Casina remarks


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on slave marriage; the love of Toxilus stands at the center of Persa; Stichus adjures the audience not to be surprised that homines servoli can have a good time. The chief claim of the servolus in the plays is to be a homo, a person. The places where slaves can have pleasure are like the 10i liberi seen in chapter 4, and the theater is chief among them.

Fraenkel saw that the palliata changed Greek New Comedy by enlarging the roles of slaves. But, circulating to Italy along with the shtick that «as their stock in trade, slave and low-class actors made the palliata, and the slave characters they made (probably from before Livius Andronicus, and at least through the death of Plautus) do not just take center stage. They joke about their most painful experiences, and, along with poor men, they joke about the hardship of poverty and the fear of debt, using folk forms like flagitatio and verbal dueling. They act out the fulfillment of their most forbidden desires, chastising their owners and, at least for male Slaves, sometimes gaining access to sex. They both act out the particular horrors of slavery for women and, as actors under the mask, joke about what slavery did to masculinity, at the same time carving out a space for the unspoken expression of male slaves' desires for other male slaves, even for male owners. How much of what was unspoken was plainly conveyed by voice and body language, we can only guess from hints in the wording. Slave characters share with their audience the communal memory of the losses entailed by war and slavery; they share the memory of the way back down the road and across the sea. They act out and sing about the dream of liberty, both through manumission and through fantastical escape. They speak truth to power, so that the whole palliata becomes an act of quiritatio: fellow countrymen, stand by us!

They were playing to an audience that had a lot to be angry about, an audience that had suffered greatly, just as the actors had who walked with their cart full of props and gear through the ravaged landscape of Italy in the zoos. And then things changed; the plays of Terence in the 160s bear eloquent testimony to the kind of change it was, for the palliata is now a Menandrian revival, and the language is suddenly subdued, and the slave is upstaged.

Let us return to the curious story of an incident that took place in the First Sicilian Slave War in 132, fifty years after Plautus' death, that shows slaves using comedy as open critique. According to Diodorus Siculus — something of a dramatist himself, as seen in chapter 8 — Eunus, the leader of the uprising, drew up his troops near the walls of a town and staged a performance (Diod. Sic. 34135.2.46):

> Eunus, having drawn up his forces out of range of missiles, was reviling the Romans, declaring that not his own men but the Romans were runaways from danger. Then he put on mime-shows visible from that distance to those in the city, in which the slaves acted out their rebellion against their individual masters, casting blame upon them for their arrogance and the way their wanton violence had crossed the line and brought about their own ruin.

At this point, the hidden transcript has broken out into plain sight; but the content of this mime bears an important resemblance to the content of the palliata. If the story is not true, it is telling.

Columella's vice list for urban slaves claims that slaves liked to see shows (Rust. 1.8.2). The Poenulus prologue says as much, while joking that some of them were not supposed to be there. Maybe some of them, like Stichus, had asked for and received a day off, or part of a day. Maybe, like Stichus, they were ready to pay out money from their hoarded pecuhum, in order to buy something to eat while they sat (or stood) and watched the show; maybe, like Chrysalus, they had seen the same shows more than once, and had favorite actors. Not only Chrysalus in his famous speech in Bacchides, but also Sceparnio and Gripus in Rudens, and Mercurius in Amphitruo, speak as slaves who have not just gone to the theater but have opinions about it. After all, "the theater," in the zoos in central Italy, was just a temporary enclosure with some benches and a collapsible stage, a birdcage, a space in a forum full of other attractions on a festival day; or, maybe, in a small town on a market day, or out in the country in a field, as Juvenal depicts a performance three hundred years later. Most slaves in Italy were working the land, with little access to a day out at the theater,


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and they were the ones who rose up. Still, the slaves who could have watched the plays of Plautus could have seen a lot, as this book has argued, to make them laugh. And they needed a laugh. All comedy starts with anger. <>

Call Them by Their True Names: American Crises (and Essays) by Rebecca Solnit [Haymarket Books, 9781608463299]

Rebecca Solnit is the author of more than twenty books including the international bestseller Men Explain Things to Me. Called "the voice of the resistance" by the New York Times, she has emerged as an essential guide to our times, through her incisive commentary on feminism, violence, ecology, hope, and everything in between.

In this powerful and wide-ranging collection, Solnit turns her attention to battles over meaning, place, language, and belonging at the heart of the defining crises of our time. She explores the way emotions shape political life, electoral politics, police shootings and gentrification, the life of an extraordinary man on death row, the pipeline protest at Standing Rock, and the existential threat posed by climate change.

Changing the world means changing the story, the names, and the language in which we describe it. Calling things by their true names can also cut through the lies that excuse, disguise, avoid, or encourage inaction, indifference, obliviousness in the face of injustice and violence.

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## Excerpt: Politics and the American Language

One of the folktale archetypes, according to the Aarne-Thompson classification of these stories, tells of how "a mysterious or threatening helper is defeated when the hero or heroine discovers his name." In the deep past, people knew names had power. Some still do. Calling things by their true names cuts through the lies that excuse, buffer, muddle, disguise, avoid, or encourage inaction, indifference, obliviousness. It's not all there is to changing the world, but it's a key step.

When the subject is grim, I think of the act of naming as diagnosis. Though not all diagnosed diseases are curable, once you know what you're facing, you're far better equipped to know what you can do about it. Research, support, and effective treatment, as well as possibly redefining the disease and what it means, can proceed from this first step. Once you name a disorder, you may be able to connect to the community afflicted with it, or build one. And sometimes what's diagnosed can be cured.

Naming is the first step in the process of liberation. Calling Rumpelstiltskin by his true name makes him fly into a self-destructive rage that frees the heroine of his extortions; and though fairytales are thought to be about enchantment, it's disenchantment that is often the goal: breaking the spell, the illusion, the transformation that made someone other than herself or himself, speechless or unrecognizable or without human form. Naming what politicians and other powerful leaders have done in secret often leads to resignations and shifts in power.


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To name something truly is to lay bare what may be brutal or corrupt—or important or possible—and key to the work of changing the world is changing the story, the names, and inventing or popularizing new names and terms and phrases. The project of liberation has also involved coining new terms or bringing terms that were obscure into more popular use: we now talk about normalization, extractivism, unburnable carbon; about walking while Black, gaslighting, the prison-industrial complex and the new Jim Crow, affirmative consent, cisgender, concern trolling, whataboutism, the manosphere, and so much more.

The process works both ways. Think of the Trump administration's turning family reunification, which sounds like a good thing, into the ominous, contagious-sounding "chain migration." Think of the second Bush administration's redefining torture as "enhanced interrogation," and how many press outlets went along with it. Of the Clinton administration's hollow phrase "building a bridge to the twenty-first century," which was supposed to celebrate the brave new world tech would bring and disguised how much it would return us to nineteenth-century economic divides and robber barons. Of Ronald Reagan's introduction of the figure of the "welfare queen," a mythic being whose undeserving greed justified cutting off aid to the poor and ignored the reality of widespread poverty.

There are so many ways to tell a lie. You can lie by ignoring whole regions of impact, omitting crucial information, or unhitching cause and effect; by falsifying information by distortion and disproportion, or by using names that are euphemisms for violence or slander for legitimate activities, so that the white kids are "hanging out" but the Black kids are "loitering" or "lurking." Language can erase, distort, point in the wrong direction, throw out decoys and distractions. It can bury the bodies or uncover them.

You can pretend there are two sides to the data on the climate crisis and treat corporate spin doctors as deserving of equal standing with the overwhelming majority of scientists in the field. You can just avoid connecting the dots, as this country long has done with gender violence, so that the obscene levels of domestic violence and sexual assault against women become a host of minor and unreported stories that have nothing to do with one another. You can blame the victim or reframe the story so that women are chronically dishonest or delusional rather than that they are chronically assaulted, because the former reaffirms the status quo as the latter disassembles it—which is a reminder that sometimes tearing down is constructive. There are a host of words used to damn women—bossy, shrill, slutty, hysterical are a few—that are rarely used for men, and other words, such as uppity and exotic, carry racial freight.

You can invent conflicts where there are none—"class versus identity politics" ignores that all of us have both, and that a majority of people who might be termed the working class are women and people of color. Occupy Wall Street's slogan "We are the 99 percent" insisted on a vision of a society that didn't need to be stratified into several classes, but in which the 1 percent—a phrase that has stuck around and become part of the mainstream vocabulary—had pitted themselves against the rest of us.

Precision, accuracy, and clarity matter, as gestures of respect toward those to whom you speak; toward the subject, whether it's an individual or the earth itself; and toward the historical record. It's also a kind of self-respect; there are many old cultures in which you are, as the saying goes, as good as your word. Our Word Is Our Weapon was the title of a compilation of the Zapatista Subcomandante Marcos's writings. If your word is unreliable, junk, lies, disposable pitches, you're nothing—a boy who cried wolf, a windbag, a cheat.

Or so it used to be, which is why one of the crises of this moment is linguistic. Words deteriorate into a slush of vague intention. Silicon Valley seizes on phrases to whitewash itself and push its agendas: sharing economy, disruption, connectivity, openness; terms like surveillance capitalism push back. The current president's verbal abuse of language itself, with his slurred, sloshing, semi-coherent word salad and his insistence that truth and fact are whatever he wants them to be, even if he wants them to be different from what they were yesterday: no


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matter what else he's serving, he's always serving meaninglessness.

The search for meaning is in how you live your life but also in how you describe it and what else is around you. As I say in one of the essays in this book, "Once we call it by name, we can start having a real conversation about our priorities and values. Because the revolt against brutality begins with a revolt against the language that hides that brutality."

Encouragement means, literally, to instill courage; disintegration means to lose integrity or integration. Being careful and precise about language is one way to oppose the disintegration of meaning, to encourage the beloved community and the conversations that inculcate hope and vision. Calling things by their true names is the work I have tried to do in the essays here.

## Armpit Wax

You can take the woman out of the church but not the church out of the woman. Or so I used to think, as my lapsed Catholic mother carried out dramas of temptation, sin, and redemption by means of ice cream and broccoli, or froze with fear at the idea of having made a mistake. She had left behind the rites and the celebrations but not the anxiety that all mistakes were unforgivable. So many of us believe in perfection, which ruins everything else, because the perfect is not only the enemy of the good, it's also the enemy of the realistic, the possible, and the fun.

My mother's punitive God was the enemy of Coyote. Prankish, lecherous, accident-prone Coyote and his cousins, the unpredictable creators of the world in Native American stories, brought me a vision of this realm as never perfect, made through collaboration and squabbling. I came across one of these stories a quarter century ago, when the conceptual artist Lewis DeSoto, whose father was Cahuilla, asked me to write about his work. He handed me a photocopy of one version of the Cahuilla creation story, which someone had transcribed from the oral tradition. The Cahuilla were one of the myriad smallish tribes that inhabited the vast area now known as California.

They lived in the western Mojave Desert, and, in the story Lewis sent me, the world begins with darkness and "beautiful, faraway sounds—sounds such as might come from distant singers." It continues, "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep"—not so unlike the Book of Genesis, until the maternal darkness endeavors to give birth and miscarries twice, then bears twin brothers, who grow up to quarrel constantly about who was born first.

As they fashion the world and all the things in it, the twins argue about whether there should be sickness and death. The brother who wins is worried about overpopulation. The loser abandons the earth in a huff, in his hurry leaving behind some of his creations, including coyotes, palm trees, and flies. The remaining brother becomes such a problem—lusting after his daughter, the moon; giving rattlesnakes poisonous fangs; arming people with weapons they would use against each other—that his creatures have to figure out how to kill him. No one is unequivocally good, starting with the gods.

Where I live, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Ohlone people say that Coyote was the first being, and the world was created by him, and by Eagle and by Hummingbird, who laughs at Coyote's attempts to figure out just where to impregnate his wife. (He's not always this naïve. In the Winnebago stories from the Great Lakes, Coyote sends his detachable penis on long, sneaky missions in pursuit of penetration, like some drone from the dreamtime.) As the Californian poet Gary Snyder once put it, "Old Doctor Coyote...is not inclined to make a distinction between good and evil." Instead, he's full of contagious exuberance and great creative force. In another Californian creation myth, the gods argue about procreation: one thinks a man and woman should put a stick between them at night, and it will be a baby when they wake up. The other says that there should be a lot of nocturnal embracing and laughing in the baby-making process.

These supple stories, unalarmed by improvisation, failure, and sex, remind me of jazz. In contrast, the creator in the Old Testament is a tyrannical composer whose score can only be performed one right way. The angel with the flaming sword drove us out of Eden because we talked to snakes and made a bad choice about fruit snacks. Everything that followed was an affliction and a curse.


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of professors of health psychology courses, conducted with the cooperation of the Society for Health Psychology (Division 38 of the American Psychological Association). This study again helped me revise the text with an eye to what teachers want and need.

Nothing saved me from reading a lot of published literature. To ensure you get to read the most updated information, this new edition is based on more than 1,000 new research articles cited. Additionally, as a testament to my commitment to providing you with a robust scientific introduction to the field, I enforce the chapter discussions with relevant and interesting citations.

There are some major changes to this edition. In every chapter I have provided more information on how the topics discussed are measured by health psychologists in the field. Interested in coping? The relevant chapter has the most recent coping measures and the most used ones. This emphasis on measurement reflects the field's greater focus on the same. Speaking of measurement, I now have an entirely new chapter on research methods. Having it as part of the first chapter in the first three editions was acceptable, but research is the foundation of psychological science. The stand-alone chapter on methods now is a testament to this.

I have shortened many chapters and rearranged some topics to allow for better reading. For example, I moved some information on culture from the first chapter to the third. I also noted that the chapter on health behaviors (e.g., smoking and exercise) was very unwieldy. It is now divided into two parts to make the material easier to digest.

I have completely overhauled the artwork program with the help of some great editorial assistance. There are new photographs, reworked figures and graphs, and current examples related to recent events in the news. <>

Journalism edited by Tim P. Vos [Handbooks of Communication Science, Mouton De Gruyter, 9781501510380]

## About Handbooks of Communication Science Series

This volume is part of the series Handbooks of Communication Science, published from 2012 onwards by de Gruyter Mouton. When our generation of scholars was in their undergraduate years, and one happened to be studying communication, a series like this one was hard to imagine. There was, in fact, such a dearth of basic and reference literature that trying to make one's way in communication studies as our generation did would be unimaginable to today's undergraduates in the field. In truth, there was simply nothing much to turn to when you needed to cast a first glance at the key objects in the field of communication. The situation in the United States was slightly different; nevertheless, it is only within the last generation that the basic literature has really proliferated there.

What one did when looking for an overview or just a quick reference was to turn to social science books in general, or to the handbooks or textbooks from the neighbouring disciplines such as psychology, sociology, political science, linguistics, and probably other fields. That situation has changed dramatically. There are more textbooks available on some subjects than even the most industrious undergraduate can read. The representative key multi-volume International Encyclopedia of Communication has now been available for some years. Overviews of subfields of communication exist in abundance. There is no longer a dearth for the curious undergraduate, who might nevertheless overlook the abundance of printed material and Google whatever he or she wants to know, to find a suitable Wikipedia entry within seconds.

`Overview literature' in an academic discipline serves to draw a balance. There has been a demand and a necessity to draw that balance in the field of communication and it is an indicator of the maturing of the discipline. Our project of a multi-volume series of Handbooks of Communication Science is a part of this coming-of-age movement of the field. It is certainly one of the largest endeavours of its kind within communication sciences, with almost two dozen volumes already


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planned. But it is also unique in its combination of several things.

The series is a major publishing venture which aims to offer a portrait of the current state of the art in the study of communication. But it seeks to do more than just assemble our knowledge of communication structures and processes; it seeks to integrate this knowledge. It does so by offering comprehensive articles in all the volumes instead of small entries in the style of an encyclopedia. An extensive index in each Handbook in the series, serves the encyclopedic task of find relevant specific pieces of information. There are already several handbooks in sub-disciplines of communication sciences such as political communication, methodology, organisational communication — but none so far has tried to comprehensively cover the discipline as a whole.

For all that it is maturing, communication as a discipline is still young and one of its benefits is that it derives its theories and methods from a great variety of work in other, and often older, disciplines. One consequence of this is that there is a variety of approaches and traditions in the field. For the Handbooks in this series, this has created two necessities: commitment to a pluralism of approaches, and a commitment to honour the scholarly traditions of current work and its intellectual roots in the knowledge in earlier times.

There is really no single object of communication sciences. However, if one were to posit one possible object it might be the human communicative act — often conceived as "someone communicates something to someone else." This is the departure point for much study of communication and, in consonance with such study, it is also the departure point for this series of Handbooks. As such, the series does not attempt to adopt the untenable position of understanding communication sciences as the study of everything that can be conceived as communicating. Rather, while acknowledging that the study of communication must be multifaceted or fragmented, it also recognizes two very general approaches to communication which can be distinguished as: a) the semiotic or linguistic approach associated particularly with the humanities and developed especially where the Romance languages have been dominant and b) a quantitative approach associated with the hard and the social sciences and developed, especially, within an Anglo-German tradition. Although the relationship between these two approaches and between theory and research has not always been straightforward, the series does not privilege one above the other. In being committed to a plurality of approaches it assumes that different camps have something to tell each other. In this way, the Handbooks aspire to be relevant for all approaches to communication. The specific designation "communication science" for the Handbooks should be taken to indicate this commitment to plurality; like "the study of communication", it merely designates the disciplined, methodologically informed, institutionalized study of (human) communication.

On an operational level, the series aims at meeting the needs of undergraduates, postgraduates, academics and researchers across the area of communication studies. Integrating knowledge of communication structures and processes, it is dedicated to cultural and epistemological diversity, covering work originating from around the globe and applying very different scholarly approaches. To this end, the series is divided into 6 sections: "Theories and Models of Communication", "Messages, Codes and Channels", "Mode of Address, Communicative Situations and Contexts", "Methodologies", "Application areas" and "Futures". As readers will see, the first four sections are fixed; yet it is in the nature of our field that the "Application areas" will expand. It is inevitable that the futures for the field promise to be intriguing with their proximity to the key concerns of human existence on this planet (and even beyond), with the continuing prospect in communication sciences that that future is increasingly susceptible of prediction.

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## Excerpt: Journalism

Abstract: This chapter works through a broad and a theoretical definition of journalism. The broad definition centers on journalism as a kind of work. The theoretical definition focuses on the cultural, institutional, and material dimensions of journalism. The exercise highlights the complexities and controversies that accompany efforts to define and delimit the field. These complexities and controversies run through the various chapters of the book, which are contextualized in this introductory chapter.

Journalism is an amazingly rich field of study, generating interest from a variety of perspectives and disciplines. Much of this interest is owed to the vital role journalism plays in the life of a society. A variety of social actors - from policymakers to scientists to captains of industry to ordinary citizens - are invested in how journalism is constituted and performed. It has historically held significant consequences for how any collective behavior is negotiated and perceived and hence for the kind of social and physical world individuals inhabit. Journalism is significant simply because, like a mountain to be climbed, it's there. "Journalism, in all its varieties, is the constant background and accompaniment to everyday life".

But, for reasons that have little to do with journalism's social importance, the field has been facing something of a crisis. Economic and technological changes have been met with changes to how journalism is performed and by whom. Newspapers have struggled, losing readers and shedding workers; broadcast news outlets have faced similar, albeit less severe, retrenchment; and online outlets have asserted themselves as new players in the field, shifting some traditional journalistic commitments. However, the work of journalism is no less vital and hence no less a source of constant fascination. Indeed, the seeming upheaval in journalism has made its attention and study even more compelling. We are fascinated with rethinking, reinventing, reconsidering, revisioning (Allan 2013), and reforming the field.

Some would no doubt quibble with the assertion that journalism is no less vital now than in the past. They can point to "random acts of journalism" that transcend the industrial forms of journalism that are


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lately in crisis. This is a legitimate point. But it also raises a fundamental question: what is journalism? Journalists and the field of journalism studies have already confronted the question of "who is a journalist?" It now too is confronting the question of "what is journalism?".

This chapter sets out to define journalism and, in the process, aims to highlight the various ways in which journalism can be examined and studied. Indeed, this volume is a demonstration of the many ways journalism can be conceptualized and explored. The chapter concludes by laying out the plan of the volume, highlighting the continued vitality of journalism as a field of practice and study.

## Defining journalism

Defining any concept comes with inherent tensions. One tension is between the specific and the general. The more elaborate the definition the


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debates about the field that are often implicit - and sometimes explicit - in any definition.

## A theoretical definition

A theoretical definition "conveys the meaning we attach to the concept and generally suggests indicators of it" (Shoemaker, Tankard & Lasorsa 2004: 26). Hence, a theoretical or conceptual definition hints at the empirical referents of the concept in ways that a broader definition might not. Much of the above definition still works as a theoretical definition. However, while the definition above defines journalism as socially valued and structured work, the theoretical definition would seek to specify the range of observable phenomena that constitutes journalism. This is still a broad definition, but also one that directs scholarly attention to distinct dimensions of the concept.

The working theoretical definition of journalism offered here seeks to theoretically unpack the structures that guide journalistic work: Journalism is a set of beliefs, forms, and practices involved in the crafting and distributing of socially significant news and discussion. This is a starting point for working toward a more concrete definition. It does not define the particular beliefs, forms, or practices that constitute journalism, in no small part because these will shift or have shifted —probably only slightly — across time and place.

The inclusion of beliefs taps into a cultural and institutional dimension of journalism. Or, put another way, the work of journalism reflects cultural values, attitudes, and ideas and reflects institutional roles, rules, and scripts. All of these beliefs are expressed most explicitly in journalistic discourse about journalism: "Journalism and journalistic roles have no `true' essence; they exist because and as we talk about them." These beliefs are also expressed implicitly — and hence less empirically ascertainably — in journalism practice. One approach to journalism as beliefs is proposed by Deuze (2005), who conceptualizes journalism as an occupational ideology. The chief precepts of that ideology speak to values of public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics. This speaks directly to the notion that journalism is an "ism" — a theory, doctrine, cause, or a "belief system."

The addition of forms to the definition reflects the material dimensions of journalism. Thus, journalism can be studied by attending to technological, geographical, and economic manifestations. While journalism may be less identified in terms of its technological features than in the past, it has nevertheless always involved some material elements. A glance at a newspaper page, newscast, or news website provides powerful clues that the contents are the result of journalistic work. While the forms can be copied or coopted for advertising or propaganda purposes, the forms are particularly suited to journalistic purposes. As Barnhurst and Nerone have argued, "form embodies the imagined relationship of a medium to its society and polity". Likewise, journalism is work done in a physical, geographical space — a space designed to suit a journalistic purpose — and it is done as part of an economic relationship in which journalistic work involves an exchange of goods and services. All of which is to say that journalism takes on material forms and in turn is shaped by its material forms.

The inclusion of practices in the definition of journalism elicits something of the institutional nature of the work. Journalism can be studied by observing what journalists and others do. As highlighted in the discussion above, work and practices are not arbitrary, but instead are structured by generally agreed upon roles and rules, which, if not unique to journalism, are very close to it. These practices also manifest as organizational forms — arrangements for the coordination of human and machine labor. These organizational manifestations would be another site of study. Divisions of labor involving editors, reporters, and designers, for instance, are an expression of the coordinated, collective action that organizations facilitate. Organizational forms have certainly changed in recent years. And organizations may vary in terms of their size, hierarchical orientation, and profit orientation. Yet journalism has traditionally been practiced in a structured setting.

We should not overlook the use of set in the definition of journalism. Any particular empirical expression of journalism may not be unique to journalism. Public relations practitioners use some


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similar practices, for example. However, the indicators posited here hold together in a plausible — if not entirely rational — way as an expression of journalism.

The rest of the definition is largely the same offered above. However, here too, news would need to be defined in more theoretical terms, pointing to empirical referents for the concept. For example, Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) have defined news in terms of social significance and deviance. Social significance is simply a matter of what has relevance to a society. They identify four kinds of social significance: political, economic, cultural, and public significance. Deviance gets at the concept of newness. It is "a characteristic of people, ideas, or events that sets them aside as different apart from others in the region, community, neighborhood, family, and so on" (Shoemaker & Cohen 2006: 7). They parse three forms of deviance: statistical, social change, and normative deviance. Each of these concepts is operationalized to study news content, thus demonstrating the way in which operational definitions can be derived from theoretical definitions.

The point, however, is not to define each and every word. This pulls us down the path of infinite regress — defining the terms we use to define the terms we use in our definition. However, this overview provides a sense of journalism's overall meaning.

The point of this exercise was not only to define this book's object of study, but also to underscore the complex array of dimensions and perspectives that journalism evokes. Journalism is a global phenomenon with a suitably long history. It is indeed a fool's errand to proffer a definitive delineation of the concept. What is offered here is an entry into the complicated debates about journalism's nature. It also serves as a jumping off point for the varied ways in which this volume explores this thing we call journalism.

## The contribution to journalism studies

This book demonstrates the vast variety of ways in which journalism can be examined. This, of course, is not the first volume that attempts to examine the varied meanings, consequences, and elements of journalism. However, this book provides fresh perspectives in two broad ways. First, rather than a safe recitation of accepted maxims of the field, it attempts to portray the variety and complexity of journalism today, while also providing innovative conceptual, disciplinary, and international lenses for examining the field. Second, the economic and technological foundations of the journalism profession have shifted dramatically in recent years, such that research and theory about the empirical realities of journalism are necessarily in flux as well. This volume seeks to capture the ferment in the professional and academic fields.

However, to frame that ferment, the volume opens with this chapter, which seeks to capture something of the enduring nature of journalism, and a chapter that explores the history of the field. The chapter by John Nerone pulls together those historical threads that have constituted journalism as a (sometimes troubled) social institution with those threads that portend the destabilization of journalism. The chapter highlights the path dependent processes that have brought disruption and vibrancy to the field, and therein, the chapter foretells many of the themes the handbook explores.

The next section expounds on The Foundations of the Field, delving into the features of journalism largely sidestepped in the opening chapter. These foundations are conceived in terms of the roles, epistemologies, and ethics of journalism, an approach laid out by Thomas Hanitzsh (2007), who authors the chapter on journalistic roles. Hanitzsch's chapter on roles examines the ways journalists have conceived their roles in the West and elsewhere. This approach explores normative theories of the press and highlights the relationship between social systems and media actors within those systems. The chapter on epistemologies, by Stephen J. A. Ward, while connected in various ways to media roles, explores the various truthtelling approaches and strategies that journalists use or have used. Notions of objectivity play a central role, but the chapter explores alternatives and highlights emerging areas, such as digital epistemologies. Ethics is the third topic in this section of the handbook. The chapter by Patrick Plaisance explores the ethical boundaries that have guided actors in the field. While conceptual in focus — the chapter explores


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ethics as a branch of moral philosophy — Plaisance also highlights specific ethical challenges of journalism, such as conflicts of interest, minimization of harm, and respect for audiences, all made more urgent in a digital environment. Hence, all three chapters broach the historical foundations that have helped constitute journalism as an autonomous field, while also exploring the ways in which these foundations may be shifting in the present. These three foundational concepts are also addressed in subsequent chapters of the volume. The overview of the operative issues related to roles, epistemologies, and ethics provides a map for the debates raised in later chapters.

The next section of this handbook offers fours ways of Conceptualizing the Field. This section of the handbook is also foundational to subsequent chapters since it brings conceptual clarity to the issues related to journalism. Tamara Witschge and Frank Harbers' chapter conceptualizes journalism as practice; the chapter by Wilson Lowrey explores the ways in which journalism can be conceived as an institution; Brian McNair's chapter conceives of journalism as public sphere; and the chapter by Carolyn Kitch lays out the provocative idea of journalism as memory. Of course, journalism can be all of these things. However, when talking about the history of journalism, the foundations of journalism, and the problems or issues of journalism, it is incumbent on scholars to proceed with conceptual clarity about what they mean by "journalism".

The section on Theorizing the Field revisits three classic theories that have defined journalism studies: agenda setting, framing, and gatekeeping. Each is native to journalism studies, as opposed to countless theories that have been imported to the field. Each has developed over decades and has been used to explore a broad array of phenomena. And each corresponds to one of the three sites of study in our field: news effects, news texts, and news production. These chapters spotlight the ways all three of these traditions are being revitalized given the rapidly shifting empirical realities of the journalism field. The proliferation of digital media, for example, has been the occasion for a new wave of scholarship in all three of these traditions. The chapter by Wayne Wanta and Mariam Alkazemi argues for the continued relevance of agenda setting scholarship, pointing to no less than six branches of the theory in contemporary journalism scholarship. Paul D'Angelo and Donna Shaw's chapter offers an overview of framing research, highlighting the "thriving and healthy intellectual" debates that make the theory as vital as ever. And the chapter by Edson C. Tandoc, Jr offers fresh insights into gatekeeping in a digital age.

The section on Journalism Via the Disciplines demonstrates the profound ways in which journalism studies has been and might still be shaped by cross-disciplinary examination. Some of these disciplinary approaches are well established in journalism studies, others are less so. The chapter by Valerie Belair-Gagnon and Mattias Revers lays out the sociology of journalism; the chapter by Robert G. Picard examines the economics of journalism; next, Anthony Mills and Katharine Sarikakis explore the politics and policy of journalism; Angela Phillips' chapter delves into the technology of journalism; and finally Robert E. Gutsche, Jr and Mina Rafikova examine the implications of the geography of journalism. Each of these chapters explores a range of theoretical and empirical concerns that face the field. For example, the chapter on journalism and geography addresses two important phenomena — the growth of hyperlocal journalism and the continued emergence of transnational journalism. The chapter on the psychology of journalism explores earlier efforts to theorize about journalism, particularly news, through the lens of evolutionary psychology, while ultimately focusing on the psychophysiology of news construction and news processing. Taken together, the chapters point the way to a broad interdisciplinary agenda for journalism research, underscoring the cultural, institutional, and material dimensions of the field.

The book's next section, The Journalism Ecology, also provides an opportunity for examining some of the new or emerging forms of journalism that depart in some fashion from legacy or so-called mainstream journalism. The function of the section is to contextualize the long tradition of mainstream journalistic research by pointing to the ways in which journalism is produced or performed outside the usual confines of institutionalized journalism. This


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section addresses, more directly than other sections, the matter of the seeming re-institutionalization of journalism.

Each chapter considers what each form of journalism or quasi-journalism contributes to the news and information ecosystem. The chapter on entrepreneurial journalism by Jane Singer draws attention to the alternative organizational structures of new types of newsrooms. The chapter by An Nguyen and Salvatore Scifo critically interrogates the phenomenon of citizen journalism, offering a typology for three forms of citizen journalism. Ryan J. Thomas' chapter confronts the issues also raised in this opening chapter - what is journalism? - in an effort to position advocacy journalism as a legitimate contribution to the journalism ecology. Both citizen journalism and advocacy journalism have faced critics who would just as soon reject the notion that these efforts are legitimate journalism. The chapter by Stephanie Craft maps the place of documentary journalism within the journalism ecology. As Craft points out, documentary film and journalism, for all their past differences, are seemingly intersecting as documentary production is increasingly populated by former journalists. Again, attention is brought around to the similarities and differences with so-called mainstream journalism. Finally, the chapter by Folker Hanusch addresses the place of lifestyle journalism. Lifestyle journalism has long had a place in legacy news media, however its standing has often been marginalized. Hanusch navigates lifestyle journalism toward a more suitable position in the field. Overall, this section moves the research agenda in journalism studies beyond journalism's traditional institutional forms and brings to the fore practices at the periphery of journalism.

The section on The Issues of Journalism addresses both enduring and newly emergent concerns facing the field. The chapters raise defining issues: the role of journalistic autonomy in an environment where web analytics and social media have made the audience ever more present in the construction of news, the threat to human self-expression and the free flow of information in a world of censorship and propaganda, the prospects for changing the barriers to entrance into a marketplace of ideas, journalism's impact on the prospects of war and peace, and the reproduction of cultural hierarchies based on race and gender.

The chapter by Beverly Horvit, Carlos A. Cortés-Martínez, and Kimberly Kelling lays out the issues that emerge when journalists cover — or do not cover — wars and conflicts. The chapter by Cherian George explores the issue of censorship and the seemingly never-ending threats to press freedom in the world today. Kari Karppinen's chapter deals with the issues of pluralism and diversity. In the next chapter, Cristina Mislán tackles the matters of race and gender. And the chapter by Annika Sehl examines how journalism is dealing with audiences and community engagement. This section addresses the "so what?" issues of journalism studies while engaging in a kind of press criticism that reinforces the vitality and potency of journalism scholarship and theory.

The two concluding chapters provide symmetry with the two introductory chapters. The chapter on journalism and change by Henrik Örnebring brings attention to those factors that bring about the kinds of change that have been highlighted in the volume. We see how temporality has been and can be built into theorizing about journalism practice. The final chapter by François Heinderyckx looks ahead more directly to the future of journalism as a scholarly discipline, pointing to the importance of journalism scholarship that should sit at the heart of the academy. While rapid technological and economic changes have rightly consumed the discipline, this chapter points the way to new and enduring concerns that bear deeper scrutiny.

This volume confronts a world of journalism that simply does not "hold still". For all the talk about the decline of journalism, it remains a vital field of work and of study, always moving, always evolving, and always in need of scrutiny. <>

Techniques of Close Reading, Second Edition by Barry Brummett [Sage, 9781544305257]

Techniques of Close Reading, Second Edition helps you gain a deeper understanding of what texts may be saying, whether they are written, oral, visual, or mediated. Renowned scholar and professor Barry Brummett explains and explores the various ways to "read" messages (such as speeches, cartoons, or magazine ads), teaching you


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how to see deeper levels of meaning and to share those insights with others. You will learn techniques for discovering form, rhetorical tropes, argument, and ideologies within texts.

New to the Second Edition:

- A new Chapter 6 includes a selection of techniques from each chapter to show you how different techniques may be used together when reading text.
- A close reading of a group of ads from the insurance company, Liberty Mutual, offers you an opportunity to apply the techniques to recent texts.

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About the Author

Excerpt: This is the second edition of a "how-to" book designed largely for use in college classes. It teaches students how to see what is in a text. Therefore, in a sense, it is a book on mindfulness and noticing. I hope that you, the instructor of these courses, find it useful.

Most other textbooks of this sort directly address critical analysis. Such books may be used in courses of rhetorical or media criticism, popular culture, and so forth. Typically, these books review different kinds of methods and theories, covering Marxist, deconstructionist, feminist, and related approaches to understanding texts. I have written just such a book myself, Rhetoric in Popular Culture.

What I felt was missing from many of these otherwise fine books (and, in fact, from my own) was an approach that addressed very basic techniques of looking at a text and noticing what was there. At the same time, such an approach cannot be divorced from a concern for theory and method. Students who are grappling with a text need help, and they also need a way to connect the techniques they are learning with the larger issues of theory and method.

In this book, I have tried to develop a set of techniques that can be used across many theories and techniques. Of course, there are limits to any such an array of techniques, but my hope is that regardless of the theoretical or methodological stance being taught, students may find a selection of techniques in this book to help them connect theory and method to actual texts. In Chapter 1, I hail the student as a reader and a critic of texts. This chapter explains what it is to read a text and critique it. Students are encouraged to think of the many contexts in their own lives in which they can perform and then share a critical close reading.

In Chapter 2, I develop a rationale for the relationships among theory, method, and technique. This discussion may facilitate a discussion on theory and method in their own right and so may serve purposes beyond the actual examination of texts. The chapter examines deductively the relationships of theories, methods, and texts, although an inductive approach growing out of familiarity with techniques is then invited. Chapter 2 also explains the ethical stances and risks associated with critique and with attending to critique.

Chapter 3 explains the technique of examining form in a critical close reading. Such dimensions of narrative as coherence and sequence, tensions and resolution, and alignment and opposition are explored. Techniques are discussed for noticing genre and personae and for teasing out the political implications of form.

Chapters 4 and 5 switch order from the first edition. Chapter 4 studies the idea of argument and offers techniques for identifying ideologies in argument. Ideology is surely one of the most theory-dependent terms in use today, but I avoid the specific or exclusive use of any one theory. A major feature of this chapter is

an extended discussion of three sample texts that span quite a range of history and type.

Chapter 5 is keyed to Kenneth Burke's scheme of four master tropes. The chapter shows how


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attention to tropes—specifically, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony—can reveal dimensions of a text that may not otherwise be noticed. Students are taught to develop sensitivity to the ways in which language can encode complex meanings.

A new Chapter 6 expands the single close reading of the first edition so as to add a second one. It would run counter to the advice I give in the book and would seem far too mechanical to try to use all of the covered techniques in that final close reading. Rather, a selection of some techniques from each chapter shows students how different techniques may be used together. The chapter uses multiple techniques to read a cartoon on the first inauguration of President Obama. And in a new inclusion, there is a close reading of a group of ads from the insurance company Liberty Mutual.

The conclusion reviews the major points of each chapter and summarizes an overall perspective that I hope students might gain from the book.

The book is by intention short. This is so that it can be paired with a longer, theoretically and methodologically more developed book. If the course you teach is short, however, this book could work as a stand-alone text if supplemented with your own material. I have not explained any technique exhaustively but instead have tried to provide a launching pad for your own creative teaching. I wish you all success in your teaching and would enjoy hearing from you how the book works in your class.

In a short time and a few pages, we have been learning about how to closely read a text, with the goal of explaining the text's potential for rhetorical appeal. As you might imagine, we have not exhausted the topic! If you are interested in learning more, I recommend that you look for courses in rhetorical criticism or analysis, film criticism, or any courses that offer greater understanding of how journalism, advertising, everyday interactions, and so forth work. Here, I just want to reiterate the major ideas we have covered.

In Chapter 1, we learned the following:

- Meaning is the thoughts, feelings, and associations that are suggested by words, images, objects, actions, and messages.
- A reading is an attempt to understand the socially shared meanings that are supported by words, images, objects, actions, and messages.
- In a reading, we identify meanings that are socially shared, plausible, and defensible.
- We learned that a field of study devoted to exploring the meaning of language in texts is called semiotics, or semiology.
- A reader is a meaning detective.
- Close reading is the mindful, disciplined reading of an object with a view to deeper understanding of its meanings.
- Close readings are often shared with others in a criticism or critique.
- A text is the object that generates the meanings you want to know more about and perhaps tell others about.
- Close readings must take into account context, both historical and textual.
- Close readings must take into account the audience perspective from which reading occurs.
- A critic may be defined as a person who is trained in close reading and in sharing those readings with others.
- An important part of being a critic is communication of insights about the meaning of a text.
- A critic teaches or enlightens those who hear or read the critique by revealing meanings that are not universally shared and meanings that are known but not articulated.
- It can be a kind of calling or vocation to be a critic.
- Most critics are concerned with social justice and with showing the ways in which injustice is perpetuated by texts as to create hegemony.
- Rhetoric is an ancient term denoting the study of ways in which people are persuaded or influenced.
- Opportunities for critiquing are available to you on the Internet, in print, and in person.


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- What must the text ask the audience to assume?
- How does the audience know what the text claims?
- Who is empowered or disempowered?

In Chapter 5, we learned the following:

- We learned about transformations: ways in which the ordinary, literal meanings of signs and images are turned—reversed, changed, and altered—by readers of texts.
- A word for the kind of turning that occurs in transformations is trope. We learned that a trope is a category of textual devices in which the literal, ordinary meaning of a sign or image must be turned or altered to arrive at what the sign or image means in a text.
- The rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke identified four master tropes, which are metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony.
- Metaphor speaks as if one thing were another thing when literally it is not, that the trope of metaphor creates a perspective. It uses a tenor and vehicle so that the vehicle helps us to see something about the tenor. We learned that a slightly weaker form of metaphor is simile.
- We should consider the implications, both intended and unintended, of a metaphor, and that when implications are systematically developed, one has an extended metaphor.
- Metonymy reduces an abstract idea to a concrete action, object, or event.
- Metonymy expresses an abstract idea in terms of something physical or material. Synecdoche is the trope of representation.
- In the trope of representation, synecdoche, we refer to part of something when we mean the whole, because the part represents the whole. Or we can refer to whole for part, container for the thing contained, sign for the thing signified.
- Irony often involves a complete reversal of the literal, ordinary meaning of an assertion, and that irony is equated with dialectic.

In Chapter 6, we used some but not all of the techniques we have learned to examine two close readings. One was of President Obama's First Inaugural Address and featured heavy use of the idea of context. The other one was of a group of car insurance advertisements by Liberty Mutual, with a focus on their ideology.

I think that the best thing you can learn from this book is to pick up a habit and an inclination. The inclination is always to want to know more about the texts—in fact, the lived, everyday situations—that you encounter. I hope that this book might encourage in you a curiosity, a questing after "what more does this mean" when we encounter texts that are at all puzzling, that might benefit from closer examination.

And then, I would hope that you would pick up the habit of using some of the techniques we have studied here on a regular basis. You probably aren't attuned to all of them. Some may not make sense. Some may not tell you the kind of thing you want to know. But I encourage you to begin by regularly using a few techniques that seemed most interesting to you. Maybe you will want to apply the questions about ideology regularly to texts you see. Perhaps you will always begin to ask about personae. Start small, and venture out! I think your lives might be enriched. <>

The Sociology of Health and Illness: Critical Perspectives, 10th Edition edited by Peter Conrad, Valerie Leiter [Sage, 9781544326245]

The Tenth Edition of The Sociology of Health and Illness: Critical Perspectives addresses the crucial issues in this field with over 45 readings (1/3 of which are new to this edition) from the scholarly literature on health and medicine, thus providing students with the most balanced and comprehensive analysis of health care today. This best-selling anthology from Peter Conrad and Valerie Leiter includes both micro-level and structural perspectives, frameworks for understanding these critical issues, and a breadth of material that


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issues underlying our health care dilemmas and to promote an informed discussion on the potential changes in health and health care.

Three major themes underlie the organization of this book: that the conception of medical sociology must be broadened to encompass a sociology of health and illness; that medical care in the United States is presently in crisis; and that the solution of that crisis requires that our health care and medical systems be reexamined from a critical perspective.

## Toward a Sociology of Health and Illness

Today, medical sociology is one of the three largest sections of the American Sociological Association (out of more than 30). However, this was not always so. In the 1950s, medical sociology was an esoteric subspecialty taught in a few graduate departments. But in less than two decades it became a central concern of sociologists and sociology students (Bloom 2002), and continues to be today. The causes of this growth are too many and too complex to be within the scope of this book. However, a few of the major factors underlying this development are noted next.

The rise of chronic illness as a central medical and social problem has led physicians, health planners, and public health officials to look to sociology for help in understanding and dealing with this major health concern. In addition, increased government involvement in medical care has created research opportunities and funding for sociologists to study the organization and delivery of medical care. Sociologists have also become increasingly involved in medical education, as evidenced by the large number of sociologists currently on medical school faculties. Furthermore, since the 1960s, the social and political struggles over health and medical care have become major social issues, as evidenced in most presidential campaigns since, thus drawing additional researchers and students to the field. Indeed, some sociologists have come to see the organization of medicine and the way medical services are delivered as social problems in themselves.

Traditionally, the sociological study of illness and medicine has been called, simply, medical sociology. Straus (1957) differentiated between sociology "of" medicine and sociology "in" medicine. Sociology of medicine focuses on the study of medicine to illuminate some sociological issue (e.g., patient—practitioner relationships, the role of professions in society). Sociology in medicine, on the other hand, focuses primarily on medical concerns (e.g., the sociological causes of disease and illness, reasons for delay in seeking medical aid, patient compliance or noncompliance with medical regimens). As one might expect, the dichotomy between these two approaches is more distinct conceptually than in actual sociological practice.

A recent overview of the status of medical sociology organized key findings of the discipline under two major categories: (1) persistence of health inequalities among social groups and (2) challenges in the contemporary health care system in the United States. The findings reported under each category are as follows.

- Persistence of Health
- Inequalities in the United States
- Health inequalities are deeply rooted in society.
- Stressors substantially damage health.
- Social relationships are linked to health behaviors and outcomes.
- Race is linked to the very large disparities in health in the United States.
- Challenges in the Contemporary Health Care System in the United States
- Disease and illness are social constructs as well as medical constructs.
- How the public accesses and uses health care has changed dramatically.
- The authority of the medical profession has been eroded.
- Health care is costly and of inconsistent quality.
- Advances in health and health care technology have transformed health care.
- Ethical challenges and controversies have emerged with advances in medical science.
- The challenges of comprehensive health care reform in the United States are complex.
- The authors conclude that sociological research is key to reducing disparities and inequities in health, and sociology suggests


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what is needed to achieve comprehensive health reform.

Most of the selections in this book reflect one or more of these concerns. In this volume, rather than focusing on physicians and the physician's work, we emphasize a more general concern with how health and illness are dealt with in our society. This broadened conceptualization of the relationship between sociology and medicine encourages us to examine problems such as the social causation of illness, the economic basis of medical services, and the influence of medical industries. It also allows us to direct our primary attention to the social production of disease and illness, as well as the social organization of the medical care system.

Both disease and medical care are related to the structure of society. The social organization of society influences, to a significant degree, the type and distribution of disease. It also shapes the organized response to disease and illness—the medical care system. To analyze either disease or medical care without investigating its connection with social structure and social interaction is to miss what is unique about the sociology of health and illness. To make the connection between social structure and health, we must investigate how social factors such as the political economy, the corporate structure, the distribution of resources, and the uses of political, economic, and social power influence health and illness, and society's response to health and illness. To make the connection between social interaction and health, we need to examine people's experiences, face-to-face relationships, cultural variations within society, and how society constructs "reality" in general. Social structure and interaction are, of course, interrelated, and making this linkage clear is a central task of sociology. Both health and the medical system should be analyzed as integral parts of society. In short, instead of a "medical sociology," in this book we posit and profess a sociology of health and illness.

## The Crisis in U.S. Health Care

It should be noted at the outset that, by any standard, the U.S. medical system and the U.S. medical profession are among the best in the world. Our society invests a great amount of its social and economic resources in medical care; has some of the world's finest physicians, hospitals, and medical schools; is no longer plagued by most deadly infectious diseases that still exist in developing countries (e.g., cholera, dysentery, malaria); and is in the forefront in developing medical and technological advances for the treatment of disease and illness.

However, it must also be noted that U.S. health care is in a state of crisis. At least that is the judgment not of a small group of social and political critics but of concerned social scientists, thoughtful political leaders, leaders of labor and industry, and members of the medical profession itself. But although there is general agreement that a health care crisis exists, there is, as one would expect, considerable disagreement as to what caused this crisis and how to deal with it. For example, some see the latest health reform—the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA)—as a major and essential step toward the solution to some of our health care problems, while others call it "Obamacare" and see it as a "government takeover" of health care, creating a new health care crisis. While we clearly support the current health reform efforts, we also know that they are only a beginning of the needed reform in the United States. The ACA attempts to mediate and even eliminate some aspects of our persistent health care crisis.

What major elements and manifestations of this crisis are reflected in the concerns expressed by the contributors to this volume?

Medical costs have risen exponentially; in five decades, the amount people in the United States spent annually on medical care increased from 4 percent to 17.8 percent of the nation's gross national product. In 2016, the total cost was $3.3 trillion. Medical problems contribute to almost half of all U.S. bankruptcies.

Access to medical care remains a serious problem. Prior to the ACA, there were over 48 million people without health insurance, and perhaps an equal number were underinsured and thus without adequate financial access to health care when they needed it. While the ACA reduced the number of uninsured people substantially—to 24.5 million—disparities in access remain. U.S. health care suffers from "the inverse coverage law": the more people


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need insurance coverage, the less likely they are to get it. That is, the poorest and sickest individuals often have less health insurance coverage than those who are wealthier and well.

Increasing specialization of doctors has made primary care medicine scarcer. Just one-third of physicians are in primary care with no subspecialty. In many rural and inner-city areas, the only primary care available is in hospital emergency departments where waits are long, treatment is often impersonal, continuity of care is minimal, and the cost of service delivery is very high. Nurse practitioners and physician assistants are now filling some of these gaps in primary care, taking the place of primary care physicians.

Although the quality of health and medical care is difficult to measure, a few standard measures are helpful. Life expectancy, the number of years a person can be expected to live, is at least a crude measure of a nation's health. According to World Health Organization data (2017), the United States ranks thirty-first overall among nations in life expectancy, at 79.3 years, with life expectancy at birth declining by .1 years in 2015, the first decline in twenty years. Infant mortality, infant death in the first year, is one of our best indicators of health and medical care, particularly prenatal care. The United States ranked twelfth in 1963, falling to twenty-third in 1990 and twenty-sixth in 2016 (World Bank 2018). It currently falls at the bottom of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries, which include countries in Europe, plus Israel, Japan, and Korea (Centers for Disease Control 2014). Large racial disparities persist in the United States. Infant mortality is lowest for Asian or Pacific Islander infants (4.0 per 1,000 live births), compared with 5.0 among White and Latinx infants, 7.9 among American Indian or Alaska Native infants, and 11.1 among Black or African American infants.

Our medical system is organized to deliver "medical care" (actually, "sick care") rather than "health care." Medical care is that part of the system "which deals with individuals who are sick or who think they may be sick." Health care is that part of the system "which deals with the promotion and protection of health, including environmental protection, the protection of the individual in the workplace, the prevention of accidents, [and] the provision of pure food and water".

Very few of our resources are invested in "health care"—that is, in prevention of disease and illness. Yet with the decrease in infectious disease and the subsequent increase in chronic disease (especially cancer and heart disease), prevention is becoming ever more important to our nation's overall health and would probably prove more cost-effective than "medical care".

There is little public accountability in medicine. Innovations such as Health Systems Agencies, regional organizations designed to coordinate medical services (now defunct), and Peer Review Organizations, boards mandated to review the quality of (mostly) hospital care, had limited success in their efforts to control the quality and cost of medical care. These efforts at accountability, either through public or government regulations, were abandoned or revised due to opposition or lack of efficacy. (The incredible rise in the number of malpractice suits may be seen as an indication not of increasing poor medical practice but of the fact that such suits are about the only form of medical accountability presently available to the consumer.) Numerous other attempts to control medical costs—in the form of health maintenance organizations, diagnostic-related groups, evidence-based medicine, and "managed care"—have also largely failed. The most significant attempt, managed care, is changing how medicine is delivered. But it has not yet controlled costs, and it is most unlikely to increase public accountability. Most recently, the ACA attempted to create Accountable Care Organizations, groups of providers who organized voluntarily to create coordinated care for patients and would share in any savings that they created for the Medicare program (Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services 2017b).

Another element of our crisis in health care is the "medicalization" of society. Many, perhaps far too many, of our social problems (e.g., alcoholism, drug addiction, and child abuse) and of life's normal, natural, and generally nonpathological events (e.g., birth, death, and sexuality) have come to be seen as "medical problems." It is by no means clear that such matters constitute appropriate medical problems per se. Indeed, there is evidence that the


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medicalization of social problems and life's natural events has itself become a social problem.

Many other important elements and manifestations of our current health care situation are described in the works contained in this volume, including the uneven distribution of disease and health care, the role of the physical environment in disease and illness, the monopolistic history of the medical profession, the role of government in financing health care, inequalities in medical care, the growth of the pharmaceutical industry, the role of the Internet, and global issues in health. The particularities of the U.S. health crisis aside, most contributions to this volume reflect the growing conviction that the social organization of medicine in the United States has been central to perpetuating that crisis.

## Critical Perspectives on Health and Illness

The third major theme of this book is the need to examine the relationship between our society's organizations and institutions and its medical care system from a "critical perspective." What do we mean by a critical perspective?

A critical perspective is one that does not consider the present fundamental organization of medicine as sacred and inviolable. Nor does it assume that some other particular organization would necessarily be a panacea for all our health care problems. A critical perspective accepts no "truth" or "fact" merely because it has hitherto been accepted as such. It examines what is, not as something given or static, but as something out of which change and growth can emerge. In contrast, any theoretical framework that claims to have all the answers to understanding health and illness is not a critical perspective. The social aspects of health and illness are too complex for a monolithic approach.

Furthermore, a critical perspective assumes that a sociology of health and illness entails societal and personal values, and that these values must be considered and made explicit if illness and health care problems are to be dealt with satisfactorily. Since any critical perspective is informed by values and assumptions, we would like to make ours explicit: (1) The problems and inequalities of health and medical care are connected to the particular historically located social arrangements and the cultural values of any society. (2) Health care should be oriented toward the prevention of disease and illness. (3) The priorities of any medical system should be based on the needs of the consumers and not the providers. A direct corollary of this is that the socially based inequalities of health and medical care must be eliminated. (4) Ultimately, society itself must change for health and medical care to improve.

Although economic concerns have dominated the health policy debate since the 1980s, the development of critical perspectives on health and illness are central to the reform of health care in the twenty-first century (Mechanic and McAlpine 2010). In 2010, President Obama did what seemed impossible 10 years ago: he succeeded in getting the ACA passed through Congress and signed it into law. Yet the future of that law is very uncertain as the current Congress and administration attempt to dismantle it.

Bringing such critical perspectives to bear on the sociology of health and illness has thus informed the selection of readings contained in this volume. It has also informed the editorial comments that introduce and bind together the book's various parts and subparts. Explicitly and implicitly, the goal of this work is to generate awareness that informed social change is a prerequisite for the elimination of socially based inequalities in health and medical care. <>

Educating for Empathy: Literacy Learning and Civic Engagement by Nicole Mirra, foreword by Ernest Morrell [Language and Literacy Series, Teachers College Press, 9780807759141]

Educating for Empathy presents a compelling framework for thinking about the purpose and practice of literacy education in a politically polarized world. Mirra proposes a model of critical civic empathy that encourages secondary ELA teachers to consider how issues of power and inequity play out in the literacy classroom and how to envision literacy practices as a means of civic engagement. The book reviews core elements of ELA instruction—response to literature, classroom discussion, research, and digital literacy—and demonstrates how these activities can be adapted


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to foster critical thinking and empathetic perspectives among students. Chapters depict teachers and students engaging in this transformative learning, offer concrete strategies for the classroom, and pose questions to guide school communities in collaborative reflection.

Book Features:

- Responds to our current, divisive political climate to explore what empathy really means and what it takes to teach for it.
- Explores an innovative concept of critical civic empathy that goes beyond simply being nice to others and emphasizes making positive changes in government and society.
- Provides an engaging synthesis of theory and practice that shows how foundational ELA activities can be used to support the development of empathy and civic engagement.
- Focuses on both personal empathy (seeing other points of view) and global empathy (understanding the power of position and privilege in social interactions).
- Includes real-world examples from a variety of schools and discussion questions at the end of each chapter.

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Excerpt: Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno begins his 1966 essay "Education After Auschwitz" with the now famous lines, "the premier demand of all education is that Auschwitz not happen again. Its priority before any other requirement is such that I believe I need not and should not justify it ... never again Auschwitz." Adorno taps into two truths that critical educators have held onto for most of the past century: (1) that the education children receive can increase hatred and barbarism in the world, and (2) that a critical and reflexive educational experience can help increase the authentic dialogue, intercultural understanding, and civic action that may help significantly reduce acts of hatred and intolerance in our increasingly heterogeneous and interconnected society.

Unfortunately, like Adorno, we must continually justify a critical approach to teaching and learning. The global industrial rhetoric around primary, secondary, and tertiary education prioritizes workplace readiness, quantifiable literacy, and numeracy skills above all else. It is rare to find any measure of school system success that includes kindness, empathy, or a proclivity to act toward justice in the world. As Marian Wright Edelman, president and founder of the Children's Defense Fund would say, "Shame on us!" Although academic literacy rates are rising domestically and internationally, and more young people than ever are accessing secondary and tertiary education, we see daily—in acts of violence, prejudice, intolerance, and oppression—the need to revisit Adorno's question: What good is increased access to education if it does not serve to make the world a more peaceful and connected community?

Professor Mirra is a key contributor of a growing community of contemporary scholars who are addressing this question in provocative and, I argue, transformational ways. An unfortunate (and grossly inaccurate) dichotomy persists in our current educational discourse between a desire for a rigorous, objective scientific education that produces relevant and quantifiable 21st-century skills and a fear of a "theoretical" and ideological education that, though possibly well intentioned, produces irrelevant feel-good outcomes at best and antipatriotic activists with few economically beneficial skills at worst.

I mention Mirra's work as transformational. During the decade that I have known and followed her work closely, she has always been interested in a both/and approach that brings some synthesis to this troubling, yet persistent dichotomy. That is, how can education increase civic dialogue while also fostering academic and critical literacies for our most vulnerable populations? It is in this hybrid third space that Educating for Empathy: Literacy Learning and Civic Engagement positions itself.

Like Adorno, Mirra begins by addressing the empathy deficit in schools and society. Toward this end, she asks what kinds of educational practices can reverse the empathy deficit and produce compassionate, democratically engaged young adults. Mirra further argues that, "the development of empathy in students (and teachers) should be considered a primary goal of education because it offers an organizing principle for our field that is grounded in hope, love, and a commitment to a more equitable society" (citation from Mirra introduction).

Mirra's book is distinctive in many ways but its most important contribution is that she takes up these questions in the very specific context of English education. How can English teachers, in their daily interactions with students, address disciplinary content while also fostering empathy and civic engagement? How can we conceptualize literacy to encompass active citizenship and a regard for others? How can English teachers utilize the imaginative texts of our discipline like novels, plays, poems, memoirs, films, musical lyrics, and digital narratives to foster what Maxine Greene


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calls a social imagination in the service of what Mirra terms a critical civic empathy?

Mirra's critical civic empathy allows space for students to make the moves we want them to in English classes as they study literary texts seriously in that it encourages them to analyze positions of power and privilege. However, she also offers a vision for how we might push the field of English education into civic relevance by drawing upon these powerful novels, poems, and plays to foster dialogue and even civic action. What might high school students want to do differently in the world after reading and discussing Toni Morrison's Beloved?

The beauty of this book is that Mirra takes us into English classrooms across the country to show us what teachers and students actually do with texts like Beloved to develop critical civic empathy. Whether it is an English classroom in South Los Angeles, a debate program in Brooklyn, a Youth Participatory Action Research project, or a National Writing Project network, the book is eminently pragmatic in its everyday examples of curricular and pedagogical innovation. It is also inspirational and aspirational for a discipline that is continually considering how to reinvent English so that it remains provocative, responsive, and sustaining to present and future generations of teachers and students as we struggle daily to bring, in Mirra's words, more joy and justice to classrooms and to civic life.

## Orientation and Structure of the Book

I have designed this book to offer an accessible and engaging synthesis of theory, research, and practice so that teachers and teacher educators will be inspired to think about the purposes of literacy instruction, learn about the innovative literacy practices other educators have developed, and then design transformative literacy opportunities that promote empathy and civic engagement in their own contexts.

Because this book is drawn from my experiences working with students and teachers, I find it necessary to add a small note about the orientation toward this work that I bring to the table. I began my career as a high school English teacher and debate coach in Brooklyn, New York—a middle-class, White, cis-gender, heterosexual woman teaching low-income Black and Latinx youth. Before I started teaching, I did not interrogate the power and privilege from which I benefited as result of my identities, largely because I had internalized many of my experiences and perspectives as normal and unremarkable. My trajectory hewed nicely to the dominant U.S. narrative of success and progress, and it took entering the classroom for me to begin the process of reflection in which I now engage continuously in order to deconstruct my assumptions and strive to become a socially conscious and justice-oriented educator.

My students have always been (and continue to be) my guide in this journey. My early years of teaching shaped my commitment to critical literacy and civic engagement, particularly for young people whose voices often are minimized or ignored in the political process and in public life in general. As I learned about my students' experiences outside of the classroom, I began to realize that it was more important to me that they learn how to use their literacy skills to advocate for themselves and their communities tnan that they remember, for instance, all of the lines of Hamlet's "To Be or Not to Be" soliloquy (although these goals need not be mutually exclusive and certainly were not in my classroom).

Though the practices I consider in these chapters are relevant to students and teachers across contexts, I explore them largely in the context of working with students from communities most marginalized in civic life in cities ranging from New York to Los Angeles. And this is precisely because I see amplification and support of these students' voices as a crucial step toward making American civic life more equitable and just. Also, I would like to note that while pseudonyms are used throughout the book for student, school, and some teacher names, several of the educators whose work I discuss wanted their true names used to share pride in their work and support for mine. Thanks to Jerica, Ashley, and Ben for entrusting me with your stories.

To this end, Chapter 1 draws upon my study of two high school English teachers in South and East Los Angeles to examine the ways that reading and interpreting literature can help students develop critical civic empathy. I focus on the ways that


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creative texts offer imaginative access into the lives and minds of others in ways that can inspire students' civic identity development. I share teachers' practices as they introduce texts to their classroom and facilitate discussions with their students, highlighting student and teacher voices. The chapter concludes with thoughts about how teachers can choose texts that highlight particular social issues.

In Chapter 2, I share my past experiences as a high school debate coach and my current work studying how debate is being integrated into middle schools in New York City in order to analyze the impact of debate on the development of students' critical thinking, collaboration, and critical civic empathy skills. I offer an in-depth portrait of a middle school in Brooklyn that demonstrates how debate encourages students to consider multiple perspectives on controversial social issues as they establish their own beliefs. I explore how debates that begin in the classroom can extend into community spaces as students participate in weekend tournaments that bring them into contact with peers and adults from across the city. The chapter concludes by offering discussion strategies that span across subject areas.

Chapter 3 challenges the ways that research traditionally is conceptualized in school and society—including the focus on objectivity, adult expertise, and distance. In the chapter I discuss my experience coordinating a youth participatory action research (YPAR) collaborative with high school students and teachers in Los Angeles, as well as integrating YPAR into my own English classroom. I explore how situating young people as experts of their own experiences and encouraging their curiosity about the challenges they see around them can revolutionize the research experience in ways that cultivate critical civic empathy. I analyze how participatory research lifts up previously marginalized voices and encourages students to involve themselves in both naming and solving social inequities through critical literacy skills. The chapter concludes by stressing the need to support young people as civic agents and the subjects (rather than objects) of educational and social reforms.

In Chapter 4, I analyze the ways that students use digital media both in- and outside of school spaces to express themselves and forge their civic identities in an increasingly multimodal public sphere. I offer connected learning as a framework for approaching digital literacy education in ways that encourage student interest, collaboration, and critical civic empathy, and highlight the work of teachers in the National Writing Project network who are exemplifying what it takes to be a connected teacher. The chapter concludes by highlighting the possibilities of critical digital literacy to reinvigorate civic life, countering critics' claims that digital technology has eroded empathy.

Chapter 5 acknowledges the need for us to think in new ways about our identities as teachers if we are to embrace critical civic empathy as a guiding principle for literacy education. I explore the need for teachers to consider their own civic identities and interrogate their beliefs about the purpose of literacy education before they begin building their curricula, in order to lend focus and social consciousness to their literacy instruction. I discuss two surveys that I was involved in creating, which found that English teachers are juggling multiple goals for their instruction and are more likely to integrate current events into their practice if they themselves are more civically engaged outside of work. I share stories from teachers I have worked with about how they think about themselves as civic agents and how their commitments as citizens influence their classroom practice. The chapter concludes with recommendations for teachers about how to stay focused on civic purpose amid accountability demands.

Finally, the Conclusion reviews the concept of critical civic empathy and the possibilities for instilling this disposition in students through a variety of critical literacy practices in both formal and informal learning spaces. I repeat the crucial need for empathy if we are to face the challenges of the 21st century together as a democratic society and offer recommendations for policy and practice that can make it easier for educators and students to integrate civic consciousness into schooling. I conclude with the hope that literacy education can be used as a force for joy and justice in public life.


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Through this text, I aim to contribute to the field of literacy education by provoking dialogue about the relationship between schooling and society and the kinds of citizens we want our students to become—and then offering ways forward in research, policy, and practice.

## The Limits of Empathy

I will be the first to acknowledge that empathy is not the magic bullet for countering divisiveness and polarization in U.S. society and that any use fulness that it does possess matters little if it does not inspire civic action. Indeed, if the empathy that we develop does not influence our behavior at the ballot box or on the streets of our communities, then the disposition actually does not mean much at all. This is the most obvious limitation of empathy—the fact that it does not have a demonstrated causal relationship to sustained differences in behavior (Prinz, 2014). We soon will discuss the steps needed to make the necessary moves from empathy to action, but first I want to address some tensions that emerge even in the fostering of empathy itself: (1) whether some individuals or ideas do not deserve empathy in the first place; and (2) how to manage the ethics of asking students to empathize with people from groups to which they themselves do not belong.

First, as discussed in Chapter 2, welcoming all perspectives into the classroom in the name of intellectual exchange and perspective-taking is not necessarily the way to foster critical civic empathy, particularly when the discussions engage with core elements of individuals' identities; in fact, this openness actually can do the opposite by jeopardizing the emotional (and sometimes literal) safety of young people and creating a hostile atmosphere for dialogue. Particularly now, at a moment when hate speech has become a renewed topic of national conversation, we teachers need to ask ourselves: What views do not deserve empathy and will not be permitted in our classrooms?

We need to be prepared as teachers to frame the parameters of discussions in our classrooms and be very clear about those parameters with our students. I spend a great deal of time at the beginning of every school year setting norms for discussion, which I then return to with my classes each time we engage with controversial civic issues. Also, returning to Chapter 5, we need to make (little-p) political choices about what it means to embrace values of equity and justice in our classrooms, and take steps to ensure that our classrooms are humanizing spaces for young people from minoritized communities. This may mean framing issues for discussion in ways that preclude the possibility of introducing opinions that denigrate an individual's or a group's identity (even when masked as political positions). Helping students understand these distinctions is a time-consuming and delicate process, but one that is at the heart of truly engaging with and fostering critical civic empathy.

The second issue involves consideration of the identity groups to which we and our students belong and the ways that these memberships influence how and why we approach empathy in the classroom. We are much more likely to feel empathy for in-group members; that is, people who belong to the our own race, class, gender, religious affiliation, and so on. The reasons are relatively simple—for each identity that we have in common with someone else, the shorter the imaginative leap to understand the other per-son's experiences and perspectives because we likely share some of them in common. Feeling empathy for out-group members requires us to gain more knowledge about them and step more completely outside of our own frames of reference. Understanding your sources of knowledge (and blind spots) as well as those of your students is an important step toward crafting a meaningful approach to critical civic empathy. Are you teaching in a segregated school in which many of your students belong to similar identity groups? Are you teaching in a heterogeneous context with many layers of difference to manage? Do you belong to similar or different identity groups than your students?

When we do not consider these questions and prepare ourselves with the knowledge we need in order to foster authentic connections, we often take a reductive approach to bridging divides by simply focusing on our common humanity. You may be Black and I may be White, but we are all humans underneath it all, right? Decades of scholarship from feminists of color (Delgado-Bernal, 1998; hooks, 1994) have explored the ways that these


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default expressions of identity consistently revert to White, cis-gender, heterosexual, patriarchal Christian norms and marginalize the experiences of young people from minoritized communities. They also place emotional burdens on members of minoritized communities to explain their humanity to others in ways that members of majority communities largely are not asked to do.

These burdens can amount to micro-aggressions that take physical and mental health tolls on those who repeatedly must share their counter-stories. In many ways, members of minoritized communities have long had to possess empathy (or at the very least perspective-taking) for majority communities simply in order to navigate society and figure out ways to survive, whereas members of majority communities have enjoyed a choice about whether and how to engage in this behavior. As teachers, we must think about the ways that the political work is different depending on whether it is related to majority or minoritized groups of students. Members of majority groups need multiple, meaningful, and sustained opportunities to deconstruct their own privileges and get to know individuals from groups other than their own. Simply reading a text or two by an author is not enough and actually can end up reinforcing rather than breaking down stereotypes. Members of minoritized groups need opportunities to process and share experiences of marginalization or oppression and understand that they are not being asked to empathize with those who question their humanity; instead, they need opportunities to forge solidarity, bring their concerns into the public sphere to be taken seriously, and strategize about how to respond to those seeking to dehumanize them in public life.

For those teachers who might be nervous about how to empathize with students whose identities differ from their own, researcher Chezare Warren has been exploring the successes and challenges of cross-racial and cross-cultural empathy, particularly with White female teachers seeking to empathize with students of color. He highlights the need for teachers to listen to students and adopt students' social and cultural perspectives in order to interrogate their own instruction and make it more culturally sustaining. The key here is humility and an openness to change, along with a commitment to continually adding to our cultural repertoires by seeking out new perspectives in print and in person. Let's turn now to some suggestions for ways to get started. <>

Learning: Principles and Applications, 8th Edition by Stephen B. Klein [Sage, 9781544323664]

Learning: Principles and Applications by Stephen B. Klein provides students a current, comprehensive, and engaging introduction to the psychology of learning. Praised for its easy-to-read style and presentation of important contributions of both human and nonhuman animal research, the text helps readers understand the process of learning with coverage of classic experiments, contemporary research, real-world examples, applications, chapter-opening vignettes, and critical thinking questions. The Eighth Edition features expanded sections on theories of conditioning, a streamlined organization through two separate chapters on memory storage and retrieval, and enhanced pedagogy to better connect the material to the everyday lives of students.

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Learning: Principles and Applications seeks to provide students with an up-to-date understanding of learning. Basic principles are described and supplemented by research studies, including classic experiments and important contemporary studies. The eighth edition continues to uphold the same uncompromising scholarship of earlier editions. Psychologists who study the nature of the learning process have uncovered many important principles about the way in which we acquire information about the structure of our environment and how we use this understanding to interact effectively with our environment. As in earlier editions, the eighth edition provides thorough, current coverage of such principles and applications.

Much exciting, new research in learning has occurred in the past few years. Some of the key new discoveries include the determination of conditions that lead to reinforcement being devalued, leading to helplessness and depression; the importance of stimulus context in the acquisition of effective behavior and the elimination of ineffectual behavior; the role of experience in the development of food preferences and aversions; the influence of the conditioning of hunger on overeating and obesity; the recognition that the reinforcing power of psychoactive drugs contributes to addiction; the role of habituation and sensitization on the effectiveness of rewards; the occasion-setting function of conditioned and discriminative stimuli on when and where behavior occurs; and the relevance of memory reconstruction to understanding the validity of eyewitness testimony and repressed memories.

It has become increasingly clear that the nervous system plays a central role in learning processes. The importance of neuroscience on learned behavior will be evident throughout the text. The influence of the amygdala in the limbic system on the development of emotions acquired through Pavlovian conditioning, the role of prefrontal cortex in the encoding of the probability of success and the value of success of choice behavior, and the impact of the hippocampus in the storage and retrieval of experiences are but a few examples where learning is affected by the nervous system.

As in previous editions, the text presents the important contributions of human and nonhuman animal research, as both are crucial to our understanding of the learning process. In many instances, nonhuman animal studies and human research have yielded identical results, indicating the generality of the processes governing learning. While there are many general laws of learning, there are also instances in which species differ in their ability to learn a particular behavior. The use of different animals has shown that biological character affects learning. Furthermore, in some situations, only animal research can be ethically conducted, while in other cases, only human research can identify the learning process that is unique to people.

## Organization

Based on feedback from users of the previous edition of this textbook, the discussion of traditional theories of learning has been moved from the beginning of the textbook to just before the discussion of stimulus and cognitive control of behavior. In addition, the discussion of memory storage and retrieval has been expanded into two chapters. As in previous editions, principles and applications of Pavlovian conditioning and theories of Pavlovian conditioning are discussed in separate chapters, while principles and applications of appetitive conditioning and principles and applications of aversive conditioning are also described in separate chap¬ters. The discussion of biological influences on learning follows the description of theories of appetitive and aversive conditioning. Brief descriptions of chapter coverage follow:

Chapter 1 gives a brief introduction to learning as well as a discussion of the origins of behaviorism. The students are first introduced to basic learning principles through a description of the research findings and theories of Thorndike, Pavlov, and Watson. The importance of their work


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will be evident throughout the text. A brief presentation of the ethics of conducting research is also included in this chapter.

Chapter 2 describes how experience modifies instinctive behavior. This chapter explores three learning processes—(1) habituation, (2) sensitization, and (3) dishabituation—which act to alter neural systems and instinctive behaviors. Opponent-process theory, which describes the affective responses both during and following an event, also is intro¬duced in this chapter.

Chapter 3 details principles and applications of Pavlovian conditioning, a process that involves the acquisition of emotional and reflexive responses to environmental events. The chapter begins by exploring the factors that govern the acquisition or elimination of conditioned responses. Several procedures (higher-order conditioning, sensory preconditioning, and vicarious conditioning) in which conditioned responses can be learned indirectly are described in this chapter. Applications of the Pavlovian conditioning principles that have been used to establish effective conditioned responses and eliminate ineffective or impairing conditioned responses are also presented.

Chapter 4 describes theories of Pavlovian conditioning. This chapter discusses whether the conditioned response is the same or different than the unconditioned response. The conditioning of withdrawal from psychoactive drugs and its relationship to drug overdose is one important topic explored in this chapter. It also examines several theoretical perspectives about the nature of the Pavlovian conditioning.

Chapter 5 discusses principles and applications of appetitive conditioning, a process that involves learning how to behave in order to obtain the positive aspects (reinforcement) that exist in the environment. The variables influencing the development or extinction of appetitive or reinforcement-seeking behavior are described in this chapter. The use of reinforcement to establish appropriate and eliminate inappropriate voluntary behavior also is described in this chapter.

Chapter 6 discusses principles and applications of aversive conditioning, a process that involves learning how to react to the negative aspects (punishers) that exist in our environment. The determinants of escape and avoidance behavior as well as the influence of punishment on behavior are described. Several negative consequences that result from using punishment are also explored in this chapter. This chapter also describes the use of several punishment techniques (positive punishment, response cost, time-out from reinforcement) to suppress inappropriate behavior.

Chapter 7 describes theories of appetitive and aversive conditioning. Theories about the nature of reinforcement and behavioral economics are discussed. Theories about the learning processes that determine choice behavior are one important topic discussed in this chapter. Further, the nature of avoidance learning and punishment is described in this chapter.

Chapter 8 discusses the biological processes that influence learning. In some instances, learning is enhanced by instinctive systems, whereas in others, learning is impaired by our biological character. The role of biological processes in the learning of flavor aversions and preferences and the acquisition of social attachments are among the topics explored. This chapter also describes the biological processes that provide the pleasurable aspects of reinforcement that can lead to addiction.

Chapter 9 describes traditional learning theory. The theories of Hull, Spence, Guthrie, and Tolman are explored in this chapter. The students will be able to see


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control specific learning processes and to recognize that different neural systems govern different behaviors.

*Before You Go On Sections*. Two critical thinking questions follow each major section and appear throughout each chapter. These questions ensure that students understand the material and allow them to apply this knowledge in original, creative ways. My students report that the use of this pedagogy is quite helpful in understanding what can be difficult concepts.

*Applications*. Although applications of the text material are presented throughout each chapter, many chapters have at least one stand-alone application section. Many of the discoveries made by psychologists have been applied to solving real-world problems. The application sections enhance the relevance of the abstract ideas presented in the text, showing students that the behaviors described are not just laboratory phenomena.

*Photographs and Biographies of Noted Researchers*. Each chapter presents the photographs and biographies of individuals who have made significant contributions to an understanding of learning. This pedagogy allows students to gain a better understanding of the principles and applications presented in the text by learning about the background of the individuals whose work contributed to that understanding.

*Reviews*. A review of key concepts is presented at significant points in each chapter as another tool for students to check their understanding of the material that has just been covered. Once the students have read the chapter, they can easily use the Review sections as a study guide to prepare for examinations.

*Critical Thinking Questions*. Critical thinking questions in the form of scenarios are presented at the end of each chapter. Answering these questions requires creative application of one or more of the major concepts presented in the chapter, further assisting students in relating the principles presented in the text to situations that they may encounter in the real world.

*Key Terms*. Each chapter contains a number of key terms. Those key terms are boldfaced where they are discussed within each chapter. A list of those key terms are presented at the end of each chapter and then defined in the Glossary toward the end of the textbook. <>

The Disordered Mind: What Unusual Brains Tell Us About Ourselves by Eric R. Kandel [Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 9780374287863]

Eric R. Kandel, the winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for his foundational research into memory storage in the brain, is one of the pioneers of modern brain science. His work continues to shape our understanding of how learning and memory work and to break down age-old barriers between the sciences and the arts.

In his seminal, The Disordered Mind, Kandel draws on a lifetime of pathbreaking research and the work of many other leading neuroscientists to take us on an unusual tour of the brain. He confronts one of the most difficult questions we face: How does our mind, our individual sense of self, emerge from the physical matter of the brain? The brain's 86 billion neurons communicate with one another through very precise connections. But sometimes those connections are disrupted. The brain processes that give rise to our mind can become disordered, resulting in diseases such as autism, depression, schizophrenia, Parkinson's, addiction, and post-traumatic stress disorder. While these disruptions bring great suffering, they can also reveal the mysteries of how the brain produces our most fundamental experiences and capabilities—the very nature of what it means to be human. Studies of autism illuminate the neurological foundations of our social instincts; research into depression offers important insights on emotions and the integrity of the self; and paradigm-shifting work on addiction has led to a new understanding of the relationship between pleasure and willpower.

By studying disruptions to typical brain functioning and exploring their potential treatments, we will deepen our understanding of thought, feeling, behavior, memory, and creativity. Only then can we grapple with the big question of how billions of neurons generate consciousness itself.


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Excerpt: I have spent my entire career trying to understand the inner workings of the brain and the motivation for human behavior. Having escaped from Vienna as a young boy soon after Hitler occupied it, I was preoccupied with one of the great mysteries of human existence: How can one of the most advanced and cultured societies on earth turn its efforts so rapidly toward evil? How do individuals, when faced with a moral dilemma, make choices? Can the splintered self be healed through skilled human interaction? I became-a psychiatrist in hopes of understanding and acting on these difficult problems.

As I began to appreciate the elusiveness of the problems of the mind, however, I turned to questions that could be answered more definitively through scientific research. I focused on small collections of neurons in a very simple animal, and eventually discovered some of the fundamental processes underlying elementary forms of learning and memory. While I have enjoyed my work a great deal and it has been amply appreciated by others, I realize that my findings represent but a small advance in the quest to understand the most complex entity in the universe—the human mind.

This pursuit has animated philosophers, poets, and physicians since the dawn of humankind. Engraved on the entrance of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi was the maxim "Know thyself." Ever since Socrates and Plato first reflected on the nature of the human mind, serious thinkers explains how learning about these disordered processes is essential for improving our understanding of the normal workings of the brain, as well as for finding new treatments for the disorders. It also illustrates that we can enrich our understanding of how the brain works by examining normal variations in brain function, such as how the brain differentiates during development to determine our sex and our gender identity. Finally, the book shows how the biological approach to mind is beginning to unravel the mysteries of creativity and of consciousness. We see, in particular, remarkable instances of creativity in people with schizophrenia and bipolar disorder and find that their creativity arises from the same connections between brain, mind, and behavior present in everyone. Modern studies of consciousness and its disorders suggest that consciousness is not a single, uniform function of the brain; instead, it is different states of mind in different contexts. Moreover, as earlier scientists discovered and as Sigmund Freud had emphasized, our conscious perceptions, thoughts, and actions are informed by unconscious mental processes.

In a larger sense, the biological study of mind is more than a scientific inquiry holding great promise for expanding our understanding of the brain and devising new therapies for people who have disorders of the brain. Advances in the biology of mind offer the possibility of a new humanism, one that merges the sciences, which are concerned with the natural world, and the humanities, which are concerned with the meaning of human experience. This new scientific humanism, based in good part on biological insights into differences in brain function, will change fundamentally the way we view ourselves and one another. Each of us already feels unique, thanks to our consciousness of self, but we will actually have biological confirmation of our individuality. This, in turn, will lead to new insights


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into human nature and to a deeper understanding and appreciation of both our shared and our individual humanity.

## What Brain Disorders can Tell Us about Ourselves

he greatest challenge in all of science is to understand how the mysteries of human nature—as reflected in our individual experience

of the world—arise from the physical matter of the brain. How do coded signals, sent out by billions of nerve cells in our brain, give rise to consciousness, love, language, and art? How does a fantastically complex web of connections give rise to our sense of identity, to a self that develops as we mature yet stays remarkably constant through our life experiences? These mysteries of the self have preoccupied philosophers for generations.

One approach to solving these mysteries is to reframe the question: What happens to our sense of self when the brain does not function properly, when it is beset by trauma or disease? The resulting fragmentation or loss of our sense of self has been described by physicians and lamented by poets. More recently, neuroscientists have studied how the self comes undone when the brain is under assault. A famous example is Phineas Gage, the nineteenth-century railway worker whose personality changed dramatically after an iron rod pierced the front of his brain. Those who had known him before his injury said simply, "Gage is no longer Gage."

This approach implies a "normal" set of behaviors, both for an individual and for people in general. The dividing line separating "normal" and "abnormal" has been drawn in different places by different societies

throughout history. People with mental differences have sometimes been seen as "gifted" or "holy," but more frequently they have been treated as "deviant" or "possessed" and subjected to terrible cruelty and stigmatization. Modern psychiatry has attempted to describe and catalogue mental disorders, but the migration of various behaviors across the line separating the normal from the disordered is a testament to the fact that the boundary is indistinct and mutable.

All of these variations in behavior, from those considered normal to those considered abnormal, arise from individual variations in our brains. In fact, every activity we engage in, every feeling and thought that gives us our sense of individuality, emanates from our brain. When you taste a peach, make a difficult decision, feel melancholy, or experience a rush of joyous emotion when looking at a painting, you are relying entirely on the brain's biological machinery. Your brain makes you who you are.

You're probably confident that you experience the world as it is—that the peach you see, smell, and taste is exactly as you perceive it. You rely on your senses to give you accurate information so that your perceptions and actions are grounded in an objective reality. But that's only partly true. Your senses do provide the information you need to act, but they don't present your brain with an objective reality. Instead, they give your brain the information it needs to construct reality.

Each of our sensations emerges from a different system of the brain, and each system is fine-tuned to detect and interpret a particular aspect of the external world. Information from each of the senses is gathered by cells designed to pick up the faintest sound, the slightest touch or movement, and this information is carried along a dedicated pathway to a region of the brain that specializes in that particular sense. The brain then analyzes the sensations, engaging relevant emotions and memories of past experience to construct an internal representation of the outside world. This self-generated reality—in part unconscious, in part conscious—guides our thoughts and our behavior.

Ordinarily, our internal representation of the world overlaps to a great degree with everyone else's, because our neighbor's brain has evolved to work in the same way as our own; that is, the same neural circuits underlie the same mental processes in every person's brain. Take language, for example: the neural circuits responsible for expression of language are located in one area of the brain, while the circuits responsible for comprehension of language are located in another area. If during development those neural circuits fail to form normally, or if they are disrupted, our mental processes for language become disordered and


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we begin to experience the world differently from other people—and to act differently.

Disruptions of brain function can be both frightening and tragic, as anyone who has witnessed a grand mal seizure or seen the anguish of a deep depression can tell you. The effects of extreme mental illness can be devastating to individuals and their families, and the global suffering from these diseases is immeasurable. But some disruptions of typical brain circuitry can confer benefits and affirm a person's individuality. In fact, a surprising number of people who suffer from what one might see as a disorder would choose not to eradicate that aspect of themselves. Our sense of self can be so powerful and essential that we are reluctant to relinquish even those portions of it that cause us to suffer. Treatment of these conditions too often compromises the sense of self. Medications can deaden our will, our alertness, and our thought processes.

Brain disorders provide a window into the typical healthy brain. The more scientists and clinicians learn about brain disorders—from observing patients and from neuroscientific and genetic research—the more they understand about how the mind works when all brain circuits are functioning robustly, and the more likely they are to be able to develop effective treatments when some of those circuits fail. The more we learn about unusual minds, the more likely we are as individuals and as a society to understand and empathize with people who think differently and the less likely we are to stigmatize or reject them.

## Coming Full Circle

We have learned more about the brain and its disorders in the past century than we have during all of the previous years of human history combined. Decoding the human genome has shown us how genes dictate the organization of the brain and how changes in genes influence disorders. We have new insights into the molecular pathways that underlie specific brain functions, such as memory, as well as the defective genes that contribute to disorders of those functions, such as Alzheimer's disease. We also know more about the powerful interaction of genes and the environment in causing brain disorders, such as the role of stress in mood disorders and PTSD.

Equally remarkable are recent breakthroughs in brain-scanning technology. Scientists can now track particular mental processes and mental disorders to specific regions and combinations of regions in the brain while a person is alert, with active nerve cells lighting up to create brightly colored maps of brain function. Finally, animal models of disorders have pointed us toward new avenues of research in human patients.

As we have seen, brain disorders result when some part of the brain's circuitry—the network of neurons and the synapses they form—is overactive, inactive, or unable to communicate effectively. The dysfunction may stem from injury, changes in synaptic connections, or faulty wiring of the brain during development. Depending on what regions of the brain they affect, disorders change the way we experience life—our emotion, cognition, memory, social interaction, creativity, freedom of choice, movement, or, most often, a combination of these aspects of our nature.

Thanks in large part to advances in genetics, brain imaging, and animal models, scientists studying brain disorders have confirmed several general principles of how our brain normally functions. For example, imaging studies show that the left and right hemispheres of the brain deal with different aspects of mental functions and that the two hemispheres inhibit each other. Specifically, damage to the left hemisphere can free up the creative capabilities of the right hemisphere. More generally, when one neural circuit in the brain is turned off, another circuit, which was inhibited by the inactivated circuit, may turn on.

Scientists have also uncovered some surprising links between disorders that appear to be unrelated because they are characterized by dramatically different kinds of behavior. Several disorders of movement and of memory, such as Parkinson's disease and Alzheimer's disease, result from misfolded proteins. The symptoms of these disorders vary widely because the particular proteins affected and the functions for which they are responsible differ. Similarly, both autism and schizophrenia involve synaptic pruning, the removal of excess dendrites on neurons. In autism, not enough dendrites are pruned, whereas in schizophrenia too many are. In another example,


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three different disorders—autism, schizophrenia, and bipolar disorder—share genetic variants. That is, some of the same genes that create a risk for schizophrenia also create a risk for bipolar disorder, and some of the same genes that create a risk for schizophrenia also create a risk for autism spectrum disorders.

The interplay of unconscious and conscious mental processes is critical to how we function in the world. We see this particularly clearly in creativity and decision making. Our innate creativity—in any field—hinges on loosening the bonds of consciousness and gaining access to our unconscious. This is easier for some people than for others. Prinzhorn's schizophrenic artists, with their diminished inhibitions and social constraints, had free access to their unconscious conflicts and desires, whereas the Surrealist artists had to devise ways of tapping into theirs. Decision making is different. Here, we are not aware of our unconscious emotions—or of the need for them. Yet studies have shown that people with damage to regions of the brain involving emotion have great difficulty making decisions.

This new biology of mind has revolutionized our ability to understand the brain and its disorders. But how is the synthesis of modern cognitive psychology and neuroscience likely to affect our lives in the future?

The new biology of mind will lead to radical changes in the way medicine is practiced, in two ways. First, neurology and psychiatry will merge into a common clinical discipline that focuses increasingly on the patient as an individual with particular genetic predispositions to health and disease. This focus will move us toward a biologically inspired, personalized medicine. Second, we will have, for the first time, a meaningful and nuanced biology of the processes in the brain that go awry in brain disorders, as well as the processes that lead to the sexual differentiation of our brain and our gender identity.

It is likely that personalized medicine, with its focus on clinical DNA testing—the search for small genetic differences in individuals—will reveal who is at risk of developing a particular disease and thus enable us to modify the course of that disease through diet, surgery, exercise, or drugs many years before signs and symptoms appear. Currently, for example, newborn babies are screened primarily for treatable genetic diseases, such as phenylketonuria. Perhaps in the not-too-distant future, children at high risk for schizophrenia, depression, or multiple sclerosis will be identified and treated to prevent changes that would otherwise occur later in life. Similarly, middle-aged and older people may benefit from a determination of their individual risk profile for late-onset diseases such as Alzheimer's or Parkinson's. Indeed, DNA testing should also allow us to predict individual responses to drugs, including any side effects they may cause, leading to drugs tailored to the needs of individual patients.

My own work has shown that learning—experience—changes the connections between neurons in the brain. This means that each person's brain is slightly different from the brain of every other person. Even identical twins, with their identical genomes, have slightly different brains because they have been exposed to different experiences. It is very likely that, in the course of illuminating brain function, brain imaging will establish a biological foundation for the individuality of our mental life. If it does, we will have a powerful new way of diagnosing brain disorders and evaluating the outcome of various treatments, including different forms of psychotherapy.

Seen in this light, understanding the biology of brain disorders is part of the continuous attempt of each generation of scholars to understand human thought and human action in new terms. It is an endeavor that moves us toward a new humanism, one that draws on knowledge of our biological individuality to enrich our experience of the world and our understanding of one another. <>

The Wetland Book: I: Structure and Function, Management, and Methods 3-volume set edited by C. Max Finlayson, Mark Everard, Kenneth Irvine, Robert McInnes, Beth Middleton, Anne van Dam, Nicholas C. Davidson [The Wetland Book, Springer, 9789048134939]


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The Wetland Book is a comprehensive resource aimed at supporting the trans- and multidisciplinary research and practice which is inherent to this field. Aware both that wetlands research is on the rise and that researchers and students are often working or learning across several disciplines, The Wetland Book is a readily accessible online and print reference which will be the first port of call on key concepts in wetlands science and management. This easy-to-follow reference will allow multidisciplinary teams and transdisciplinary individuals to look up terms, access further details, read overviews on key issues and navigate to key articles selected by experts.

This work developed from conversations with the Secretariat of the Ramsar Convention of Wetlands on the status of wetlands globally, and the desire to provide a relatively comprehensive compilation that complemented existing resources. Produced as an online and hardcopy publication in two books, the Wetland Book: Book 1 — Structure and Function, Management, Methodology; and Book 2 — Distribution, Description, and Conservation will support the work of students, transdisciplinary researchers, natural resource managers and agency staff, engineers, planners, policy advisors, NGOs, and environmental consultants.

The Wetland Book: II: Distribution, Description, and Conservation, 3-volume set edited by C. Max Finlayson, G. Randy Milton, R. Crawford Prentice, Nick C. Davidson [The Wetland Book, Springer, 9789400740006]

The venerable lineage of encyclopedic publishing can be traced back to Pliny the elder's Naturalis Historia, which contained chapters on water and aquatic life.

Although our terminology regarding and understanding of the aquatic environment has evolved over the past two millennia, one constant has been the need for a multidisciplinary approach to examining these areas. Using an encyclopedic model, this multidisciplinary book builds on an ancient format and adapts it for a modern audience. In this way, The Wetland Book builds on a long tradition of scholarly publishing and presents invaluable information for its modern audience.

Wetlands have been around longer than the traditions associated with academic publishing. Wetland management and wise use have been practiced by indigenous cultures in many forms for millennia, and that ancient knowledge about wetlands was often curated and passed down orally or in traditional systems and forms. In modern times, the pressures and threats to wetlands are vastly different in their scope and magnitude. The forms of governance and administration that respond to these pressures and threats have also changed, particularly in their scale as it has been recognized that management takes place at the level of countries and river basins, rather than simply at the local level.

Internationally, wetland conservation, management, and wise use are promoted through the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands. The countries that have signed onto the Ramsar Convention have recognized the imperatives to work with stakeholders and decisionmakers beyond the traditional wetland community and to incorporate wetlands into policy-making in other sectors such as water, energy, agriculture, and health. Indeed, in 2008 at the 10th Conference of the Contracting Parties of the Ramsar Convention, the Changwon Declaration was adopted, which contains key messages for wetland conservation, management, and wise use addressed to planners; policymakers; elected officials; managers in the environmental, land, and resource-use sectors; educators and communicators; economists; and health workers. The Wetland Book offers a base of knowledge that is intended to reach a similarly broad audience.

The editors and contributing authors to The Wetland Book have long experience and deep understanding of wetland science and management. Many have worked with the Ramsar Scientific and Technical Review Panel (STRP), the Convention's scientific advisory body, over the years. This collection of people provides a repository of knowledge that can help meet the challenge of learning about and understanding the value of protecting and managing wetlands.

Making this knowledge more easily accessible, however, has always been difficult. There are physical limitations to how much we can pick a person's brain, and there are limitations to how


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much a wetland manager out in the field, perhaps with little technical support, can search for, read, and review scientific and traditional knowledge to find answers to pressing questions. Thus, the encyclopedic style of publication remains a viable format for accessing high levels of expertise, including expertise from distant locations, with similar landscape and ecological characteristics. The Wetland Book provides an in-depth level of knowledge in the form of a handbook to assist those seeking information on the many facets of wetland management.

Of course, reading The Wetland Book will not make an individual an expert in all aspects of wetland science, wise use and governance, a feat which no one publication can deliver. Instead, a truly useful publication should offer an individual the vocabulary to support further inquiry and to find knowledge that is locally, regionally, nationally, or even internationally applicable. It should also allow a reader to know who to ask and what questions to pursue when she or he needs more knowledge to solve a research question or particular management problem. The Wetland Book delivers this foundation through two volumes — Vol. 1: Structure and Function, Management, and Methods and Vol. 2: Distribution, Description, and Conservation.

***

The Wetland Book is a hard copy and online production that provides an unparalleled collation of information on wetlands. It is global in scope and contains 462 chapters prepared by leading wetland researchers and managers. The wide disciplinary and geographic scope is a particular feature and differentiates The Wetland Book from the existing wetland literature. The editors have compiled The Wetland Book from contributions supplied by authors from many countries and disciplines. Combined, these chapters represent a global source of knowledge about wetlands. Given the number of chapters and the scope of the content, it has been published as two separate books.

The Wetland Book was developed following discussions with wetland experts from the Scientific and Technical Review Panel of the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands and from the Society for Wetland Scientists. These experts pointed to the rapidly expanding literature on wetlands and enthusiastically proposed the development of a comprehensive information resource aimed at supporting the trans- and multidisciplinary research and practice, which is essential to wetland science and management. They were also seeking an information resource that would both complement and extend the existing literature and in particular provide a compendium of knowledge with contributions from authors around the world.

Aware that wetland research was on the rise and that wetland researchers and practitioners often needed to work across disciplines, The Wetland Book II has been prepared to serve as a first port of call for those interested in the key information about wetlands and their conservation. This was done to allow individuals and multiand transdisciplinary teams to search for particular terms and subjects, access further details, and read overviews of topics selected by the editors and expert authors. The content provides a global coverage of wetland knowledge with chapters provided by leading wetland experts with knowledge that spans local and regional issues to the wider body of science that is needed to assist practitioners and enable students to come to grips with one of the world's most diverse and important set of ecosystems. This is especially important as these ecosystems are under increasing pressure in many parts of the world as degradation from human development continues at an alarming rate and are in need of more effective management and restoration. It draws heavily on the knowledge compiled through the formal processes of the Ramsar Convention and associated programs and extends that contained in the seminal global assessment of wetlands undertaken through the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment.

Book II is structured in sections covering the diversity of wetland types, natural and anthropogenic drivers of wetland change, and regional compilations of individual wetlands and wetland complexes. Detailed overview chapters typically describe the diversity within each wetland type, its distribution, extent (current and historical), ecosystem services, biodiversity, and threats and


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future challenges. Regional contributions follow a general format describing the basic ecology of the system; uniqueness; distribution; biodiversity and species adaptations; ecosystem services with an emphasis on importance to dependent peoples where appropriate; conservation status and management; and threats and future challenges. The coverage is based on a mix of wetland types and geographic extent and distribution.

Given that The Wetland Book constitutes a remarkable information resource, we warmly convey our special thanks to the many authors who gave up their time and shared their knowledge of wetlands to support this effort — and also for their patience while the large number of chapters they have generously provided were collated and edited. We are proud to have worked with them to produce this book. With the benefit of their unstinting efforts and incredibly rich knowledge, The Wetland Book II provides a comprehensive source of information for wetland researchers, students, and practitioners. It specifically provides a much needed information resource to support the many efforts to ensure the wise use of wetlands globally. It has also not only drawn on but also extended the expert guidance and advice that the Ramsar Convention's Scientific and Technical Review Panel has for almost 25 years provided for governments and wetland experts alike. In this respect, the foreword provided by the past and present chairs of the Panel is particularly appreciated. In providing the foreword, they have reflected on the wealth of knowledge collated by wetland experts from around the world who have worked tirelessly to provide government officials with the knowledge base needed to ensure the conservation and wise use of wetlands.

As editors for The Wetland Book II, we personally compliment the many authors for their incredible contributions to the most comprehensive compendium of knowledge about wetlands ever assembled. In particular, we acknowledge their unstinting efforts to compile the many chapters and work with the authors to produce The Wetland Book. Their knowledge and efforts are matched by their willingness to share the collated knowledge that is now contained in The Wetland Book.

The publishers are thanked for their foresight in developing the concepts that led to The Wetland Book and for providing both a hard copy and online version, with the latter being available for future updating. We recommend The Wetland Book to all those interested in the growing international scientific knowledge about the functioning and management of these incredibly valuable but threatened ecosystems.

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## Excerpt: Wetlands of the World

The Wetland Book is a first "port-of-call" reference work on the description, distribution and conservation issues for wetlands globally. The contributions in the work summarize key concepts, orient the reader to major issues, and aid in further research on issues by multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary teams. Here we introduce the book which includes articles broadly covering Ramsar defined inland and coastal wetlands structured in sections on diversity of wetland types, natural and anthropogenic drivers of wetland change, and regional compilations of individual or wetland complexes. Overview articles typically describe the diversity within the wetland type, its distribution, extent, ecosystem services, biodiversity, and threats and future challenges. Regional contributions adhere to a general format describing the basic ecology of the system; uniqueness; distribution; biodiversity and species adaptations; ecosystem services with an emphasis on importance to dependent peoples where appropriate; conservation status and management; and threats and future challenges. A general conclusion that can be drawn from all articles is that wetlands are still under significant threat to loss and degradation from human impacts including climate change and concerted action is required among all levels of society in the management and conservation of these dynamic ecosystems.

Keywords: Wetland diversity • Anthropogenic effects • Natural effects • Drivers of change • Ramsar • Management • Multidisciplinary • Transdisciplinary

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This work developed from conversations with the Secretariat of the Ramsar Convention of Wetlands on the status of wetlands globally, and the desire to provide a relatively comprehensive compilation that complemented existing resources. Produced as an online and hardcopy publication in two books, the Wetland Book: Book 1 — Structure and Function, Management, Methodology; and Book 2 — Distribution, Description, and Conservation will support the work of students, transdisciplinary researchers, natural resource managers and agency staff, engineers, planners, policy advisors, NGOs, and environmental consultants.

Book 2 is a first "port-of-call" reference work on the description, distribution, and conservation issues for wetlands globally. The intent of these selected contributions by experts is to summarize the key concepts, orient the reader to the major issues, and aid in further research on issues by multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary teams. Articles do not always have an exhaustive listing of primary references but draw upon multiple sources of information including primary and tertiary literature, and government and agency publications where appropriate.

## Book Structure

The book is structured in sections with articles covering the diversity of wetland types (23), natural and anthropogenic drivers of wetland change (14), and regional compilations of individual or wetland complexes. Detailed overview articles typically describe the diversity within the wetland type, its distribution, extent (current and historical), ecosystem services, biodiversity, and threats and future challenges. Regional contributions adhere to a general format describing the basic ecology of the system; uniqueness; distribution; biodiversity and species adaptations; ecosystem services with an emphasis on importance to dependent peoples where appropriate; conservation status and management; and threats and future challenges. Authors do, however, place emphasis on certain topics, reflecting their specific interests. Cross-references are provided to help navigate between related articles.

## Overview of Wetland Types

This book could never be fully comprehensive in its coverage of wetlands throughout the world, but the editors have strived to include a broad coverage of the inland and coastal wetlands captured by the Ramsar definition that includes "...areas of marsh, fen, peatland or water, whether natural of artificial, permanent or temporary, with water that is static or flowing, fresh, brackish or salt, including areas of marine water the depth of which at low tide does not exceed six metres.". Finlayson et al. introduce the section on wetland diversity and distribution. The section includes overviews on coastal and inland wetland types (e.g., estuarine marsh, peatlands) and wetland systems (e.g., river


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basins, estuaries), with numerous cross-references to related articles in the regional sections. They note the terminology in use globally to describe wetlands is diverse and that the definitions and inventory methods that have been applied have been limiting factors in estimating their global extent, as outlined by a number of studies. The authors suggest that processes adopted by Contracting Parties of the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands for wetland inventory would provide a more consistent data set for ensuring the wise use of wetlands globally.

The Ramsar wetland definition includes rivers, and the overview by Revenga and Tyrrell notes the hydrological, geological, and topographical uniqueness of river basins and their freshwater wetlands and discusses their delineation and biodiversity. Direct services to society are immense including withdrawals for domestic water and irrigation, supporting inland fisheries, and underpinning numerous energy production options. More challenging to quantify are the indirect benefits in water purification, storing of pollutants, and ground water recharge. River systems are, however, impacted by land-based activities and alterations to reaches and flow regimes to provide societal needs. Water withdrawals are expected to increase with projected human demographic growth and urbanization, and maintaining sufficient flows for ecological processes with a changing climate will be a struggle, particularly in water-stressed river basins. Drawing upon global species assessments, freshwater species are at higher risk than terrestrial species with nearly one in three threatened with extinction. Habitat loss and degradation in particular are key factors driving this threat. Despite their importance, the authors comment that the conservation, planning, and policy-making for freshwater ecosystems have not been a primary concern and conclude with a discussion on their inadequate consideration in the design of protected areas. The sections on regional contributions typically include overview articles on key river basins that cross-reference articles within the basin.

Fluet-Chouinard et al. introduce lakes, ponds, and lacustrine environments, their formation, geographic distribution, and differing estimates of their global extent. The authors comment on the importance of morphology and hydrology as well as climate and the surrounding landscape in influencing many of the ecological features of lakes. Lakes can be categorized in a variety of ways including being permanent or ephemeral or on differences in their thermal stratification and mixing regime, productivity, and nutrient availability which also affect their biotic diversity and use patterns. A subset of this broader classification are salt lakes that are generally endorheic and mostly confined to semi-arid and arid regions as permanent (e.g., Lake Turkana) or ephemeral (e.g., Kati Thanda — Lake Eyre) water bodies. Biota tends to decrease with increasing salinity and there is considerable faunal endemism; cyanobacteria often play a key role in energy and biogeochemical cycles. Whether fresh or salt, human activities, land use changes, and a changing climate in many regions are modifying the physical, chemical, and biological processes in lake ecosystems and affecting the multitude of ecosystem benefits they provide.

As a wetland type, peatlands are widespread and could represent more than a third of global wetlands with a very diverse typology based upon landscape position, climate, water sourcing, and peat source. Peatlands are particularly prevalent in the mid-high latitudes ofNorth America and Eurasia (see regional accounts) and some tropical regions where extremely high rainfall counterbalances high evapotranspiration. The overview provides an introduction to the importance of hydrology in describing peatlands and factors influencing their biota which is generally less rich than nearby ecosystems but supporting many regionally or globally endemic species highly adapted to particular conditions. Drawing from the review by Silvius et al., Finlayson and Milton summarize the main benefits people receive from peatlands and the important role of peatlands in the global climate cycle. Direct (e.g., draining, land conversion) and indirect (e.g., air pollution, infrastructure development) impacts are estimated to have degraded 16% of the global peatland resource. Retention and restoration of peatlands are developing as a climate change mitigation measure and are eligible in the voluntary carbon market.


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The overviews on mineral soil-based freshwater swamps and marshes consider nontidal forested and nonforested wetlands generally and more specifically papyrus Cyperus papyrus marshes (regionally called swamps, and tropical freshwater swamps. While widespread and the subject of numerous articles and compilations on wetlands regionally and globally, and inherently difficult to separate when discussing large wetland complexes, the combined extent of these systems has been estimated at 3,694 x 103 km2. Marshes and swamps exhibit a great diversity and variability of vegetation and habitat types due to underlying geomorphic and landform characteristics, hydrological regime (e.g., groundwater dependent), and water quality. The biota supported by these ecosystems are a significant but as yet undetermined percentage of the 126,000 but incomplete listing of animal species recognized globally. Trees and herbaceous vegetation exhibit structural adaptations (e.g., aerenchyma and suberin and lignin deposition in roots) as well as physiological, phenological, and reproductive adaptations to help them survive in standing water. There is an array of ecosystem services provided by swamps and marshes of which provisioning of fresh water and supporting food security of local communities are identified as especially important. Marshes and swamps are threatened by a similar suite of natural and human pressures as other wetland types with the expectation of further declines in their ecological condition and services without an increased emphasis and implementation of a holistic approach to wetland conservation.

Tidal freshwater wetlands occur in locations along rivers experiencing a tidal pulse but where fresh water dominates the conditions and processes. The overview by Barendregt draws attention to this wetland type that is underrepresented in the scientific literature due in-part to reduced opportunities for study from historic loss given their location in sites associated with infrastructure development for coastal ports and habitation. Barendregt. discusses physical and chemical processes and the importance of salinity and the hydrological regime (especially constancy of river discharge) in structuring vegetation communities into distinct zones. Faunal diversity is not high, but the gradient in salinity is important for adjusting the physiological equilibrium of diadromous species during migration to and from the sea. Global distribution and extent is unknown but is believed to be greatly reduced from historical amounts due to human impacts. Physical processes of sedimentation and natural vegetation growth are re-established with return of dynamic flooding in restoration of tidal fresh water wetlands. Unless tidal freshwater wetland can migrate upstream in response to sea-level rise unimpeded by infrastructure or topography, they are at risk of further loss.

Coastal wetland ecosystems are described in a series of overview articles that discuss estuaries generally, and more specifically estuarine marshes, seagrasses, and mangroves. These are dynamic and relatively physically stressed systems subject to wide variations in salinity and tidal inundation with typically low biodiversity but high abundance and productivity. Biological communities reflect the physical processes that dominate each estuary determined by the interaction inter alia between estuary morphology, substrate, tidal range, duration to air exposure, degree of fresh and salt water mixing, and nutrient and sediment inputs. Seagrasses are widely distributed along temperate and tropical coasts and estuaries, while estuarine marshes and mangroves are the dominant plant communities of the intertidal zone at middle and higher latitudes (temperate and polar regions) and tropics, respectively. Global estimates of seagrass, estuarine marsh, and mangroves are 177,000 km2, 68,000 km2 (minimal), and 138,000 km2, respectively. The articles describe the diversity and zonal variation in species distribution and the principal ecosystem services provided of which carbon sequestration increasingly is being recognized in climate change mitigation strategies. Human-based threats to the extent and quality of these ecosystems are similar and include land conversion for infrastructure and food supply, pollution, and overexploitation of resources. A warming global climate will increase relative sea-level rise. The long-term stability of these ecosystems depends upon maintaining their position in the tidal frame by either horizontal migration landward and/or vertically through sedimentation. This is becoming increasingly difficult due to infrastructure designed to serve the more than one third of the global human population residing


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coastally. The pressures on coastal ecosystems and their importance to society require increased emphasis on water basin management, restoration, and implementation of laws and policies that support effective management.

## Natural and Anthropogenic Drivers of Wetland Change

Wetlands are dynamic systems whose ecological character is influenced by both natural processes and anthropogenic activities that can variously interact at multiple spatial and temporal scales. Under anomalous conditions, these can act as agents or drivers of wetland change triggering a cascade of ecosystem effects. The 14 articles in this section discuss the underlying demographic and economic drivers of historical and ongoing wetland loss and degradation, approaches to disentangle cause and effect relationships and prioritize proximate causes of wetland change for remedial action, and the need to formulate effective strategies to ensure the sustainable use of wetlands. Examples here and regionally describe how a lack of coordination and communication among community sectors can exacerbate a deteriorating situation. Although restoration of degraded wetlands can be as simple as plugging a drainage ditch, in many instances it is a long-term, complex, multistakeholder affair that engages wetland dependent local communities, resource use and infrastructure sectors, and multiple levels of government.

In her review, Galatowitsch lists the six proximate drivers identified in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment that have caused the most extensive wetland degradation and loss: infrastructure development, land conversion, water withdrawal, eutrophication and pollution, over harvesting and overexploitation, and invasive species. The first three drivers typically result in wetland loss or significant alterations to the hydrology and degradation of wetland quality that are difficult to reverse because of trade-offs with other anthropogenic uses in the surrounding landscape. Economic and human population growth are implicated by Davidson (2018) as the underlying drivers responsible for 62-75% loss of global wetland area since 1900 AD. Average rates of loss have declined since 1990 for inland wetlands but have remained rapid for coastal wetlands. Losses have been especially pronounced for intertidal and other coastal wetlands in Asia during the last 50 years, and seagrasses are being degraded and in decline regionally and globally inter alia from infrastructure development, pollution, and sedimentation.

Increased economic development and human population growth can bring about changes in a wetland's species structure and nutrient and energy dynamics in response to overexploitation of resources, excessive nutrient (e.g., phosphorus and nitrogen) inputs, and introduction of alien plants that become invasive , and these can operate separately from or synergistically with the drivers above. Restoring degraded wetlands requires a structured approach to identify the interlinkages among the drivers, stressors (physio-chemical changes), ecological effects, and wetland attributes of greatest concern describes natural resource management as being "...composed of two interacting decision-making subsystems: a `horizontal' land/water use system and a `vertical' human activity system." The former addresses the land/water/user interface with spatial and temporal bounds, while the latter deals with the interplay between the different sectors and levels of community structure. Management approaches to restore degraded wetlands or plan for their sustainable management are given in accounts for Chilika Lake, Qa'a Azraq Oasis, Great Barrier Reef, and Makgadikgadi wetlands.

## Regional Compilations of Wetland Articles

The globe was divided into nine regions in which experts were requested to contribute articles on river basins and their wetlands, landscapes in which wetlands are a dominant feature, globally and regionally significant wetlands, or strong examples of the sustainable use of wetlands by local communities. As described above, authors were given broad guidance on the topics to be covered in the articles, yet there was also a high degree of flexibility and depth in the coverage of the topics. The 140 articles that can be specifically linked to a region are relatively evenly balanced among regions, and variation is in-part a function of area


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and expert availability to contribute. The locations of these wetland accounts in the regions are shown.

River basin overviews provide the framework for most of the regions with descriptions of the interrelationship of wetlands and human communities occurring at the site level. Although there are gaps in overview coverage of a number of river basins (e.g., Mississippi, MacKenzie, Niger, Ob, and Tigris -Euphrates), articles do cover the diversity of wetland types and the major issues within each region. The article by Gingras et al., for example, on boreal wetlands has a geographic coverage that includes major portions of drainage basins for the northern half of North America: MacKenzie, Yukon, and Nelson rivers as well as the extensive lowland wetlands of Hudson and James Bay. Similarly the southern half of the potholes, playas, and alluvial valley are key wetland areas in the Mississippi River drainage.

Wetlands described in each of this book's articles are typically grouped into one or more types, considered together they describe the complexity and variability within and among wetlands even when "similarly" classified. Wetland heterogeneity is an outcome inter alia of the ecological components, topographical setting, hydrological regime, and processes interacting temporally and spatially within landscapes directly or indirectly impacted by natural and anthropogenic disturbances. Regardless of the protection level accorded to wetlands at the site or landscape level (e.g., Ramsar site, National Park or Reserve), wetlands are open systems subject to stochastic variation and uncertainty in response to external events. Many of the wetlands discussed in this book are situated within landscapes that are heavily modified by humans for agriculture and industrial use and urban living with development of infrastructure that alters hydrological regimes (e.g., dams, canals, dykes), extracts water for agriculture or human use, and inputs of point and nonpoint sources of nutrients and contaminants. While wetland loss has been significant due to drainage and land conversion, wetland degradation has also occurred when the adaptive capacity is exceeded leading to a regime shift in the system's components, processes, and ecosystem services. An underlying threat to all wetlands is the uncertain impacts of climate change over and above existing anthropogenic stresses. Particular concerns are the resilience of marine wetland communities to cope with ocean acidification and warming episodes, coastal systems' capacity to respond to accelerated sea-level rise, that of inland wetlands in drier climates to cope with warming and drying trends, and the bleak long-term outlook facing the rivers, wetlands, and large human populations dependent upon glacial melt water supply.

## Future Challenges

All of the wetlands discussed in this book are located in countries that are Contracting Parties to the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands "...that provides the framework for national action and international cooperation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources" (www.ramsar.org). A number of articles have described approaches to minimize and mitigate impacts, and restore wetland ecosystems that necessarily engage sectors of society in their implementation. However, the general conclusion that is evident from all articles is that wetlands are still under significant threat to loss and degradation from human impacts. In responding to their Ramsar commitments, Contracting Parties should plan for wetland resilience, adaptability, and transformability. The use of a transdisciplinary approach (e.g., Complex Systems Science) in the analyses of the many interacting facets of these dynamic systems will improve the understanding of wetland responses to natural environmental, anthropogenic, biological, and social changes in order to develop strategies for wetland wise use.
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The Physics of Possibility Victorian Fiction, Science, and Gender by Michael Tondre [University of Virginia Press, 9780813941455]

The Physics of Possibility traces the sensational birth of mathematical physics in Victorian literature, science, and statistics. As scientists took up new breakthroughs in quantification, they showed how all sorts of phenomena—the condition of stars, atoms, molecules, and nerves—could be represented as a set of probabilities through time. Michael Tondre demonstrates how these techniques transformed the British novel. Fictions of development by Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and


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others joined the vogue for alternative possibilities. Their novels not only reflected received pieties of maturation but plotted a wider number of deviations from the norms of reproductive adulthood. By accentuating overlooked elements of form, Tondre reveals the novel's changing identification with possible worlds through the decades when physics became a science of all things.

In contrast to the observation that statistics served to invent normal populations, Tondre brings influential modes of historical thinking to the foreground. His readings reveal an acute fascination with alternative temporalities throughout the period, as novelists depicted the categories of object, action, and setting in new probabilistic forms. Privileging fiction's agency in reimagining historical realities, never simply sanctioning them, Tondre revises our understanding of the novel and its ties to the ascendant Victorian sciences.

The Physics of Possibility offers an excellent and substantial contribution to the field of studies on Victorian literature and science. As Tondre rightly observes, the distinctiveness of this period is apt to be overlooked in considerations of literature and physics, which assume the Victorians are still steeped in an eighteenth-century Newtonian worldview or view Victorian physics merely as precursors to the early-twentieth century revolutions of relativity and quantum mechanics. The book is interesting, original, and quite polished.

"Beautifully researched, beguiling, and risky in all the best ways, The Physics of Possibility opens entirely new possibilities for how we read chance in the nineteenth-century novel. Tondre convincingly teases out the complex texture of Victorian debates over probability, perspective, and normalization within contemporary mathematics, astronomy, evolutionary science, and thermodynamics. Along the way, he upends our casual sense that the realist novel simulates chance on the way to confident determinations of plot. Tondre argues, on the contrary, that novelistic probability opened a range of new prospects for indeterminacy, alternative futures, and the 'unpredictable swerve of material forms.' Offering new approaches to science and literature, queer studies, narrative theory and the physics of character, it is impossible not to be moved by The Physics of Possibility."

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## Excerpt: Developmental Logics

Looking back at the Victorian novel's narrative excesses in 1908, Henry James penned one of criticism's most enduring observations on its form: "What do such large loose baggy monsters," he asked, "with their queer elements of the accidental and the arbitrary, artistically mean?' James left the question unanswered, as a charge so transparent as to need no explanation. Those "queer elements" had no meaning at all to him. James's statement implies a range of departures from his ideal of organic form, in which each element contributes to the meaningful whole. A partial list might include the dead ends, digressions, and proliferating minor characters marking much Victorian fiction, which seem hard to reconcile with a functional unity of design. Our own era has come to appreciate formal fragmentation and incommensurabilities as signs of artistic sophistication, but scholars have yet to understand how such "elements of the accidental" corresponded to Victorian theories of realistic representation. The Physics of Possibility returns to James's provocation to advance a revised history of the novel. In a significant strain of fiction, it shows that those elements contributed to a newly distributed poetics in British culture: a reorganization of objects, actions, and settings as formal categories within the physical sciences and mathematics and rooted in the calculus of possibilities. The elements of style that James


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denigrated as "accidental" appear as a meaningful legacy of fiction from this vantage, with expansive ethical and political aims. The Physics of Possibility reveals novels' involvement in major sciences, also showing scientific innovation to be aspects of the novel, so as to return meaning to what was once deemed merely bad form.

The transformations at the core of this book have been named "the probabilistic revolution," though the title is incomplete. Historians such as Ian Hacking, Theodore Porter, and I. Bernard Cohen conceived the term to describe how mathematical models of probability invigorated the leading nineteenth-century sciences, above all astronomy, physics, and evolutionary biology.' But scholars have yet to locate that transformation within the larger lines of Victorian social formation, when the novel emerged as a mass-cultural phenomenon. I examine a roughly thirty-year span when breakthroughs in statistical thinking transformed the physical sciences, and proceed from a handful of mathematically minded savants in 1850 to a shared understanding of fiction as a vehicle for representing possible worlds. That span marks the last interval in which British novelists and scientists shared a common tongue and cultivated common techniques of representation. The history of their interaction, I show, was often one of alternative possibilities. More and more, investigators found it impossible to depict a single star, an atom, a nerve, or a cell at a given instant. Instead, they sought to approximate the condition of those entities in statistical terms: through a curve of alternative possibilities that sculpted around a norm or a mean. This turn to the representation of temporal difference found creative concentration in novels that sought to reimagine Victorian conventions of living, and indeed to transform them. In tandem with new cosmological insights, novelists sought to activate the prospects for an ameliorated social world.

In specific terms, then, the following chapters rewrite the story of the probabilistic revolution as a tale centrally about the form of historical experience in Victorian literature and culture. Here I build on an influential critical corpus devoted to the rise of statistics in Britain, much of which has elucidated the discursive dynamics of power, risk, and accident in modernity. I share this scholarship's investment in nineteenth-century fiction but depart from its focus on outbreaks of coincidence and accident in narrative. In lieu of attending to diegetic depictions of "chance"—on events that seem to index acausal characteristics of the world—I accentuate how novelists joined scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers in figuring alternatives to the actual. By addressing often-overlooked elements of form and literary technique in this vein, my readings invite a reassessment of fiction's creative agency: how novels contribute to processes of intellectual ideation through their narratological configurations, multiple characterizations, and sentence-level designs. Positing that fictional aesthetics are adept at reimagining historical realities, never simply reifying them, and that scientific innovations are entangled with wider cultural innovations, I hope to enrich our understanding the novel's multivalent, occasionally oblique, and often surprising implication in the ascendant physical sciences of the age.

An afternoon in February of 1873. In a room at the University of Cambridge, the scientist James Clerk Maxwell addressed a group of old friends and acquaintances. Maxwell had recently returned to the university where he had completed the Mathematical Tripos two decades beforehand, having been appointed to oversee Britain's first university-housed physics laboratory. His appointment crowned an illustrious list of accomplishments. Maxwell's fame rested on insights into all aspects of the physical sciences, including the mathematics of electromagnetic fields, the thermodynamics of heat, the properties of light, and the substance of Saturn's rings. On the date in question, however, he delivered a more speculative set of reflections on the grounds of historical understanding. Locating science within "the general stream of thought," he focused on a new wave of statistical studies on matter, energy, and force in the mid-nineteenth century. These studies "seem likely to have a powerful effect on the world of thought," he argued, and on Victorian thinking about social and historical change above all (Campbell and Garnett, 438). Enlightenment-era intellectuals like René Descartes, George Berkeley, and John Locke sought to explain events through a


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schema of empirical time: "a chronology in which intervals of time are measured," Maxwell explained (436). In contrast, Victorian scientists had begun to dream of other states of affairs in which "the past state and the future state of things" were imagined otherwise (440). The most cutting-edge insights in the physical sciences, for Maxwell, were insights into possible worlds.

At a glance, Maxwell's account exemplifies the liberal virtues that contemporaries attributed to scientific learning: its usefulness in promoting a many-sided subject equipped with a vocational training and rational habits of mind. Yet if science suggests a particular route to middle-class life, then it can create skepticism about the realities of the past and future in general—an implication that would have seemed surprising a few decades before. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, physical science was understood largely as an arena of empirical knowledge, prestigious because it was exact in the data conveyed on optics, mechanics, and electricity. But in a kaleidoscopic range of instances, I show how a new generation of thinkers represented the condition of individual things and relations in negative form: through the looking glass of what might have been, could be, or ought to be. That ambition, among vanguard scientists, joined new and incipient ideas in the general press. So much was clear to Maxwell: scientists were participating in a shared undertaking that included lay journalists and popularizers, "professional philosophers," "the unprofessional man," and the "intelligent public."

The title of my book, The Physics of Possibility, names the unnamed transformation that Maxwell identifies in British culture. Central to this efflorescence of ideas was a strain of novels that recast the developmental logic of the bildungsroman. These novels suspend the progressive movement of Bildung in order to represent a field of developmental potentials: other ways of being and becoming, of growing in the world and escaping into altered futures. The virtual trajectories in these texts share an approach to realism with the "hard" physical sciences. From George Meredith's unconstellated plotlines in The Ordeal of Richard Feverel (1859) to the wayward sensation heroes of the 1860s to panoramic high realism, Victorians conceived of character as a field of possibilities departing from classical norms of formation. These were possibilities poised at the knife edge between the real and the unreal. We will see evidence that their unsettled referential location, in Victorian science, had uniquely evocative implications in novels—particularly in novels that questioned the self-evidence of legal, educational, economic, and domestic institutions. What we are approaching is a tradition of realism couched in the conditional or subjunctive mood. By tracing the scientific orientations of this tradition, I specify something like what Eric Hayot calls a "world-physics" of fiction, although the "physics" I interpret had distinctive origins in Victorian scientific, philosophical, political, and religious discourse.

Each chapter considers how novelists posed a fundamental ethical question: What did it mean to be more than an isolated self? How, in other words, might the individual suggest a matrix of possible paths in relation to the lives of others? Such questions organized a rich circuit of writings involving fiction, physical science, and gender. Richard Feverel, for example, uses the counterfactual language of science to rewrite conventions of male formation. It imagines alternative forms of desire and attachment that do not end in marriage: a "kingdom of 'would-have-done' and 'might-have-been— that dominates the limited space for plot.' The Physics of Possibility assembles a wealth of cognate narrative strategies in this vein. Within this strain of fiction we will find the play of alternative masculinities, intimate friendships, mentor-protégé relations, and adoptive attachments. In various respects, these stories swerve, suspend, and diffuse what Susan Fraiman calls "the single path of middle-class, male development," supplementing it with a range of discontinuous outcomes.' Such strategies have been understood as aesthetic weaknesses at one point or another. I have in mind moments of digression and dilation, occluded plotlines, and other instances in which "narrative enters into a state of deviance and detour," in Peter Brooks's words. By locating those signs of formal excess in historical terms, I retrieve their ties to a cosmopoetic practice infusing much mid-nineteenth-century discourse.


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There were many reasons why insights in the physical sciences and mathematics coincided with these experiments in form. Just as novelists imagined a more fluid range of potentials for male and female formation, scientists began to imagine life as a set of virtual possibilities at all levels of becoming—as an ecology of potential relations, unguided and never-ending, rather than a great chain with "man" at the top. Charles Darwin influentially envisioned the chance production of new biological forms, conceiving life as "a swarm of various and variegated materialities," as Jane Bennett puts it. Yet Darwin's writings were joined by many others on the unaccountable flux of physical phenomena, including contributions from Maxwell, T H. Huxley, William Carpenter, William Clifford, and Francis Edgeworth. In some explicit instances, and in many more implicit ones, the potential recombinations of matter, energy, and force troubled the notion of essential reproductive subjects, suggesting more manifold processes of growth across the threshold of bounded bodies: what Elizabeth Barrett Browning called the "the golden spray of multitudinous worlds" that could be intimated in the "outflow of spontaneous life."" In part, these boundary-breaking concerns help to explain the appeal of the hard sciences among fin-de-siècle writers who cultivated unconventional gender and sexual postures. One thinks of Oscar Wilde's allusions to the mysteries of chemical transformation, thermodynamics, and evolutionism in The Picture of Dorian Gray (1890) or of Olive Schreiner's evocation of deep time scales in The Story of an African Farm (1883). The affinities between the hard sciences and queer and feminist political projects have a longer history that begins in mid-Victorian writing, when thinkers first recruited probabilistic methods to depict the unpredictable swerve of material forms.

It is here that my study dovetails with scholarship on the thwarted logic of the Victorian bildungsroman. As the term for a general pattern of development from youth to adulthood, the bildungsroman has been read less as a coherent subgenre than a focus of ongoing experimentation (what Fredric Jameson calls an "experimental construct"). In Franco Moretti's account, the novel of formation assumed an antisubversive edge in nineteenth-century Britain, as a practice that tended to collude with dominant bourgeois ideologies. Coming of age involves a melancholic compromise between the hero and prevailing social institutions in Victorian novels, enacted through the twin ends of a private marriage and a public vocation. In this sense, the bildungsroman represents the hero's progress toward becoming a representative English subject—naturally male, middle class, and married—who has learned to surrender less conventional desires. Yet another thesis is that the upheavals of nineteenth-century modernization led to the decline and fall of the classical development plot. Perhaps most influentially, feminist critics like Fraiman and Rita Felski have divulged the failure of Bildung in novels by George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, and other women writers whose ambitions were tied to a phallocentric tradition that they could never claim as their own. Confronted by an absence of institutions for female education and occupational training, these novelists "disperse the individual into a set of trajectories," as Fraiman writes, and set up potentials that never issue in a path to final fulfillment (xiii).

Like these critics, I find that the standard tropes of formation led to more volatile and self-shattering experiments in mid-nineteenth-century novels. But I look beyond the traces of failure or blockage. For many major novelists—including Eliot, Charles Dickens, Meredith, and Wilkie Collins—the representation of disrupted development coincided with less conventional possibilities for growth, ironizing the linear logic of biological time that their novels conspicuously introduce. In Middlemarch (1871-72), for example, insights into the persistence of lost energy (of statistical entropy) structure Eliot's tale of lost ambition, as Tertius Lydgate's and Dorothea Brooke's vocational aims are obstructed. Over the course of the novel, their dispersed energies are shown to have uncountable consequences on the totality: an "incalculably diffusive" influence within the group. The novels I examine each "suspend the arduous framework of self-culture," as Elisha Cohn writes, releasing conditional torques that depart from the expected ends of juvenile growth. Exploring the scientific dimensions of these narratives will prompt questions like the following: What did it mean to long for alternatives to the conventions of self-formation (chapter 1)? Why do individuals' sense and feel


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alternatives to the present (chapter 2)? 'What if personal development was conceived on nonhuman scales—less as an inevitable turn to reproductive adulthood and more as a precarious process of exchanges, flows, and feedback loops with the material environment (chapters 3 and 4)?

But this is not to say that novelists and scientists shared a univocal frame of reference. To the contrary, I show how uniquely unsettled the ontological location of the possible came to be for a short window of time. While often using mathematical methods of probability, Victorian physical scientists had no clear consensus about where those possibilities stood in relation to the facts of the real. Probabilities certainly did not represent real indeterminism (referring to objective randomness), but it seemed clear that they were not mere mental chimeras either (referring to one's subjective level of anticipation). I will elaborate on the issue momentarily but want to begin by observing that this unresolved blind spot became central to the Victorian novel's claims of aesthetic agency. In the novels I interpret, the realm of historical possibilities was something more than an illusion, if less than a plain fact. The counterfactual cadences of these texts reflect the utopian potential for new teleologies of living that might become real: developmental para-worlds that were neither quite true nor quite spurious but impossibly both, and whose moral and emotional geometries have yet to be mapped.

What this means is that latent scientific irresolutions—above all, how the realm of the possible corresponded to the actual—had singular importance in literature and as literature. So while I reveal the through lines between novelists and scientists and articulate generative interconnections, I take a qualified view to the notion that literature can spur scientific revolutions, since my focus lies on questions that Victorian scientists left unanswered. (What did alternative historical possibilities represent? To what degree did those alternatives reflect real-world phenomena?) And for this reason as well, my readings always fold back to the form of the novels in question: their multiple temporalities, foreclosed plotlines, moments of extended extradiegesis, and other "queer elements" that have been read en passant. These characteristics articulated a mode of literary thinking distinct from the propositional logic of science. Through their formal organization, novels pose ideas without prescribing truth claims, invite multiple perspectives on what had seemed self-evident, and question what went without saying.

Of course, the story goes on beyond the pages of this book. It continues in investigations into modal logic and counterfactual conditionals, which have contributed to what Niall Ferguson calls a "questioning of narrative determinism" among recent historians and philosophers." The story goes on in science as well. The rise of quantum indeterminism is often noted by feminist science scholars like Evelyn Fox Keller, Donna Haraway, and N. Katherine Hayles. Karen Barad, for example, writes that modernist concepts of relativism are "inherently less androcentric, less Eurocentric, more feminine, more postmodern, and generally less regressive than the masculinist and imperializing tendencies found in Newtonian physics." Such progressive accounts of physics have proven compelling, though I find that the notion of a dramatic epistemic upheaval from Newtonian assumptions to modernist ones has minimized interest in the Victorian interlude I wish to examine. Scholars have yet to trace the acute political energies of modernism, which Barad identifies in broad outline, to their mid-Victorian cultural origins: a period of intensification just before Maxwell's Cavendish Laboratory trained some the earliest professional physicists in the world, when the realm of probabilities had no clear-cut connection to people and things. This transitive moment corresponded with a tradition of novel writing whose formal, affective, and political parameters I seek to understand.

## "The Varying Experiments of Time"

History is not merely what happened: it is what happened in the context of what might have happened. Therefore it must incorporate, as a necessary element, the might-have-beens. —Hugh Trevor-Roper, "History and Imagination" (1971)

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If science must at the present stage perforce be content with a belief in the immediate permanency of the universe (based on a probability, which in


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practical life we should term certainty), we must at the same time remember that because a proposition has not yet been proved, we have no right to infer that its converse must be true. —Karl Pearson, The Grammar of Science (1892)

The preceding chapters have traced the advent of a distinctively Victorian idea: the notion that alternatives to the register of history had a physics, an ontology that could be represented and even experienced in the pages of novels. This book has examined the development of that physics and articulated its surprising formal, affective, and psychological life in British culture circa 1850 to 1880, concentrating on a handful of organizing questions. How were its ideals elicited? What cultural mechanisms influenced its growth, the forms it assumed, and the ethical commitments it fostered? The historian Theodore Porter offers one starting point. In Porter's account, disenchantment with the iron rule of averages spanned a profusion of fields from the late 1850s onward, when scientists turned from an awed attention to mass regularities—the golden mean that Adolphe Quetelet and Henry Buckle believed to animate all historical change—to the larger share of outliers. They shifted focus to "the role of variation," or deviations from standard values.' This shift, Porter writes, began with "critics of the idea of statistical law put forward by Quetelet and the historian Henry Thomas Buckle," before infusing more specialized studies that transformed "the various sciences of observation and measurement". But while my account confirms the significance of Buckle's critics, I have shown that innovations in the physical sciences converged with trends in historiographical thinking throughout this era. Far from arising as an insulated discourse, modern mathematical physics shared origins with a collective legacy of writings in the conditional or subjunctive mood. Fiction, in particular, played an instrumental hand in this intellectual sojourn. At a zenith in the Victorian novel's fame, its representational repertoire for imagining alternative possibilities grew in tandem with the hard sciences; across the three decades that preceded "physics," the physics of possibility took hold as an influential physics of fiction.

In this sense, the story of my book has been a tale of how Victorian novelists joined scientists in the slow migration of the possible from Enlightenment-era theology and mathematics to the burgeoning fields of matter, energy, and force. Once investigators began to view probabilities as something other than an abstraction, a mental crutch to compensate for our ignorance of God's clockwork design, a gray area appeared around their phenomenological nature. Whether defined as "chances," "frequencies," or "probabilities," the realm of the possible moved into contested terrain between the imaginary and real. Eventually, the cross-pollination between British imaginative writers and scientists helped to eclipse the theological mantra that probabilities were mere mental figments and animated a brief but important interlude in the political life of the novel. For the referential indistinction of probabilities, among physical scientists and mathematicians, had uniquely expansive import in fiction—particularly in novels that questioned the persistence of Victorian assumptions about gender, economics, and law. Proceeding through the looking glass of other pasts and futures, these novels conjure up lifeworlds less violent and emotionally pulverizing, less competitive, patriarchal, and atomizing than the world in which Victorians lived. Indeed it was not just that fiction joined scientific studies of what T. H. Huxley called "nebulous potentiality"; again and again, novelists highlighted how their counterworlds could be activated and made real through the experience of reading.' Their narratives aim at something more than a moment's reprieve from the now They represent something like a cosmopoiesis: an actual practice of world making meant to transform Victorian conventions of living. To read these texts is to find that the conventions of the past and present are limned with alternative vectors of becoming, potentials that one could learn to sense, feel, and enter en route to altered futures.

In resuscitating this tradition, I have devoted significant space to the aesthetics of fiction: the thematic, formal, psychological, and affective organization of four novels that I found relentlessly ironic in their reformulations of the classical bildungsroman. Yet it should be clear that my goal has not been to provide an exhaustive consideration of physics and fiction. Rather, I have articulated a powerful and neglected field of writings spanning physical science, mathematics,


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and one dominant fictional subgenre before the disciplining of "science" and "literature" as autonomous arenas. My premise has been that literature does distinctive work in the onset of scientific doctrines and hence rewards rigorous attention to form. Through their formal organization, novels do not merely mimic scientific truth claims. They anticipate, complicate, critique, and negotiate between ideas in nonpropositional terms, sometimes all within a single text. To be clear: I have demonstrated that experiments in novel writing contributed to theories incipient in science and as science. I have focused on experiments in the novel of formation for this reason. Conceived as fables of arrested development, the novels I have studied by George Meredith, Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, and George Eliot each suspend the linear logic of Bildung from juvenile irresolution to an adult world of labor, marriage, and productive social bonds. Thwarting the route to middle-class manhood (the "average man," in Quetelet's and Buckle's idiom), they advance an ensemble of less reified prospects for formation and attend to what Middlemarch's narrator calls "the varying experiments of Time".

Scientific concepts can serve disparate ideological ends. Like symbolic economies in general, they gain differential inflections through acts of writing and reinscription that can continue along new paths and congeal into altered habits of mind. When I say that the ontological location of the "possible" was in flux, I do not ignore its instrumentalization in the service of competing political goals; the indistinction I have studied was articulated diversely, again and again, in diverse cultural sites. For Quetelet and Buckle, the normal curve did not suggest that the "norm" was an illusion or sustain an egalitarian politics. In their accounts, isolated individual beings appeared as "errors" or mistakes in nature's design, each deviating more or less from a transcendent racial average that fueled historical progress; for them, individuals in the flesh had no more significance than the errors of observation that astronomers had tried to average out.' And although Buckle's dream of a prescriptive social average died down amid fiery criticism in the late 1850s, the probabilistic calculus continued to underwrite the prospect of a racially uniform utopia for Francis Galton and his intellectual successor, Karl Pearson, in the 1870s and afterward. Galton's and Pearson's major contributions to the statistics of variation, including Galton's correlation and regression methods and Pearson's concept of the "standard deviation," were first formulated as aspects of their eugenicist creeds. ("In comparing the worth of different races," as Galton wrote in his 1869 Hereditary Genius, "I shall make frequent use of the law of deviation from an average.") The medical treatises of Henry Maudsley capture the first flavor of this outlook in the 1860s, when Maudsley defined effeminacy and hysteria as an abnormal "deviation from the normal state" of British character (377). Generally speaking, however, the novelists I have studied turned the physics of variation toward progressive social agendas, affirming fiction's power to trouble foundationalist hierarchies of character through the phantasmic, provisional, and anticlosural play of forking paths. Even Pearson himself, notwithstanding his confidence in the "immediate permanency" of the way that things are, admitted that this faith amounted to no more than a `belief ... based on a probability," and not an absolute "certainty" (as he writes in the second epigraph to this conclusion).

In short, a dominant vogue for physical probabilities—spanning professional scientists, mathematicians, and lay commentators—tended, in its very focus on the existence of what John Herschel called "nonhappenings," to travel through the cultural vicinities of novel writing, where the ambiguities between what was empirical and nonempirical gained unique moral and mimetic ballast ("Quetelet" 4). But the traffic between writers of fiction and science rarely followed linear lines of interaction, despite my occasional wish to isolate instances of connection as proof of a larger intellectual habitus. To understand the formation of ideas, I have reassembled what sociologists of science call a network of actors, following Bruno Latour's emphasis on how concepts develop, converge, and come apart in different directions and intensities of affiliation at once. Instead of observing the traffic between social and scientific "contexts," my readings have accentuated a more inclusive "process of assembling": "an on-going process made up of uncertain, fragile, controversial, and ever-shifting ties," in Latour's


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terms. In practice, this has meant mapping a wider range of mechanisms for knowledge production, inflected by different objects (including telescopes, microscopes, and chronometers) and practices of representation (including mathematical formulas, graphs, and lectures alongside fiction and lyric poetry). So while I have occasionally identified local lines of appropriation, zeroing in on the transmission of ideas from one text to another text, I have sought to foreground the dialogical interaction between British scientists and novelists alongside less local patterns of formal and conceptual connection across a multiplicity of artifacts. Without flattening all texts into indices of a superintending spirit of the age, this approach has the benefit of teasing out the matrix of affinities, asymmetries, and tensions that can coalesce through time and shape the life of scientific concepts.

The dynamic configuration of these ties comes into fuller focus across individual chapters, in topics ranging from the orbit of stars to the meandering movement of atoms. Critiques of Buckle's statistical determinism, among philosophers and historians in the late 1850s, informed Meredith's Richard Feverel, while explicitly shaping James Clerk Maxwell's early research program (respectively discussed in chapters 1 and 4). Buckle's inspiration, Quetelet, drew on the astronomer's error law and Gaussian "normal curve" in his doctrines of the average man, but in introducing Quetelet to British readers, the astronomer John Herschel ironically focused on the role of deviations from typical values (chapters 1 and 2). In turn, Herschel's account was read by Charles Darwin at a formative moment in his development and actively informed Maxwell's mathematical formulas (chapters 3 and 4).6 The connections between scientists and novelists proved no less varied. Wilkie Collins's fiction mediated between "statistical" and "sensorial" explanations of a nonunified present in the 1860s; Dickens's self-abnegating bachelors and intimate friends in Dombey and Son suggest, avant la lettre, the theories of moral variation that Darwin was still struggling to articulate. And as a "study" of incalculable diffusion, Middlemarch gave familiar form to Maxwell's statistical thermodynamics, which had yet to find full scientific acceptance at the time.

As this brief recapitulation suggests, I have charted a heterogeneous set of relations rather than a fixed doctrine or gestalt. Their further elaboration is an undertaking that I have left to others. But I hope that this book's close attention to the nuances of fictional texts will not distract from its insights about a certain prevailing form of historical thinking in Victorian Britain—what I have described as a generative, misunderstood set of techniques for representing alterities leading np to the two cultures of science and literature. To be sure, we can find their presence throughout Victorian culture. What I have said about the counterfactual form of Richard Feverel remains applicable to other subversions of the compassionate marriage plot, including Meredith's own The Egoist (1879), with its Darwinian focus on natural variation and competition. Over the course of Sir Willoughby Patterne's failed engagement with Constantia Durham and subsequent oscillations between Laetitia Dale and Clara Middleton, the drive toward marriage is itself shown to be vacant, so that Middleton and Patterne's final union underscores all that might have led to a more felicitous ending. Likewise, the evocation of a nonhomogenous present in Collins's fiction resonates throughout the sensation novels of Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Ellen Wood and in antibildungsromans that challenged middle-class conventionalism in associated respects. One thinks of Lucy Snowe, the acutely elusive, hesitating heroine of Charlotte Brontë's Villette (1853), whose avoidances of self-disclosure function to "transform Lucy's silence and refusal into a statement of alternative plausibility and action," as Brenda Silver puts it. Lucy's famously recessive characterization culminates in her languorous, drug-induced stroll through the fête in Haute-Ville, which is untethered to the experiential immediacies of others and anticipates her final silence about a prospective marriage to M. Paul Emmanuel. And in a significant lineage of British naturalism, novelists joined Eliot's interest in the relation between physical law and different possible trajectories for character. The Return of the Native, for instance, begins with the description of an indistinct "single atom" in the "obscurity" of Egdon Heath, which is revealed to be Diggory Venn, whose name evokes the mathematician and philosopher John Venn. That


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opening signals the conditional orientation of the narrative as a whole, which spins out a series of missed opportunities in the lives of Clym Yeobright, Tamsin Yeobright, and Eustacia Vye, consistent with what Gillian Beer calls the novel's "vertiginous loosing of hazard."' Hardy's practice in this vein continued in novels with an explicit scientific subtext, including Two on a Tower (1882), where "two infinitesimal lives [appear] against the stupendous background of the stellar universe," as Hardy put it. And in Olive Schreiner's Story of an African Farm (1883), the ruined life of Lyndall is set within a more massive, undirected scale of temporal changes conceived through the rhetoric of "energy," "force," and variation.

What became of these ideas after the disciplining of physics? In 1902, the American scientist Josiah Willard Gibbs introduced the term statistical "ensemble," a kindred concept to the ensemble effects we have encountered in fiction. As Gibbs defined it, a statistical ensemble expressed a variety of possible states that a molecular system might incarnate at a given instant; each possibility represented a different virtual version of the actual system, which could never be observed firsthand. Norbert Weiner, the pioneering theorist of cybernetics, hailed the concept as a cornerstone of modern physics: "It is ... Gibbs rather than Einstein or Heisenberg or Planck to whom we must attribute the first great revolution of twentieth century physics," Wiener wrote, an assessment that N. Katherine Hayles and others have taken seriously. Like Maxwell, who introduced an early version of the ensemble concept in 1881, Gibbs understood the ensemble as a model of "possible outside worlds," as Wiener put it; the concept was meant as a useful abstraction—a tool to approximate single molecular realities that escaped observation (21). It was precisely this understanding that subsequent scientists revised. With the onset of quantum mechanics, physicists explored the notion that each of the molecular possibilities had a sui generis character: they could all be real, and all at the same time. As Niels Bohr, Werner Heisenberg, Max Planck, Howard Percy Robertson, and Erwin Schrödinger variously proposed, each particle in a system existed in all possible states simultaneously. Their blow to traditional causality came in the midst of Albert Einstein's proofs that time is relative to specific systems of reference; the theory of general relativity, which Einstein was working toward between 1905 and 1915, "had the effect, figuratively, of placing a clock in every gravitational field in the universe," writes Stephen Kern. Or as Ernst Cassirer put it, "The `here' gains its meaning only with reference to a `there,' the 'now' only with reference to an earlier or later contrasted with it.... They are and remain systems of relations."

Certainly, signs of the coming revolutions in relativity and quantum mechanics can be discerned in nineteenth-century culture. What J. S. Mill called the "doctrine of the Relativity of our knowledge," in 1865, became a common refrain in mid-Victorian thought." As Christopher Herbert has shown, writers as diverse as William Hamilton, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, J. M. Stallo, and Pearson himself affirmed the relative and relational underpinnings of human understanding. In 1880, the mathematician C. H. Hinton theorized the existence of non-Euclidean dimensions of space (dramatized in the second section of Edwin Abbott's 1884 Flatland, "Other Worlds," which investigates worlds with different dimensions). And in international settings, writers like Henri Bergson, Hippolyte Taine, E. R. Clay, and William James variously theorized the modular nature of temporal experience. Assumptions of absolute space and time continued to fray in important contributions like Ernst Mach's 1883 textbook, The Science of Mechanics, widely read in English translation, which critiqued Newtonian space-time as an "idle metaphysical conception." These kinds of critiques found increasing experimental validation—for example, when the physicists Albert Michelson and Edward Morley published the results of an important 1887 experiment on the ether and announced that time might decelerate as light was propagated through the ethereal medium.

And so the road to relativity and quantum mechanics was fairly wide and well traveled. Yet scholars have downplayed the specificity of midVictorian thought when narrating the onset of modernist physics, which is too often conceived as a sharp shift from Enlightenment cosmologies. Timothy Morton, for example, writes that pre-twentieth-century investigators subscribed to "the view of


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space and time as flat, universal containers," whereas "quantum theory blew a huge hole in the idea of particles as little Ping-Pong balls." Similarly, Diana Coole and Samantha Frost call attention to the transformation from "substantialist Cartesian or mechanistic Newtonian accounts of matter" to twentieth-century "particle physics" and "chaos and complexity theory" by omitting the mid-Victorian interregnum. That juncture has remained an enabling absence in scholarship that thus heightens a narrative of modern epistemic rupture. But it was precisely as artifacts from a moment of cultural intensification, when Newtonian assumptions were crumbling but still salient, that the physics of variation took hold.

Still, the Victorians' "varying experiments" in time do persist within contemporary cultural analysis, as recent philosophical, sociological, and historiographical trends make clear. Influential contributions from Stuart Hampshire, Geoffrey Hawthorn, Niall Ferguson, and others have turned the study of counterfactuals (what the historian Hugh Trevor-Roper called "the might-have-beens") into a rigorous research topic, correcting an antediluvian disregard for them as an amateur's "parlor game," in E. H. Carr's words. Ferguson, for example, writes that "the counterfactual scenarios" that animate modern historiography "are not mere fantasy: they are simulations based on calculations about the relative probability of plausible outcomes" (85). The rhetoric of probabilistic calculation is heuristic here, used to lend scientific seriousness to the goal of weighing canceled futures. Yet the terms indicate a more ample province of ideas in high Victorian Britain: the buried life of thought that I have assembled across the literature and culture of the age. Calculations of alterity, now in vogue among humanists and social scientists, first emerged within the conditional timescapes of Victorian fiction, physical science, and mathematics. This attests to the period's rich and often-overlooked resources for historical thinking and indicates further work to be done in their retrieval.

It remains a founding paradox of the novel that it imagines possible worlds with a provisional claim to exist. Reading fiction seems to demand some suspension of disbelief, a willful blurring between what is or is not actual. That paradox gained new teeth in conjunction with the Victorian physics of variation, as novelists explored the moral and emotional force of nonhappenings in their pages. For even as studies on the "internal feeling" of possibilities traveled into more material realms of investigation, it never ceased to be a practice of the passions. It maintained ties to states of expectation, uncertainty, ambivalence, and retrospection, which also fundamentally inform the experience of novel reading. Looking back to this cultural moment reveals a unique understanding of alterity—the understanding of a history that is never quite itself, never quite singular and self-standing, and that remains replete with trajectories that we might learn to imagine, feel, and finally live. <>

Understanding Topology: A Practical Introduction by Shaun V. Ault [Johns Hopkins University Press, 9781421424071]

Topology—the branch of mathematics that studies the properties of spaces that remain unaffected by stretching and other distortions—can present significant challenges for undergraduate students of mathematics and the sciences. Understanding Topology aims to change that.

The perfect introductory topology textbook, Understanding Topology requires only a knowledge of calculus and a general familiarity with set theory and logic. Equally approachable and rigorous, the book's clear organization, worked examples, and concise writing style support a thorough understanding of basic topological principles. Professor Shaun V. Ault's unique emphasis on fascinating applications, from mapping DNA to determining the shape of the universe, will engage students in a way traditional topology textbooks do not.

This groundbreaking new text:

- presents Euclidean, abstract, and basic algebraic topology
- explains metric topology, vector spaces and dynamics, point-set topology, surfaces, knot theory, graphs and map coloring, the fundamental group, and homology


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- includes worked example problems, solutions, and optional advanced sections for independent projects

Following a path that will work with any standard syllabus, the book is arranged to help students reach that "Aha!" moment, encouraging readers to use their intuition through local-to-global analysis and emphasizing topological invariants to lay the groundwork for algebraic topology.

Excerpt: This textbook grew out of the lecture notes that were prepared for a topology course developed at Valdosta State University, a primarily undergraduate teaching institution, and so the text is intended for undergraduates in math and the sciences. Topics are selected to appeal to a wide range of interests, with emphasis placed on breadth rather than depth. When possible, the mathematics is first motivated by intuition and analogy; however, the full rigor of mathematical proof then follows afterward (except where indicated in the text). You may find that some topics are not covered in as much detail as in a more traditional topology text, while other themes are present in this book that may not be found in the standard texts.

The basic flow of the text is inspired by the wonderfully readable textbook by Sue Goodman, Beginning Topology, especially in its coverage of vector fields, graphs and maps, and knot theory, topics that usually do not find themselves in a topology text; however, this treatment differs in its focus and coverage. Among other topics, Understanding Topology also includes a short introduction to algebraic topology, modeled loosely after Hatcher. Some chapters contain additional sections marked with an asterisk (*) that may be of interest but are not required for understanding subsequent material. These additional sections can be used for student projects, covered in lecture as time permits, or omitted altogether. Each section has associated Exercises, and each chapter ends with Supplementary Reading. Appendix A provides a brief review of set theory and functions. Appendix B gives a terse review of essential topics in group theory and linear algebra. Following these are selected solutions to exercises and an extensive list of notations used.

Part I — Euclidean Topology — begins with Chapter 1, Introduction to Topology, with an informal taste of topological thinking via a hands-on (albeit not very rigorous) treatment of continuous deformations. Chapter 2, Metric Topology in Euclidean Space, is the main thrust of Part I, in which the terminology and tools of metric topology are introduced in a familiar setting. The last section of this chapter, §2.5 - Metric Spaces in General, serves to motivate the level of abstraction that will be explored later in the textbook. Some applications of Euclidean topology to vector fields in R2 are given in Chapter 3, culminating in an application of topology to the analysis of autocatalytic chemical reactions in §3.3.

The material in Part II — Abstract Topology with Applications — especially Chapter 4, Abstract Point-Set Topology, forms the heart of the textbook,

introducing concepts and methods of elementary point-set topology, complete with precise definitions in the language of set theory. Then in Chapter 5, Surfaces, we encounter the most basic manifolds (beyond trivial zero and one dimensional examples), which help to prepare the way toward an understanding of manifolds in general. Surfaces are analyzed using plane models and combinatorics, giving a concrete method for studying unfamiliar spaces, and making use of invariants such as Euler characteristic and orientability. Applications of topology are found in Chapter 6, Applications in Graphs and Knots, which also serves to reinforce combinatorial ideas in the study of topology.

Part III — Basic Algebraic Topology — introduces the the tools of algebraic topology by building on the notion of topological invariant. The material in this part moves quite a bit quicker than in the previous parts, and it is helpful to have prior experience with abstract algebra and linear algebra, though all necessary algebraic structures will be defined as needed. Chapter 7, The Fundamental Group, gives the basic idea of the first homotopy group along with a careful computation of the first "interesting" case, the circle. Then a less formal discussion shows how to use fundamental groups in the classification of compact surfaces and to study knots via their complements in


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R3. The chapter ends with a short discussion of higher homotopy groups, giving the necessary definitions and methods to begin the study of homotopy theory; however, the treatment here only scratches the surface. Chapter 8, Introduction to Homology, leads the reader through some of the algebraic and topological machinery needed to understand homology, with emphasis placed on combinatorial descriptions and matrix methods readily available at the undergraduate level. In defining integral homology, we take a different approach than most texts at this level. Instead of defining homology in terms of abelian groups, we use the concept of Z-modules (informally, at least). The reason is twofold: first, since module theory plays such a large role in algebraic topology, it is advantageous to see the term early on; second, the conceptual idea of a module is closely related to that of a vector space, and indeed many methods from linear algebra carry over, including matrix reduction algorithms. Again, the treatment of these topics is woefully incomplete. Nevertheless, it is important to get a taste of what might be next.

The appendices include a Review of Set Theory and Functions (Appendix A), which provides a readable refresher on the essential notation and definitions used throughout the text. While an appendix on set theory within a topology textbook is usually nothing more than a list of definitions, notations, and properties, this text hopes to attract a wider audience by explaining the concepts of sets and functions at a lower, more accessible level. On the other hand, the next appendix, Group Theory and Linear Algebra (Appendix B), is intended as a quick review alongside the more advanced material in Part III — there is no need to reference Appendix B if only Parts I and II are covered. Both appendices include comprehensive exercise sets.

What is topology, anyway? When I talk to people about what I do, some say, "Oh, so you study maps?" To which I respond, "You may be thinking of topography." In retrospect, studying maps is not far from the mark; we do study maps of a sort. Of course, the maps that topologists study different than topology maps for example, though such topographical maps can be studied from a topological point of view as well. To a topologist, a map is a continuous function from one space to another.

From calculus, the term continuous function should remind us of an unbroken graph, usually representing an equation in x and y, such as the rule y = x2, which transforms real numbers x into their squares, x2. The square of x = 2 is 4 but notice also that if x is close to 2, say, x = 1.9 or x = 2.003152, then x2 is also close to 4 (1.92 = 3.61 and 2.0031522 = 4.012617935104). Thus all points (x-values) in a small neighborhood remain relatively close together after the function has been applied; hence we say that a continuous function preserves closeness.

However, not every continuous map preserves the essential nature of a space. Just think of the constant function f (x) = 0, which takes as input any point of the number line, and gives the value 0 as output, so f (100) = 0, f (-11325.42) = 0, AR- + 1) = 0, etc. The entire output set of f consists of a single point, which is very much unlike -the input set (the real number line). However, some continuous maps do less damage. We say a function is invertible if there is another continuous map (an inverse map) that reverses the effect of the map. For example, the function 1(x) = 3x +1 is invertible. It has an inverse function g(x) = x-1/3. If the two maps are composed in either order, they "cancel" each other out: g(f (x)) = (3x+1)-1 /3 =x, and f (g(x)) = 3 (x-31) +1 = x. The constant map f (x) = 0 is not invertible.

Now consider f(x) = x3 — 3x. This function takes as input any point of the number line, and yields any real number as output — that is, the domain and range are both R (see Figure 1.2). However, f is not invertible. The graph doubles back and hits the same y-values more than once; for example, f (-0) = f (0) = AO) = 0. Suppose an inverse g(x) exists; what would g(0) be? If we say g(0) = 0, then g(f (0)) = g(0) = 0 0. If we say g(0) _ 0, then g(f (0)) = g(0) = 0. In the language of set theory, we would say f is not injective, and thus not invertible.

## Topology

Ok, so what is topology? Before getting into the specific details, we can say that topology is the study of the qualities of a space that are


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preserved under invertible maps.2 However, let's back up and look at one word in particular. The word space has a precise mathematical meaning that allows for myriad beautiful, complex, and useful interpretations. The spaces that we consider are not confined just to the familiar three-dimensional world we can perceive around us. Some spaces, such as the torus and Klein bottle, bend and connect in strange ways. Others, such as the Cantor set, which we will encounter in §1.2, display seemingly paradoxical qualities that challenge our intuitive understanding of connectedness and size. Still others do not seem to fit in this category because we are not used to thinking of them in this way; for example, we may define the space of all integer sequences, or the space of all polynomials, or the space of all differentiable functions f such that f (0) = 10.

I sometimes have to field the question, What is topology good for? While topology is mainly used in service of other branches of mathematics such as analysis, there are also a number of immediate applications. For example, topological data analysis and topological structures in computational biology have recently emerged as important fields of study. And there is one aspect of topology that most of us in the information age use and rely on every day — network topology. In a network of computers, routers, hubs, and servers, the physical locations of the devices are not as important as knowing which device is connected to which others. Our standard notion of distance in terms of miles from one computer to another is meaningless; two computers may be considered "close" in a network if there are relatively few intermediate networking devices connecting them, even if the two computers are separated by thousands of physical miles.

for details about graph theory), in which the vertices represent the four land masses and the edges represent the bridges. Then the question could be recast in terms of finding a path in the graph that traverses each edge exactly once. Such a path is now called Eulerian in honor of this great mathematician. It is fairly easy to prove that no such path exists in the Seven Bridges of Königsberg Problem.

Abstracting is an extremely important tool to a topologist. Complicated relationships may become much clearer when all the "unnecessary" detail is conveniently ignored. For example, Leonhard Euler used spatial abstraction in a 1735 paper in what many consider to be the first explicit use of topology: solving the Seven Bridges of Königsberg Problem. At that time in the eighteenth century, Königsberg, Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia) had seven bridges connecting two islands to the mainlands on both sides of the Pregel River. It was a popular pastime to stroll through the city traversing all of the bridges, and it was not known whether one could take a stroll that crossed each bridge only once. Euler observed that the details of each land mass were unimportant; only the data about which bridges connect which land masses would be necessary to analyze the problem. Euler drew what we now call a graph.

Topology as a mathematical discipline developed in fits and starts as a series of ad hoc results in support of other branches of mathematics, such as real and complex analysis. In these applications, mathematicians needed more flexibility than standard Euclidean geometry could afford. Although topologists often deal with familiar geometric shapes such as triangles, disks, and spheres, we will see that topology is not concerned with such geometric measures as length, angle, area, volume, etc. In fact, to a topologist, the surface of a sphere is the same as (topologically equivalent to) that of a football, a brick, and even a wine glass.

The torus is topologically equivalent to the surface of a coffee mug. What could possibly be useful about a study in which a coffee mug is indistinguishable from the doughnut being dunked into it? As it turns out, quite a lot. Consider a myopic ant crawling along the surface of the doughnut, only able to see its immediate surroundings but not aware of the overall structure of the doughnut in three-dimensional space. All that it knows is that if it sets out in one direction, it will come back to the same spot after

traveling some distance (as it travels around the center "hole," for example). Now imagine that this doughnut is made of soft clay and it gets deformed, bit by bit, until it looks like a coffee mug. So long as the transformation is continuous, then the little patch of the surface the ant is


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currently residing on does not get distorted too much. After the transformation, the ant may still observe that when it sets out in a certain direction, it will arrive back at the same spot after some time (perhaps by traveling along the "handle" of the mug). The most basic nature of the ant's world has not changed, and there may be no way for it (as an extremely myopic ant) to realize that any transformation has occurred at all.

Now imagine the world we live in. Compared to the vast size of the universe, we are myopic ants indeed. If we want to study certain general properties of our universe, then we need a way to ignore any nonessential, overly specific qualities, focusing instead on the properties of space that would remain unchanged under small, continuous modifications. Topology provides a way to strip down to the basics in order to answer questions such as Does the universe ever fold back in on itself? or Are there paths through space that cause a mirror reversal in the traveler? Indeed, topology (along with a fair amount of geometry) can begin to answer the question What is the shape of our universe? We begin our study with an informal introduction to topological equivalence of spaces through malleability and deformations.

Nonlocal Astrophysics: Dark Matter, Dark Energy and Physical Vacuum by Boris V. Alexeev [Elsevier, 9780444640192]

Dark matter does not exist - it is only artifact created as a result of oversimplifications of local physical description of dissipative transport processes in statistical systems. Physical reality includes matter, fields and physical vacuum. So called "dark energy" is physical vacuum.Transport processes in physical reality can be described only in the frame of non-local statistical physics.

Nonlocal Astrophysics: Dark Matter, Dark Energy and Physical Vacuum highlights the most significant features of non-local theory, which is a highly effective tool for solving many physical problems in areas where the classical local theory runs into difficulties. The book provides the fundamental science behind new non-local astrophysics. It discusses non-local kinetic and generalized hydrodynamic equations, non-local parameters in several physical systems, dark matter, dark energy, black holes, and gravitational waves.

- Devoted to the solution of astrophysical problems from the position of non-local physics
- Provides a solution for dark matter and dark energy
- Discusses cosmological aspects of the theory of non-local physics
- Includes a solution for the problem of the Hubble Universe expansion and of the dependence of the orbital velocity from the center of gravity

We are currently facing a tremendous catastrophe in modern theoretical physics. Moreover, we have reached a revolutionary situation not only in physics but also in natural philosophy as a whole. We have been at the forefront of this new challenge since Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy was first published in 1687. It is impossible to believe that in more than three hundred years after Newton we have a situation where 96% of matter and energy is of unknown origin. As it is shown in my monograph (Boris V. Alexeev. Unified Nonlocal Theory of Transport Processes. Elsevier, 2015) the origin of these difficulties consists in the total oversimplification inherent in the local physics of the dissipative processes.

In the latter part of 20th century, two very important results were obtained:

(1) The Irish physicist John Stewart Bell (1928–90) showed that all local statistical theories of dissipative processes are wrong in principal.
(2) The Russian physicist Boris V. Alexeev showed that the derivation of a kinetic equation, with respect to one-particle distribution function from the Bogolyubov-Born-Green-Kirkwood-Yvon (BBGKY) equations (prior to introducing any approximation destined to break the Bogolyubov chain), leads to additional terms of the nonlocal origin, generally of the same order of magnitude, as appears in the Boltzmann equation. Then the transition to the Boltzmann equation means the neglect of nonlocal effects. These additional terms cannot be omitted even in the limit cases of kinetic theory; therefore, the Boltzmann equation is only a plausible equation.


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Therefore, this is an unprecedented situation in physics, when the fundamental physical equation is revised.

Recently the scientific community was convinced that the following physics development could lead only to rather small corrections in modern theoretical physics. That is to say, 4% corrections to 96% of the known results, but not quite the reverse! Many scientists are aware that some solution will be achieved after the creation of a unified theory of transport processes working from the structure of so-called elementary particles to the Universe evolution. This theory was developed in the monograph Unified Nonlocal Theory of Transport Processes. The monograph Unified Nonlocal Relativistic Theory of Transport Processes (Elsevier, 2016) can be considered as a natural prolongation of my previous monograph, which is mainly devoted to nonrelativistic nonlocal physics.

In my new monograph Nonlocal Astrophysics. Dark matter. Dark Energy. Physical Vacuum, the keenest problems of modern theoretical astrophysics are considered from the position of nonlocal physics.

We formulate the basic assumptions and results of this investigation:

1. The nonlocal relativistic theory of transport processes is applied to the investigation of massless particles including photons. The corresponding forecasted effects for photons need in the direct experimental confirmations.
2. The generalized system of nonlocal relativistic equations does not contain the parameter of nonlocality and corresponding terms of the local transport theory.
3. The problem of "single photon" is considered with the aim to describe the boundary between the particle and field descriptions of photon gas.
4. Analytical solutions of nonlocal nonstationary 2D equations are obtained for the physical system near the state of thermodynamic equilibrium. In the initial time moment (corresponding to conditions x = 0, y = 0) distributions of the energy density and the flux of the energy density along x-axis are specified.
5. The propagation of photons along positive and negative directions of the y-axis is accompanied by the appearance of the self-consistent component of the magnetic induction along the z-axis and the self-consistent x-component of the electric and gravitational fields.
6. The existence of the red and blue shifts is direct consequence of the relation (9.3.313).

## FINAL GENERAL REMARKS

1. Dark matter does not exist—it is only artifact created as a result of Oversimplifications of local physical description of dissipative transport processes in statistical systems.
2. Physical Reality includes Matter, Fields and Physical Vacuum. So called "Dark energy" is Physical Vacuum.
3. Transport processes in Physical Reality can be described only in the frame of Non-local Statistical Physics.

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Evidence-Based Policy: The Movement, the Goals, the Issues, the Promise edited by Ron Haskins [The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 678.1: Sage, 9781544343747]

The research in this volume provides a unique overview of the field of evidence-based policy, and demonstrates the benefits and limits of this approach to policy-makers and the public alike.

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## Introduction:

### Evidence-Based Policy: The Movement, the Goals, the Issues, the Promise by Ron Haskins

Evidence is facts or other information that help us to determine whether something is true or false. When applied to programs designed to increase human well-being, evidence allows us to decide whether the program produces its intended impacts. For the past decade or two, both federal and state governments—and even several big cities—have been experiencing what might be called an evidence-based uprising that is helping them to select or develop effective social and educational programs and then improve them. This volume of The ANNALS is designed to provide a survey of the field of evidence-based practices and policymaking in articles written by some of its most notable practitioners. All the authors and the editor are fans of evidence-based policy, but most of us are well aware that we have miles to go before we can argue that the field has been proven to consistently improve the nation's policies and show clear progress in reducing the nation's social problems, most of which are complex and resistant to amelioration.

## Background:

### A Brief History of Evidence-Based Policy by Jon Baron

This article provides a brief history of evidence-based policy, which it defines as encompassing (1) the application of rigorous research methods, particularly randomized controlled trials (RCTs), to build credible evidence about "what works" to improve the human condition; and (2) the use of such evidence to focus public and private resources on effective interventions. Evidence-based policy emerged first in medicine after World War II, and has made tremendous contributions to human health. In social policy, a few RCTs were conducted before 1980, but the number grew rapidly in U.S. welfare and employment programs during the 1980s and 1990s and had an important impact on government policy. Since 2000, evidence-based policy has seen a major expansion in other social


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policy areas, including education and international development assistance. A recent milestone is the U.S. enactment of "tiered evidence" social programs in which rigorous evidence is the defining principle in awarding government funding for interventions.

### The Role of Evaluation in Building Evidence-Based Policy by Larry L. Orr

Growing recognition that many government programs may be ineffective, or at best of unproven effectiveness, has led to the evidence-based policy movement—an effort to ensure that proposed and existing public programs have been shown to achieve their objectives. Rigorous evaluation is central to this movement. In this article, I briefly review the history of evaluation of social programs and the barriers to the application of effective evaluation to public policy.

## Major Elements of the Evidence-Based Movement:

### Evidence-Informed Policy from an International Perspective by Thomas Chupein, Rachel Glennerster

This article discusses the history of randomized controlled trials (RCTs) in development economics and the ways in which their use has shaped disciplinary practices and development policy over the past two decades. We first explain how increased use of academic-run RCTs internationally has led to important methodological breakthroughs that have advanced our knowledge of human behavior as well as changes in how research is conducted, including routine practice of in-field apprenticeships for young researchers and the establishment of robust research infrastructure in numerous developing countries around the world. We then explore three ways in which the scale-up of evidence-informed programs and policies based on findings from RCTs have achieved real-world impact, giving examples for each. These include how rigorous evidence can help to resolve contentious policy debates; enable policy-makers to assess external validity of findings and draw lessons across contexts; and support institutionalization of evidence use in various types of organizations.

### Use of Administrative Records in Evidence-Based Policymaking by Robert M. Groves, George J. Schoeffel

Record systems used to administer programs often contain information useful for evaluating the effectiveness of a program. Administrative records are most often designed to facilitate processes key to the mission of the program. Data structures, quality assurance, quality control, and updating processes are generally defined by the needs of the program. Statistical uses of administrative data, common to evaluation studies, face a predictable set of benefits and challenges. This article reviews these issues.

### The Role of Behavioral Economics in Evidence-Based Policymaking by William J. Congdon, Maya Shankar

Behavioral economics has come to play an important role in evidence-based policymaking. In September 2015, President Obama signed an executive order directing federal agencies to incorporate insights from behavioral science into federal policies and programs. The order also charged the White House Social and Behavioral Sciences Team (SBST) with supporting this directive. In this article, we briefly trace the history of behavioral economics in public policy. We then turn to a discussion of what the SBST was, how it was built, and the lessons we draw from its experience and achievements. We conclude with a discussion of prospects for the future, arguing that even as SBST is currently lying fallow, behavioral economics continues to gain currency and show promise as an essential element of evidence-based policy.

### Managing toward Evidence: State-Level Evidence-Based Policymaking and the Results First Initiative by Patrick Lester

In 2010, the Pew Charitable Trusts and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation launched an initiative called Results First to help states and local governments better incorporate evidence into their policy, budget, and management-related decision-making. This article reviews the early


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results and lessons of Results First by summarizing the initiative and the current level of evidence use in the states, describing political and administrative obstacles that have complicated similar efforts, and discussing how Results First is addressing them. I conclude that rational, top-down policymaking by elected officials is taking place in states and that Results First appears to be having some success in helping to make policy decisions better informed. I also argue, though, that Results First may be having an even greater effect by encouraging evidence-based management among appointed officials and non-policymaking civil servant managers, and that this may help evidence-based policy avoid some of the pitfalls that have undermined previous efforts at government reform.

### Pay for Success Is Quietly Undergoing a Radical Simplification by George M. Overholser

Recent changes to rules that dictate the permissible use of large social spending streams are ushering in a radical simplification of pay for success (PFS). These changes greatly reduce the amount of political effort required to secure PFS-enabled sources of spending for any given project; they make it easier to avoid the complexity of social impact bond financing arrangements; and they lead to PFS structures that work systemically across many providers at once, rather than with just one or two at a time.

### The Contributions of Institutions:

### The Office of Management and Budget: The Quarterback of Evidence-Based Policy in the Federal Government by Kathy Stack

During the Obama administration, the White House Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) leadership helped to initiate and cement evidence-based policymaking reforms across the federal government, particularly in social services programs. Notable accomplishments were in the design of outcome-focused programs that use and build evidence, the strengthening of agency evaluation capacity, and interagency data-linkage projects to harness administrative data. Here, I review those accomplishments and catalog the key assets and tactics that OMB used to help federal agencies increase their use of evidence and innovation. I also assess the shortcomings and limitations of the Obama-era OMB approach and draw conclusions about what could be done in the current or a future administration to further advance evidence-based policymaking in the executive branch. Specifically, I propose that Congress and the administration should work to improve agency evaluation capacity, assess and report on agencies' progress in using and building evidence, and establish an Intergovernmental Evidence and Innovation Council.

### The Institute of Education Sciences: A Model for Federal Research Offices by Grover J. (Russ) Whitehurst

Within each cabinet-level department of the federal government there are offices responsible for research, evaluation, and statistics. These offices are critical to producing evidence for social policy and encouraging its use. An evidence agenda within a department will flounder, or never even emerge, if its research office is weak. The Institute of Education Sciences (IES), established in 2002, is markedly different from the iterations of a federal education research offices that preceded it, and it has been successful in developing an evidence agenda in the Department of Education. Here, I use the IES example to address the challenge of improving the functioning of research offices in the federal government. I identify key ingredients in the success of IES that may be relevant to the reform of other federal research offices.

### The Role of Federal Agencies in Creating and Administering Evidence-Based Policies by Rebecca A. Maynard

The success of federal agencies in creating and using evidence-based policies hinges on (1) their commitment to include routine use of evidence—including research and program evaluations—in program design and funding decisions and (2) their capacity to adapt their operating practices accordingly. The recent push toward using evidence more deliberately in government meant that federal agencies needed to quickly improve the accessibility of existing evidence. They also had to foster internal capacity to fairly judge its quality and applicability; build capacity and support for routinely using evidence within program and policy


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offices to support policy development and monitoring; and create a consensus within agencies around sensible ways to categorize, rate, and apply evidence. Common evidence standards, open access to evidence review platforms, and mandates for embedding rigorous evaluations into funded programs are among the most influential tools agencies have used in this new era of evidence-based policymaking.

### The Roles Foundations Are Playing in the Evidence-Based Policy Movement by Robert C. Granger

Foundations are actively engaged in supporting evidence-based policymaking through collaborative funding, supporting, and creating intermediary organizations; building the infrastructure needed to support evidence-based policymaking; and improving the relevance of research for practice and policy. For a variety of reasons, they are shifting from a focus on the federal government and the identification of effective brand name innovations to an emphasis on supporting local actors to design and test solutions using local data. This article provides examples of foundation work, describes and discusses how and why it is evolving, and uses historical examples to place the change in context.

### The Role of Nonprofits in Designing and Implementing Evidence-Based Programs by James X. Sullivan

Human service nonprofits are a major provider of social services in this country, spending billions of dollars each year implementing programs to improve outcomes for their clients. Unfortunately, these programs are typically not rigorously evaluated to determine whether they are having their intended effect. Many obstacles make it challenging to rigorously evaluate services provided by these nonprofits, including evaluation costs, limited access to data, and small sample sizes, but these obstacles are surmountable. Policy-makers could accelerate the pace and quality of evidence building by providing more resources for impact evaluations, streamlining and standardizing access to key administrative data, and expanding support for the replication of effective programs. Better evidence of what works for human service nonprofits will ultimately mean more effective programs at the national level.

## Significance of the Evidence-Based Movement:

### Can Evidence-Based Policy Ameliorate the Nation's Social Problems? by Virginia Knox, Carolyn J. Hill, Gordon Berlin

This article updates the pipeline paradigm for evidence building with a cyclical paradigm that encompasses evidence building, implementation, and adaptation. A cyclical paradigm for evidence-based policy and practice assumes that an intervention will be adapted over time, across settings, and across populations. These innovations and adaptations are encouraged and tested, with periodic review of the need for impact assessment. The cyclical paradigm also emphasizes service contrast at every stage, not just in the evidence-building stage where it has traditionally been a focus. A continuous cycle of evidence building, implementation, and adaptation—looping back to further evidence building—can help to ensure that the impacts of evidence-based policies and programs are sustained and grow in new settings.

### Evidence-Based Policy in the Real World: A Cautionary View by Adam Gamoran

The evidence movement has attended more to improving the supply of evidence than to increasing demand, so even as rigorous evidence production has increased, the use of evidence remains all too rare. A growing body of research indicates that the quality of relationships between researchers, policy-makers, and intermediaries plays a central role in whether rigorous evidence informs decisions in policy and practice. Creating structures to support such relationships remains a major challenge. Yet even when high-quality evidence is used, the intended benefits may not ensue because of broader challenges in society at large. Consequently, we should temper our expectations for the benefits of evidence-based policymaking, but not give up the effort.


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## A Policy-Maker's View:

## Generating and Using Evidence Will Help to Reduce Social Problems by Senator Todd Young

One of the first things I ask when I meet with nonprofit leaders across Indiana is, "How do you measure success?" The men and women I talk to in these positions have devoted their lives to helping others. They are heroes whose work and dedication make our communities better places to live, and they should be commended. Their answers to this one question, however, give me a glimpse of whether their programs are ready to be scaled up immediately or need further development.

One answer that impressed me came from the registered nurses (RNs) at the Nurse Family Partnership (NFP), whose RNs visit the homes of more than a thousand vulnerable first-time mothers in Hoosier communities to improve their babies' health and help their children thrive—all while improving young families' economic self-sufficiency (NFP 2016). Beyond working toward noble goals, though, the NFP has been rigorously evaluated and found to have positive outcomes, like improved child health, development, and safety. The NFP regularly collects data on its results to study ways to improve its already "gold standard" model as they scale up into other communities (NFP 2017).

## Following the Evidence to Reduce Unplanned Pregnancy and Improve the Lives of Children and Families by Senator Thomas R. Carper, Andrea Kane, Isabel Sawhill

A growing number of policy-makers and program leaders at the federal, state, and community levels are committed to using unbiased evidence to guide them in solving tough problems. This progress should be celebrated. The bipartisan Commission on Evidence-Based Policymaking, which sought to ensure that policy-makers have reliable information and evidence to help them decide how best to manage and improve government programs and policies, has already played an important role in institutionalizing the use of evidence and scientific facts to create federal policy. In fact, many of its recommendations have already been incorporated in bipartisan legislation.

Here, we illustrate the role that evidence can play in informing policy through an issue about which the three authors of this article care deeply—improving the lives of American children and families by reducing unplanned pregnancy. Specifically, we focus on evidence and policy regarding one of the most powerful and effective strategies to achieve this goal: increasing access to the most effective forms of contraception. <>

Fraud: How the Left Plans to Steal the Next Election by Eric Eggers [Regnery Publishing, 9781621577959]

## When it comes to exposing voter fraud, the stakes have never been higher.

From the investigative team that produced Clinton Cash, Fraud busts open the ballot box to expose the felons, illegal immigrants, and even corpses that fraudulently foil America's chances for honest election outcomes.

Which members of Congress actually lost their races? Which counties have registered voters listed as over 200 years old? Where in America are over 100 percent of an area's voters registered to vote? With exclusive interviews with whistleblowers who have seen the fraud first-hand and backed by state of the art forensic tools and elite investigative acumen, Fraud analyzes the voter rolls to name names and show, in historic detail, how the numbers just don't add up.

The intrepid reporter Eric Eggers has uncovered just how easy it is to cast a fraudulent ballot—canceling out your vote and in some cases deciding elections. We know—despite official denials—that voter fraud is happening. In fact, Eggers shows, it's rampant, and it's all over the country.

But of course, the real threat to civil rights, free and fair elections, and the rule of law is voter fraud. And in case after shocking case, Eggers shows how voter fraud is subverting American democracy.

- In his frightening and thought-provoking book, Eggers highlights:
- How so-called "progressive" organizations promote and explain away voter fraud
- Why voter fraud is a growing threat—and tied to illegal immigration


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- How swing states in national elections could be swung by voter fraud

Worse, many famous civil rights organizations encourage voter fraud and frustrate its prosecution. Every proposed voting security measure and every attempt to enforce existing laws is treated as an attack on the right to vote.

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Excerpt: When II told a high-ranking Florida Cabinet-level official that I had uncovered 2,200 examples of double-voting in Florida during the 2016 elections, he replied: "I didn't realize there were that many lightning strikes that year." Like most academics and politicos on the Left, he dismissed voter fraud as a non-issue. When I told a friend with experience on many Democratic political campaigns that I was writing a book on voter fraud, he said, "I guess it's gonna be a short book."

Those who dismiss concerns about voter fraud often quote the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law, a leading left-wing legal think tank. It concluded that "examination after examination of voter fraud claims reveal fraud is very rare, voter impersonation is nearly non-existent, and much of the problems associated with alleged fraud relates to unintentional mistakes by voters or election administrators."

Actually, what "examination after examination of voter fraud claims reveal" is that prosecutions of voter fraud are very rare, in part because official local, state, or federal monitoring of voter rolls or election sites to find voter fraud are essentially nonexistent. And when people do point to apparent voter fraud, one of two things usually happens: they get ignored or they get called a racist. Both happened in one Florida County, when a supervisor of elections flagged two thousand absentee ballots or request forms as possibly fraudulent, and detectives with a state attorney's office found "clear cut evidence of voter fraud" yet the only charges filed were accusations of racial bias.

Federal laws passed twenty-five years ago have left gaping vulnerabilities in America's highly localized system of voter registration, and I have found countless examples, from all regions of the country, of ineligible voters casting ballots. And these instances of illegal voting are not random, they are directed by political activists. As this book documents, there are highly organized and well-funded political organizations that share both a funding source and an overarch¬ing motivation to manipulate the electoral system for their benefit.

The same groups who fight against simple security measures like mandatory IDs at the polls or voter roll database verifications are winning political battles to remove the few safeguards to our voter registration system that do remain. In several cities across the country, including Chicago and San Francisco, it is now legal for noncitizens to vote in certain local elections.

When Donald Trump announced the formation of his Presidential Commission on Voter Reforms, and warned that millions of illegal votes could have been cast in the 2016 elections, the Brennan Center, and others, scoffed at the notion.

The Brennan Center is perhaps the leading high-profile denier of what it calls "the myth of voter fraud." But as this book will show, the Brennan Center has millions of reasons to dismiss and deny the mountains of evidence that voter fraud is all too real.


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The Brennan Center—and for the most part, the media—define voter fraud in the narrowest of terms, saying voter fraud only "occurs when individuals cast ballots despite knowing that they are ineligible to vote, in an attempt to defraud the election system."

As the New York Times notes, "Election law experts say that pulling off in-person voter fraud on a scale large enough to swing an election, with scores if not hundreds of people committing a felony in public by pretending to be someone else, is hard to imagine, to say nothing of exceptionally risky."

But this is an ingenious and misleadingly narrow definition of voter fraud, which in reality goes far beyond individual ineligible voters. The New York Times acknowledged that "There are much simpler and more effective alternatives to commit fraud on such a scale," citing Yale law professor Heather Gerken, who observed, "You could steal some absentee ballots or stuff a ballot box or bribe an election administrator or fiddle with an electronic voting machine." That explains, she said, "why all the evidence of stolen elections involves absentee ballots and the like."

What this book will do is document the "and the like"—the many means and methods by which legal voters have their votes diluted or disenfranchised because of fraud. And it will examine the myriad ways the voting system fails to safeguard elections.

In 2017, after Donald Trump was inaugurated, he claimed millions of illegal votes had been cast against him, which contributed, in his estimation, to his loss in the popular vote to Hillary Clinton.

Trump's claim of fraudulent votes was immediately dismissed by establishment media and legal scholars who cited the statistics that purported to show that voter fraud, as defined by the Brennan Center and elsewhere, was "a myth." But a 2016 audit by state officials in North Carolina may have inadvertently provided evidence that people who shouldn't be voting are actually casting ballots in significant numbers, just not for reasons leftists want to count as "voter fraud."

A Huffington Post article on the findings claimed the audit revealed that just .01 percent of all votes cast were fraudulent. But even in its effort to minimize the threat of illegal voting, the article highlighted a larger point, finding that "In the 41 cases of non-citizens voting, for example, the Board of Elections found that all of the individuals were in the United States legally and didn't know they were prohibited from voting. Some had been misinformed by canvassers. One woman who had registered to vote had lived in the United States for 50 years and thought she had citizenship because she had been married to a U.S. citizen."

This is exactly the point. By defining voter fraud as an intentional effort to impersonate another voter, voter fraud reductionists would not count the thousands of examples of noncitizens who illegally vote as voter fraud, because they didn't do so with an intention to impersonate another voter. But what this book will show is that in many instances, noncitizens are the unwitting victims of the deliberate neglect by election officials at the federal, state, and local levels.

The reality is, our elections are only as secure as our voter rolls. While the Left argues that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia to hack the 2016 election and the Right believes millions of noncitizens illegally participated in the last election, both would seem to agree that our voter rolls are anything but secure. Thanks in part to billionaire George Soros and his network, there has been a concerted effort to put anyone and everyone on a voter roll. Numerous states automatically register driver's license applicants to vote. Other states have DMV employees help applicants with limited English to fill out voter register forms. In New Jersey, to cite just one example, Cezarramo Guisande was registered to vote by a DMV employee—over the objections of Guisande's mother who was with him and said he was ineligible as a noncitizen. The DMV employee said anyone with a green card was eligible—which was not true.

Lawyer and journalist J. Christian Adams's Public Interest Legal Foundation has uncovered thousands of examples of non-citizens being registered to vote all over the country. And there are numerous political organizing groups, such as ACORN, Unidos (formerly known as La Raza), and CASA de Maryland, who get registered voters to the polls regardless of citizenship status. These groups, and


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others, also fight against any introduction of Voter ID laws, all while taking money from George Soros, who has interests of his own.

But it isn't just political nonprofits who use Soros money to push this agenda. Tom Perez, the head of the Democratic National Committee who used to run CASA de Maryland, has made expanding noncitizen voting rights a priority for the Democrats in upcoming elections, while simultaneously fighting against additional voter security measures. Perez's reign is just beginning. And Soros's support isn't going away anytime soon. The eighty-seven-year-old Soros recently transferred $18 billion of his personal wealth to his Open Society Foundations organization, ensuring his wealth will continue to support this cause well after his death.'

This book will expose just how vast Soros's effort is to control every aspect of this country's elections, and how his funding of groups like the Brennan Center—whose president is a former Clinton White House senior aide—is part of that effort. The Soros network, in tandem with like-minded media outlets, push a narrative that consistently downplays the threat of voter fraud and insists that even minimal efforts to strengthen the integrity of our elections are racist. This, in fact, has become a core Democratic Party talking point.

Democratic Congressman Steve Cohen of Tennessee, for example, complained that "In the name of protecting Americans from supposed in-person voter fraud, a fraud that is virtually non-existent, States have been enacting voter ID laws. The real reason for these laws, however, has been anything but election integrity. It has been about partisan politics and discrimination."

Democratic Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey claimed the Trump-proposed Presidential Commission on Voter Integrity "will be used and is designed to support policies that will suppress the vote in minority and poor communities across the United States."

That, of course, is blatantly untrue—as could be seen in the 2017 U.S. Senate election in Alabama. Alabama has voter ID laws—and it also saw record levels of minority voters in that election, turning the Democratic talking point on its head.

Statistically, voter fraud may not mean "millions" of illegal votes as President Trump has claimed (though you'll read about several academic studies that suggest he may be right). But remember that the 2000 presidential election was decided by only 537 votes in Florida.

In 2018, Democrats claimed a massive victory in a high-profile congressional race when Conor Lamb was declared the winner with a 500-vote margin over Republican Rick Saccone in Western Pennsylvania, a vote that occurred only months after Pennsylvania Secretary of State Pedro Cortés resigned after it was discovered that thousands of ineligible voters—foreign nationals—were listed on statewide rolls. The problem was likely much larger than that: in Pennsylvania, as in the rest of the country, illegal voters are often discovered only after they self-report through their naturalization process.

So why didn't Saccone ask for a recount? Because Pennsylvania law requires the nearly impossible standard of three voters within the same local precinct to attest that they personally witnessed an electoral error or fraud being committed in order to have a recount. Many states have similar quirks in their election laws. States and localities can set up their election laws as they see fit, but, to say the obvious, voter fraud should not be part of our electoral system at any level. The danger is, as we'll see, there are powerful groups that are trying to make it so. <>

The Red and the Blue: The 1990s and the Birth of Political Tribalism by Steve Kornacki [Ecco, 9780062439000]

*From MSNBC correspondent Steve Kornacki, a lively and sweeping history of the birth of political tribalism in the 1990s—one that brings critical new understanding to our current political landscape from Clinton to Trump*
In The Red and the Blue, cable news star and acclaimed journalist Steve Kornacki follows the twin paths of Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich, two larger-than-life politicians who exploited the weakened structure of their respective parties to attain the highest offices. For Clinton, that meant contorting himself around the various factions of the Democratic party to win the presidency. Gingrich


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employed a scorched-earth strategy to upend the permanent Republican minority in the House, making him Speaker.

The Clinton/Gingrich battles were bare-knuckled brawls that brought about massive policy shifts and high-stakes showdowns—their collisions had far-reaching political consequences. But the '90s were not just about them. Kornacki writes about Mario Cuomo's stubborn presence around Clinton's 1992 campaign; Hillary Clinton's star turn during the 1998 midterms, seeding the idea for her own candidacy; Ross Perot's wild run in 1992 that inspired him to launch the Reform Party, giving Donald Trump his first taste of electoral politics in 1999; and many others.

With novelistic prose and a clear sense of history, Steve Kornacki masterfully weaves together the various elements of this rambunctious and hugely impactful era in American history, whose effects set the stage for our current political landscape.

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Excerpt: All the momentum was with Al Gore when November 7, 2000, arrived. For much of the fall, he'd lagged a few points behind, stymied by clashing public attitudes toward his boss. The economy was humming and voters were willing to credit Bill Clinton and his administration, but lingering revulsion over the president's affair with a former White House intern left them receptive to Republican candidate George W. Bush and his promise to restore "honor and dignity" to the office.

Through this all, Bush had somehow managed to keep quiet a damaging secret, an old arrest for driving under the influence, back when he was thirty years old. But just days before the vote, it had all come out, reinforcing the doubts about this son of a president and his maturity. Gore closed the gap in the final polls, even grabbed the lead in one, and now as the Election Night returns rolled in, there was suspense that there hadn't been in at least a generation.

The critical call came early, or at least it seemed to. At ten minutes till eight, CBS's Dan Rather cut off the network's elder statesman, Mike Wallace, with an urgent bulletin. "Mike, excuse me one second. I'm so sorry to interrupt you. Mike, you know I wouldn't do this if it weren't big. Florida goes for Al Gore."

The other networks followed suit, and so did the Associated Press. Florida's twenty-five electoral votes were nearly essential to each candidate's path to 270—a "very, very, very important state," Tim Russert said on NBC. Losing it, CNN's Jeff Greenfield said, amounted to "a roadblock the size of a boulder" for Bush. On screen, though, the tallies continued to show Bush ahead of Gore in Florida, and votes were still being cast in the Panhandle region, part of the Central time zone. Elsewhere in the state, there were reports of long lines and delayed closings, and a flood of absentee ballots.

In Austin, the Bush team rushed network television cameras into the hotel suite where the candidate was watching returns with his family, including his father, the former president. "The networks called this thing awfully early," the candidate said. "But the people who are actually counting the votes are coming up with a little different perspective. And so, we're—I'm pretty darn upbeat about things."

Through the eight o'clock hour and well past nine, Bush maintained the lead, and the networks dug in their heels. On CBS, Rather assured viewers that "if we say somebody's carried the state, you can take that to the bank." But doubt began seeping into coverage. Seated next to Tom Brokaw on NBC, Russert used a pair of dry erase boards to play out Electoral College scenarios. He jotted down nine states, some of them long shots for Bush, and said the Republican would now have to carry all of them to reach 270. Suppose, Brokaw responded, that the Florida call were to be reversed. Russert promptly erased four of the states. "It gets a lot easier," he said.

CNN pulled back first. "Stand by, stand by," anchor Bernard Shaw interjected. "CNN right now is moving our earlier declaration of Florida back to the too-close-to-call column. Twenty-five very big electoral votes, and the home state of the governor's brother, Jeb Bush, are hanging in the balance. This is no longer in the victory column for Vice President Gore."


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"Oh waiter!" Greenfield exclaimed, "One order of crow!"

Within a half-hour, everyone had done the same. Said Brokaw: "What the networks giveth, the networks taketh away." Bush still led in the running tally, but his spread dwindled in the next hours. A recount seemed likely until, in the wee hours of November 8, the Bush advantage spiked dramatically. At 2:16 A.M., the Fox News Channel moved to declare Bush the winner of Florida—and the presidency.

Quickly, the other networks followed. On NBC, historian Doris Kearns Goodwin was making a point about the deep divisions being revealed in the election when Brokaw jumped in.

"Stop! Stop!" Doris, Doris, Doris, Doris, Doris ..."

"Uh oh! Something's happened!"

"George Bush is the president-elect of the United States. He has won the state of Florida, according to our projections."

Cameras captured jubilation in Austin and dejection in Nashville, where Gore placed a concession call to Bush. On the air, there was talk of who might join the new administration and what might be next for Gore, now poised for unemployment. There was speculation about 2004. Would he run again? The First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, the winner on this night of a Senate election in New York, was an obvious prospect too.

They were trying to fill time until the candidates delivered their speeches and ended this bizarrely suspenseful night. Gore's motorcade arrived at the Nashville War Memorial, where his supporters were gathered. Minutes passed without him emerging. Meanwhile, the tally from Florida's secretary of state showed Bush's lead evapo¬rating, a twist at odds with the networks' own count. The waiting continued. Confusion was building. In the national popular vote, Gore was now outpacing Bush. What if more people actually voted for the losing candidate? The Constitution was clear on the suprem¬acy of the Electoral College, but there hadn't been a split like this since 1876. How would Americans react now?

It was nearly four in the morning when Candy Crowley, stationed with the Bush campaign in Austin, came on CNN's air. "Something to report to you here in this very unusual night," she said. The vice president has re-called the governor and retracted his concession, saying that Florida is too close right now."

Now all the networks were pulling back their calls—again. "All right," Brokaw said, "we're officially saying that Florida is too close to call. So we take Florida away from George W. Bush. That means that he is short of the 270 electoral votes that he needs to win." Gore, of course, was short too. The scoreboard stood at 267 for Gore and 246 for Bush, with only Florida unresolved. Now the talk moved to a recount, and military ballots, and a report about a confusing "butterfly" ballot in Palm Beach County, where some Gore voters were claiming they'd mistakenly voted for Pat Buchanan, a third party candidate.

"This is astonishing," Peter Jennings said on ABC.

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There would be no winner that night, or the next day, or the next week. Election Night 2000 is remembered for its wild swings of emotion and for the galling errors in exit polling and vote-counting that produced them. It became the trigger point for an even more chaotic drama, the Florida recount, which would proceed in fits and starts for the next thirty-six days until its abrupt termination by a divided Supreme Court. Only then would Bush, courtesy of an official 537-vote margin in the state, become the next president of the United States.

The 2000 election, though, was far more than the story of one pivotal state. The divisions were deep and vivid. Gore was carrying nine of the ten states north of the Mason-Dixon line, many by crushing margins, and cleaning up along the Pacific Coast, with an easy victory in California. Bush was sweeping the South, including Gore's home state of Tennessee (and Bill Clinton's Arkansas), and posting historic gains in traditionally Democratic Appalachia. Outside of Florida, most of the contested turf was in the Rust Belt. It all added up to the closest thing to a tie ever seen in the modern era.


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These divisions were geographic, demographic, and cultural, expressed to Americans watching on television in two colors: red for the Republican states and blue for the Democratic states. The scheme was accidental. In past elections, the colors had been used interchangeably for the two parties, and it hadn't mattered at all, since there hadn't been a close race in a generation. But on this election night all of the networks had landed on the same designations, and in an instant colors that had meant nothing before came to mean everything.

Red America and Blue America as we now know them were born on November 7, 2000, the product of an entire nation torn perfectly in half. But these divisions were created in the decade that preceded them. Many recall the 1990s as a modern answer to the Era of Good Feelings. The economy exploded, the stock market soared, and crime came crashing downward. There was one quick, triumphant war, followed by years of peace and a few surgical interventions that made military force feel like an almost benign instrument. Hollywood was at its peak, with movies like Forrest Gump, Braveheart, and Pulp Fiction hitting that magical sweet spot between artistic style and mass appeal. From Seinfeld and ER to NYPD Blue and The Fresh Prince of Bel Air, a renaissance swept through network television. The Internet and cell phones connected Americans to information and to each other without overwhelming their lives—" just the right amount of technology," as Kurt Andersen has argued. America, by and large, seemed to work.

That happy narrative, however, masks the reality of our politics in the 1990s. Here the dominant features were confrontation, gridlock, polarization, and a new kind of tribalism. The source of this disorder—with a partisan fervor and level of sordidness previously unseen in modern politics—was a collision between two titanic personalities.

On the Democratic side, it was Bill Clinton, who offered salvation to a party that had lost three straight presidential elections. For Republicans, it was Newt Gingrich who insisted he could lead them out of the desert of forty years of minority status on Capitol Hill. Their collision unleashed two historic backlashes that shaped the decade. One seemed to fulfill Gingrich's vision—a "Republican Revolution" that installed him as his party's first Speaker of the House in generations, a transfer of power so jarring that serious political observers asked openly if the Democratic Party might be facing extinction. The other, just a few years later, was a backlash against Gingrichism itself, an awakening of the white collar professional class that found itself alienated by this new Republican Party.

Some of the most indelible characters in recent history shaped these battles that defined the decade. There was Ross Perot, dubbed America's first populist billionaire, who upended the 1992 presidential campaign and whose Reform Party later in the decade gave Donald Trump entre to electoral politics. Jesse Jackson, the charismatic civil rights leader, whose breakthrough White House bids in the 1980s certified him as a leading force in the Democratic Party, setting up a climactic confrontation with Clinton that reoriented the '92 race.

Pat Buchanan, one of the original television pundits, whose rebellious Republican campaigns tormented George H. W. Bush in 1992 and Bob Dole in 1996 while establishing a market for an edgy brand of nationalist politics. And Hillary Clinton, offered to voters by her husband as part of a package deal, seizing a policy-making White House role without precedent for a first lady, weathering intense criticism and controversy only to emerge through scandal as a sympathetic figure and electoral star with a political future of her own.

The policy fights of the '90s echo where we are today: clashes in Washington over budget deficits, spending, and taxes; and healthcare and broader culture war flare-ups over gay rights, guns, and political correctness.

The country emerged from the 1990s cleaved into two distinct political groupings. Red and blue become stand-ins for the two parties and Americans chose sides and dug in. The lines have shifted here and there, but it's the same basic framework we know today. This book is the story of how it came to be. It turns out the decade of good feelings, the Pax Americana nestled between the end of the Cold War and the start of the War on


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Terror, is far more tumultuous and meaningful than ever.

To tell this story properly, though, to take in the larger context of dizzying electoral swings, smashed coalitions, and brand new cultural divisions, requires us to begin a few years before the start of this fateful decade, when the old order seemed locked in place, even as a rising generation of innovative and endlessly ambitious politicians was plotting to upend it.

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Bill Clinton came to San Francisco for the Democratic National Convention hungry for attention. It was July 1984, and the second-term Arkansas governor, not yet forty years old, knew where to find opportunity.

The convention itself would be a morose affair, with party regulars dutifully ratifying former vice president Walter Mondale as their nominee. Four years earlier, Mondale had been number two on the Jimmy Carter—led ticket that surrendered forty-four states to Ronald Reagan. For a while, Democrats had believed Reagan's triumph to be a fluke, especially when a nasty recession pushed unemployment to over 10 percent early in his term. But by the summer of '84, the economy was resurgent, patriotism was in full bloom (Los Angeles would soon host the Summer Olympics), and America's grandfatherly president was enjoying some of the best poll numbers of his tenure. Democrats, a survey of delegates revealed, were significantly less optimistic about Mondale's prospects than they had been about Carter's back in 1980. Even the truest of true believers knew it: Reagan was going to swamp them—again.

The swaths of red dominated the screen but only added up to 246 electoral votes. The tiebreaker was Florida, unresolved until early December and still disputed for years to come. When a Supreme Court ruling put a stop to the recount, Bush was declared the winner of the state and, thus, the presidency. Out of almost six million votes counted in Florida, his margin was 537 votes.

It was the closest thing to a perfect tie American presidential poli-tics had ever seen. Any factor could credibly be singled out as the difference maker. Democrats called it a stolen election, accusing the five Supreme Court justices who ended the recount—all of them Republicans—of doing Bush's bidding, and casting suspicion on Florida's top election official, Republican Katherine Harris. Their fingers also pointed at Ralph Nader, the consumer activist who ran as the left-wing Green Party's candidate and gobbled up almost three million votes nationally—and ninety-seven thousand in Florida.

It was at least as plausible, though, that the third-party candidate who damaged Gore the most was Pat Buchanan. The culprit was the bizarre "butterfly ballot" used in Palm Beach County. Candidates were listed on both sides of the page and voters were instructed to punch a hole in the middle. The result was rampant confusion—and 3,704 votes for Buchanan, by far his best showing in any county in the state.

Palm Beach was a Democratic bastion, heavily populated with older Jewish voters; hardly Buchanan's natural constituency. The evidence that most of his votes were intended for Gore and cast in error was anecdotal, but even Buchanan admitted it was compelling. In the end, the candidate who'd entered the race poised to ruin Bush may have actually saved him from defeat.

Take a step back, though, and the story wasn't the intricacies of the Florida process or the personalities of the candidates. It was how politically divided the nation had become; how its voters were now so polarized—tribalized, really.

***

The election of 2000 was the product of the decade-long partisan war that preceded it. When the 1990s began, Democrats seemed incapable of winning the presidency, just as Republicans were seen as a permanent minority party in Congress. The collision of Bill Clinton, the first Democratic president in a dozen years, and a Gingrichized Republican opposition unleashed a series of convulsive events that gave new definition to both parties and compelled Americans to pick sides once and for all.

The electoral map spoke to the new divide. It was regional. It was demographic. It was cultural.


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Above all, it was deep. Red states and blue states. The terms had never existed before; now they told the story of what America had become: a nation of two political tribes, each with its own value system, its own grudges and resentments, its own worldview.

"The candidates have worked out a compromise," David Letterman joked as the recount dragged on, "and, thank God, not a minute too soon. Here's how it goes: George W. Bush will be president for the red states and Al Gore will be president for the blue states." The audience laughed at a joke that never before in American history would have made any sense.

Definition and contrast, Newt Gingrich had insisted long ago, would propel the Republican Party to a limitless future. It turned out he was half right. There were bedrock red states now, where voters would check off every Republican name on the ballot, from president down to dogcatcher. But every action brings a reaction, and with the rise of Red America had also emerged a Blue America.

Its capital, arguably, was New York, where Gore collected 60 percent of the vote. But it was another contest on the New York ballot, just one spot below the presidential race, where the citizens of Blue America would find their solace in this moment of disappointment. By a ten-point margin, Hillary Rodham Clinton had won the race for U.S. Senate, and already the question was when—not if—she and her husband would seek a return to the White House.

Whenever the time came, they would do so in a country whose politics had been transformed under Bill Clinton. A decade before, he'd been a small-state governor pleading with Democrats to move to the middle and promising to win back the South for them. Now, the South was gone; every single state south of the Mason-Dixon line had sided with Bush. The Clintons weren't going back to Little Rock. Chappaqua, a tony suburb of New York City, would be their new home. Like their party, they could see where their future was. <>

Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment by Francis Fukuyama [Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 9780374129293]

The New York Times bestselling author of The Origins of Political Order offers a provocative examination of modern identity politics: its origins, its effects, and what it means for domestic and international affairs of state

In 2014, Francis Fukuyama wrote that American institutions were in decay, as the state was progressively captured by powerful interest groups. Two years later, his predictions were borne out by the rise to power of a series of political outsiders whose economic nationalism and authoritarian tendencies threatened to destabilize the entire international order. These populist nationalists seek direct charismatic connection to "the people," who are usually defined in narrow identity terms that offer an irresistible call to an in-group and exclude large parts of the population as a whole.

Demand for recognition of one's identity is a master concept that unifies much of what is going on in world politics today. The universal recognition on which liberal democracy is based has been increasingly challenged by narrower forms of recognition based on nation, religion, sect, race, ethnicity, or gender, which have resulted in anti-immigrant populism, the upsurge of politicized Islam, the fractious "identity liberalism" of college campuses, and the emergence of white nationalism. Populist nationalism, said to be rooted in economic motivation, actually springs from the demand for recognition and therefore cannot simply be satisfied by economic means. The demand for identity cannot be transcended; we must begin to shape identity in a way that supports rather than undermines democracy.

Identity is an urgent and necessary book—a sharp warning that unless we forge a universal understanding of human dignity, we will doom ourselves to continuing conflict.

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Excerpt: This book would not have been written had Donald J. Trump not been elected president in November 2016. Like many Americans, I was surprised by this outcome and troubled by its implications for the United States and the world. It was the second major electoral surprise of that year, the first being Britain's vote to leave the European Union the previous June.

I had spent much of the last couple decades thinking about the development of modern political institutions: how the state, rule of law, and democratic accountability first came into being, how they evolved and interacted, and, finally, how they could decay. Well before Trump's election, I had written that American institutions were decaying as the state was progressively captured by powerful interest groups and locked into a rigid structure that was unable to reform itself.

Trump himself was both the product of and a contributor to that decay. The promise of his candidacy was that, as an outsider, he would use his popular mandate to shake up the system and make it functional again. Americans were tired of partisan gridlock and yearning for a strong leader who could unite the country again, breaking through what I labeled vetocracy—the ability of interest groups to block collective action. This kind of populist upsurge was what put Franklin D. Roosevelt into the White House in 1932 and reshaped American politics for the next two generations.

The problem with Trump was twofold, having to do with both policy and character. His economic nationalism was likely to make things worse rather than better for the very constituencies that supported him, while his evident preference for authoritarian strongmen over democratic allies promised to destabilize the entire international order. With regard to character, it was hard to imagine an individual less suited to be president of the United States. The virtues that one associates with great leadership—basic honesty, reliability, sound judgment, devotion to public interest, and an underlying moral compass—were totally missing. Trump's primary focus throughout his career had been on self-promotion, and he was perfectly happy to get around people or rules that stood in his way by any means available.

Trump represented a broader trend in international politics, toward what has been labeled populist nationalism.' Populist leaders seek to use the legitimacy conferred by democratic elections to consolidate power. They claim direct charismatic connection to "the people," who are often defined in narrow ethnic terms that exclude big parts of the population. They don't like institutions and seek to undermine the checks and balances that limit a leader's personal power in a modern liberal democracy: courts, the legislature, an independent media, and a nonpartisan bureaucracy. Other contemporary leaders who could be put in this category are Vladimir Putin of Russia, Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey, Viktor Orbán of Hungary, Jaroslaw Kaczynski of Poland, and Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines.

The global surge toward democracy that began in the mid-1970s has gone into what my colleague Larry Diamond calls a global recession.2 In 1970, there were only about 35 electoral democracies, a number that steadily increased over the next three decades until it reached nearly 120 by the early 2000s. The greatest acceleration came from 1989 to 1991, when the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union led to a democratic wave throughout that region. Since the mid-2000s, however, the trend has reversed itself, and total numbers have declined. Authoritarian countries, led by China, have meanwhile grown more confident and self-assertive.

It is not surprising that new would-be democracies such as Tunisia, Ukraine, and Myanmar should be struggling to build workable institutions, or that liberal democracy failed to take root in Afghanistan or Iraq after the U.S. interventions in


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those countries. It is disappointing, though not wholly surprising, that Russia has reverted to authoritarian traditions. What was far more unexpected was that threats to democracy should arise from within established democracies themselves. Hungary had been one of the first countries in Eastern Europe to overthrow its Communist regime. When it entered both NATO and the European Union, it appeared to have rejoined Europe as what political scientists characterized as a "consolidated" liberal democracy. Yet under Orbán and his Fidesz party, it has been leading the way toward what Orbán has labeled "illiberal democracy." But a far bigger surprise yet were the votes in Britain and the United States for Brexit and Trump, respectively.

These were the two leading democracies that had been the architects of the modern liberal international order, countries that led the "neoliberal" revolution under Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher during the 1980s. Yet they themselves appeared to be turning away toward a more narrow nationalism.

This brings me to the origins of the present volume. Ever since I published my essay "The End of History?" in mid-1989, and the book The End of History and the Last Man in 1992, I have regularly been asked whether event X didn't invalidate my thesis. X could be a coup in Peru, war in the Balkans, the September 11 attacks, the global financial crisis, or, most recently, Donald Trump's election and the wave of populist nationalism described above.

Most of these criticisms were based on a simple misunderstanding of the thesis. I was using the word history in the Hegelian-Marxist sense—that is, the long-term evolutionary story of human institutions that could alternatively be labeled development or modernization. The word end was meant not in the sense of "termination," but "target" or "objective." Karl Marx had suggested that the end of history would be a communist utopia, and I was simply suggesting that Hegel's version, where development resulted in a liberal state linked to a market economy, was the more plausible outcome.

This didn't mean that my views hadn't changed over the years. The fullest rethinking I have been able to provide is contained in my two volumes The Origins of Political Order and Political Order and Political Decay, which might collectively be understood as an effort to rewrite The End of History and the Last Man based on what I understand of world politics now. The two most important changes in my thinking concern, first, the difficulty of developing a modern, impersonal state—the problem I referred to as "getting to Denmark"—and second, the possibility of a modern liberal democracy decaying or going backward.

However, my critics missed another point. They did not note that the original essay had a question mark at the end of the title, and they did not read the later chapters of The End of History and the Last Man that focused on the problem of Nietzsche's Last Man.

In both places I noted that neither nationalism nor religion were about to disappear as forces in world politics. They were not about to disappear because, I argued back then, contemporary liberal democracies had not fully solved the problem of thymos. Thymos is the part of the soul that craves recognition of dignity; isothymia is the demand to be respected on an equal basis with other people; while megalothymia is the desire to be recognized as superior. Modern liberal democracies promise and largely deliver a minimal degree of equal respect, embodied in individual rights, the rule of law, and the franchise. What this does not guarantee is that people in a democracy will be equally respected in practice, particularly members of groups with a history of marginalization. Entire countries can feel disrespected, which has powered aggressive nationalism, as can religious believers who feel their faith is denigrated. Isothymia will therefore continue to drive demands for equal recognition, which are unlikely to ever be completely fulfilled.

The other big problem is megalothymia. Liberal democracies have been pretty good at providing peace and prosperity (though somewhat less so in recent years). These wealthy, secure societies are the domain of Nietzsche's Last Man, "men without chests" who spend their lives in the endless pursuit of consumer satisfaction, but who have nothing at their core, no higher goals or ideals for which they are willing to strive and sacrifice. Such a life will


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not satisfy everyone. Megalothymia thrives on exceptionality: taking big risks, engaging in monumental struggles, seeking large effects, because all of these lead to recognition of oneself as superior to others. In some cases, it can lead to a heroic leader like a Lincoln or a Churchill or a Nelson Mandela. But in other cases, it can lead to tyrants like Caesar or Hitler or Mao who lead their societies into dictatorship and disaster.

Since megalothymia has historically existed in all societies, it cannot be overcome; it can only be channeled or moderated. The question I raised in the final chapter of The End of History and the Last Man was whether the modern system of liberal democracy tied to a market economy would provide sufficient outlets for megalothymia. This problem was fully recognized by the American founding fathers. In their effort to create a republican form of government in North America, they were aware of the history of the fall of the Roman Republic and worried about the problem of Caesarism. Their solution was the constitutional system of checks and balances that would distribute power and block its concentration in a single leader. Back in 1992, I suggested that a market economy also provided outlets for megalothymia. An entrepreneur could become fabulously wealthy while contributing at the same time to general prosperity. Or such individuals could compete in Ironman events or set records for the number of Himalayan peaks climbed or build the world's most valuable internet company.

I actually mentioned Donald Trump in The End of History as an example of a fantastically ambitious individual whose desire for recognition had been safely channeled into a business (and later an entertainment) career. Little did I suspect back then that, twenty-five years on, he would not be satisfied with business success and celebrity, but would go into politics and get elected president. But it is not at all inconsistent with the general argument I was making about potential future threats to liberal democracy, and the central problem of thymos in a liberal society.6 Such figures had existed in the past with names such as Caesar or Hitler or Perón, who had led their societies down disastrous paths to war or economic decline. To propel themselves forward, such figures latched onto the resentments of ordinary people who felt that their nation or religion or way of life was being disrespected. Megalothymia and isothymia thus joined hands.

In the present volume I am returning to themes that I began to explore in 1992 and have been writing about ever since: thymos, recognition, dignity, identity, immigration, nationalism, religion, and culture. In particular, it incorporates the Lipset Memorial Lecture on immigration and identity that I gave in 2005, and the Latsis Foundation lecture I delivered in Geneva in 2011 on immigration and European identity.' In some places this volume more or less repeats passages from earlier writings. I apologize if any of this seems repetitious, but I'm pretty confident that few people have taken the time to follow this particular string and to see it as a coherent argument relating to developments in the present.

Demand for recognition of one's identity is a master concept that unifies much of what is going on in world politics today. It is not confined to the identity politics practiced on university campuses, or to the white nationalism it has provoked, but extends to broader phenomena such as the upsurge of old-fashioned nationalism and politicized Islam. Much of what passes for economic motivation is, I will argue, actually rooted in the demand for recognition and therefore cannot simply be satisfied by economic means. This has direct implications for how we should deal with populism in the present.

According to Hegel, human history was driven by a struggle for recognition. He argued that the only rational solution to the desire for recognition was universal recognition, in which the dignity of every human being was recognized. Universal recognition has been challenged ever since by other partial forms of recognition based on nation, religion, sect, race, ethnicity, or gender, or by individuals wanting to be recognized as superior. The rise of identity politics in modern liberal democracies is one of the chief threats that they face, and unless we can work our way back to more universal understandings of human dignity, we will doom ourselves to continuing conflict. <>


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Positive Psychology: The Scientific and Practical Explorations of Human Strengths, Fourth Edition by Shane J. Lopez, Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti, C. R. Snyder [Sage, 9781506357355]

Positive Psychology: The Scientific and Practical Explorations of Human Strengths comprehensively covers the science and application of positive psychology. Authors Shane J. Lopez, Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti, and C. R. Snyder bring positive psychology to life by illustrating issues such as how psychological strength can help increase positive outcomes in school and the workplace and promote cooperative relationships among people. Furthermore, the book encourages readers to engage with concepts in order to understand positive emotions and strengths, such as empathy, altruism, gratitude, attachment, and love. Over 50 case studies grounded in practice, research, and the authors' teaching experience reveal how positive psychological phenomena operate in the lives of real people.

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Excerpt: For many of you, this is your first educational foray into the field of positive psychology. We are privileged to introduce you to this work. If your life is in some small way improved by reading the following pages, it will have made our efforts more than worthwhile.

In these pages, we introduce you to the growing field of positive psychology. We have borrowed from the therapy and research efforts of many outstanding psychologists, and we thank them for their pioneering contributions. So, too, do we thank our clients, our students, and our colleagues (Kaylene Co, Brian Cole, Lisa Edwards, Lindsey Hammond, Zachary Kasow, Molly Lowe, Jeana Magyar, Phil McKnight, Allison Newlee, Ryan Reed,


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Jennifer Reimer, Melinda Roberts, and Brian Werter) who have assisted in various editions of this textbook. Over the years, they have taught us as much about positive psychology as we have taught them. Much gratitude also goes to those folks who believed that college students needed a real positive psychology textbook. Our marvelous editors, Lara Parra and Reid Hester; the entire team at SAGE; and our supportive agents at Studio B all thought the world would be a better place if students continued to learn about positive psychology.

We have sampled the various areas of positive psychology and have included exercises to help you to experience many of these new concepts. In Part I, titled "Looking at Psychology From a Positive Perspective," we group three chapters together. We begin with Chapter 1 ("Welcome to Positive Psychology") and introduce you to the field. In Chapter 2, we explore the Eastern and Western backgrounds of the field and ideas about blending our ME and WE styles. Next, in Chapter 3 ("Classifications and Measures of Strengths and Positive Outcomes"), we explain the attempts to categorize various topics in the field.

In Part II, titled "Positive Psychology in Context," we discuss the roles of emotions in a positive life. In Chapter 4 ("The Role of Culture in Developing Strengths and Living Well"), we examine the role of cultural factors in determining what is positive. In Chapter 5 ("Living Well at Every Stage of Life"), we trace the development of human strengths.

Part III, "Positive Emotional States and Processes," comprises two chapters. In Chapter 6, "The Principles of Pleasure: Understanding Positive Affect, Positive Emotions, Happiness, and Well-Being," we discuss what has been learned about emotions and happiness. And in Chapter 7, "Making the Most of Emotional Experiences: Emotion-Focused Coping, Emotional Intelligence, Socioemotional Selectivity, and Emotional Storytelling," we reveal recent findings on how emotions can contribute positively to effective coping in life.

Part IV, "Positive Cognitive States and Processes," contains three chapters. Chapter 8 ("Seeing Our Futures Through Self-Efficacy, Optimism, and Hope") covers the most powerful positive cognitive and motivational states. Then, in Chapter 9 ("Wisdom and Courage: Characteristics of the Wise and the Brave"), we introduce findings about people at their best under sometimes difficult circumstances. And in Chapter 10 ("Mindfulness, Flow, and Spirituality: In Search of Optimal Experiences"), we detail the latest findings on the power of mental processes in relation to self and higher forces.

Part V is titled "Prosocial Behavior." In this portion of the book, we examine interpersonal matters. In Chapter 11 ("Empathy and Egotism: Portals to Altruism and Gratitude") and Chapter 12 ("Attachment, Love, Flourishing Relationships, and Forgiveness"), we show how human ties improve the quality of life.

In Part VI, "Understanding and Changing Human Behavior," we give insights into improving one's life in Chapter 13 ("Balanced Conceptualizations of Mental Health and Behavior") and Chapter 14 ("Preventing the Bad and Promoting the Good").

In Part VII, "Positive Environments," we describe how school and work (Chapter 15, "Positive Schooling and Good Work: The Psychology of Gainful Employment and the Education That Gets Us There") work together to contribute to a more productive, happier life.

Finally, in Part VIII, "Finding Strengths in Others: Embodying Strengths in Every-day Life," multiple authors and researchers in the field of positive psychology share their memories of Shane, a man who embodied so many positive constructs and who shared his strengths and guidance with so many in the field (Chapter 16, "Remembering Shane: Real Strengths in a Real Person").

WHAT'S NEW IN THIS EDITION

New examples and reflections on current events throughout the text make information more relevant to our current times. For example, we look at research and statistics regarding the effects of the poor economy on rates of volunteerism and new applications of resilience, optimism, and other constructs regarding dealing with job loss and coping with family members who are away at war.


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increasing use of social media throughout the world and the threat of terrorism everywhere. A new section on demagoguery has been added to Chapter 1, and this edition includes an appendix by Christopher Bronk titled "Cyber Propaganda." This book also includes updated research on persuasion and an expansion of collective memory as it appears in new memorials and monuments. New photographs and current examples of propaganda, especially the ways in which it is disseminated via the Internet, are provided throughout the book. <>

Committed to Memory: The Art of the Slave Ship Icon by Cheryl Finley [Princeton University Press, 9780691136844]

## How an eighteenth-century engraving of a slave ship became a cultural icon of black resistance, identity, and remembrance

One of the most iconic images of slavery is a schematic wood engraving depicting the human cargo hold of a slave ship. First published by British abolitionists in 1788, it exposed this widespread commercial practice for what it really was--shocking, immoral, barbaric, unimaginable. Printed as handbills and broadsides, the image Cheryl Finley has termed the "slave ship icon" was easily reproduced, and by the end of the eighteenth century it was circulating by the tens of thousands around the Atlantic rim. Committed to Memory provides the first in-depth look at how this artifact of the fight against slavery became an enduring symbol of black resistance, identity, and remembrance.

Finley traces how the slave ship icon became a powerful tool in the hands of British and American abolitionists, and how its radical potential was rediscovered in the twentieth century by black artists, activists, writers, filmmakers, and curators. Finley offers provocative new insights into the works of Amiri Baraka, Romare Bearden, Betye Saar, and many others. She demonstrates how the icon was transformed into poetry, literature, visual art, sculpture, performance, and film—and became a medium through which diasporic Africans have reasserted their common identity and memorialized their ancestors.

Beautifully illustrated, Committed to Memory features works from around the world, taking readers from the United States and England to West Africa and the Caribbean. It shows how contemporary black artists and their allies have used this iconic eighteenth-century engraving to reflect on the trauma of slavery and come to terms with its legacy.

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## Excerpt: The Practice of Mnemonic Aesthetics

I spent years looking around the world trying to find slave ship pieces ... as almost like a religious relic. [They] are really the only tangible evidence that these people existed. —Lonnie G. Bunch III, director, National Museum of African American History and Culture

The multimedia installation La Bouche du Roi, or the Mouth of the King, was created by Romuald Hazoumé of the Republic of Benin between 1997 and 2005. It is named after a well-known site of memory on the coast of Benin from which African captives were transported during the transatlantic slave trade with the blessing, or rather the avarice, 0f the king, and the collusion of African, European,


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and American traders. The artwork comprises 304 plastic petroleum canisters made to resemble masks, with the spout serving as a mouth and the handle as the nose. These dark plastic, bulbous canisters are arranged in rows forming the shape of the now iconic, schematic engraving of a slave ship successfully deployed by British abolitionists in the late eighteenth century to shed light on the horrors of the slave trade in order to build parliamentary support for its cessation. In Hazoumé's installation, each mask represents a living person with a name, a voice, and individual beliefs while hidden microphones whisper their presence in the Yoruba language. Painted symbols and small objects affixed to the canisters, such as ibeji, carved wooden figures that represent the souls of deceased newborn twins, reiterate Yoruba religious and cultural beliefs and the orishas or deities to whom the enslaved might have prayed.' Strategically placed between the masks following the pattern of the schematic template are cowrie shells, rifles, tobacco, beads, spices, and liquor bottles, which reference the trade goods that would have been used to barter for human beings. In my interview with the artist in March 2007 at the October Gallery in London, Hazoumé told me that he had seen pictures of Description of a Slave Ship (1789), the abolitionist print after which his installation is modeled, in textbooks and tourism brochures. It was a familiar image, he said, in certain parts of the Republic of Benin, including Porto-Novo, where he lives, owing to the burgeoning commerce in heritage tourism and the UNESCO-sponsored slave routes project, both commercial ventures that have increased awareness about the shores of the Republic of Benin as important sites of memory of the transatlantic slave trade. Providing a contemporary context for Hazoumé's slave ship is a video narrated by the artist discussing the treacherous, illegal gasoline trade from Nigeria to Benin. Still photographs from the video, contrasting individual motorcyclists weighed down by hazardous fuel canisters with gorgeous beaches of the mouth of the River Porto Novo, illustrate the devastating lingering effects of centuries of economic, social, and racial oppression. The darkened exhibition space creates an ominous yet somber mood for the viewer, providing a place of reflection and commemoration.

La Bouche du Roi was acquired by the British Museum to mark the 2007 Bicentenary of the Parliamentary Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade Act by the United Kingdom. The installation was on view at the British Museum in London from March 22 to May 13, 2007, prior to being sent on a carefully orchestrated tour to cities and institutions that were historically significant to the slave trade and its abolition: Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, and the Horniman Museum in London. That large-scale installation used Description of a Slave Ship to enter into a conversation between the past of the slave trade and the present-day corruption and loss of life that takes place along the route of the illegal gasoline trade between Nigeria and Benin.

Male and neighboring territory; and the Ejagham of the Cross River in southeastern Nigeria and southwestern Cameroon, have come from sub-Saharan Africa to the western hemisphere.

Thompson's notion of the black Atlantic was expanded and reaffirmed in later works like Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas (1993) and influential essays such as "The Song That Named the Land: The Visionary Presence of African-American Art" (1989). These works and the exhibitions, artists, and musicians they have inspired remain pivotal for shaping the field of African diaspora art history and for the ways in which they discursively map the black Atlantic through a ritual return to Africa from the Americas and back again in the performance, percussive, musical, and visual traditions of black people, suggesting spiritual, aural, oral, and visual connections that are affirmed in works of art today and in years past.

Cultural theorist Paul Gilroy's assertion that the slave ship connected the points of the black Atlantic world is also an essential part of the framework in which this study operates:

> It should be emphasized that ships were the living means by which the points within the Atlantic world were joined. They were mobile elements that stood for the shifting spaces between the fixed places that they connected. Accordingly, they need to be thought of as cultural and political units rather than abstract embodiments of the


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> triangular trade. They were something more—a means to conduct political dissent and possibly a distinct mode of cultural production."

Gilroy's formulation of the black Atlantic, charted in his seminal work the Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, has given shape to this book and its insistence on how mnemonic strategies influence cultural practices and their waves of resurgence, their ebbs and flows in and out of cosmopolitan centers around the Atlantic rim. His incisive claim that the slave ships were "a means to conduct political dissent and possibly a distinct mode of cultural production" is further affirmed in the works of art produced by contemporary black artists and their allies as they interrogate, redeploy, and imagine the eighteenth-century engraving that is the subject of this study.

## The Practice of Mnemonic Aesthetics

Naturally, art-historical inquiry into the visual culture of slavery is often chronologically bound to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when most of the imagery of slavery and the slave trade was produced. By recognizing the vital role of memory in the works and working habits of contemporary artists, the conversation can be extended into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Contemporary artists employ a practice of remembering as a creative strategy—a mnemonic aesthetics. In a purposeful, artistic process that I have called symbolic possession of the past, contemporary African American and African diaspora artists have found it necessary to reach back in time to reclaim important emblems and icons of history as a way of understanding their relationship to the present. Practicing a form of mnemonic aesthetics, they reinterpret the symbols of the past to focus on the unfolding of black history, identity, and culture.

To be sure, the use of visual and literary metaphors to recreate the memory of the Middle Passage has been one of the defining characteristics of black Atlantic artistic practice. Beginning with the slave narrative, filtering through the autobiographical novel, and taking hold of the literature of migration, the memory of slavery has been used as a strategy for reclaiming the past, a tool of resistance, and a means of reinforcing personal and group identity. Contemporary visual artists recalling the historical memory of slavery rely on images, testimony, and archival records that evoke the pain, suffering, and gruesome details of the experience of slavery, but at the same time hint at the strength and perseverance necessary to survive, in Gilroy's words, its "ineffable sublime terror." These artists often work and rework, reimagine and reinterpret the material sources they use as a base. By making ritual sojourns to the past, visual artists exercise the same sense of responsibility for their history that Toni Morrison has identified in the work of African American writers. As she notes, `Black Americans were sustained and healed and nurtured by the translation of their experiences into art.

The ritualized politics of remembering—which I call mnemonic aesthetics—is a key cultural practice of artists of the African diaspora today. This practice both rehearses and privileges the fragile and fleeting associations of memory and forgetting. Based on repetition and rhythm, with references to the mechanical reproduction of ephemera, the aural and visual shape of sonic communication, and the seriality of film and postmodernist practices of installation and performance, mnemonic aesthetics "adopt a variety of forms" according to film theorist Vivian Sobchack, such as "rote quotation, duplication, appropriation, cyclical recurrence or the repeated use of images, objects, and sounds; rhythmic and repetitious patterning of images, objects, sounds and music whose modes can be ritualistic, mantric, or spiritual." These aesthetic strategies of repetition and rhythm are mobilized in a concentrated effort to keep hold of a memory that threatens to disappear. It is no wonder, perhaps, that mnemonic aesthetics was first born out of the age of mechanical reproduction and later reborn in the postmodernist practices of performance, installation, new media, and sound art.

The practice of mnemonic aesthetics further reveals how artists have found it important to insist on their connection to the history of slavery, so that present generations can understand its contemporary ramifications for the processes of identity formation. This strategy of making history tangible and present is vital to the practice of remembrance, identified by Walter Benjamin as key for the survival of oppressed peoples, as a safeguard against the recurrence of unspeakable


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crimes. To be sure, as French historian Pierre Nora has pointed out, "The passage of memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history." Artists working in this tradition of remembrance mark the points of pain and suffering or strength and resistance as loci of collective memory and means of building group identity. For the artists of the African diaspora, this tradition of remembrance is constituted in such themes as the Middle Passage, lynching, rape, plantation slavery, racial violence, and slave revolts. Of these themes, the Middle Passage, marking the painful origins of the African diaspora in the transatlantic slave trade, is one to which artists have returned with passionate frequency.

## What Makes an Icon?

How does a cheaply made political print become an artifact, and then an icon? This process moved along two interrelated trajectories. First, artists and engravers subjected the image to a constant, if uneven process of refinement and transformation. They redrew it in response to changing circumstances and political strategies in the struggle to end the slave trade; those who created and subsequently reconceived the image often had strong ideas, more or less explicitly articulated, on how it should function politically and aesthetically. In many respects, the original plan of the slave ship was an "anti-art" image. Its creators recognized that it was a brutal, painful, and political image, a calculated outrage, even an obscenity. It certainly differed from many of the decorative, satirical, narrative, or sentimental prints and engravings based on well-known paintings that enlivened middle-class homes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as works by William Hogarth, Isaac Cruikshank, or George Morland. And yet within little time, as the image achieved its reproductive and polemical zenith, this is exactly what happened: Quakers and other members of the abolitionist movement and their sympathizers began hanging the image in their homes.

We must consider the ways in which the slave ship icon affected people who saw it posted as a broadside or printed in a tract in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as those who experience it today. This image tore at the hearts of many who saw it, and this effect was greatly ramified by the revolution in printing technology occurring at roughly the same time. An image of such power inevitably exceeded the narrow purposes of illustration. It became a political weapon that was appropriated for a variety of causes. Eventually it was used not just to advocate for the end of the slave trade, its initial purpose, but the end of slavery itself. In a simultaneous, unlikely reversal, Swedish-born naturalist Carl Bernhard Wadström in his Essay on Colonization also used it to promote African colonization as an alternative to the slave trade in the late eighteenth century. The slave ship icon was conceived at a time of great change that shaped the modern era: from the age of enlightenment to the era of colonialism, from mercantilism to industrialization. None of these historical developments escaped its effect or failed to influence its reception.

Refer to "that image of the slave ship" in conversation with just about anyone, and they will know what you are talking about; he or she will surely conjure some vague facsimile of the image in their head. In this study, I refer to this almost universally known image as the slave ship icon. The word icon comes to us from the ancient Greek eikon, meaning image or picture, but it has a deeper significance in both the sacred and secular realms. In the history of Byzantine art, icon refers to a painting of a holy person or one of the traditional scenes from Orthodox Christianity, the religion of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantine icon paintings were placed in the sacred space of the church in order for parishioners to develop a connection to the holy persons and events they depicted. The pictorial language of icon paintings provided the symbolic reinforcement of the liturgical teachings meant to create and sustain belief. In other words, icons provided a link between earthbound believers and the divine, and between the material and the spiritual worlds. The icon thus became integral to liminal space, between these two worlds, as well as a transportive vessel, moving between two continents.

The image of the slave ship functions in some ways as a religious icon. It becomes the de facto but unacknowledged icon of Quakers and radical


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Christians, who generally banned religious images from their practice of worship and from their homes. Rejecting traditional Christian icons, they created their own contemporary versions. The slave ship icon was, according to a leading figure in the fight to end the slave trade in Britain and member of the London Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade Thomas Clarkson, "designed to give the spectator an idea of the sufferings of the Africans in the Middle Passage." The enslaved African, individually and collectively, experienced some of the same ordeals and tortures that were suffered by Christ. Just as the crucifix, as a powerful icon, serves as the focal point of Christian beliefs and represents Jesus's sacrifice to redeem humanity, the slave ship icon was made by abolitionists to convert nonbelievers to a cause that was deeply religious, humanitarian, and moral—of which the need to abolish the slave trade was but one immediate substantiation. Nor should we be surprised to find that the slave ship icon has continued religious resonance in the twentieth century and today. In 2000, a new and radically revised rose window was installed at the Chicago-based New Mount Pilgrim Missionary Baptist Church in which the torso of an Africanized Christ figure is emblazoned with the crowded lower deck of the slave ship icon.

An analysis of the formal elements of Description of a Slave Ship reveals the semiotic aspects of its iconicity and begins to answer the question of why this image, of the many images of slaves and the slave trade produced and circulated during slavery's long history, has been so lasting in our imagination. The repeating visual details—the shackles; the sexualized female bodies; the compacted bodies in discomfort; the uniform, silent, anonymous bodies; the keenly planned distribution of the bodies within the compartments—were purposefully and systematically employed to generate the icon's semiotic effectiveness and remain meaningful visual testimonies to the system of New World slavery.

Equally and perhaps more significant than the vivid presences in Description of a Slave Ship are the absences—the glaring omission of sailors and slave traders, and more subtle absences of affective detail. Of course, what remains completely invisible, perhaps too great to be seen at all, are the corporate and individual investors in the slave trade, the governments that supported the commerce, the African traders who supplied their countrymen and women, and the church that condoned the trade. These absences signal a historical amnesia that artists of the twentieth century and today find it necessary to restore.

The formal elements that are there have become buoys, beacons, and anchors for visual artists, writers, and cultural workers in the twentieth century and today as they lay claim to and assert control over their past. It is precisely this combination of visual presence and absence that has helped make the plan of the slave ship so generative in the black Atlantic imagination. As we shall see, these absences have left spaces for other narratives to be told. The slave ship icon becomes complete only with the added perspective of the viewer. It calls out to the viewer to make it whole.

## The Icon and African Diaspora Art

In his seminal study, African Art in Motion: Icon and Act, art historian Robert Farris Thompson lays out a theory of icons in black Atlantic expressive culture, particularly that of the Yoruba in dance, ritual, and movement. This work has informed my own study in its insistence on the ways in which icons of the body convey meaning through the consolidation and refinement of expressive forms in rituals of repetition and renewal. Thompson notes, "The icons of African art are ...frequently attitudes... of the body, arranged in groupings which suggest a grand equation of stability and reconciliation: Thompson's relationship of the icon to the body also suggests the spiritual nature of icons when performed in the Yoruba sense or when worshiped or painted in the Byzantine sense. That icons in the Yoruba sense are "attitudes" further reinforces this point. As Thompson explains, "Thus, icons of elevated happening and command, standing, sitting, and riding on horseback, seem balanced by icons of service or submission: kneeling, supporting with the hands, and balancing loads on the head."' He points out that these icons of bodily motion or attitude appear and reappear in the carved arts of the Yoruba as well. Moreover, these icons of dance or performance and icons of religious images possess a hypnotizing power—a control


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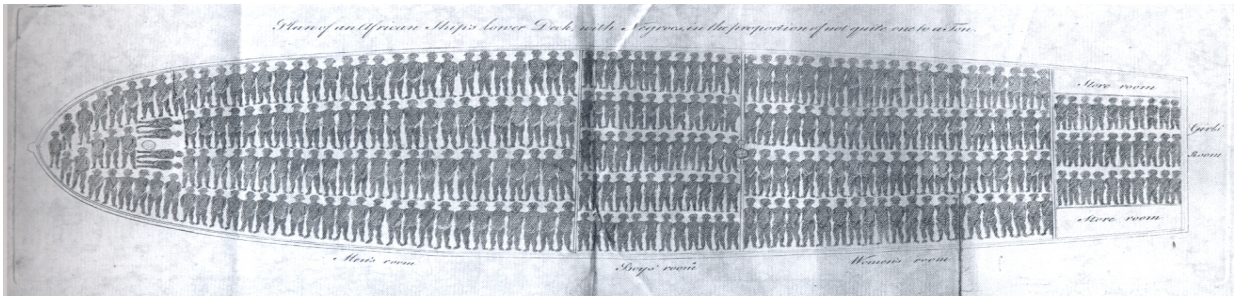
over the imagination that can produce a transcendental state through ritual repetition, performance, and practice—linking the performer or painter to a higher state of consciousness. "The intensification of iconic resonance by simplification of expressive means," Thompson suggests, is a key mode in which icons convey meaning in African and African diaspora art.

While Description of a Slave Ship was created in a late eighteenth-century Western tradition of printmaking deeply indebted to Enlightenment-era attitudes and ideas of scientific and economic measurement, in the hands of artists and cultural producers of the late twentieth century and today it has been revitalized and transformed through a series of mnemonic practices that reference Thompson's notion of "iconic resonance" as well as theories and practices in African American music, film, literature, and performance. Visual artist and cinematographer Arthur Jafa talks about African diaspora creative transformation as situated in the "space of treatment rather than the space of material." He offers the example of John Coltrane's repeated performance of Rogers and Hammerstein's My Favorite Things:

> What interests me is how Coltrane's improvisations never seek to entirely erase the original melodic material.... Coltrane keeps his transformations and the original sources equally evident. That's because it's not primarily about the point of departure or the point of arrival, but the spaces between these points.

This transformation is related to what Huston Baker Jr. calls the deformation of mastery, which transforms an obscene situation into a "single self/cultural expression." The artist Betye Saar, for instance, does this in her series of assemblage con¬structions that reclaim and empower the old stereotype of Aunt Jemima with a new sense of agency and purpose. Although the creators of Description of a Slave Ship were purposely revealing an obscene situation in order to destroy it, they could not transform it in the terms suggested by Jafa or Baker. They created the "material" but they could not turn the obscene into black self-expression. As Baker metaphorically describes this process, it is "the tunneling out of the black holes of possession and `tight places' of old clothes, into, perhaps, a new universe.

The focus on the "space of treatment" or the "deformation of mastery" is also closely aligned with literary historian Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s consideration of African American literary aesthetics, with his emphasis on reversal and repetition with a signal difference. In his seminal study, The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism, Gates declares, "The texts in the Afro-American canon can be said to configure into relationships based on the sorts of repetition and revision inherent in parody and pastiche." In this influential work, Gates theorized a uniquely African American practice of "signifying" as a creative tradition of revision found in the slave narrative. As he elaborates, "Much of the Afro-American literary tradition can be read as successive attempts to create a new narrative space for representing the recurring referent of Afro-American literature, the so-called Black Experience." This has obvious parallels in the visual arts and is particularly relevant when the question of the black experience turns to the Middle Passage. With the slave ship icon, the people whose ancestors were the object of the drawing




**Mathew Carey, Plan of an African Ship's Lower Deck with Negroes in the Proportion of Only One too Ton, copper engraving extracted from the American Museum, May 1789.**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take symbolic possession of the image in the twentieth century and make it their own.

The artists' works and exhibitions discussed in parts II and III of this book demonstrate the afterlife of the slave ship icon and what Marianne Hirsch has termed the postmemory—how "the memories of traumatic events live on to mark the lives of those who were not there to experience them." Many of the artists I interviewed have alluded to a ritual need to refashion and reform this image. Frequently, the works they have produced are not singular; rather, they exist in series, installations, or successive works on the same theme completed over a period of time, revealing a practice of mnemonic aesthetics. For example, the installation and video artist Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons first reimagined the slave ship icon in the installation Tra..., short for the Spanish travesía, or crossing, exhibited at the Havana Biennale in 1991. The following year, she redeployed the slave ship icon in the installation and performance The Seven Powers Come by the Sea at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston. In both works, the artist marked life-size wooden planks resembling coffins with stick figures in the schematic layout of the slave ship icon. The act of using and then reusing or, in the words of Arthur Jafa, "shaping and reshaping" their own work might be likened to the kind of ritualized aesthetic practice that defines mnemonic aesthetics. This is especially true of the artist Willie Cole, who uses the scorch of an iron to make prints that resemble the slave ship icon and refer to rituals of scarification, on the one hand, and branding, on the other.

The idea of ritual associated with mnemonic aesthetics refers back to the dimension of spiritual conversion of the icon. Underlying these practices is a strong sense of duty: the responsibility to create works that recall the history of the artists' African origins and to ensure that this history's significance is never forgotten. They use memory as an aesthetic tool and organizing principle to emphasize recurrent themes that have shaped the African diaspora: The Middle Passage, plantation slavery, the longing for Africa, and racial violence directed at black people, to name a few. In this way, individual works of art make visible and commemorate the stories of pain and suffering, strength and resistance, or triumph and celebration that reconnect these artists to their roots. The practice of mnemonic aesthetics takes a further cue from Paul Gilroy, who argues that the artistic urge to return to the memory of slavery is a way of "organizing the consciousness of the racial group socially and striking the important balance between inside and outside activity—the different practices, cognitive, habitual, and performative, that are required to invent, maintain and renew identity."" Thus, mnemonic aesthetics aid in identity formation through visual art production, dissemination, and display. Their projects constantly relate a sense of communal diasporic history to their own personal experience and continually carry on a conversation between individual and group experience that is part of the process of shaping identity, affirming group belonging, and marking a sense of temporal and geographical place. This process of relating the present and personal to the historic and communal is a validating process, one that reasserts both the presence and existence of the artist and the African diaspora in time and space.

## Brief Overview of the Sections of the Book

Part I, "Sources/Roots," establishes the slave ship icon as the preeminent image of the abolitionist movement in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England and America. It offers a brief history of the original image, including its political and historical context, conception, distribution, and initial use. It provides the reader with the analytical tools to understand the historical significance of the slave ship icon, its visual organizing principles, and the political and artistic movements that propelled its widespread circulation around the Atlantic rim. Part II, "Meanings/Routes," considers the post-memory of the slave ship icon in the context of three of the major artistic movements of the twentieth century: the New Negro Arts Movement (1919-29), the Black Arts Movement in the United States (1965¬76), and the Black Arts Movement in the United Kingdom (1981-95). The third and final section of the book, "Rites/Reinventions," examines the continued presence of the slave ship icon in our daily lives: in the built environment of museums and monuments; in the popular culture of T-shirts, jewelry, film, and body adornment; and in performance, installation art, and art that informs


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and is informed by religious practice. Here I show how mnemonic aesthetics influence contemporary vernacular culture and political strategies of reparations as well as forms of religious worship. This section of the book discusses the urge to inhabit the psychic if not physical space that the slave ship icon suggests.

How has the slave ship icon come to so richly enfold and ignite the black diaspora's imagination about their shared history of transformation? In providing an art-historical timeline, a consideration of the ways the slave ship icon has been appropriated and reimagined, adopted for different artistic purposes, and ritually returned to again and again, my book reveals salient aspects of contemporary African American and African diaspora art practices and canon formation. The practice of mnemonic aesthetics is indeed an artistic practice of survival; like the Sankofa bird, these artists are engaged in a process of "go back and retrieve it," gathering up the lessons of history and refashioning, reimagining their emblems for their present moment, if not for the future.

### The 2007 Bicentenary and the Practice of Mnemonic Aesthetics

The tour of Romuald Hazoumé's La Bouche de Roi to six carefully chosen venues around the United Kingdom from March 22, 2007, to March 1, 2009, charts an orchestrated program of national absolution, repentance, and perhaps admission of guilt, but it also demonstrates the practice of mnemonic aesthetics. All venues had ties to the history of the slave trade or its abolition. London was a principal port engaged in the slave trade in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It also profited heavily from slave-grown sugar after the abolition of the slave trade. Liverpool was the leading slave trading port in all of the United Kingdom, especially in the last half of the eighteenth century. Bristol was an important slave trading port. Manchester manufactured trade goods that were used to barter for African captives. Hull was the home of Member of Parliament William Wilberforce, who first introduced legislation before Parliament calling for the abolition of the slave trade. La Bouche de Roi's choreographed movements around the United Kingdom suggest a pilgrimage of reconciliation in spite of protests that the brutal history of Britain's involvement in the slave trade was overlooked in the framing and execution of bicentenary events. The repetition of bodies and sections that are illustrated in the slave ship icon are not only reworked in plastic petroleum canisters that compose La Bouche de Roi, but also in the very circulation of the installation to its various venues. Its tour emulates the vast dissemination of the original prints of Description of a Slave Ship to the countryside, city centers, and abroad during the busiest period of slave trade abolitionism in the United Kingdom from 1789 to 1807. Through this state-led effort, La Bouche de Roi (and the historical and contemporary references it makes) was promoted as a symbol of national memory and reconciliation during the bicentenary celebrations. By using the popular abolitionist's engraving to comment upon contemporary social, political, and economic ills—and by inserting images, narratives, and objects that were not visualized in the original engraving—Romuald Hazoumé breathes new life and new meaning into the slave ship icon. <>

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