Tanya Domi:
Hi, this is Tanya Domi. Welcome to The Thought Project recorded at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, fostering groundbreaking research and scholarship in the arts, social sciences and sciences. In this space, we talk with faculty and doctoral students about the big thinking and big ideas generating cutting-edge research informing New Yorkers and the world. Today’s guest is Rachel Tiven, an incoming Ph.D. student in the American History program, who enters the Graduate Center as an established civil rights leader and change maker with respect to LGBTIQ civil rights, and in the area of voting rights, a front burner political issue in America today.

Tanya Domi:
She is becoming a historian as her second career. For nearly 20 years, she has fought for voting rights, gay equality, and immigration reform as a lawyer and leader of national nonprofit organizations. As the CEO executive director at Lambda Legal, Immigration Equality and Immigrant Justice Corps, she fought for structural reform by suing, lobbying and organizing against the federal government. In 2018, she managed the Voter Protection hotline for the Democratic Party of Georgia and the Stacey Abrams gubernatorial campaign before beginning a year in residence at Columbia Law School. While there, Tiven merged her work on voting rights today with voting rights struggles of the past, writing an acclaimed social media project called the Daily Suffragist.

Tanya Domi:
This fall, Tiven returns to the classroom where she seeks to expand and deepen her writing on women's quest for citizenship in the United States. Women winning the vote, a process that began in the 1840s and lasted until at least 1965 is the largest nonviolent revolution in US history. She believes it has much to teach us about how to persuade the powerful to relinquish their dominance. Tiven's experience as a social movement leader informs her work as a historian. She led organizations and political strategies whose forerunners she now will study, which gives her a unique perspective on changemaking. Tiven graduated from Harvard Radcliffe College, and Columbia Law School, and clerked in federal court in the Southern District of New York.

Tanya Domi:
She has been recognized for her work by The Advocate magazine, New York County Lawyers Association, and United We Dream and is widely quoted and published on immigration and LGBT law and policy. She has lived in New York City since the last millennium. Welcome to the thought project, Rachel Tiven.

Rachel Tiven:
Thank you. I'm delighted to be here and really looking forward to this conversation.

Tanya Domi:
Indeed. People should know that we know each other before you have become affiliated with the Graduate Center, and thus I know much about you, but we'll learn more in this conversation. So, you have had an extensive career in civil rights for LGBTQ+, immigration rights, and most recently voting rights when you worked in the capacity of protection of voting rights for the Georgia Democratic Party, when Stacey Abrams ran for governor of Georgia in 2018. What compelled you to shift your 20-year
career and to pursue a PhD in history after becoming a lawyer and an advocate really at the national level in America?

Rachel Tiven:
I wanted to zoom out. I wanted to be able to have a wider lens with which to see why is this place the way that it is? And Who is it for? And how do we change that? And what kinds of interventions have succeeded in wrenching open our ideas of who this place is for and grabbing more power to distribute it more equally across more people. And which of those changes have been sticky and which of those changes have been fleeting? And I think that in some ways, it was my experience at the nexus of LGBTQ rights and immigration policy that really made me want to understand more why we were winning when we were winning and why we were losing when we were losing. I didn't have enough to give me the answers that I was seeking.

Rachel Tiven:
I worked for almost 20 years, along with you and a lot of other people on the liberation of LGBTQ people. Although, there is much work to do to continue and to protect our gains, I think that it is fair to say that we were successful beyond our wildest dreams. I came into that work in the mid-1990s at a midpoint. And that was luck. I entered at a point when so much work had been done by the people who came before me that I had the opportunity. I was there for a chapter. It happened to be a chapter in which we saw an enormous amount of progress.

Rachel Tiven:
I also have worked all of my adult life on immigration policy and immigration reform. And in the years that we have seen such tremendous advance on behalf of LGBTQ people in this country, we have seen no legal progress at all. In fact, significant backsliding on the rights and equality and political access of people who are undocumented Americans, who have come to this country and have been told for now that they are unable to become citizens. And that the doors have been closed here in a way that they really have not been closed since the 1920s, beginning in the 1920s and the middle of the century. And that we have been in a period of terrible regression.

Tanya Domi:
You're absolutely right. What's interesting in listening to you is that I actually left the LGBT movement because I, too, wanted a bigger lens. I wanted to go global and that I wanted to go international, and I felt a real need to do that. And I share that perspective. It's very interesting to hear you articulate that. And I would certainly agree with you that we have witnessed a significant backsliding on immigration, in particular. I'm the granddaughter of the immigrant from Albania, as a matter of fact. And, of course, we also know it within the LGBTQ movement, that there are still efforts trying to push back. And we see along with this incredible crescendo of voting rights laws being peeled back. And this regression is also accompanied by the introduction of anti-trans children's laws across the country. What are your thoughts there because clearly, you're attuned to these issues?

Rachel Tiven:
Fundamentally, what all of these things have in common is that they reflect the profound anxiety of the patriarchy, fear on the part of white men who hold all the power and a reluctance to give it up. And that really is what motivates me to do the work that I do, because I want to understand what works. What works to get people to give up power, to share power with others, especially what works to get people
to share power without violence. And I think that's what I have found so compelling about the story of women's search for political citizenship in the United States.

Tanya Domi:
Of course. Listen, I would be remiss if I didn't mention the fact that on this very day that we're recording this podcast, just within the last two hours, Andrew Cuomo has resigned as governor of the state of New York, once thought to be a great advocate of women. And it's been revealed through a report issued by the Attorney General the state of New York, that indeed he has carried out behavior that is consistent with violations of sexual harassment rules and regulations and potentially even criminal laws. It's pretty stupendous moment for this to occur by a leading Democratic Party official who held elective office for many years. Is this a turning point? It's an interesting moment. What are your thoughts?

Rachel Tiven:
I think that a moment to appreciate is that the Attorney General of the state of New York who launched this excellent report and this investigation in this report, is a black woman. That the legislators who really wrested control of the legislature from a series of fake Democrats who were supported by the governor and needed a more genuinely progressive, somewhat more progressive legislature and helped pass laws that have strengthened protections against sexual harassment in the state that those legislators are women and led by women. And that we will finally here in New York, a long time coming, and I think not accidentally, not incidentally, the result, not of general election. But we will finally have a woman governor in New York.

Rachel Tiven:
And this is of course, not to say that women are perfect or flawless, or impeccable as leaders, but that when we come from such a paucity of women in any kind of formal power whatsoever, I think one of the ... When I talk about the women's suffrage movement to general audiences, one of the things that I like to start with is reminding them that it took so long because it wasn't just about voting, it was about patriarchy. And it was about ending men's absolute power. This is what men were afraid of, and why they didn't want women to have power.

Tanya Domi:
Indeed. As you also mentioned, the City Council of New York City will now be led by a majority of women elected officials, and I think they're going to give the next mayor. They're going to push this next mayor, whoever that may be. But it is an interesting moment. And for you actually to now return to the classroom as a PhD student in the history program at the Graduate Center, which is known for a very strong American history program. What actually pushed you ultimately, to make this decision to apply and go back to school?

Rachel Tiven:
First, it's just a joy. And I feel incredibly privileged and lucky. CUNY Grad Center was my first choice from the beginning.

Tanya Domi:
That's wonderful.
Rachel Tiven:
I'm really delighted.

Tanya Domi:
Wonderful. I want our listeners to take note.

Rachel Tiven:
It is just a terrific faculty in the history department and throughout the whole institution, terrific sociologists, people that I'm really excited to study with. And it is an exciting place to learn and to teach a vigorous place, the center of New York City, which has been my home my entire adult life. And I'm so excited to teach undergrads throughout the CUNY system, just really thrilled to get to be a part of this vibrant and central institution for New Yorkers. It's pretty exciting.

Tanya Domi:
It's interesting. But what actually happened? I mean, what pushed you to say, now it's time. It's time. Now, it's become apparent to me that I shouldn't become a historian.

Rachel Tiven:
Sure. Well, thought it was a hobby. I started a project in August of 2019. I set out on a quest of my own, which was to commemorate the centennial of the 19th amendment in some way that was grand enough to honor the achievement of so many women who brought us to this point, something that I had been thinking about for many, many years. And I had been debating all different kinds of public and private ways to observe the centennial and I decided to do something that I thought was very personal, which was to write a post every day for a year on social media, on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, about the women's suffrage movement, because I thought I knew a lot. I really thought that I knew a lot about the history of women's suffrage. I mean, I knew an enormous amount, compared to most people.

Tanya Domi:
To the average person.

Rachel Tiven:
To the average person. And I began this quest really as a student. I was very committed to my identity as a learner and as a non-academic, capital N, capital A, and I was right. I was a soft buff. There's a great community that I met and joined of suffrage obsessives around the country and around the world I met. I met suffrage enthusiasts from other countries as well. And so, I started off and I quickly learned that I didn't know anything, and that the story was much, much, much more complicated. And as I started to unpeel the onion, I found that this was absolutely the thing that I wanted to be doing. And it became really the thing that I look forward to every day and my research got much more elaborate.

Rachel Tiven:
About six months into what I had envisioned as a 12-month project, although it ultimately lasted a lot longer than that. Around the six month mark when I was corresponding with scholars about differing ideas about when a particular speech by Francis Ellen Watkins Harper took place and whether it was in 1866 or 1869, because I was making a point about it depended on whether it was before or after the 14th amendment, I think that was the moment where I thought, I think I'm in this deeper than I
intended. And so slowly over the spring, and then in the summer of ... Also, while we were in the first year of our pandemic that is not yet over. So just very, very privileged to have the opportunity to stay home safely, and to be able to work from home at the other work I was doing, and to have both my wonderful home library, but also the resources that are available digitally to be able to go deeper and deeper and deeper.

Tanya Domi:
Sure. So, before you made this decision, and I don't know anything about this because you and I haven't really talked about this, but it would seem that your campaign experience with Stacey Abrams must have impressed upon you the weight of history. And how it has been so obviously stacked against American women in general, but especially so for women of color. I would say that when we think about suffrage, those of us who are white, I think a lot of people don't think about the fact that, indeed, black women did not get the franchise until really 1965 with the Voting Rights Act. So, I'd like to hear your thoughts about that because this must certainly inform your interest and your appreciation.

Rachel Tiven:
Sure. I think that there are two core things to know about black women's role and leadership in the voting rights movement from its very beginnings, which really traced to the 1830s until the present with Stacey Abrams and so many other really inspiring women who are leading all of us to a more perfect democracy. The first thing to know is just how hard black women had to fight in every respect to be counted and to be seen and to be heard in the 15th amendment debate that was happening in Congress and among the abolitionists who had previously before the war in working together, before the end of digital slavery and for and for emancipation.

Rachel Tiven:
That from the beginning, white men, white women, and most black men framed the conversation as a conversation about the rights of black people versus women, by which of course, they meant that the black people were men, and the women were white. That framed the conversation from the first. So that in debating what the parameters of the 15th amendment and the end the post-war amendments to the Constitution would look like, you have abolitionists like window filled up saying, "This is the Negro's hour." By which it doesn't even really occur to him in that moment, that he actually means only half of the formerly enslaved African American population until women like Sojourner Truth and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper pointed out to him that they also would like the right to vote, and that they are not included in his framing.

Rachel Tiven:
There's a fascinating and extremely fraught, and I think still painful to read to anybody who cares about equality and power debate happening around the 14th and 15th amendments. And that's the frame and that's where we come from. And yet, I think that should not erase or obscure the extent to which from the beginning, black women advocated for voting rights, not only for themselves, but for everyone. And Martha Jones makes this point so wonderfully in her terrific book, Vanguard, which I recommend to everybody that really, black women are unique among the advocates for voting rights in America. They are different from white women. They are different from black men. They advocate for full political participation for everyone.

Rachel Tiven:
And that when black women are in leadership roles, and even when they're not in leadership roles, when they talk about voting rights, when they talk about fairness, when they talk about equality, they don't leave anyone behind. We see leadership from Stacey Abrams, and we see that leadership from some of the terrific new and newish members of Congress who are really leading on behalf, not only of black women-

Tanya Domi:
Black women mayors around the country. So impressive.

Rachel Tiven:
Right. But it's really that when black women speak, they speak on behalf of the good of the whole community. And I think that that has deep and historic roots. And that I think it's important to hang on to the history of that because black women were significant participants in the suffrage movement. I think sometimes there's a ... So, we know so little about women's struggle for citizenship. That the assumption that voting rights was a white women's thing, or that black women were totally excluded is untrue. And I think that it's important to tell a whole story that includes well-known and less well-known women who were fighting for the vote, again, not just for black women, but for all people.

Rachel Tiven:
I think they're terrific historical examples. I think it's good for people to know that Ida B. Wells and black women in Illinois voted before any women in New York, and that the process was state by state and complicated, and included terrific displays of power and the use of leverage by black women in states as diverse as Illinois and Kentucky.

Tanya Domi:
Interesting. Well, I've just learned something.

Rachel Tiven:
That's why I had to post every day there so much.

Tanya Domi:
Of course. So, you were posting every day on your Twitter feed, and I actually followed it. Not as religiously as perhaps others, but definitely was interested. You have sort of like a profile of the community historians, so to speak, in one way, and then you begin publishing. Like, this is not ... When you publish something, it's rigorous, you want it to be rigorous, you want to make sure it's true, and it's factual and everything's lined up appropriately. You've been published about the life of suffrage, Sara Jane Andrew Spencer, that's a great name. I'm not ever going to forget her name. So how did you discover her and what moved you about her work in life as a suffragist in the 19th to the 20th century? She spanned both.

Rachel Tiven:
She was a leading suffragist in the 1870s, especially, and she did fascinating work beyond that. I came to her, I found her because I was interested in the radicalism of the 1870s. So, following the 14th and 15th amendments, and what becomes a fissure in the Equal Rights Movement and then in the white women's suffrage movement, and a handful of black women joined both factions of the suffrage movement. But
it's really a period of tumult and upheaval for voting rights advocates and for civil rights advocates. In
the 1870s, women are doing this incredibly radical action. There is direct action that is essentially
identical to the kinds of direct action that we do today, that LGBT advocates have done today, that
immigrant rights advocates have done today, that women in the 1870s are undertaking.

Rachel Tiven:
In 1871, Sara Andrew Spencer takes a group of 70 women and Frederick Douglas along as an observer,
and they occupy the board of elections in Washington, DC and demand the right to register. And the
registrar comes out and he says, I’m so sorry, I wish I could register. The registrar of the DC board of
elections in 1871 was a black man who comes out and says very apologetically, there's nothing I can do
for you. Please go home. And Sara is the ringleader of this group. And they've brought Frederick
Douglass and some other very famous figures, Dr. Mary Edwards Walker, who was today we would call
her a gender queer or trans activist, who was a very famous Civil War surgeon is there with them as
well. A woman and Marianne Shadd Kerry, who was very well-
known in Washington, DC's African
American community is there and demands the right to register to vote.

Rachel Tiven:
And they say, no, we won't leave. Each one of us would like to present her case for why she should
register. And so, one by one, they go up to the desk, each woman states her name and her address and
says that she would like to register to vote. And each woman is told, I'm sorry, you are not eligible to
register to vote. And then they sue. And this is part of an impact litigation strategy designed by
suffragists after the 14th and 15th amendments, arguing that the right to vote was inherent to
citizenship under the 14th amendment. So that was an amazing action.

Rachel Tiven:
Then in 1876, there's the US centennial celebration, a huge celebration in Philadelphia. And there were
no women, anywhere in the proceedings, none at all. Women aren't even invited to attend the formal
celebration. And so, women go, led by a group of women, Susan B. Anthony, in the lead, they stormed
the stage. And they hand their giant Declaration of Rights to the Vice President of the United States. And
they say, present this on behalf of the women of America. These amazing direct actions. And as I looked,
I kept seeing Sara Andrew Spencer's name connected to all of these things. But there was nothing about
her. She didn't even have a Wikipedia page.

Rachel Tiven:
I mean, there are so many women, she's just one of so many women who played a significant role in
designing a strategy. And the reason it's so important for us to know these stories is to not reinvent the
wheel every time. When we are seeking more power for more people, knowing the strategies that have
worked in the past, knowing the strategies that have not worked in the past, and why not, and knowing
that we are not the first people to seek these rights and to seek more power for more people is so
crucial.

Tanya Domi:
Indeed. And you are actually reclaiming history. You're reclaiming and bringing it forward in a way that I
never studied when I was in high school or even in college. I never knew Sara Jane Andrew Spencer. And
so, you're reclaiming it and you're lifting the eraser. You're lifting the veil here, which is really important.
I was going to ask you how you your past career and how you would use that knowledge. And it's very obvious that you Harvard Law degrees being put to good use.

Rachel Tiven:
No. Columbia. Columbia. I want to give them a fair credit.

Tanya Domi:
And I bleed blue. Columbia because I am an alumna. But yes, you've put it to good use, like in talking about the adoption of the 14th and 15th amendments and how that worked in conjunction with the campaign strategy. Very, very interesting how this is woven into the story of the fight for suffrage for women. So, you mentioned that there was this event in Philadelphia, but in 1893, in Chicago, you actually also were published about the World's Fair. I even know that the World's Fair in 1893 because that was like the Zeitgeist popular culture captivated the entire American public. And I think you actually said that ... I forget the percentage of Americans that went but it was very high. How much was it?

Rachel Tiven:
Something like half of the people in the country attended the Chicago World's Fair at the Columbian Exposition. What a big deal it was.

Tanya Domi:
What a big deal it was. It was definitely the Zeitgeist. It would be in the New York or like talk of the town. So, you actually published a piece about it. And this big moment, this thing Zeitgeist moment, and they ignored the accomplishments of women and African Americans entirely. How did you discover that little gem of history?

Rachel Tiven:
Well, I was asked to write something by JSTOR for their terrific daily website.

Tanya Domi:
Which is also lots of people that will be listening to this podcast know what JSTOR is. [crosstalk 00:29:07] an academic press and journal.

Rachel Tiven:
And they do terrific work to make sure that people can find the riches of what's in their database. And so, they asked me to write a piece. And it was an opportunity to see the context of how little power women had, and that when white women got power, they did not share it with black women. That's a theme that we come back to over and over again. And I think it's instructive for us as we think about, how do you create opportunity for more power, and how do you build coalition that that gets better results for everyone. And it was really just an amazing story.

Rachel Tiven:
Anyone interested in this, I highly recommend reading Gail Bederman's book, Manliness and Civilization. She has an amazing essay in which she talks about how frustrating it was for white women who couldn't get any representation of their accomplishments in the fair. And ultimately, they get what was called a Board of Lady Managers, which even then they thought sounded silly. And a building, one building.
There's a woman's building. So, there's a labor building and a transportation building. I mean, every other kind of accomplishment, and then there's a woman's building, where you can put all of the woman's things. As Gail Bederman says, "Well, at least white women got a building."

Rachel Tiven:
Black women really who had also been negotiating with the leadership of the fair ... And I think it's important to keep in mind the fair was, it was not a private enterprise. This was a publicly funded undertaking that had a congressional committee attached to it and a budget from the federal government. And so black women and black men were trying to get a piece of representation at this marquee event. And it's a glimpse of a very young Ida B. Wells. It reflects all of her skills and her strengths, her clarity and her fearlessness and her journalistic chops.

Rachel Tiven:
Just imagine her, she is literally sitting at Frederick Douglass desk inside the Haitian pavilion of the Columbian Exposition. And she is writing a manifesto called The Reason why the Colored American is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition. She's writing a protest manifesto over the event, while she is sitting there literally under the tutelage of Frederick Douglass, the greatest public intellectual of his day. And they publish this piece, they print 10,000 copies, and they hand them out at the fairgrounds to try to call attention.

Tanya Domi:
That's an amazing story. Did any papers, newspapers pick that up? They must have.

Rachel Tiven:
Black newspapers.

Tanya Domi:
Black newspapers, but not the mainstream media.

Rachel Tiven:
Right.

Tanya Domi:
That's very, very interesting. And it kind of situates Douglas and Ida B. Wells in this place. And you will eventually see what all comes forward from not only their collaboration, but the movement itself. I see it and I hear it in this podcast that your moral sense of justice really informs your interest in suffrage. And I imagine this extends into the present day on what we are witnessing in America. What will become of us? What will become of us if we fail to overturn these voter laws that are intended to keep all of us away from the ballot?

Tanya Domi:
It's an interesting moment in America that you enter this PhD program, because we learn from history, we learned so much and you've already articulated so much about that struggle. And again, we meet this dark moment in America that's really sort of reminiscent of the worst impulses of the reconstruction
period withdrew rights from black men and obviously, black women. But this moment is intended to steal our democracy.

Rachel Tiven:
And it is a very different moment. And I think it's enormously important that we take it seriously and that we see the parallels without losing sight of how much power we have now. We have an enormous amount of power. We are the closest to a fully representative democracy in this country that we have yet been. Compared to-

Tanya Domi:
I think that’s why they want to take it away.

Rachel Tiven:
Absolutely.

Tanya Domi:
They've seen the future. They've seen the future in Georgia by electing those two senators must have really put fear in their souls.

Rachel Tiven:
I don't understand why people are afraid of everyone having a good night's sleep and enough food to eat and healthcare and the opportunity to thrive and participate. But yes, indeed, clearly people are frightened. I'm being glib, but people are very afraid by the idea that we should have a country in which everybody has what they need to thrive. But I think it's so important to see that this is an eternal struggle, and that we started from a place where all of the power was held by very, very few people. And we have read it as the story of wrenching it open ever since then.

Rachel Tiven:
Ibram Kendi said something that I found so helpful. He talked about not seeing our work as forward movement and backlash, but rather understanding that there are two very powerful forces that are always pressing against one another. Sometimes the power shifts in one direction, and sometimes it shifts in another direction. But the two forces are always there. And there's no moment at which we have triumphed over racism or triumphed over patriarchy. It's a constant struggle. And we have more tools today than we have had before. I think that keeping that in mind, and seeing the past clearly, but also appreciating.

Rachel Tiven:
It's why when we talked about what's significant about Andrew Cuomo resigning? And I think that the presence of women in positions of formal power is significant. And it's not enough. I don't think it'll be enough until women have all of the positions of formal power, and we'll hold them for 250 years, and then we can see where we are. But I think that it is significant that women have some formal power today that people of all genders have some formal power today. I think that it matters to know how difficult it was to get to the point we’re at, but also to know that there have been radical moments in our past to which we can return. And that where we are now is not the best that there could be.
Rachel Tiven:
I think it matters to tell these stories more fully because it helps us imagine a world of much more open possibility. If people knew that of the first 13 states in the United States, women could vote in one of those states. Instead of thinking that women never could vote at the beginning. That's actually not true. Women could vote in New Jersey, and they could vote New Jersey for about 20 years, under the same restrictions as men, which was to say that they had to have property in it. It was certainly not opened in the way that we would consider sufficient. But women did vote from the beginning. What if we knew that?

Rachel Tiven:
What if we knew that in 1868, a draft version of the 15th amendment was offered in Congress that said that everyone who is a citizen here has an affirmative right to vote without restriction of race or sex. That was on the table in 1868. And we still don't have an affirmative right to vote in our Constitution, but not because nobody ever thought we needed one. So, I think that telling these stories helps us have just a much more vivid set of possibilities from which to draw. And then we can imagine a world that looks more fair and more just for everyone without having to constantly reinvent it as though we were starting over.

Tanya Domi:
So, Rachel, I'm thinking about what it would be like for CUNY students to have you as a teacher, as a professor? So, what have you decided upon a dissertation topic? Has it occurred to you? Of course, when you write a dissertation, it's got to be like a specific, kind of narrow, build it out, nobody else has ever talked about it before or written about it. Have you thought what it might be?

Rachel Tiven:
I certainly have ideas. It is much too early for me to be much committed to certainty. But I am really intrigued by these questions about how do you get people who have power to share it? And I find the women's suffrage movement so compelling because it is the largest nonviolent revolution in American history. It is more power for more people without violence, or at least without violence against the power structure. Certainly, there was violence against some of the women who participated. But it is the biggest nonviolent revolution that we have ever had. And I think that fundamentally, writing about how people in power change their minds, and what evidence we have of why they do so is really important.

Rachel Tiven:
So, I'm interested in looking at how members of Congress and some state legislatures who changed their minds about women's political participation, what evidence did they leave behind about why they did so? And what can we learn from that? I think it's akin to ... People ask me, how did we win marriage equality? Or people ask you, how did we get to open military service for LGBT people? And we can tell them what we did. But to find out what happened in the minds of the people who had the power to change their position and open up power and open up access and open up full participation to more people, we have to ask them, and we have to look at their records. And so, when I think about a dissertation, that's something that I-

Tanya Domi:
Well, I see the framework of a dissertation proposal there. I want to thank you so much for coming on to The Thought Project today and we will have you back.

Rachel Tiven:
Thank you. It was really a pleasure.

Tanya Domi:
I look forward to having coffee with you at the Graduate Center. And on behalf of the Graduate Center, I welcome you to 365 Fifth Avenue. It's a great place.

Rachel Tiven:
Thank you. I'm so thrilled.

Tanya Domi:
Thanks for tuning into The Thought Project. And thanks to our guest, Rachel Tiven, an incoming Ph.D. student in the American History program at the Graduate Center, CUNY. The thought project is brought to you with production, engineering and technical assistance by Kevin Wolfe of CUNY TV. I'm Tanya Domi. Tune in next week.