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The Digital Public Humanities: Giving New Arguments and New Ways to Argue

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Review of Communications Special Issue:
Reimagining Argument: Communication Studies and the Humanities “Crisis”

The Digital Public Humanities: Giving New Arguments and New Ways to Argue

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Abstract

In response to the latest “crisis” in the humanities, advocates have marched, rallied, fundraised, and—especially—argued. This essay contends that communication scholars can support the growing “case for the humanities” by analyzing argumentative strategies, and more specifically, by offering ethical argumentative strategies that avoid replicating structures of domination. In particular, we look to Mari Lee Mifsud’s theorization of rhetoric as gift, which follows Henry W. Johnstone in conceptualizing argument as something other than winning over an adversary. We place Mifsud’s theorization of the gift in conversation with the methods of the digital public humanities (DPH), which acknowledge and offer abundant resources for meaning-making. Through the methods of DPH, we offer a response to the humanities “crisis” that activates the humanities’ already broad constituencies by giving resources for humanistic inquiry rather than seeking to capture adversaries. Our case study is Photogrammar, a DPH project for organizing, searching, and visualizing the New Deal and World War II era photographs funded by the U.S. federal government. The project forefronts visual, nonlinear, and interactive argumentation in order to engage publics in generative humanistic inquiry. By enlisting participants and sharing expertise, Photogrammar shows how humanities advocates can deepen attachments to the humanities and build broad constituencies of collaborators and allies.

Scholars and cultural workers across the U.S.A continue to worry that the humanities are, once again, in crisis. While the term “crisis” is up for debate, it continues to circulate, in part no doubt, because it captures pervasive concerns.¹ Elementary schools have cut language and arts programs. Corporatizing colleges and universities have dismantled departments, emphasizing STEM and vocational programs. Newly minted Ph.D.s have struggled to find positions in the academy. Prominent politicians have derided humanities education. State governments have sapped humanities councils, and the federal government has proposed defunding the National Endowment for the Humanities and National Endowment for the Arts.

In the face of these challenges, humanities supporters have marched, rallied, fundraised – and — especially — argued. As the discourse of “crisis” circulates, so too do arguments for and about the humanities. They proliferate in course descriptions and grant proposals, white papers and op-eds, as well as scholarly books and articles. Especially for people working in precarious positions and struggling institutions, the imperative to defend the humanities has become a constant.

There are good reasons to resent or even refuse this imperative. To be in a state of constant justification can drain time, money, and energy from other areas of work. It can forestall risk-taking and open-ended inquiry. It can obscure our fields’ most precious offerings, those that exceed

the discourses of economic gain or immediate utility.ⁱⁱ The imperative to defend the humanities has serious costs.

It also has some unexpected benefits. For us, the authors of this paper, the steady pressure to defend our fields and show our worth has catalyzed new research, interdepartmental partnerships, and experimental public programs.ⁱⁱⁱ It has introduced us to a multidisciplinary body of scholarship on the humanities, which has affirmed, challenged, and recontextualized our work.^{iv} The imperative to argue has produced sustained conversations about what the humanities are, why they matter, and to whom.

These conversations respond to the discourse of crisis, but they also exceed it. They offer a wealth of definitions, theories, methodologies, and case studies — resources not only for disputing critics, but also for advancing humanistic inquiry.^v Their possibilities are especially clear when we consider that even those arguments with an explicit mission to persuade need not be read exclusively for their persuasive content. As Henry W. Johnstone has explained: it is limiting, at best, to characterize argument solely in terms of persuasion, that is, as an attempt to “win over” adversaries. At worst, when argument aims primarily to capture its listeners for an intended end, it reiterates the very violence it seeks to avoid.^{vi} Mari Lee Mifsud has shared Johnstone’s concerns and sought an alternative to persuasion in *Rhetoric and the Gift*. Seeking, like Johnstone, to imagine argument as something other than persuasion, Mifsud theorizes rhetoric as gift. Drawing inspiration from Homeric gift-giving and its appropriations in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, Mifsud explains that argument makes poetic resources “prior to and in excess of” instrumentalist attempts to persuade.^{vii} It offers something *more than*, and *prior to* a means of winning over an adversary for the rhetor’s intended ends. Argument can be reimagined, Mifsud offers, as an expression of generous abundance.

As manifestations of the gift, arguments for the humanities can do something more and other than persuade. Indeed, they already have. Consider the 2016 Harvard white paper, “Understanding the Contributions of the Humanities to Human Development”: to assess learning in the humanities, Danielle Allen et al. develop a novel and holistic theory of education inspired by the work of Hannah Arendt.^{viii} Another rich example is Yolanda T. Moses’s “Humanities and Inclusion,” in which she historicizes and rethinks the concept of inclusion.^{ix} Defenses of the humanities have offered new definitions, approaches, and methodologies for inquiry.

Mifsud’s theorization of the gift informs the call of this special issue, which asks, “what can communication studies give to the humanities?” It also inspires our response. The premise of this essay is that, in partnership with those who argue for the humanities, communication studies in particular equips us to consider *how* we argue, and to explore the implications of argumentative strategies. Working from this premise, we draw attention to the possibilities of a relatively new sub-field, the digital public humanities (DPH). We contend that DPH offers new ways to argue that, in the spirit of Mifsud’s gift, acknowledge and offer abundant resources for meaning-making. In doing so, we offer a distinctive response to the latest humanities “crisis:” a commitment to *giving resources* for humanistic inquiry - to activating the humanities’ already broad constituencies — rather than seeking to *capture adversaries*.

Our case study is *Photogrammar*, a digital project founded by Lauren Tilton and Taylor Arnold in collaboration with Laura Wexler.^x Launched in 2010, *Photogrammar* recuperates a public humanities mission of a New Deal photography initiative produced by the Historic Division of the United States Farm Security Administration and Office of War Information (FSA-OWI). As a DPH project, *Photogrammar* reimagines argument, much like Mifsud’s gift, as a call for visual, nonlinear, and interactive inquiry. It enlists participants rather than winning over adversaries. It

positions that act of looking as a site of active, civic spectatorship. DPH, as seen through the example of *Photogrammar*, offers a method and form for a kind of generative humanistic inquiry that constitutes publics through open, collaborative argumentation.

Adopting a propositional argumentative form for the purposes of this essay, we make our case in three steps. First, we offer definitions of public humanities (PH), digital humanities (DH), and DPH, which orients *Photogrammar's* approach. Second, we offer a close reading of the *Photogrammar* website by analyzing its visual, open-ended, and collaborative argumentation. Third, and by way of conclusion, we assess *Photogrammar* as a response to the latest “crisis” in the humanities, one that argues generatively rather than persuasively.

Defining DPH

From prison book groups to museum education, the practice of humanities beyond the academy long precedes the emergence of the phrase “public humanities.” As Robyn Schroeder notes, it was only with the passage of the National Foundation for Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 that “public humanities” became a searchable phrase. Strikingly, articulations of the term were often motivated by claims across the political spectrum that the humanities were in crisis. In response, Schroeder explains, conservative thinkers envisioned a wide-reaching program of moral uplift, while progressives have championed a destabilization of academic power.^{xi} These visions and more — embracing a range of missions from decolonization to experiential learning to civic engagement — continue to shape the field. They inform not only scholarly writing, but also institutions, which include state and nationwide humanities councils, consortiums, and since the early 21st century, academic programs and several interdisciplinary campus centers.^{xii} As humanists adapt the term “public humanities” to describe their projects, they build coalitions with colleagues across backgrounds and institutional (or anti-institutional) settings.

As lexica and institutions proliferate, so too do definitions.^{xiii} Many of these definitions inspire our own. We define the PH as acts of reflexive, collaborative meaning-making informed by a collective good. We define DH as a field that investigates humanities questions with computing technologies and brings humanities questions to computing and the digital. Integrating these two definitions, we define as DPH those practices that facilitate reflection and collaboration with participants outside of the academy through digital theories and technologies.^{xiv} By centering practice rather than text — the activity of meaning-making rather than the object from which meaning is made — our conception of the humanities departs from some convincing precedents, including a recent one from literary critic and former President and Director of the National Humanities Center, Geoffrey Galt Harpham.^{xv} We seek to include, however, the wealth of humanistic practice that avoids or exceeds textual analysis: ethnographies that embody social practice rather than seek to decode it; art criticism that relays affect rather than message; and performances that claim space whether or not they are ever “read” or archived. The act of meaning-making, not the intentions that sometimes prompt it, best captures the breadth of humanistic practice today, and the creative abundance of rhetoric-as-gift. Scholars play a crucial role in this process, disciplined in the act of meaning-making by time, training, and immersion.

With or without text, the humanities are “public,” for our purposes, when they are social: that is, when they engage more than one person, and when they derive, at least in part, from a good that is shared. Humanistic work is not—nor should it be—completely instrumental to a single, predictable end. However, PH projects almost always involve a mission, if only for the pragmatic

reason that goals facilitate collaboration. We have yet to encounter a public project that avoids an articulation (even a contested one) of shared mission, interests, or values.

PH projects require coordination. Yet they are not necessarily or essentially democratic. Here, disagree with a central claim in Julie Ellison's "The Humanities and the Public Soul."^{xvi} Certainly, democratic values have driven significant initiatives in PH projects, including the nationwide consortium Ellison founded in 1999, *Imagining America: Artists and Scholars in Public Life*. Yet many PH projects are served by non-democratic values and structures. The theatrical rehearsal is often a highly hierarchical processes. Indeed, the structured chain of command is often what allows companies to produce high-quality work within limited rehearsal periods. At the other end of the spectrum, graffiti artists often enact anarchic values; it is often precisely because they have *not* consulted with local residents that their works elicit surprise and reflection. While decidedly undemocratic, both of these examples are, *qua* examples of PH, collaborative. They involve multiple participants who share a common goal, but also bring their own commitments that may carry a project in new directions.

Collaboration also undergirds DH. The area of inquiry now known as DH, but once called humanities computing, draws on areas of questions and methodologies from fields as wide-ranging as classics, communication studies, media studies and statistics.^{xvii} Definitions abound, but we have found Kathleen Fitzpatrick's among the most clarifying. DH, she writes, is

a nexus of fields within which scholars use computing technologies to investigate the kinds of questions that are traditional to the humanities, or, as is more true of my own work, ask traditional kinds of humanities-oriented questions about computing technologies.^{xviii}

We offer a modest expansion to this definition for DH also offers the possibility to ask new humanities questions with and about computing technologies. When merged with PH, such possibilities, enabled by computing and therefore the digital, offer a new site for collaborative meaning-making.

In fact, DH is so often equated with PH that they are regularly used synonymously.^{xix} As Matthew Kirschenbaum has written, DH is "about a scholarship (and a pedagogy) that is publicly visible in ways to which we are generally unaccustomed."^{xx} Yet, sharing a project on the web does not mean that a project is public, as Sheila Brennan reminds us: "public digital humanities, then, should be identified by the ways that it engages with communities outside of the academy as a means for doing digital humanities scholarship."^{xxi} Cocreation, collaboration and shared authority are grounding principles of DPH, ensuring that DPH projects almost always have unpredictable results. They also encourage contributors to adjust, challenge, and remake arguments, quickly and continuously. DPH thus support unconventional modes of argumentation, modes that are motivated by a shared mission, but like Mifsud's gift, anticipate creative appropriation and redirection.

Case Study: *Photogrammar* and the FSA-OWI Collection

We now turn to a specific example to demonstrate how DPH can engage publics in humanities arguments through interactive, participatory humanistic inquiry and meaning-making. Launched in 2010 by a team at Yale University, *Photogrammar* analyzes documentary expression from New Deal and World War II America. The current version of the project focuses on the

photography produced by the Historic Division of the United States FSA-OWI. Harnessing computational methods such as spatial and text analysis, *Photogrammar* enlists users to organize, search, and visualize the 170,000 photographs produced by the federal agency (Figure 1).^{xxii}

Photogrammar's public ambitions are shaped by the history of its archive. The photos it aggregates began as a state propaganda initiative, which then grew into a sprawling documentary project that can be seen as a PH project *avant-la-lettre*. Funded by the government of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the FSA-OWI was charged with using photography to garner support for the New Deal—to “capture,” in persuasive terms, supporters for Roosevelt’s policy initiatives. Throughout the 1930s, the federal government sought strategies to employ millions of Americans during the throes of the Great Depression. Amid

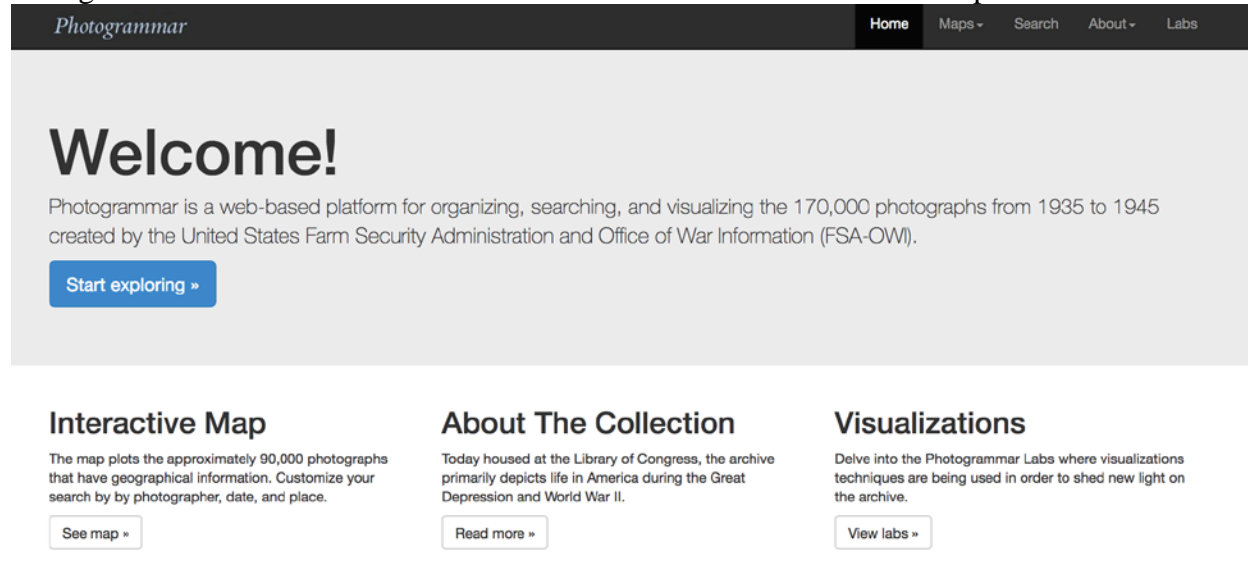


Figure 1. *Photogrammar* front page.

the search for solutions, executive orders and congressional legislation abounded, resulting in dozens of new offices, known as the alphabet agencies. Among them was the Resettlement Administration (RA), which was created in 1935 through Executive Order after a series of setbacks in the courts that blocked a plethora of New Deal programs. The RA was specifically charged with aiding the poorest third of American farmers and their families, numbering in the millions, who were ravaged by economic and environmental devastation. The agency came under immediate and persistent scrutiny from Congress.^{xxiii} In response, the RA turned to photography as a communications strategy to justify their program. Social documentary photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine had proven the medium’s power to illuminate social conditions and to persuade an often-hesitant public to support social reforms.^{xxiv} The same strategy, government officials argued, could demonstrate the need for and successes of the agency. The agency proceeded to hire economist Roy Stryker to set up a photography unit named the Historic Division, which produced images the federal government could use to support New Deal policies and liberal reforms.

It is clear then, that a persuasive mission to capture support for the New Deal galvanized the creation of the FSA-OWI Historic Division. But it does not fully describe the rich work that was produced. Stryker hired over 20 staff photographers, and as in most PH teams, their diverse sensibilities and commitments meant they quickly, and productively, diverged from their original task. Thanks, in part, to Stryker’s flexibility, the FSA-OWI photographers would offer a sprawling representation of nation in great flux.

In other words, the corpus of the FSA-OWI, therefore, was not only a tool for New Deal persuasion, but also an exercise in collaborative meaning-making. It was fueled by shared interests in social documentary, but catalyzed eclectic results, in part due to Stryker's leadership. Stryker believed the unit could use photography to document America and offer a snapshot of the nation during the era for the present and future. A deft negotiator of government bureaucracy, he guided the Historic Division through turbulent times as the RA became a part of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) followed by a move to the Office of War Information (OWI) during World War II. Rather than closely monitoring photographic subjects, he trusted his staff photographers to follow their interests. He seized on the multivalence of photography – the contingencies of who took the photograph, how, and why, as well as if and how the image circulated – to expand the unit's mission. A major impetus of the FSA-OWI became documenting and making publicly available a vast array of perspectives about the American experience for the era as well as future generations seeking to understand this historical moment. Indeed, Stryker would eventually re-characterize the project as one that “introduced America to Americans.”^{xxv}

Seventy-five years after the FSA-OWI photography file began, *Photogrammar* takes up its mission. As in the case of FSA-OWI, this mission includes persuasive goals – only this time, not to garner support for the New Deal, but to revise FSA-OWI historiography. Whereas scholarship on the FSA-OWI collection has focused on Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, *Photogrammar* draws attention to all of the project's photographers. In doing so, it argues for a more expansive representation of American art and culture by expanding understanding of the era's documentary expression. This argument is visible in the site's Dot Map (Figure 2).

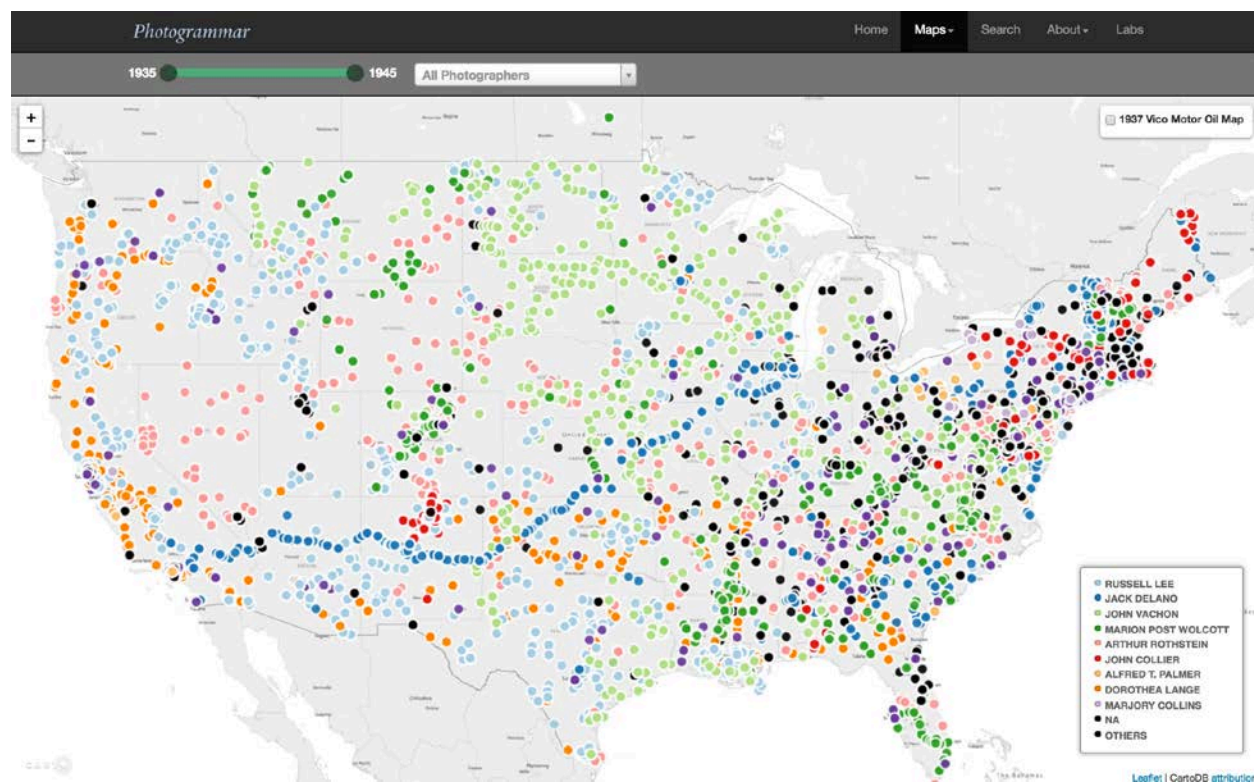


Figure 2. Dot map of photo location by photographer. Only the top nine are featured.

The dots map view includes the top nine most prolific photographers, who are each assigned a different color. This design reflects *Photogrammar*'s goal to recenter lesser known photographers who had a major impact on the visual record left by the collection. For example, Walker Evans, who had been canonized by the fine art community and become synonymous with the FSA, is not included in the list. He actually took very few photographs relative to his colleagues. When viewing the dot map, a user can then interact with the map by further selecting different parameters and adjusting the map in real time. A user can select a photographer like Alfred Palmer, who has received little scholarly attention, and begin to dive into his work (Figures 3 and 4).

Re-assessing the power dynamics within the FSA-OWI is also a key goal of *Photogrammar*. The project challenges the popular assumption that the Historic Division and its photographers were simply tools of the state serving as a propaganda machine for the New Deal.^{xxvi} Division leader Roy Stryker quickly imagined a larger mission for the government initiative that included documenting a nation in flux so that future generations might understand the social condition of the era. Photographers shared Stryker's expanded vision. Evans, for example, was uninterested in the government mission and focused instead on refining his craft. Meanwhile, Gordon Parks focused his lens on exposing racism, including within the federal government.^{xxvii} *Photogrammar* forefronts the ingenuity of individual photographers who made choices informed by their subjectivities and positioning by allowing users to explore them through the mapping and search interfaces. To this end, the *Photogrammar* team is also adding the oral histories with the photographers from the Smithsonian Archives of American Art that provide further evidence of how their individual interests worked with and contested state interests. *Photogrammar* seeks to recuperate underrepresented histories of U.S. documentary by expanding users'

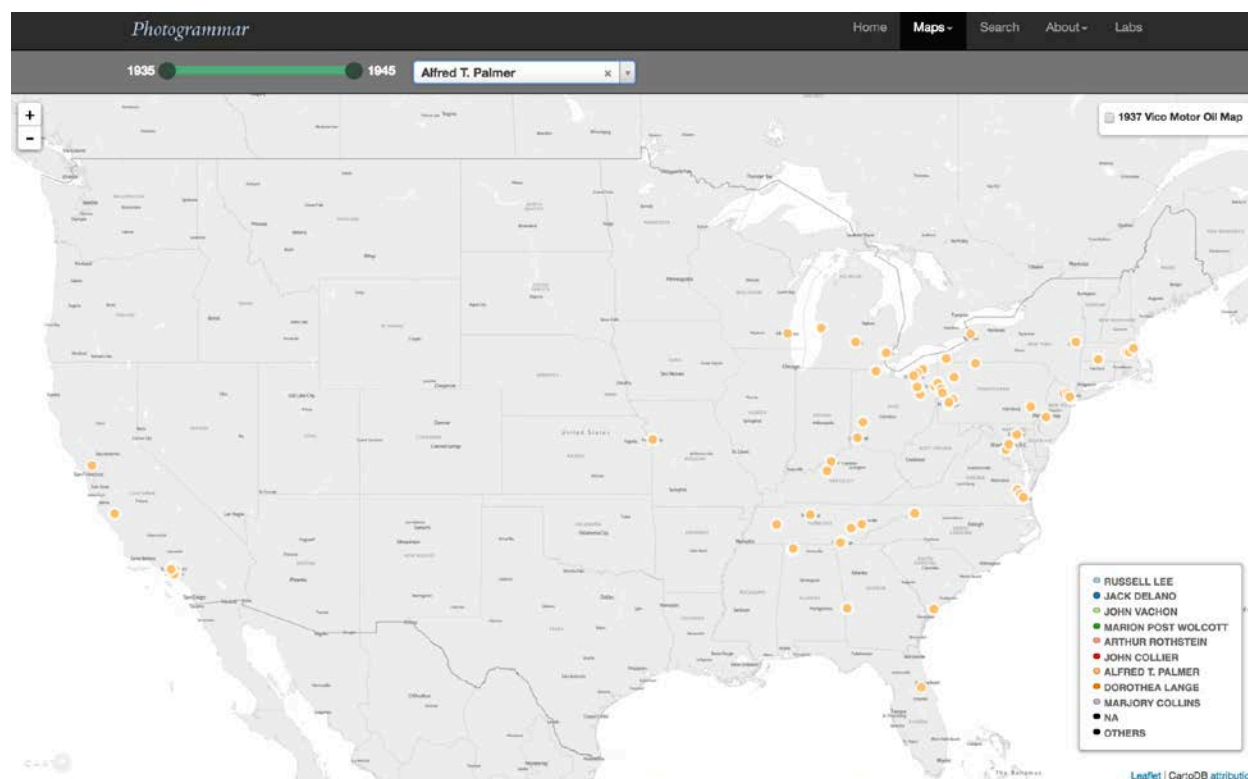


Figure 3. Map of photos taken by Alfred Palmer.

gaze beyond a small set of photographers and photos while simultaneously leaving space for users to engage on their own terms.

Between Manuscript and Open-form Search: Interactive Navigation

In designing *Photogrammar*, the team sought middle ground between the structured form of a linear manuscript and the unstructured form of a free-form text search interface. In

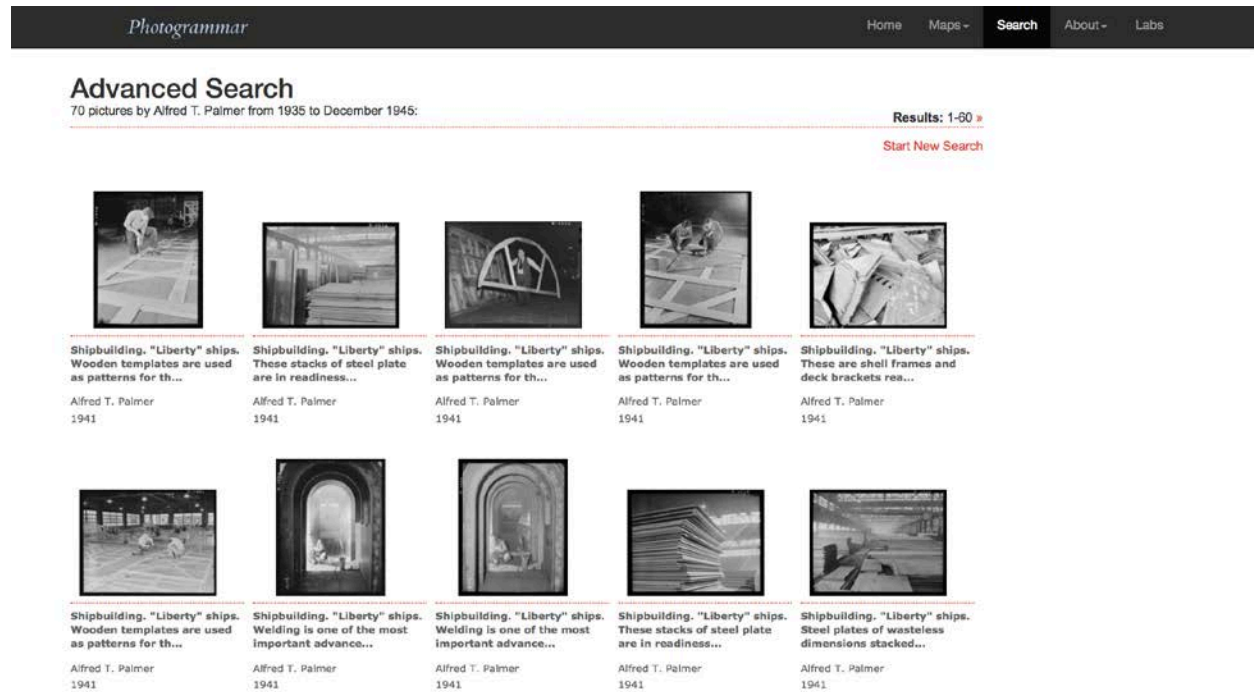


Figure 4. Search page with photos by Alfred Palmer.

contrast to the manuscript form, they envisioned a user doing something more or other than following the steps of a propositional argument. On the other hand, they wanted the user to encounter more than a simple search box (Figure 5), which would require significant expertise on the part of the user, to make meaning of the collection. Thus, the team drew on Mitchell Whitelaw's theory of "generous interfaces," which "use multiple, fragmentary representations to reveal the complexity and diversity of cultural collections, and to privilege the process of interpretation."^{xxviii} Such representations built around maps and visualizations offer users multiple visual nonlinear ways to navigate and interpret the FSA-OWI collection.

When users land on the site, they are presented with three subheadings: "Interactive Map," "About the Collection," and "Visualizations." The first of these headings is the centerpiece of the collection, and among the most frequently used. It leads users to *Photogrammar's* core arguments in conjunction with its call-to-participation. When users select "Interactive Map," they encounter a choropleth county map of the U.S.A. It conveys one of *Photogrammar's* key historiographical interventions, and the basis of its claim for further attention: the FSA-OWI collection was national in scope, covering much more than the images of poverty in the Dust Bowl and American South that public history has tended to emphasize (Figure 6).^{xxix}

The interactive county map is striking not only for its scope, but also for its scale. Filling an entire browser, it is broken into hundreds of fragments that depict counties where the FSA-OWI was present. Each fragment, in turn, is shaded to represent the volume of photos available for that city normalized by the size of the county according to 1940 census data. For example, Silver Bow, MT, is dark green because it is associated with 270 photos among a population of 53,207 people, while San Bernardino, CA, is a lighter green because it is associated with 228 photos among a population of 161,108

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**PRINTS & PHOTOGRAPHS
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**Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Black-and-White
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About the FSA/OWI Black-and-White Negatives

The photographs in the Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Photograph Collection form an extensive pictorial record of American life between 1935 and 1944. This U.S. government photography project was headed for most of its existence by Roy E. Stryker, who guided the effort in a succession of government agencies: the Resettlement Administration (1935-1937), the Farm Security Administration (1937-1942), and the Office of War Information (1942-1944). The collection also includes photographs acquired from other governmental and non-governmental sources, including the News Bureau at the Offices of Emergency Management (OEM), various branches of the military, and industrial corporations.

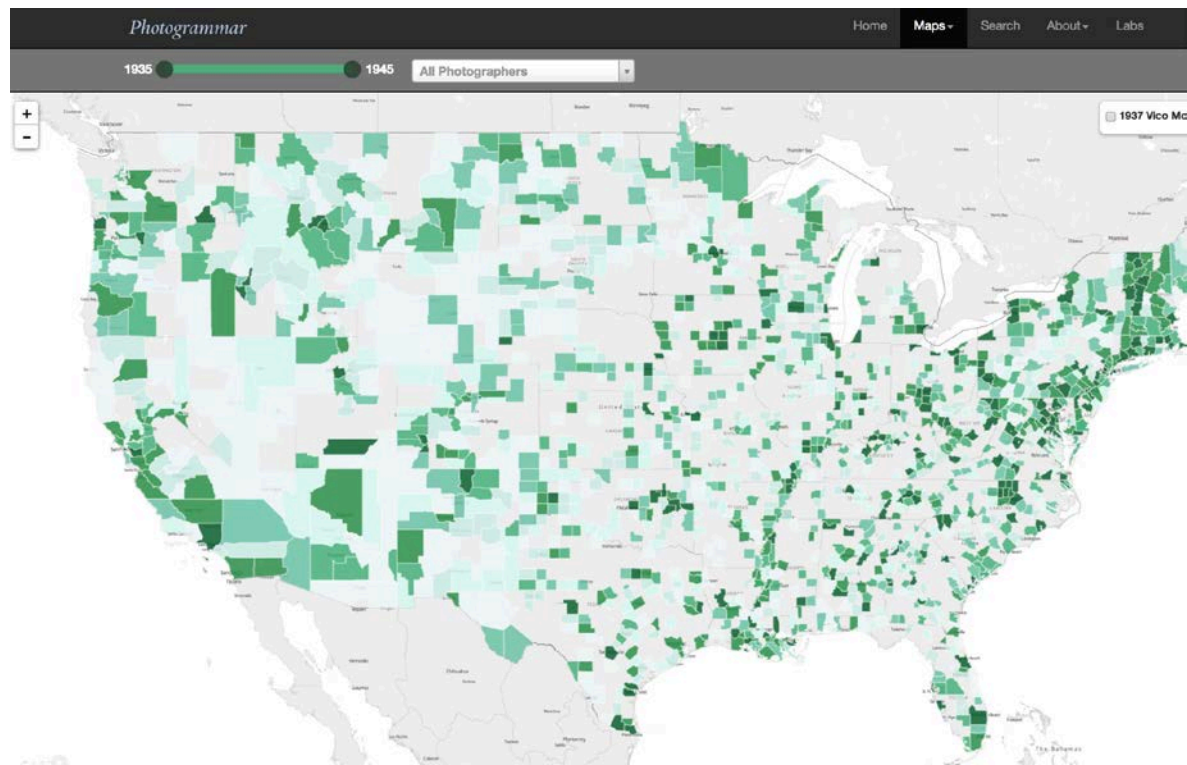


Figure 5. Free-form text search interface available through the Library of Congress.

Figure 6. Choropleth map of photos by county.

people. Even at first glance then, *Photogrammar's* interactive map presents an abundance of visual information. Color, shape, size, configuration, and proportion all indicate relationships to be catalogued, remixed, and interpreted. The abundance of visual information reflects the abundance of the archive itself (Figure 7).

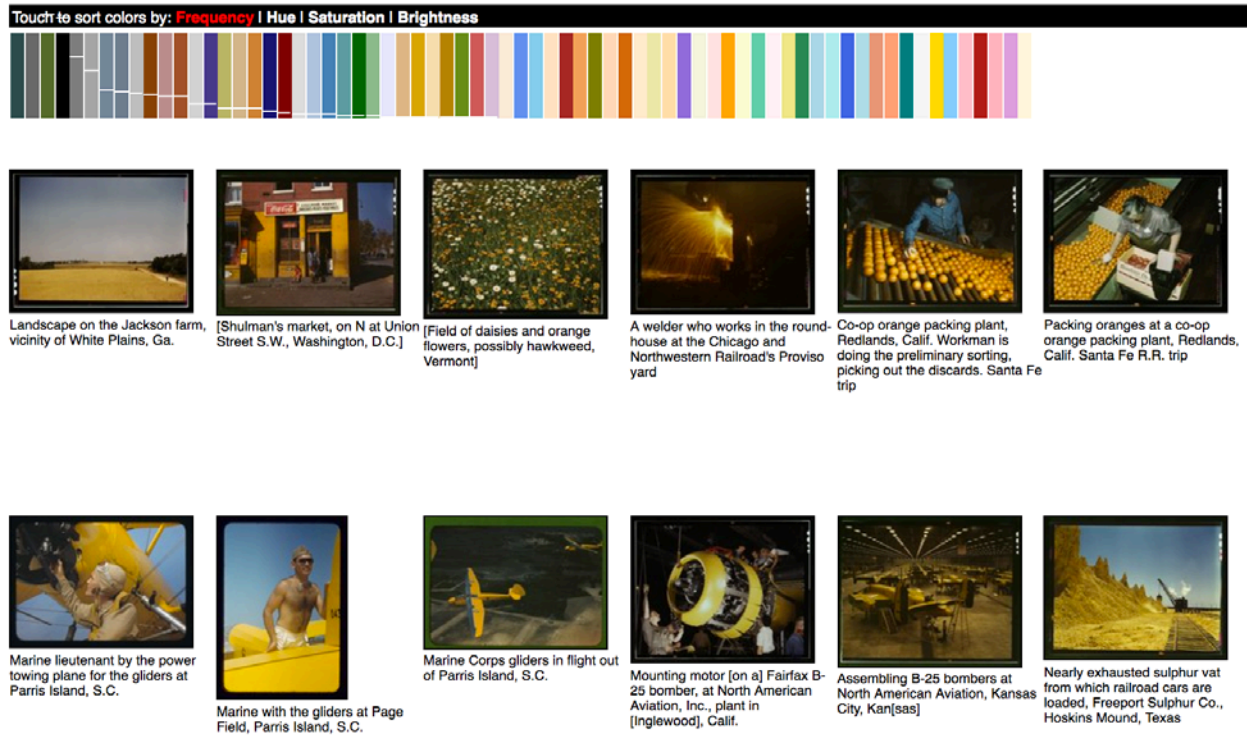
FSA/OWI Photography in Color. Touch a color! **darkgoldenrod: 17**

Figure 7. Recommender system using color analysis to identify photos of similar colors, and will be included in the next version of *Photogrammar*.

Photogrammar uses computational methods to add metadata to 40,000 images, making previously uncredited and therefore difficult-to-find photos searchable based on photographer, date, and location. The project then use recommender systems — digital techniques for suggesting content — to remix the archive.^{xxx} Users have unprecedented access to the images while also being able to download and explore on their own terms. This shift in power and access enabled by interactive exploration also serves to challenge how the images were circulated during their time. During the 1930s and early 1940s, the FSA-OWI printed approximately 80,000 photographs under Stryker's guidance. The division circulated these "official images" while the remaining photo negatives were stored. *Photogrammar* includes the 170,000 archived images using multiple techniques to increase discoverability of photos that were archived during the time they were created as well as to remix the archive in order to put them in new perspectives, now available to a broader public. In short, *Photogrammar* gives a striking abundance of resources. In doing so, it enlists engagement from multiple interpreters and multiple visits. It asks the viewer to make choices about which information to receive and how.^{xxxi}

The abundance of visual elements in *Photogrammar* facilitates multiple trajectories for exploration. Indeed, a subheading below the interactive map elaborates, "customize your search by photographer, date, and place." With the county map, a user might compare counties that are well-photographed relative to the number people (dark green) to regions that are sparsely covered relative to the number of people in the county (light green). They might explore rural areas or urban areas, or close read a single location. There are myriad ways to navigate the map, and the

Photogrammar team has relinquished control of any single user's progression.^{xxxii} In this way, *Photogrammar* gives rather than persuades.^{xxxiii}

Photogrammar facilitates not only open-ended exploration, but also open-ended use. It has no paywall and provides the data and code, where possible, through GitHub.^{xxxiv} While the site limits how users can manipulate the data, users can download the data without restriction to remix and reuse according to their interests. The commitment to open access is part of a broader movement to democratize information access by increasing rather than limiting people's ability to engage with information, specifically online research.^{xxxv} As a result, it leaves the data that undergirds *Photogrammar* subject to new interpretations by different audiences.

Enhanced by interactivity, exploration can then offer a more generous position — in White-law's sense of the word — wherein publics outside of the academy can be a part of the process of producing humanities knowledge. Rather than claiming a series of definitive arguments about the collection that suggests we have learned all we need to know, a stance too common in scholarship, *Photogrammar* seeks to forefront the possibilities for new knowledge. Opening rather building higher the gates of the Ivory Tower can result in exciting new contributions as well as constitute a larger constituency aware of the value of the humanities.

Enlisting Participants, Rethinking Expertise

Photogrammar conveys a point of view, making visual arguments about the breadth and eclecticism of FSA-OWI photography. At the same time, it encourages participants to remix and reorganize the collection, making arguments of their own. Therefore, in many ways, *Photogrammar* aims to enlist participants rather than persuade adversaries. This ethic of enlisting rests on three premises that derive from DPH. The first premise is from DH: that access enhances participation. The second and third premises are from PH: that humanistic expertise is not confined to the academy; and that participation from different kinds of experts enriches meaning-making. Thus informed by DH and PH, *Photogrammar* convenes broad constituencies around humanistic texts, objects, and processes.

Photogrammar adopts DH's long-standing commitment to access. Since the mid-20th century, when the field of DH was known as humanities computing, access has been a recurring theme. Indeed, James Porter identifies access/accessibility as one of the "common topics" ("chief features," in Porter's paraphrase) of *delivery*, an ancient canon of rhetoric with special relevance to digital communication. With the common topic of access, Porter explains, DH scholars have attended to both material and technological connectivity (i.e. hardware, software, network connections), and human positionality (i.e. race, gender, age, class). Accessibility, he points out, addresses specifically "the level of connectedness of one group of persons, those with disabilities."^{xxxvi} Porter's distinction between access and accessibility is useful, though it is worth noting the historical overlap of these two concepts, given that the resonance of appeals to "access" owe much to disability activists.^{xxxvii} Since the early 1990s, many digital scholars have theorized and contested "open access," defined by Peter Suber as "digital, online, free of charge, and free of most copyright and licensing restrictions." Through the common topic of access/accessibility, and more narrowly, the possibilities of "open access", digital scholars have foregrounded more inclusive conditions of participation in humanistic inquiry.

Drawing on DH's embrace of the open access movement, *Photogrammar* facilitates collaborative meaning-making by being free of charge. The program supports and extends the work

of the Library of Congress, which has digitized and made publicly accessible the FSA-OWI collection, by designing new ways to interpret and explore the archive. At the same time, *Photogrammar*'s interface is designed to convey new arguments about the FSA-OWI while making room for participatory engagement that allows users to develop arguments and claims about the collection.

By materializing its commitment to access, *Photogrammar* aims to draw attention to the range and energy of humanistic inquiries outside of the academy. Since the project's launch in October 2015, over 700,000 users have visited the site, viewing over 9.7 millions pages. The average user during a session explores 10 pages, spending almost five minutes on average engaged with the site. This is twice what is considered the unofficial industry standard of two minutes. The number is also an average, which means plenty of users are engaging far longer than five minutes, especially once we account for the bounce rate (users who only visit one page and then leave).^{xxxix} Because a significant number of people return—over 20% or 157,000 users—it is helpful to compare visiting the site with reading a book: readers often read a chapter, close the book, and then return later to revisit at a concept or read the next chapter. In these terms, the scale of engagement far exceeds that which most articles and book enjoy.

Even with this context about digital engagement, the scope and nature of users' participation in *Photogrammar* might still be unfamiliar to professional academics. Graduate school trains humanists to read slowly and closely, following the steps of a propositional argument. Ideally, such training also offers the material conditions — time, money, resources — that close reading requires. However, if disciplines are a form of trained incapacity, to borrow Thorstein Veblen's term (and Kenneth Burke's elaboration), humanities advocates from the academy might do well to consider the kinds of humanistic inquiry academic humanists have been trained to ignore.^{xl} Rather than dismissing the brief "hits" a site like *Photogrammar* receives, scholars might consider this form of engagement as an object of inquiry in itself.^{xli} Investigating how and why users spend time with PH sites like *Photogrammar* might offer new ways to understand the humanities and constituents, as well as new ways to articulate their significance.

To see *Photogrammar*'s users as participants in an archival project, rather than simply consumers or beneficiaries, is to rethink humanistic expertise. With anti-intellectualism seemingly on the rise, some scholars have called for more public intellectuals. "Where are the *public intellectuals* like we used to have in the good old days?" begins McKenzie Wark, rehearsing a common complaint in *General Intellects*. Recuperating Karl Marx's theorization of intellectual labor in the form of the "general intellect," Wark offers critical essays on 21 scholars who "try through their [academic] work to address more general problems about the state of the world today."^{xlii} Certainly, scholarly engagement with "general problems" is a generative way to amplify humanistic expertise. Yet, such an approach relies on a narrow conception of expertise. Foregrounding the problems of labor, Wark observes that a meaningful critique of labor conditions requires knowledge of diverse forms and experiences of labor. "As general intellects," Wark suggests, "maybe we could stick our heads above our little cubicles, look around, and figure out how to cooperate with others who understand different parts of the labor process." Wark's proposal for cooperation is provocative, and in some ways, exceeds the form of a monograph by a single author that critiques the work of other academics. A strong critique of intellectual labor, for which Wark rightly calls, might benefit from perspectives of those whose humanistic labor is nonprofessional and thus, whose work in the humanities is a step removed from the conditions of the market.

What, then, would it look like to "stick our heads above our little cubicles"? It need not mean denigrating academic labor in its traditional forms, nor should it mean denigrating expertise. Rather, it means recognizing how forms of expertise outside of the academy might complement

those forms of expertise cultivated within the academy. Danielle Allen offers a compelling model in her “Grounding Ideas” of the Civic Knowledge Project (CKP). A PH initiative Allen founded at the University of Chicago, CKP supports humanities programs that bridge the University with its neighboring communities in Chicago. The aim is not one-way dissemination of knowledge, as proffered by a traditional “public intellectual,” but rather, reciprocity that recognizes non-academic expertise: “namely, that different communities have analogous banks of knowledge within them. In every community, people’s minds are full of memories and other types of useful knowledge. The only question is what types of knowledge different communities have.”^{xliv} In *Photogrammar*, scholars demonstrate their expertise to assemble the archive, contextualize it historically, and make arguments about its producers. But, sharing Allen’s orientation, the *Photogrammar* team has also designed a pointedly *open* forum for users’ research and inquiry. Visitors might recognize faces, places and scenes that the team does not. En masse, they more fully represent the diverse viewing practices, sensibilities, and affective relationships to “America” than the *Photogrammar* team could describe on its own.

For example, Jennifer Newman developed a performance called the “Geneva Project” based on photographs of her family that she found in the collection.^{xlv} Her performance integrates archival knowledge with embodied knowledge to interrogate racial classification reflected in, and perpetuated by, the archive. Newman’s distinctive expertise, as a familial descendant of a *Photogrammar* subject, an agent of racialized “blood memory,” and a dancer/choreographer, enriches the archive in ways its creators could not necessarily foresee.^{xlvi} Regularly, participants offer new information about photos or inquire about a particular photo for a local humanities project. If advocates are to champion the humanities successfully, surely we must start by recognizing just how large and how varied is the constituency of people that engage with the humanities on a regular basis.

New Ways of Seeing: Civic Spectatorship and Another Look at the Humanities “Crisis”

Photogrammar uses DPH to make visual arguments about the FSA-OWI while simultaneously designing a generous interface intended to encourage open-ended interaction and engagement with the collection. The goal is to engage participants in a historically contextualized conversation about the documentary record of the 1930s and 1940s. We now turn to how such an approach and its object of study offer a way to navigate the latest “crisis” in the humanities.

The FSA-OWI was catalyzed and sustained by two state crises, but it produced a sprawling archive with unforeseeable possibilities. The project’s most immediate mission was a persuasive one: photographers were sent across the country to create images that would elicit public support for Depression relief, and subsequently, military strength. However, the images produced by the project’s photographers offered resources “prior to and in excess of” a response to crisis. They elicited new and multiple ways of looking at American experiences.

More specifically, they facilitated a form of civic spectatorship, a practice theorized by Ariella Azoulay, and subsequently elaborated by Robert Hariman and John Lucaites. In *The Public Image*, Hariman and Lucaites note that spectatorship is a “civic capability, one similar to literacy in its contribution to the public sphere.”^{xlvii} Adapting Azoulay’s work on images of state violence, they write:

the civic spectator is one who sees through a frame of ongoing discussion about public affairs, who assumes that other spectators are also seeing and discussing the same or similar images, and who forms opinions and enters into political relationships by doing so.^{xlviii}

For Azoulay, civic spectatorship is a position from which to act ethically and politically. It is a the basis of what she calls a civil contract, which binds the spectator to a subject suffering violence. It offers an avenue for intervention in the case of pressing and persistent injustice.^{xlix}

While its photos did not always depict suffering or violence, the FSA-OWI developed a civil contract through photography, and it cultivated civic spectatorship. By intentionally circulating images through outlets such as newspapers, magazines and exhibitions, the FSA and then OWI used photography to shape one of the largest public discussions of the era — how to address a great depression and then a nation headed into world war.ⁱ Mass circulation of images such as a migrant mother could lead to a national discussion about the condition of dispossessed working families while images of mass production of planes for war could persuade the public of the nation's military might.ⁱⁱ A shared visual discussion through mass media could garner support for New Deal policies and later galvanize the nation behind world war. Yet, while an organization can try to frame a particular discussion through an image, there is no guarantee that viewers will share a particular way of seeing. FSA-OWI photographs were viewed during their time with awe and ire, spurring calls for government action to alleviate poverty alongside cries of government manipulation and propaganda, which led to calls for the immediate shuttering of the agency. At the same time, the agency left tens of thousands of images, far more than necessary for the state's persuasive mission. The abundance of these images constituted an offering to the public, available for myriad uses and civic appropriations.

Photogrammar extends the FSA-OWI's possibilities for civic spectatorship. It asks users to engage with existing arguments as well as develop their own claims about the nation's history and documentary record. At the same time, we can also think of such sites as constructing a different kind of political relationship. It is not the kind of political relationship the photographs were designed to spur in the middle of the 20th century. Rather, a site like *Photogrammar* facilitates humanistic inquiry. It gives abundant images of "America," and asks users to interpret them by seeking, sorting, identifying or dis-identifying with them.ⁱⁱⁱ DPH then becomes not only a way to persuade publics, but also a way to engage them in humanistic inquiry or deepen existing attachments. Reinforcing the premise that potential users already have active attachments to the humanities—whether through genealogy, local history, or photography, to name a few possibilities—*Photogrammar* challenges assertions that the humanities are "in crisis." Shortages in funding and public support might have more to do with academic humanists' insularity than with an actual dearth of interest in the humanities. If this is the case, DPH offers a strategy for recognizing and mobilizing fellow stakeholders outside of the academy. Using DPH to cultivate civic spectatorship is one way academic humanists can facilitate and deepen engagement with the humanities, and generatively address the "crisis" in the humanities.

There are many ways, of course, in which this project could be developed. In *Photogrammar*, the civic is present only in the users' affiliations — their selective identification with a region, photographer, or subject. There is no shortage of compelling people to look at, but in most cases they are anonymous—identifiable only by where they live. Indeed, the map lends itself to many of the reading practices its designers oppose in their own scholarship: the user's gaze could reinforce racism, sexism, classism, or provincialism (prejudice against rural life or disdain against big cities), nostalgia, and even fetishization. These are some of the serious risks that come with relinquishing viewing practices entirely to the user.

However, in the eclecticism of subjects it presents and viewings it allows, *Photogrammar* also lends itself to a radically open form of national belonging. It positions its subjects as no more and no less than this: occupants of places. Through presence rather than identity or legal status, the subjects of *Photogrammar* are identified as Americans: located on a map, preserved in a national archive, inscribed with some distinctive representational possibilities.^{liii}

Photogrammar offers a new forum for civic spectatorship and, with it, new ways of looking at American history. In some ways, the forum is prescriptive: *Photogrammar* partakes in the work of mapping, which means demarcating the terrain of the FSA-OWI and its sprawling documentary work. In doing so, *Photogrammar* demands that viewers consider the scale and heterogeneity of the FSA-OWI, and that they attend to lesser-known photographers such as Marion Post Wolcott and Alfred Palmer. *Photogrammar* conveys a historiographical argument by redrawing boundaries and reorienting the spectator's gaze. But *Photogrammar* is not only about claiming territory, geographic or discursive, but also about sharing space. Visual, nonlinear, and interactive, *Photogrammar* exceeds the form of propositional argument. It enlists users to interact with the FSA-OWI archive, and to forge their own pathways through its corpus. Seeking to give, in Mifsud's sense, as well as to persuade, *Photogrammar* affirms and deepens already-existing attachments to the humanities. Communication studies, in conjunction with DPH, can give humanists generative and generous ways to argue, within and beyond the academy.

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ⁱ On the discourse of "crisis," Martha Nussbaum and Paul Jay offer two very different takes. Nussbaum begins *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* with "We are in the midst of a crisis of massive proportions and grave global significance" ([Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010], 1). Jay, by contrast, challenges the language of crisis, arguing that current debates about the humanities are, first, nothing new and second, no sign of crisis (*The Humanities "Crisis" and the Future of Literary Studies* [London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014]). Our focus, in this essay, is not the accuracy of the term, but its persistence and discursive effects.

ⁱⁱ For a strong articulation of this argument, see Stanley Fish, "Will the Humanities Save Us?" *Opinionator* (blog), New York Times, January 6, 2008, <https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/01/06/will-the-humanities-save-us/>.

ⁱⁱⁱ Throughout this essay, “us” and “we” refers to co-authors Jordana Cox and Lauren Tilton, unless otherwise specified. Especially generative for both of us was an interdisciplinary faculty seminar at the University of Richmond. Under the auspices of a Mellon-funded Humanities Initiative, which also funded Jordana’s postdoc at the University of Richmond, we benefited greatly from weekly discussions on “The Practice of the Humanities.”

^{iv} For example: Gordon Hunter and Feisal G. Mohamed, eds., *A New Deal for the Humanities: Liberal Arts and the Future of Public Higher Education* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015); Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *The Humanities and the Dream of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jay, *The Humanities “Crisis” and the Future of Literary Studies*; Julie Klein, *Humanities, Culture, and Interdisciplinarity: The Changing American Academy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Nussbaum, *Not for Profit*; Doris Sommer, *The Work of Art in the World: Civic Agency and Public Humanities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

^v Debates about the humanities “suggest that those who teach and do scholarship in the humanities are continually thinking in a productively self-reflexive way about what they do in the classroom and in their research.” Jay, *The Humanities “Crisis” and the Future of Literary Studies*, 2.

^{vi} Henry W. Johnstone, “Communication, Technology and Ethics,” in *Communication, Philosophy, and the Technological Age*, ed. Michael J. Hyde (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982), 48. We learned about Johnstone’s work from Mari Lee Mifsud, who cites him extensively in *Rhetoric and the Gift: Ancient Theory and Contemporary Communication* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2015).

^{vii} In Mifsud’s words: “Rhetoric and the Gift explores rhetoric not only at the level of the artful response but at the level of the call and response, or said another way, at the level of the gift and rhetoric prior to and in excess of art, not as some rudimentary system of relating that awaits systematic and philosophical development but as some thing, some event, some moment, other than art, other than techne, incommensurable even, meaning outside of exchange altogether, beyond exchange figures, meaning other than signification, other than symbols, yet always already within and functioning” (*Rhetoric and the Gift*, 4).

^{viii} HULA Research Team, *Project Zero, Understanding the Contributions of the Humanities to Human Development: A Methodological White Paper* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, May 16, 2016), <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/danielleallen/files/hulawhitepaper2.pdf>.

^{ix} Yolanda T. Moses, “Humanities and Inclusion: A Twenty-First Century Land-Grant University Tradition,” in *A New Deal for the Humanities: Liberal Arts and the Future of Public Higher Education*, ed. Gordon Hunter and Feisal G. Mohamed (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 72–85.

^x Taylor Arnold et al., “Uncovering Latent Metadata in the FSA-OWI Photographic Archive,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (2017): <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/11/2/000299/000299.html>.

^{xi} Robyn Schroeder, “What Is Public Humanities?” April 2017, <https://dayofph.wordpress.com/what-is-public-humanities/>.

^{xii} Elizabeth Lynn and Peter Levine, *An Ongoing Experiment: State Councils, the Humanities, and the American Public* (Washington, DC: Kettering Foundation, 2013), <https://www.kettering.org/sites/default/files/product-downloads/An-Ongoing-Experiment1.pdf>.

^{xiii} For analysis of a recent survey of perspectives on the public humanities, see Matthew Wickman, “What Are the Public Humanities? No, Really, What Are They?” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2016): 6–11.

^{xiv} The definitional debates about digital humanities continue to flourish. See: Anne Burdick et al., *Digital Humanities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012); Kathleen Fitzpatrick, “The Humanities, Done Digitally,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 12–15; Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan, and Edward Vanhoutte, eds., *Defining Digital Humanities. A Reader* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2013); Sheila Brennan, “Public, First,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, ed. Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 384–90, <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/83>.

^{xv} Geoffrey Galt Harpham defines the humanities as “The scholarly study of documents and artifacts produced by human beings in the past enables us to see the world from different points of view so that we may

better understand ourselves.” He elaborates that the humanities have “text as their object, humanity as their subject, and self-understanding as their purpose” (“Beneath and Beyond the ‘Crisis in the Humanities,’” *New Literary History* 36, no. 1 [2005]: 23).

^{xvi} Julie Ellison, “The Humanities and the Public Soul,” *Antipode* 40, no. 3 (2008): 463–71. Ellison defines “public” as “work conducted in a deliberately democratic fashion by peers impelled by diverse interests and a common public purpose” (113).

^{xvii} Patrick Svensson, “Humanities Computing as Digital Humanities,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 3 no. 3 (2009): <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/3/000065/000065.html>.

^{xviii} Fitzpatrick, “The Humanities, Done Digitally.”

^{xix} Lauren Tilton and Grace Elizabeth Hale, “Participatory Archives,” *Archive Journal* (August 2017): <http://www.archivejournal.net/essays/participatory-archives/>, accessed February 8, 2018.

^{xx} Matthew Kirschenbaum, “What Is Digital Humanities and What’s It Doing in English Departments?” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 3–11.

^{xxi} Brennan, “Public, First.”

^{xxii} The Photogrammar project team is currently in the process of adding the life histories produced by the Federal Writers’ Project. The new version should be available in fall 2020.

^{xxiii} For more on the New Deal, see Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Vintage, 1996); David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Thomas Benson, ed., *American Rhetoric in the New Deal Era, 1932–1945: A Rhetorical History of the United States*, Vol. 7 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006).

^{xxiv} For more on social documentary, see William Stott, *Documentary Expression in Thirties America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Maren Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America 1890–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Mary E. Stuckey, “FDR, the Rhetoric of Vision, and the Creation of a National Synoptic State,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 98, no. 3 (2012): 297–319.

^{xxv} Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly Brannan, eds., *Documenting America, 1935–1944* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 40.

^{xxvi} Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*.

^{xxvii} For Gordon Parks’s account of his art and work, see *A Choice of Weapons* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2010); “Oral History Interview with Gordon Parks,” December 30, 1964, *Archives of American Art* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution). On Walker Evans’s focus on form, see W. J. T. Mitchell, “The Photographic Essay: Four Case Studies,” in *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 281–322; Trachtenberg, “A Book Nearly Anonymous,” in *Reading American Photographs*, 231–86.

^{xxviii} Mitchell Whitelaw, “Generous Interfaces for Digital Cultural Collections,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (2015): <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/9/1/000205/000205.html>. Kathleen Fitzpatrick theorizes generosity for humanities advocacy, writlarge, in “Generous Thinking: Why We Need the Humanities, and How to Save Them,” (lecture, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, February 4, 2016); “Generous Thinking: The University and the Public Good,” *Humanities Commons* (2019), <https://generousthinking.hcommons.org/>; BoatwrightLibrary, “Kathleen Fitzpatrick: ‘Generous Thinking: Why We Need the Humanities, and How to Save Them,’” YouTube.com, February 17, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZmn_XTK3OY <http://kfitz.info/generous-thinking-the-university-and-the-public-good/>.

^{xxix} See John Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of 1930s Photography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), ix–xiii.

^{xxx} Taylor Arnold, Peter Leonard, and Lauren Tilton, “Knowledge Creation through Recommender Systems,” *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 32, no. suppl_2 (2017): ii151–ii157.

^{xxxi} Here, we are inspired by Mifsud’s reading of Aristotle, in which she tracks his copious references to Homeric gift-giving and identifies a “politics of appropriation” that plays out in Aristotle’s “particular choices about how to receive what Homer gives” (*Rhetoric and the Gift*, 16, 54–94).

^{xxxii} The last several years have seen a shift from narrative maps that force users to follow an animation (usually along the axis of time) to interactive, “choose your own adventure” style maps.

^{xxxiii} Here, we draw on Henry W. Johnstone Jr.’s distinction between the (generative) creative and the (instrumental) technical possibilities of rhetoric: “a process is technological in the sense when it is a series of steps in which either a given step or the project as a whole determines the sequel to the given step, or else when the question whether the successor is fitting to its predecessors does not arise” (qtd. in Mifsud, *Rhetoric and the Gift*, 11). In this sense, Photogrammar leads to a provocative contradiction: it is technological, but it also exceeds the technological.

^{xxxiv} The one exception is the source code for Carto, the mapping engine. Carto is open source software and users can use their own instance of the software.

^{xxxv} Michael Eisen, “The Open Access Movement in Scholarly Communication,” in *Emerging Visions for Access in the Twenty-First Century Library* (Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources, 2003), 56–65, <https://clir.wordpress.clir.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/pub119.pdf>.

^{xxxvi} James E. Porter, “Recovering Delivery for Digital Rhetoric,” *Computers and Composition* 26, no. 4 (2009): 216.

^{xxxvii} See Bess Williamson, “Access,” in *Keywords for Disability Studies*, ed. Rachel Adams, Benjamin Reiss, and David Serlin (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 14–17.

^{xxxviii} Peter Suber, “Promoting Open Access in the Humanities,” January 3, 2004, <http://legacy.earlham.edu/~peters/writing/apa.htm>.

^{xxxix} We know users are engaging with the site for long periods of time. The bounce rate is 37%, which means 37% of users look at one page and then leave. Their time on the site is very short, often just seconds. As a result, for an average duration on a site to be almost five minutes, it means a significant number of users are also staying on the site much longer. It is also worth noting that Google Analytics does not know how long a person stays on a page if they only visit one page on the site. As a result, a user might have a direct link to the page they want to visit and remain there for several minutes; this is not captured in the average session time statistics.

^{xl} On the relationship between Veblen’s use of the term and Burke’s, see Erin Wais, “‘Trained Incapacity’: Thorstein Veblen and Kenneth Burke,” *KB Journal* 2, no. 1 (2005): <https://www.kbjournal.org/wais>.

^{xli} We can also see this kind of humanities work being led by scholars on Twitter. For example, Matt Delmont posted each day for a year a tweet about black daily life from a black U.S. newspaper. The project is called *Black Quotidian* (<http://blackquotidian.com/anvc/black-quotidian/introduction?path=index>).

^{xlii} McKenzie Wark, *General Intellects: Twenty-Five Thinkers for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Verso, 2017), 2.

^{xliii} *Ibid.*, 11.

^{xliv} Danielle Allen, “The Civic Knowledge Project: Grounding Ideas,” *The Civic Knowledge Project* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 2, <http://civicknowledge.uchicago.edu/files/Origins.pdf>. For other theorizations of the public in public humanities, see Cara Krmpotich, “Public Humanities as Third Space: Memory, Meaning-Making and Collections, and the Enunciation of ‘We’ in Research,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2016): 82–92; David R. Shumway, “Why the Humanities Must Be Public,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2016): 33–45.

^{xlv} Jennifer Harrison Newman, *The Geneva Project: A Dance and Multimedia Performance* (dance and multimedia performance, Public Humanities at Yale, American Studies, and Photographic Memory Workshop, Educational Center for the Arts, New Haven, CT, April 10, 2016). See also “Geneva Project and Photogrammar,” (Yale Public Humanities Symposium, New Haven, CT, 2015), <https://campuspress.yale.edu/physymposium/geneva-project-photogrammar/>.

^{xlvi} “The Geneva Project Description” reads, “An inter-disciplinary dance work exploring history, blood memory, and the traces of an ancestral past, The Geneva Project examines what is hidden and what is revealed, by bringing light to that which was once buried.” “Geneva Project and Photogrammar.”

^{xlvii} Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 14.

^{xlviii} *Ibid.*, 15.

^{xlix} Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008).

¹ For more on the circulation of FSA-OWI photographs, see Cara Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2003); Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, “The Borders of Genre: Migrant Mother and the Times Square Kiss,” in *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 49–92.

^{li} Hariman and Lucaites analyze this iconic photo and its circulation in “The Borders of Genre.”

^{lii} Disidentification describes the interpretive strategies of minoritarian subjects who cannot/ will not identify with dominant ideologies. See José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 4–11.

^{liii} We are indebted to Ralph Cintrón for the generative idea of citizenship enacted through presence rather than legal status. See Ralph Cintrón and Jason Schneider, “Things of the World: Migration, Presence, and the Arts of Presencing,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* (forthcoming); Ralph Cintrón, *Democracy as Fetish* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, forthcoming).

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