Poverty and Health • An Eye for Art • Renaissance Origins

HARVARD
MAGAZINE

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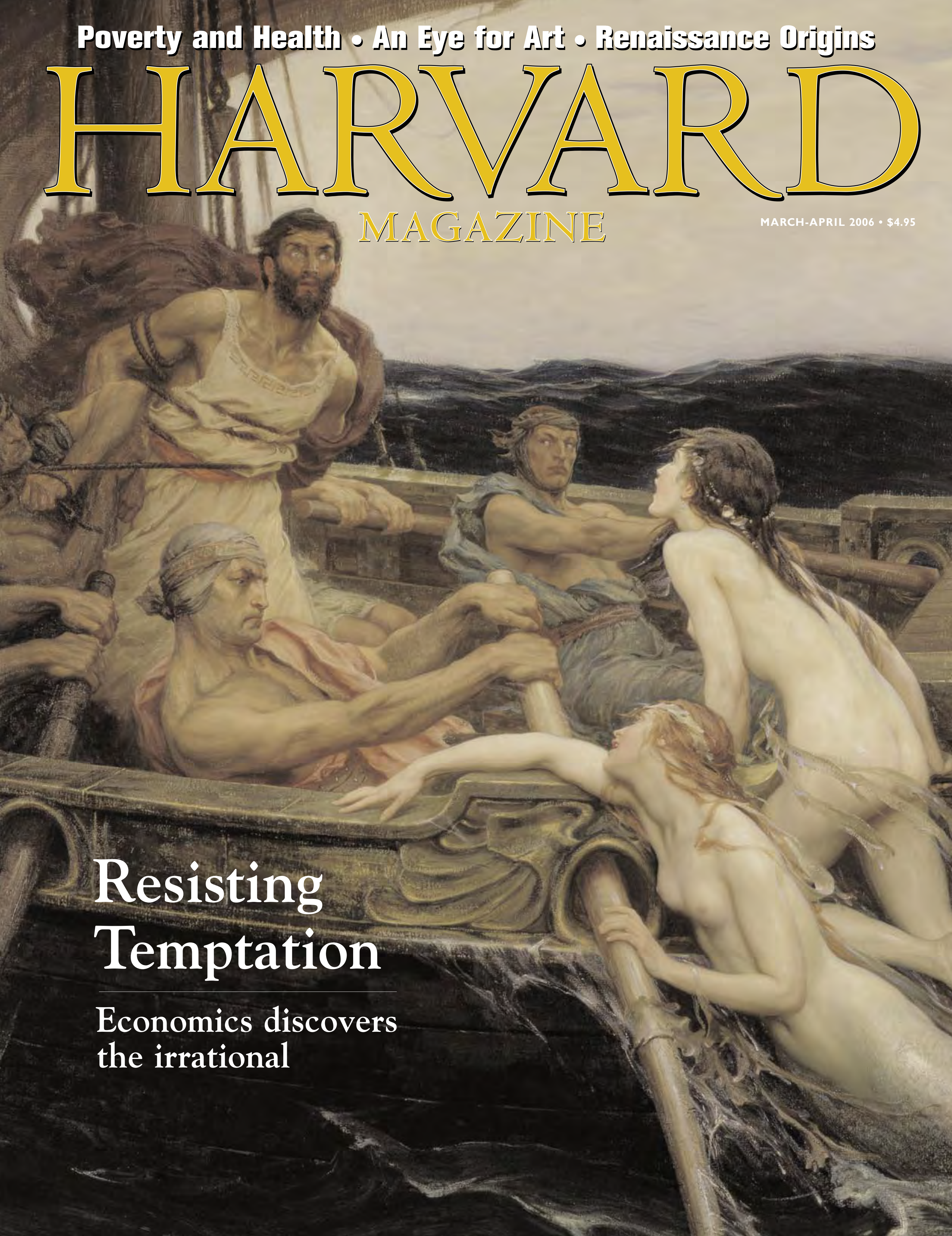

Resisting Temptation

Economics discovers the irrational

MARCH-APRIL 2006 VOLUME 108, NUMBER 4

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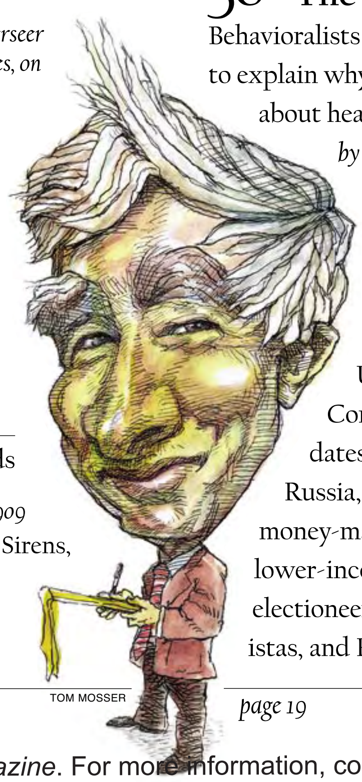
On the cover: Detail from the 1909 oil painting Ulysses and the Sirens, *by Herbert James Draper.* *©The Bridgeman Art Library/ Getty Images*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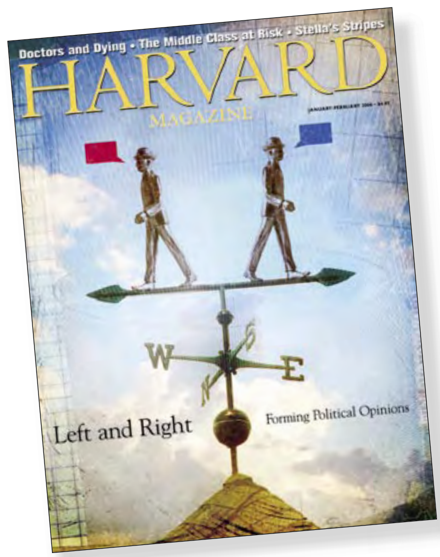
Cambridge 02138

The imperiled middle class, money-managers' pay, New Orleans



PURPLE PEOPLE AND OTHERS

I BELIEVE Erin O'Donnell's statement ("Twigs Bent Left or Right," January-February, page 34)—that "people are much more purple than anything else. You don't find nearly the polarization suggested by the media, or, frankly, by scholars"—to be a correct characterization of today's political reality. However, this reality goes unnoticed, if not deliberately ignored, by the two national parties.

The Republican and Democratic parties have essentially become competing entities for the acquisition and maintenance of power without true regard for the responsibility of governance. The populace, although "purple," is forced to choose between hard-line red and blue ideologies in the voting booth.

There are liberals and there are conservatives to be sure, and although they are clearly numerical minorities, they still manage to control the political process of this country, while avoiding the needs of the vast "purple" majority. There never seems to be a single thing that a Democrat proposes that is acceptable to a Republican, and vice versa.

The most profound observation by O'Donnell is, "This polarization of the parties raises the stakes for the electorate, since it decreases the likelihood of moderate or centrist governance." I would submit that the risk is now one of whether governance is likely at all.

GARY W. FARNETI '71
Binghamton, N.Y.

YOUR ARTICLE shows the usual liberal bias and a lack of knowledge of the South and its politics. First, the Southern voter has always been conservative. In Texas, where I have lived since 1967, the philosophy has not changed. Prior to the 1978 to 1990 period, the Democratic party had both liberals and conservatives, who fought in the primaries. After 1978, when the Republican Bill Clements won the governorship, the Republican party demonstrated that their candidates could win. At the same time, the national Democratic party moved farther to the left and farther from the conservative mainstream in the South. Your author quotes Robert Blendon, who would like to blame the switch on the race issue, but this was not the fact. As an example of your lack of knowledge, former Senator Phil Gramm's name is incorrectly spelled "Graham."

FREDERICK R. MEYER, M.B.A. '58
Dallas

Editor's note: The editors regret the error with Senator Gramm's name.

O'DONNELL QUOTES associate professor of government and Radcliffe Institute Fellow J. Russell Muirhead as saying that Republican candidate Barry Goldwater,

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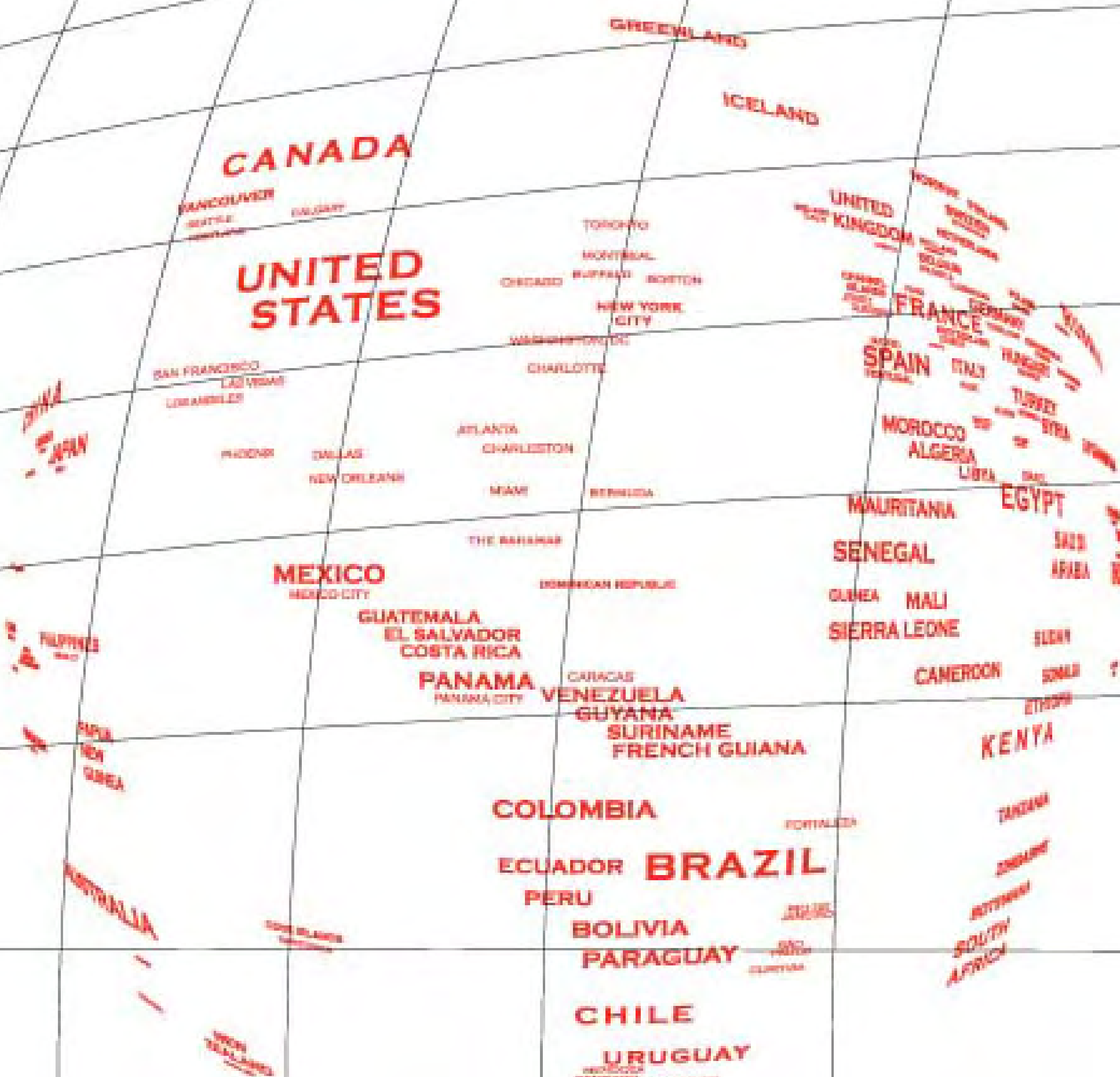
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running in 1964, argued that "there wasn't a dime's worth of difference between the two big parties." But surely it was George Wallace, running as an American Independent in 1968, who famously made the "dime's worth of difference" critique of our two-party system. That both a Harvard professor and *Harvard Magazine* should commit such a blunder in print is both depressing and alarming.

Frederic Stout '65
Stanford, Calif.

Russell Muirhead replies: Of course it was Wallace. Mr. Stout is right. Neural slips afflict even Harvard professors.

O'Donnell gives Nathan Glazer's explanation of why many Jews are liberals as follows: "Jewish voters take a liberal position, which is seen as less protective of income and property, despite the fact that they are a higher-income group." Why do they vote against their apparent economic best interests? "The self-perception and historical experience as a threatened minority keep them on the liberal side, particularly because liberalism is so much oriented now to the defense of minorities," Glazer says. "There is a suspicion that the American conservative is just not going to be sympathetic to minority concerns." And so for Jews, he says, a desire for protection as a group trumps economic interest.

This is an odd explanation, not because it is wrong, but because it bypasses a much more natural explanation. I am not a Jew who identifies strongly with Jewish cultural tradition, but I do know that meeting the needs of the poorest members of the community has been a core value of the Jews throughout their history.

I suspect that a disproportionate number of the voters who swung to the left in response to the Great Depression were Jewish; and if so, I would explain this by that core value; the "defense of minorities in general" explanation would not work nearly as well for this. There was some basis in fact for the popular misconception on the part of many Americans during the McCarthy era that "Jewish" and "Communist" were synonymous.

In an article which deals with issues of altruism, among others, it is mildly disturbing to have a phenomenon which has an obvious altruistic explanation being explained instead by political self-interest, and the altruistic explanation not even mentioned as a possibility.

Tony G. Horowitz '76
Sarasota, Fla.

O'Donnell makes the important point that people are not, nor should be, wedded to party-line ideology. Her piece, however, perpetuates inaccurate assumptions that have confounded efforts by others to find a rational center. The very notion that to be "conservative in some places and liberal in others" is to reject ideological consistency assumes that those labels in fact represent ideologically consistent belief systems. Yet, to cite one conundrum, conservatives generally oppose right-to-die laws, while passionately supporting capital punishment. Is there sanctity of life or not? Recognizing that the party lines are already inconsistent would greatly lower the barriers to rational debate.

The second, and bigger, misconception is that liberals are comfortable with big government while conservatives "harbor a deep suspicion of government power." The example above illustrates that conservatives are in fact quite comfortable

Crimson Creativity

Beginning this fall, *Harvard Magazine* will expand its coverage of arts, culture, and creativity, as practiced by alumni, faculty, and students. Reviews of books—the principal focus of "The Browser"—will remain important. But reporting, profiles, criticism, and interviews focused on works in other media (painting, sculpture, film, video), performance and recordings (theater, music), and other creative realms (architecture, design, fashion), as examples, will join the roster.

Deputy editor Craig Lambert, editor of "Right Now" for 16 years, will direct this new effort; he welcomes ideas and suggestions (e-mail him at arts@harvardmag.com). Given the magazine's bimonthly frequency, coverage will emphasize context and depth over reviews of ephemeral presentations or sheer publicity. Managing editor Jonathan Shaw will edit "Right Now," continuing its focus on developments in research.

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with government power, e.g., over life and death. Meanwhile, during the Vietnam war, it was liberals who conducted tax strikes, spoke of Big Brother, and even brought down their own president. Now the Democrats are widely seen as the party of heavy-handed government, largely because of their refusal to divorce progressive goals from redistributive methodologies.

By embracing this definition of themselves, liberals give conservatives a free pass on the real issue which divides them, which is not whether government should weigh in, but to whose benefit. Republicans parlayed that pass into their 1994 "revolution." The current poor standing of the Republican Party stems in part from the widespread realization that it never really did stand for small government, but was simply awaiting its chance at the trough. As a fiscally conservative, socially moderate, and culturally liberal Republican, I believe I speak for millions of "purples" who are sick of demagoguery and betrayal, and would gladly support a true "third way."

Charles Hsu '79
San Francisco

THE IMPERILED MIDDLE CLASS

Thanks to Elizabeth Warren for her essay ("The Middle Class on the Precipice," January-February, page 28) depicting the deepening economic travail of this nation's once abundant and confident middle class. There is a profound shift taking place in our society and the steady, tacit erosion undermining the security of millions of hard-working families is an unsettling reality that is becoming impossible to ignore.

Warren does not discuss another growing segment of American society that is far beyond the realm of middle-class reckoning: the working poor and the unemployed. Homelessness is an accelerating phenomenon engulfing not only the mentally ill, the addicted, and the uneducated. Today millions of earnest citizens are employed in thankless, dead-end, boring, and abysmally paying jobs that we as a society expect someone to do. Many such individuals cannot afford to rent a simple room: that is, if such a simple room can even be found. Burgeoning numbers of these workers now sleep in their vehicles or in homeless shelters. At one time, these citizens might have been on their way to a more secure and prosperous existence in this nation's middle class. They are now stuck in the dreary nether world of economic marginalization. It is a limbo that could become the destination for even greater numbers of citizens now overwhelmed by the fiscal demands of an economic order that cossets the rich at the expense of everyone else. It would seem that in the course of this nation's rightward drift, we have slowly taken on numerous characteristics of a third-world country. Where is the outrage?

Joseph Martin
Seattle

The author—in true Harvard faculty, liberal-left, politically correct fashion—is so intent on belaboring credit-card and mortgage companies that she slides over without more than a passing allusion one of the major contributors to the present difficulties of the middle class. In the early 1970s, your "typical" family paid 24 percent of its $42,450 income in taxes. In 2004, the "typical" family paid 30 percent of its income in taxes. If the tax bite had remained at 24 percent, the "typical" 2004 family would have had an additional $2,938 in discretionary income—a higher, rather than lower, total amount than in the early 1970s.

The runaway costs of government are worse than indicated by the heightened tax bite. First, military spending in 2004 is a substantially lower percentage of both total government spending and GNP than in the early 1970s. Second, taxes paid do not come close to meeting the actual costs of government. Not simply is there the massive federal government deficit, but government at all levels has untold billions of dollars in unfunded liabilities for public employee-retirement and health benefits.

John Braeman '54
Champaign, Ill.

Warren claims that having two earners has made the family more insecure. Her rationale is that the housewife represents spare earning capacity that the two-earner family does not have, which can be deployed if the male earner loses his job. But further thought reveals that if the husband in a two-earner family loses his job, the wife is already in a job, probably a considerably better one than the housewife could get. If the wife in the two-earner couple loses her job, she can be deployed to look for another. At an unemployment rate of 6 percent, the likelihood that the one-earner couple will have zero wage income is 17 times the likelihood of a zero income for the two-earner couple. The two-earner family is likely to have a higher net worth to fall back on if unemployment strikes.

The advent of the two-earner couple is one of the main causes of the improvement in women's status we have seen over the last half-century. Among other good things, it has allowed Elizabeth Warren to be a professor at Harvard Law School, which 50 or so years ago did not accept women even as students. It passes wonder that she has put herself in the business of manufacturing arguments for Phyllis Schlafly.

Barbara R. Bergmann, Ph.D '58
Washington, D.C.

LIVING WITH DYING

"Life lessons," by Debra Bradley Ruder (January-February, page 44), wonderfully set forth the need to teach young doctors about compassion and listening to ill patients, thus: "By putting themselves in their patients' shoes, the students grasped the value of hope and the need for seriously ill people to set realistic goals." But I wish she had written about dealing with patients who lucidly decide that they do not want to protract their suffering further. Too many doctors feel that they are defeated by death, and even that a patient who welcomes it is not mentally competent.

As a lawyer, I litigated a situation comparable to the Terri Schiavo case in all respects except that the husband and adult children of the victim uniformly wanted

BREAKING NEWS

For coverage of breaking news at Harvard, the editors invite you to visit the magazine's website, www.harvardmagazine.com.

On the website, you may also register for "Editor's Highlights," a summary of the contents of each new issue e-mailed just as it is posted on the website. Readers outside the United States, who don't automatically receive the print edition, may find this an especially helpful way to keep in touch with the University and each other.

to carry out her wishes to remove her feeding tube *(McConnell v. Beverly Enterprises).* The original judge on the case had to be replaced because of prejudice against such removal, but eventually the superseding judge and the Connecticut Supreme Court upheld the removal. Later, the *Connecticut Law Tribune* reviewed the matter and gave the following year-end awards: To the original judge, Howard Moraghan, the Rambo Sensitivity Award; to the judge who tried the case, Anne Dranginis, the Rock and a Hard Place Award; and to Attorney General Joseph Lieberman (now Senator), who fought the removal until he ran out of appeals, the Wolf in Sheep's Clothing Award.

Mrs. McConnell had no living will, but she was a nurse in a hospital emergency room, and her wishes not to have her life protracted had been so clearly and repeatedly expressed that they had to be honored. I note another matter in which an elderly Yugoslav client of mine asked for a living will. Since his English was poor, I had my secretary listen as I read it aloud to him before asking him what it meant. He answered: "It mean ven my time come to kick de bucket I don't vant anyone to hold it down." Such thinking has to be recognized and honored by doctors.

Stephen A. Wise '46
New Canaan, Conn.

Debra Bradley Ruder replies: Although physician-assisted suicide, living wills, and other "right-to-die" issues were not the focus of this piece, they were addressed during the "Living with Life-Threatening Illness" course. In addition to classroom discussions, the students and faculty organized an evening forum about the Schiavo case, covering such complex topics as the definition of life and a patient's right to refuse treatment. (*Editor's note:* See James Vorenberg and Sidney Wanzer, "Assisting Suicide," March-April 1997, page 30.)

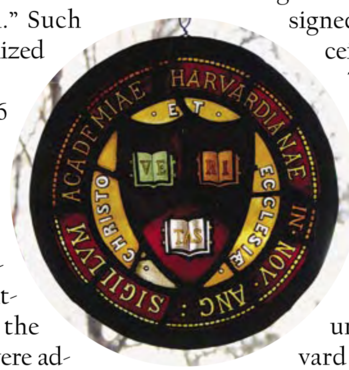
STAINED-GLASS VERITAS

Your "treasure" about the stained-glass "Veritas" window retrieved from the old Appleton Chapel ("Word to Live By," January-February, page 92) leads me to ask whether you can suggest the origin of the shield depicted in the photograph attached. It is 12 inches in diameter, seems to have been made with some of the flashing technique described in your article, as well as the colored glass, and was obviously made for hanging, with a wire embedded in the heavy outside lead frame.

It reached me through the family of John A. Sessions '21, whose father and brother were also both Harvard men, and whose grandfather—my great-grandfather—was Frederic Dan Huntington (1819-1904), the first Plummer professor of Christian morals at Harvard. He reportedly took great interest in the building of Appleton Chapel, completed in 1858.

David M.G. Huntington '48, Ed.M. '54
Shorewood, Wis.

Editor's note: Robin Carlow of Harvard University Archives searched thoroughly through all likely sources and could find no mention of the piece. Perhaps a reader can provide a clue?



Huntington's shield hangs in a window.

MANAGERS OF THE ENDOWMENT

On December 21, Harvard announced 2005 bonuses, totaling $57 million, for six managers of its endowment. Five of them no longer work at Harvard, having resigned earlier this year. One received a bonus of $17 million. Two years ago, this person received $35 million.

How can Harvard justify paying these six people nearly three times the amount it collected from our entire Class of '69 during our thirty-fifth-reunion fund campaign? Harvard presents itself to alumni, and to the U.S. government, as a philanthropy. No other philanthropy pays any employee $17 million per year. To reward them with eight-digit bonuses is inappropriate, unnecessary, and contrary to the values of a great university.

The administration claims that "the market" determines these bonuses, but Yale pays its fund manager far less, roughly $1.1 million per year, and its endowment has outperformed Harvard's in recent years. Where and what is this "market"? It's a group of people sitting around a table—people who are not accountable, people whose identities Harvard refuses to reveal.

In the past, Harvard has defended these

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to put their career second?
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bonuses as incentives. Not this time. These people are gone. What's more, Harvard has set aside half a billion dollars of endowment money for them to manage, without reporting their earnings.

In the 40 years since we entered college, adjusting for inflation, tuition has nearly tripled. Room-and-board charges have doubled. In more than half of the past 23 years, Harvard has raised tuition at the College by more than twice the rate of inflation. Professional school tuitions have risen even faster. Many graduates leave Harvard's business, law, medical, and other professional schools with staggering debt, often well over $150,000. This requires many of them to work for whoever can pay them the most, making it far more difficult for them to enter public service, teaching, the arts, or wherever else their ideals might lead them. Meanwhile, the endowment has quintupled, in constant dollars.

We call upon the University to freeze tuition throughout the university, eliminate student loans for undergraduates, and create a program of debt forgiveness for recent graduates of all schools who enter public service, the arts, or other modestly paid professions.

What we expect, however, is that Harvard will announce in March that it must yet again raise tuition by more than inflation, yet again pushing up student debt burdens to unprecedented levels. And then, come next fall, it will yet again announce a new round of eight-digit bonuses for its fund managers.

Amid its annual self-congratulation over the size of the endowment, Harvard's current leaders should do what their predecessors have done over three centuries. They should manage the greatness of the University's wealth to justify the greatness of its reputation.

We call on the University to hold a public forum on the endowment, open to all members of the University community.

Stanley Eleff, David Kaiser, and William Strauss, on behalf of nine members of the class of 1969.

MISPLACED MICE

In your "open book" on the admirable Charles C. Burlingham, Class of 1879 (January-February, page 26), George Martin claims that CCB's handling of the 1935 Commencement "won praise on all sides." This cannot have been so, since

Harvard's department of the classics would have winced when CCB declared that Harvardians were free to be propagandists "only *extra mures*," that is, only outside the mice. Presumably he meant to say, "outside the walls," for which the Latin is *extra muros*.

Admirers of CCB may at least cling to the hope that he has been misquoted by Martin or by *Harvard Magazine*.

Clifford W. Weber '65
Boston

Editor's note: Martin misquoted Burlingham, and the editors, several of whom should remember their Latin, slept.

PAIN IN NEW ORLEANS

Reading "Rethinking New Orleans" (January-February, page 15)—in which Ashley Pettus reports that Glimp professor of economics Edward Glaeser does not believe that it is in the national interest to restore New Orleans to its former size—as a person in the process of moving back to the city, I found it not only unhelpful in the task of figuring it all out, but hurtful. Certainly, the evacuees who do not wish to return should be helped where they are. Certainly, there is a need to rethink, and many people here are engaged in doing just that, but there is no way to do that without being in the same room with those people. The solution cannot be outside in.

Of course, with New Orleans the problem is not just the problems the city had before Katrina—all stemming from racism and poverty, a trademark of many American cities—but its location on low land in the hurricane gulf. It's hard to attract new businesses with the prospect of packing up for four months a year with a couple of days warning. But for any business to continue—even the port, oil, and tourism Glaeser focuses on—the levees will have to be decently rebuilt, and that will leave room—even with a smaller footprint—for more. New Orleans has several prominent universities and hospitals, and a thriving arts and music community that is not just a tourist attraction. It is a city with history, beauty, and character. It does not currently have, but it has the means to have, a well-balanced economy.

But right now it is hard living here—and that, I have to say, is where I was disappointed, not so much with Glaeser, but with *Harvard Magazine*. One of the difficult things about Katrina is watching one's city endlessly dissected in the media by people talking as if New Orleans was the only city that had not rid itself of racism or corruption. Pundit after pundit stepped out of their glass houses to throw stones. It was like something from the psalms: we became "a taunt to our neighbors." So much of the media, *Harvard Magazine* included, seems to write as if no one in the city is reading or watching what they say, or as if they wouldn't understand it if they did. There are lots of sensationalized emotional reports, and there are lots of cold-hearted economic analyses. The two need to be put together.

I had it easy during Katrina. My friends and the people I meet have lost houses, jobs, and security. (Five of the eight teachers at the pre-school I ran for 11 years lost their homes.) They wait for keys to their trailers, responses from their adjusters, return phone calls from roofers or headhunters. But for most of them, this is home and they want it to stay home.

There should be a rational way for people willing to make a commitment to this city to stay. But you cannot have a genuine conversation about the future of New Orleans without acknowledging what the people of New Orleans have been through and listening to what they have to say.

Christina Albers '79
New Orleans

Glaeser suggests New Orleanians may want to "move on to brighter prospects in growing cities like Houston, Atlanta, or Las Vegas," and their hometown "may not

AMPLIFICATION

Harvard Magazine reported ("Brevia," January-February, page 69) that Junying Yuan, professor of cell biology at the Medical School, was one of 13 recipients of the 2005 Director's Pioneer Awards, conferred by the National Institutes of Health to recognize innovative individuals. Among the other recipients were Leda Cosmides '79, Ph.D. '85, Pehr A. Harbury '86, Ph.D. '94, Thomas A. Rando '79, Ph.D. '87, and Nathan D. Wolfe, S.D. '99.

be worth rebuilding." It was my hometown for 25 years, and I know firsthand its poverty, crime, and social distress. So why do I still feel the irrational "sentimental attachment" to New Orleans that this article so neatly dismisses? Perhaps, as Eudora Welty said, "It is through place that we put out roots, wherever birth, chance, fate, or our traveling selves set us down; but where those roots reach toward…is the deep and running vein, eternal and consistent and everywhere purely itself—that feeds and is fed by the human understanding."

CHARLES F. SANDERS, M.ARCH. '73
Boulder, Colo.

MISSED OPPORTUNITY

CHRISTOPHER REED'S vivid article about Frank Stella ("Them Apples," January-February, page 40) rekindles very old embers. I was at Andover from 1952 to 1954. Andover in those days had a fabulous studio art department. The studio classes had about a dozen or so kids each and were exceedingly well taught. I believed I had inherited good creative art genes, and I was convinced that I was pretty hot stuff in studio art, even better than one particularly talented classmate. But how can I now be faulted for regarding my own work at the time as superior to his because in 1952 to 1954, Frank Stella was not yet Frank Stella.

In college I realistically reappraised my limited artistic talent and eventually went on to a long career in investments on Wall Street. Never in those 35-plus years on the Street did I ever have (and miss) as big an investment opportunity as I had in 1952 to 1954, when all I had to do was bend over and pick up off the studio art-class floor, and save, the things that Frank Stella was discarding, as he was finding his way to becoming the great treasure for all of us that he is today.

KENNETH E. MACWILLIAMS '58, M.B.A. '62
New York City

SPEAK UP, PLEASE

Harvard Magazine welcomes letters on its contents. Please write to "Letters," *Harvard Magazine*, 7 Ware Street, Cambridge 02138, send comments by e-mail to yourturn@harvard.edu, use our website, www.harvardmagazine.com, or fax us at 617-495-0324. Letters may be edited to fit the available space.

Of Nonlinear Optics and Clear Vision

John (AB '56, PhD '61) and Elizabeth (AB '58) Armstrong see eye to eye on most things, including their support of Harvard.

"Elizabeth and I admire Harvard's clear vision and commitment to the sciences and to graduate student fellowships," says John, who retired as VP of science and technology after 30 years at IBM. An author of numerous papers on nonlinear optics and photon statistics of lasers, John remains an active university trustee and board member of several national science organizations.

The Armstrongs' service to Harvard is visionary. A past Overseer and Director of the Harvard Alumni Association, John has served on many visiting committees, including Engineering and Applied Sciences and Physics. He is also Co-Chair of his 50th Reunion Gift Committee.

Elizabeth has served on the Library Visiting Committee and the Resource Committee on Graduate Fellowships.

"The Office of Gift Planning highlighted how a trust invested in the Harvard endowment could enable us to support our many interests at Harvard and provide a secure financial future for our children," says Elizabeth. "Through gift planning, we were able to achieve much more than we had envisioned."

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Right Now

The expanding Harvard universe

LOVE, STREET LOVE

Sex and the Inner City

The sexual and romantic habits of urban black males have long been a subject of scrutiny. Forty years ago, the Moynihan Report—*The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*—decried the prevalence of female-headed households in urban ghettoes and focused on the absence of fathers as a key factor undermining the social and economic progress of African Americans. A decade later, "blaxploitation" films lampooned and sometimes celebrated the promiscuity of African-American men from the inner-city underclass.

Yet, as Nathan Fosse, a Harvard graduate student working with sociology professor Michèle Lamont, writes in a recent, unpublished paper, "In over 50 years of urban poverty research, there has not been one comprehensive, qualitative study of sexual and romantic relationships from the perspective of inner-city black men." The biggest problem with poverty research, Fosse says, "is that we're constantly talking *about* inner-city black men—running statistical regressions to find out associations, writing essays about black culture—but very rarely do we ever actually talk *to* them and listen to what they have to say."

Hence, Fosse launched an ethnographic study—his qualitative research is a work in progress, and Fosse continues to amass data—conducting face-to-face interviews with 26 young men from two low-income, African-American neighborhoods in Boston. His paper, "Money, Masculinity, Mortality, and Mistrust: Causes of Infidelity among Inner-City Black Men," attempts to account for the much-ballyhooed prevalence of sexual infidelity in these men's relationships with women. The aim, he says, is "to contribute to the whole debate on unwed parenthood in the inner city by asking men about their relationships with women and about their thoughts on fatherhood."

In general, the men tended to sort women into one of two categories: "wifey" and "stunt." A "wifey" is a wife or girlfriend with whom the man might form a continuing relationship and create a public, social identity; a "stunt" is someone he sees for sexual pleasure, personal gain, or company at a party, but never as

EDEL RODRIGUEZ

an emotionally intimate partner. "A stunt is like a low-class chick, " one respondent explained. "I ain't gonna get trapped up [emotionally involved] with a girl like that, she ain't worth it, there's too many of them out to use you anyways...." In contrast, a wifey is someone the man wants to know as an individual, writes Fosse. Dustin, an interviewee, says, "For the wifey, you gotta feel more, you gotta know where they comin' from, you gotta talk with her, it's your girlfriend, someone you know, someone you trust, 'cause it's all about trust."

The question of fidelity does not arise with stunts. But even with wifeys, only some men were interested in monogamy. Where critics may view unfaithfulness as a moral failing, Fosse's research instead points to social, psychological, and material causes—the "money, masculinity, mortality, and mistrust" of his title. "[A]rguments about black men's oppositional values, or their dependency on welfare, alone don't provide adequate explanations" for infidelity, he says.

Money, in Fosse's context, means not only financial wherewithal, but also social resources: the availability of female relatives to care for offspring, for example, can lessen a man's resistance to becoming a father. *Masculinity* draws support from the ability to attract sexual partners: "[W]hen girls start payin' attention to you, that's when you feel like a real man, like you got it goin' on," one interviewee explained. (That the men were rewarded by the responses they got from *women*—not necessarily from male peers—belies the common assumption that "stud" behavior by urban black males is mostly intended to impress other men.) *Mortality*—the frequency with which relatives, friends, and acquaintances die at young ages, and the men's intimate contact with death—forms a backdrop for carelessness in sexual matters. "[M]en view their own lives as uncertain and devalued, " says Fosse, "and they see sexual risk as relatively unimportant, as opposed to other risks to their health and safety." Furthermore, a global *mistrust* of women can grow from forlorn childhood experiences. One man described how, when he was 12 years old, his sisters and his mother suddenly left him: "I just came home one day, and there was, like, nobody there...I didn't know where anybody went."

Qualitative research of this kind can enlighten social policies, which often target irrelevancies. For example, Fosse argues that raising the cost of fatherhood through limits on welfare payments for child support has scant if any effect on the procreative behaviors of poor men. Drug and sexual awareness programs may not reduce pregnancies, either, as the men all understood the consequences of having a child and were aware of and had access to condoms.

"The men's sexual infidelity often arises from a profound sense of despair, and not [from the lack of] a set of values in their behaviors," writes Fosse. He concludes that men's sexual infidelity is "not so much a *moral* problem as a *mental health* problem." Consequently, interventions emphasizing "traditional values are ineffective," he writes, "unless they aim at establishing trust between partners and within communities."

Social policy also needs to de-stigmatize men and recognize that women are partly to blame for unwed parenthood, Fosse adds. Many inner-city women are probably just as "unmarriageable" as the men, he says, and they may assert their independence through retaliatory exploitation. He suggests that educating "*both* men and women about the consequences of parenthood early in life would likely make either of them less likely to use their own offspring as a means toward establishing lasting intimate relationships." ~CHARLES COE

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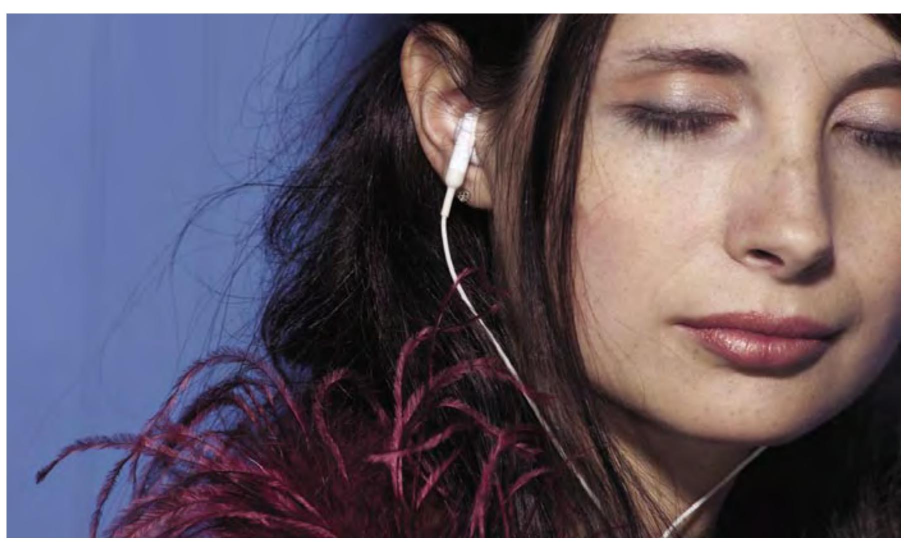
TURN ON, TUNE IN, FADE OUT

Downloading Deafness

Most of us by now have had problems communicating with an oblivious headphone user who ignores our impatient repetitions of "Excuse me" at ever-increasing volume. Don't expect that problem to clear up any time soon. If anything, research suggests that it will get worse, as headphone listeners go from being deaf to the world to being simply deaf.

The bright white iPod earplugs that dangle from ear after ear on the bus, on the sidewalk, at the gym, and every-



CHRIS CARROLL/CORBIS

where else may be partly to blame. Research by instructor in otology and laryngology Brian Fligor, who directs the Diagnostic Audiology Program at Harvard Medical School, suggests that if you're not willing to trade them in for something more old-fashioned, you should at least be careful.

Fligor's study, published in *Ear and Hearing*, the journal of the American Auditory Society, compares differences in the level of sound produced by large, over-the-ear headphones, and by the small, in-ear-style headphones typified by the iPod. When playing the same recordings at the same setting on the same CD player, the smaller headphones produced sounds that were louder by as much as 9 decibels (dB), depending on the particular brand. That's enough to push safe listening into unsafe territory. Decibels are measured on a logarithmic scale: going from 60 to 70 decibels means having 10 times as much force acting on the eardrum and inner ear. In everyday terms, playing the noise of a vacuum cleaner (60 dB) through in-ear headphones would generate sound as loud as a motorcycle engine's (70 dB).

Fligor emphasizes that headphones can't really *cause* deafness; they can only enable listeners to deafen themselves. Decibel levels depend on both the headphones and the music player's output, so listeners can choose levels and durations that won't damage hearing. Fligor recommends not exceeding 50 to 60 decibels (usually the halfway level for a CD player) for an hour of listening.

Unfortunately, many people don't limit themselves to safe levels. In the case of home stereos or car radios, the tolerance of neighbors or the length of the commute are limiting factors, but with personal headphones, says Fligor, "There's no one to stop you but yourself." A survey by the National Acoustic Laboratories in Australia suggests that we aren't stopping ourselves: a quarter of those sampled regularly listened to headphones at potentially hazardous levels.

What makes such high levels habitual? Ironically, it's the same quality that lets the oblivious iPod user finally hear you shout "Excuse me"—most in-ear headphones don't block background noise. Meanwhile, their portability permits listening in many different environments, even noisy ones. Although it's convenient (and safer) to hear the traffic sounds while jogging to iPod music, most listeners compensate for intruding noise by increasing the loudness of their music proportionally. Commuters who regularly adjust their music's level to 60 dB (as loud as people talking in the same room) will dial the same tune up to 80 dB or higher on a subway train. (Fligor hopes that headphones that attenuate background noise will someday ameliorate this problem.)

Thus far, the number of people who've lost hearing via headphones is relatively small—Fligor himself has only seen 5 such patients, all with mild hearing loss—but he believes that today's cases are "the tip of the iceberg." He estimates that 10 to 20 percent of headphone users are at risk of hearing loss due to their bad habits. But because most listeners are young, their partial deafness is not yet noticeable. "We're all gradually losing our hearing," he explains. "This just increases the rate of that loss." ~JOHN LA RUE

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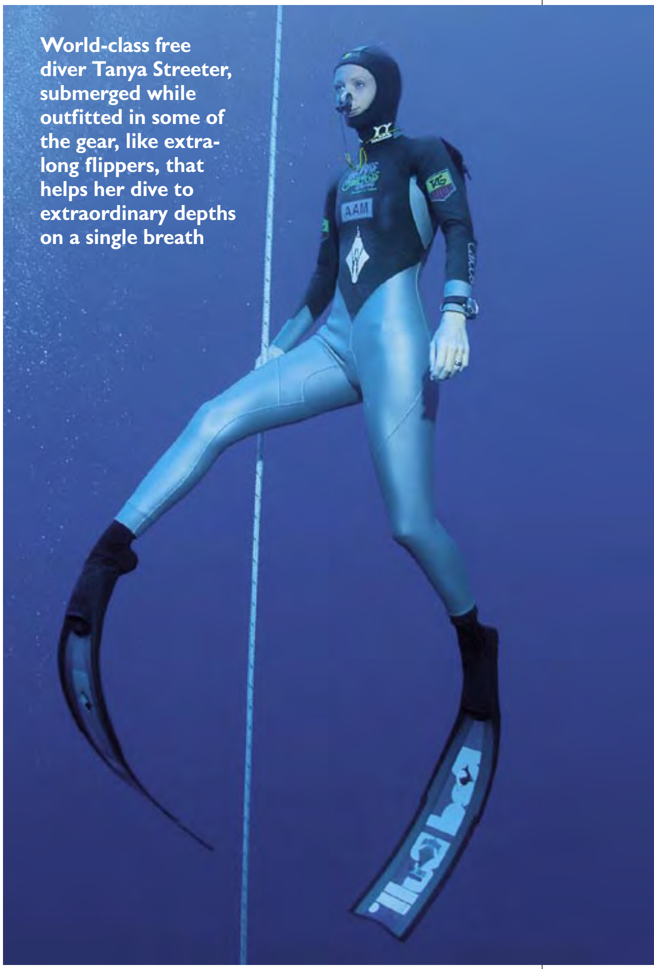

World-class free diver Tanya Streeter, submerged while outfitted in some of the gear, like extra-long flippers, that helps her dive to extraordinary depths on a single breath

PAUL STREETER

TANKLESS JOB

Waiting to Inhale

Extreme sports usually mean speed, danger, or spectacular stunts—things like snowboarding, skateboarding, rock climbing. They may reach heights (paragliding), or depths, as in free diving, whose devotees submerge themselves far below the ocean's surface without air tanks. In 2003, free diver Tanya Streeter descended on a weighted sled to a record depth of 400 feet and, using a balloon, returned to the surface on a single breath, which—when standing in a pool with her face in the water—she can hold for more than six minutes.

Another diver, Tom Sietas, boasts the world record for a single-breath hold: nine minutes and 58 seconds. (The average adult can go about one minute.) Recently, Streeter, Sietas, and two other free divers came to the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH) to help associate professor of medicine Robert Banzett and his colleague, research scientist Andrew Binks, investigate dyspnea (shortness of breath, or breathlessness). The divers' visits were part of a larger research program run by assistant professor of anaesthesia

Massimo Ferrigno. The investigators hope that studying people so adept at managing their air supply may reveal something that helps those who have trouble getting any air at all.

Breathing troubles turn out to resemble pain—agonizing, hard to describe, fraught with uncertainty. They are also equally common: half the patients admitted to hospitals report dyspnea, the same number who report pain. Dyspnea is a symptom of asthma, emphysema, pneumonia, and heart disease, as well as a leading indicator of panic and anxiety disorders. One-quarter of people over 40 report breathlessness, Banzett notes, and those who experience it are twice as likely to die early.

Breathing troubles turn out to resemble pain—agonizing, hard to describe, fraught with uncertainty.

"We don't have ways to deal with it as well as [we deal with] pain," says Banzett, who believes that pain management is about 20 years ahead of treatment for breathlessness. He has directed a dyspnea research lab at HSPH since the late 1980s. His clinic at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center is one of only two in the country, but the field is growing. Last spring, Banzett helped organize the first international symposium on dyspnea in 40 years.

Dyspnea includes breathing with difficulty, a tightness in the chest familiar to asthmatics, and a sensation called "air hunger," in which people feel they can't get enough oxygen. In 1997, Banzett and colleagues mapped the area of the brain associated with air hunger and found it in the anterior insula, part of the cortex involved with conscious awareness and a place where some kinds of pain also arise. (Autonomic breathing, the kind we do when asleep, is controlled by the brainstem.)

To explore air hunger, Banzett and his colleagues control breathing with a mechanical ventilator that regulates how often and how deeply each subject breathes. In the course of several minutes, the researchers gradually add more carbon dioxide to the mix to raise CO_2 levels in the subjects' arterial blood. Every 30 seconds, subjects slide a marker over the word best describing their air hunger, from "none" to "extreme." Afterward, they fill out questionnaires about their state of mind during the test, because mental states can strongly affect the way someone gauges both pain and dyspnea. Says Banzett, "It's probably that emotional content that gets you to go to the doctor to have it checked out."

The test subjects often say the sensation they feel in the lab is akin to a long breath hold. Hence Banzett and Binks, a professor at the University of New England, gave free divers (and a control group) the air-hunger test, hypothesizing that the extreme athletes would take far longer to reach a threshold of discomfort than the controls. Instead, the divers experienced air hunger at about the same time as the normal participants. "I was surprised," says Banzett, who plans to try other tests on the divers. There may be mental adaptations that they use. One of their physical tricks is to hyperventilate for a couple of minutes before going underwater; this expands their lungs and empties them of CO_2. Just before submerging, they take in as big a breath as they can, packing in even more air by gulping it with their mouth. (Such tricks, unfortunately, are hardly useful for elderly heart patients, who would likely pass out if they tried them.)

Despite the lack of a breakthrough so far, even null results like these help fill out the picture. "[The results] tell me air hunger is a primal sensation," says Banzett. "Air hunger is our friend" because, like pain, it's a warning sign. Yet people can live for years with pain, but no one can long ignore the need for air.

~KATHARINE DUNN

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BOOKS

The Perfect Amateur

Updike on art

by THEODORE STEBBINS JR.

For John Updike '54, Litt.D. '92, visiting museums is not a chore but a pleasure, one that brings back fond early memories of trips to the Reading (Pennsylvania) Museum with his mother. As the writer makes clear in his—barely—fictional 1967 story "Museums and Women," he finds museums endlessly fascinating, even sexy. Their galleries bring to his mind not the coldness and anonymity some visitors describe, but rather the warmth and beauty of specific objects he has admired, and of the women who have frequently accompanied him.

Updike graduated summa cum laude from the College. He edited the *Lampoon* and, not surprisingly, concentrated in English. But he also took two courses in the fine arts, and in one of them met the woman who later became his first wife. She was a Radcliffe fine-arts major who wore tattered sneakers in the snow and spoke about art with a "careless authority" that Updike envied. Together they visited the Fogg, which has never been better described: "It was, as museums go, rather intimate. Architecturally, it was radiantly hollow, being built around a skylight-roofed replica of a sixteenth-century Italian courtyard." Far down a corridor he found the Wertheim Collection, and was delighted with the "Cézannes and Renoirs that, because they were rarely reproduced in art books, had the secret sweetness of flowers in a forest."

Updike is thus no Johnny-come-lately when it comes to writing about art. The

John Updike, *Still Looking: Essays on American Art* (Knopf, $40).

Illustration by Tom Mosser

OFF THE SHELF

A sampling of current books received at this magazine

Prayer: A History, by Philip Zaleski and Carol Zaleski, Ph.D. '84 (Houghton Mifflin, $29.95). He is a senior editor at *Parabola,* she is a professor of religion at Smith, and this is an epic—well written, packed with interesting information, often funny and touching—that follows this most human undertaking from its beginnings and around the world.

The Brightening Glance: Imagination and Childhood, by Ellen Handler Spitz, M.A.T. '64, RI '96 (Pantheon, $25). An insightful book, full of charming anecdote, about how an adult might share, respond to, and encourage a child's unfolding awareness of the world.

Mirror to America: The Autobiography of John Hope Franklin (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, $25). Franklin, Ph.D. '41, is Duke professor emeritus of history at Duke University. His many books concern the history of the American South and the role played by African Americans in the development of the United States. He holds the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his unflagging commitment to civil rights. As he writes in his chapter "Fair Harvard," in his first year at the University, "A day, and often an hour, didn't go by without my feeling the color of my skin...." Harvard gave him an LL.D. degree in 1981, one of the more than 130 honorary degrees he has received.

CHRIS HILDRETH, DUKE UNIVERSITY PHOTOGRAPHY

The Essential Nostradamus: Literal Translation, Historical Commentary, and Biography, by Richard Smoley '78 (Tarcher/Penguin, $14.95, paper). Smoley, a former editor of the spiritual journal *Gnosis,* believes we can take Nostradamus seriously without taking him at face value.

Sea Struck, by W.H. Bunting '69 (Tilbury House, $30). An exciting account, with photographs, of the last years of American commercial sail. Bunting draws on first-hand journals of square-rigged life at sea by Massachusetts men Rodman Swift, A.B. 1904, Frank Besse, and Carleton Allen. A sailor-scholar, Bunting is the author of several earlier books about seafaring. For a note on his mother, see page 40.


COURTESY OF JAMES F. JUNG.

The bark *Hawaiian Isles* lies at center, in Honolulu, 1904, waiting to load sugar for San Francisco. The photograph, from *Sea Struck,* is by second mate Carleton Allen.

The Quick, by Katrina Roberts '87 (University of Washington Press; $30, cloth; $17.50, paper). The centerpiece of Roberts's second book of poems is one in 10 parts that chronicles the body's journey from conception through birth. She is associate professor of English/creative writing at Whitman College.

The Dream Life of Sukhanov, by Olga Grushin (Putnam, $24.95). This gripping first novel (by a writer most recently an editor at Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Library) tells the story of middle-aged Anatoly Sukhanov, whose comfortable life as a Party bureaucrat in glasnost-era Moscow crumbles before his unbelieving eyes. As he gradually loses everything—from his position as editor of an official art journal to his wife and family—he grasps at new truths about art, beauty, religion, and life lived according to one's convictions.

Out of Joint: A Private and Public Story of Arthritis, by Mary (Lowenthal) Felstiner '63 (University of Nebraska Press, $25). This powerful memoir of the progression of rheumatoid arthritis through the author's joints is also an eye-opener on chronic illness in general. Felstiner is professor of history at San Francisco State University.

Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights, by Kenji Yoshino '91 (Random House, $24.95). Yoshino is professor of law and deputy dean for intellectual life at Yale Law School and a gay Asian American. He blends memoir with argument to call for a redefinition of civil rights. "To cover," he writes, "is to tone down a disfavored identity to fit into the mainstream....[E]very reader of this book has covered, whether consciously or not, and sometimes at significant personal cost."

The Book of Trouble: A Romance, by Ann Marlowe '79, G '80 (Harcourt, $23). Marlowe is not the girl next door. Having shared in an earlier book her former heroin addiction, she here kisses and tells about her affair with an Afghani in New York (he wants an arranged marriage someday to a virgin back home), her love of his country, and their marathon sex together.

The Jinx, Jennifer Sturman '91, M.B.A. '95 (Red Dress Ink, $12.95, paper). A chick-lit adventure in sleuthing and romance brings investment banker Rachel Benjamin—the star of Sturman's first mystery, *The Pact*—to Harvard and environs, where a serial killer is at work.

The Innermost Waters: Fishing Cape Cod's Ponds and Lakes, by Peter Budryk, Ed.M. '68 (On Cape Publications, $19.95, paper). Planning your vacation? There's far more to the Cape than fishing for blues in the briny. Budryk tells where the bass, the trout, and the pike are, showing detailed maps (with soundings) of the Cape's numerous inland waters.

best satirical description of a blustering, boastful collector and his collection in all of literature can be found in Updike's novel *The Witches of Eastwick* (1984). The inventor Darryl Van Horne (brilliantly played in the movie by Jack Nicholson) booms to his guest, "Now here's the room I wanted you to see. *La chambre de résistance!*" Updike describes it: "On the walls of this long room, once hung with Lenox family portraits, there now hung or protruded or dangled gaudy travesties of the ordinary—giant pay telephones in limp canvas, American flags duplicated in impasto, oversize dollar bills rendered with deadpan fidelity, relentless enlargements of our comic strips…." Van Horne himself "gloated, snorted, and repeatedly wiped his lips" as he showed his guest around, and he explained, "When this Pop came along, I thought, Jesus, this is the stuff for me."

Besides frequently making use of art in his novels and short stories, Updike has for most of his career also written thoughtful reviews of art exhibitions and their catalogs. In 1989 Knopf published *Just Looking*, a collection of the writer's appraisals of exhibitions devoted both to European (Vermeer, Degas, Cézanne) and to American (Sargent, Erastus Salisbury Field) painters, many of which were initially prepared for the *New Yorker.* Now Knopf has published a second, companion volume entitled *Still Looking,* this one devoted to Updike's essays from 1990 to 2004 on American art alone. Most of these were originally found in the *New York Review of Books.*

In many ways, Updike is the ideal museumgoer, a curator's dream come true. He approaches every exhibition with an open mind, but optimistically; he studies the paintings with great care, thinking about everything from their brushwork to their broader meaning; he peruses the wall labels, and he takes in the wall colors and the layout. Next, unlike most visitors, he goes home and reads every word of the catalog. Then out comes his review, fluently written and cogently argued, a considered amalgam of what he has learned from the catalog and what his own eyes tell him. This is where curators may start to hate him, for he tells the story of the exhibition in a few fluent pages, without speaking down to his reader, in a way that scholars can only envy.

Updike could never win tenure at a major university. He eschews footnotes, while quoting liberally from the book under consideration. He never employs jargon, but writes as if conversing with a bright but uninformed friend. He never asks works of art to do things they cannot—to right social wrongs, for example—and he rarely mentions race or class or gender. Worse, he clearly enjoys museums and loves art, frequently speaking of beauty, quality, and other concepts that have been derided in academe since the late 1970s. Despite all of his experience with art criticism, Updike somehow remains a layman, the perfect amateur, the Everyman of museumgoers. Updike's beat is the East Coast; he's frequently in New York at the Met, MoMA, or the Whitney, but he treks off to Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston as well. He has returned to the Fogg only once, it seems, to prepare a long, carefully considered review of our print show of 2000, *Dürer's Passions,* for the *New York Review of Books*.

> He clearly loves art, frequently speaking of beauty, quality, and other concepts that have been derided in academe since the late 1970s.

Still Looking leads with a rare, crossover piece, a perceptive essay on "The American Face" that Updike prepared for a National Portrait Gallery exhibition catalog; many more museum publications and his amateur status will be endangered. In the book one also finds two reviews of big, thematic exhibitions: *The American Sublime,* the nineteenth-century landscape show organized by the Tate Gallery, which he liked, and *American Impressionism and Realism* at the Met, which he (rightly, I believe) found badly marred by its overlong, "hec-

CHAPTER & VERSE

A correspondence corner for not-so-famous lost words

James Wallace seeks to learn the origin of, and find more verses of, parody lyrics for "Pomp and Circumstance March No. 1," by Edward Elgar. The parody runs, "My chicken has two legs,/Your chicken has none./My chicken can fly high,/Your chicken can't even run!"

"suffering…is joy" (January-February). Jeffrey Sell recognized this slightly misquoted phrase as the final sentence of Russell Edson's prose poem "Antimatter"; it appears in his 1994 collection *The Tunnel: Selected Poems.* The short work begins, "On the other side of a mirror there's an inverse world," and ends, "In such a world there is much sadness which, of course, is joy."

"insightful commentary on conversation" (January-February). Robert Gillogly identified this description of the six participants contained within one conversation as an excerpt from chapter three of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table* (1858), by Oliver Wendell Holmes, A.B. 1829, M.D. 1836, LL.D. 1880. He adds that this "conversation about conversation" was later used by Harvard philosopher Josiah Royce in his *Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885) and by sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, who identified "at least 12 persons participating, six on each side," in *Life and the Student: Roadside Notes on Human Nature, Society, and Letters* (1927).

"Rooty-toot-toot" (November-December 2005). Several correspondents mentioned women's versions of this cheer. Edward Cole, as a youth in St. Louis, heard it sung about girls from Mary Institute (now the coed Mary Institute and St. Louis Country Day School). Others, including R.E.L. Knight, suggested the reference was to a generic finishing school. (Knight also shared "another bit of doggerel" from his mother that he has never heard elsewhere: "Pooh-pooh Harvard/Pooh-pooh Yale./I got my larnin'/Through the mail.")

Send inquiries and answers to "Chapter and Verse," Harvard Magazine, 7 Ware Street, Cambridge 02138.

toring" wall labels. Regarding the show's treatment of the realist John Sloan, Updike complains, "The captious wall-captions, more integral to the show than the fuller sociological indictments of the catalogue, are obsessed by what Sloan does *not* depict." He doesn't object to descriptive labels, but he has an old-fashioned belief that interpretive materials should explicate the art, rather than subject it to contemporary political sensibilities.

Reviewing one-artist shows is Updike's specialty, especially the large retrospectives that have become a staple of our museums' offerings. *Still Looking* includes 15 such pieces, dedicated mostly to painters ranging from John Singleton Copley in the eighteenth century to Jackson Pollack and Andy Warhol in the twentieth, though it also includes one on photographer Alfred Stieglitz and another on a sculptor, Elie Nadelman. Updike is particularly good on Martin Johnson Heade, the nineteenth-century landscape and still-life painter, and he rightly rejects the argument in the Met's "pretty catalogue," as he calls it, that Heade's paintings of thunderstorms reflect the painter's and the nation's stress caused by the Civil War.

Updike has a way with words. He is at his very best with Edward Hopper (commenting that "Hopper's young females in these paintings are not yet aware of their poignance") and, surprisingly, with Warhol ("[T]here is an uncanny, unearthly beauty and rightness to his work"). He suggests that Heade was "the first to portray a modern mood, an ambivalent mood tinged with dread and yet imbued with a certain lightness." He dares observe, speaking of Thomas Eakins's much admired rowing scenes, "an odd melancholy in these moody, scrupulous canvases," and he concludes that Arthur G. Dove was "a pioneer of abstract painting but not one of its heroes."

Updike struggles more with certain difficult painters, including Albert Pinkham Ryder and Marsden Hartley, but it is always an honest, transparent struggle. And when he finds chinks in the armor of the immortals, he doesn't hesitate to say so. On Alfred Stieglitz: "It is hard to remember that he came from Hoboken, so Old World is the humorless absolutism of his pronouncements." And on Whistler: "To think of Whistler's nudes in relation to Degas's, or his faces in relation to Sargent's, is to confront an almost frightening lack of interest...."

I personally prefer reading Updike's pieces in the *New Yorker* or the *New York Review of Books* to finding them anthologized on glossy paper and accompanied by numerous color illustrations, as we find in *Still Looking.* Somehow the articles feel more authentic to me in their original contexts. Still, it's hard to begrudge their republication, especially as they will now doubtless find a far larger and more varied audience than before.

In the end, John Updike is a treasure. He loves art, he looks hard, and he has confidence in coming to his own conclusions. It's hard to ask much more of a critic.

Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., J.D. '64, Ph.D. '71, was appointed in 2002 as the Harvard University Art Museums' first curator of American paintings, and head of the new department of American art. He has taught at Harvard, Yale, Smith, and Boston University, and his voluminous writings on many aspects of American art include The Life and Works of Martin Johnson Heade.

The Education of a Poker Player

by AARON BROWN

GARY BUSS/GETTY IMAGES

When I entered Harvard as a freshman in 1974, poker was less prominent in popular culture than it is today. There wasn't much commercial poker. New Jersey was a year away from approving casino gambling. Nevada casinos offered poker, but as an afterthought. (The casino business model is "We win what the customers lose." Poker does not fit, because the good players win from the bad players, and the casino gets only a percentage of the pot or a time charge.) Back then, the best professionals played in warehouse-like buildings in the Los Angeles industrial suburb of Gardena, far from publicity of any sort.

There was a World Series of Poker (it was four years old), but it was a minor casino publicity stunt. People outside Las Vegas knew about the WSOP only through

Amarillo Slim: he won the $80,000 prize in 1972 and proved to be a folksy hit on the talk-show circuit. Poker on television meant reruns of *Maverick* and *The Odd Couple*, not close-up coverage of celebrities figuring out whether to hold 'em or fold 'em. Computer poker was a bunch of nerds playing cards while waiting for the system to recover from a crash.

Still, many American men, and many women, played at least casually. Some had a Thursday night game with the boys, others made occasional forays into the back room of a bar or played in VFW or American Legion posts. Then, as now, it was perhaps the only skill popularly associated with both masculinity and intelligence.

The game held special importance in places where people gathered from around the country—Washington, for example, or military installations. Serious players were naturally drawn into networks that could transcend social differences. Poker served the same purpose at Harvard.

In my undergraduate years, the popular games were five-card draw, five-card stud, and seven-card stud. None of these are community card games like the currently popular Texas hold 'em and Omaha. That means that six players was our usual limit. Today, casinos and on-line games typically allow for 10.

Casual poker games in dorm rooms were common. They might be played for dime antes and one-dollar bet limits (youngsters can multiply these numbers by four to get equivalents in 2006 dollars). Players would buy in for $20 and the big winner might walk off with $50 profit. I found both the stakes and the level of play too low to be real poker. I don't mean I shunned these games—they could be entertaining ways to spend an evening gossiping and joking with friends. But I was interested in something more.

You had a few choices for serious poker at Harvard in the mid 1970s. Bill Gates—this was before he dropped out—ran a game in Currier House. I played once in my freshman year, but didn't like it: it was tight, tense, unfriendly, and boring for most of the night, and whenever a big hand did come up, you always felt that someone lost more than he could afford. The Law School had great games, but the players discouraged undergraduates. I played in one with Scott Turow, who went on to write successful legal thrillers. I also played a little at the Business School. I learned later from some of the people I played with that George W. Bush was a regular at those games, and one of the better players, but I have no recollection of playing with him.

My favorite places to play were the final clubs—the private hangouts for wealthy and socially prominent students. None "punched" me to join, nor could I have afforded the dues if they had. But if there is a heaven for poker players, no doubt a safe, physically pleasant place to play cards with rich Harvard students is part of it. The difficulty was in getting invited to the games.

Harvard student games naturally merged into serious games among older people in Cambridge and Boston, primarily through the professional schools. If you did well in a business-school game, someone might recommend you to a weekly game of recent M.B.A. graduates, which in turn could lead to bigger games. Buy-ins at serious student games ranged from $100 to $500; once you left the school, the range went from $500 to $1,500. I have noticed that the stakes have remained fairly constant. I have grown richer, but still consider $5,000 a reasonable buy-in for a weekly game—about the same purchasing power as the higher-stakes games I played in as a student. Gamblers need to ratchet up the stakes constantly to gain excitement; serious poker players like to set the stake just right. The money should focus your mind, not trigger fear and greed.

Gamblers need to ratchet up the stakes constantly to gain excitement; serious poker players like to set the stake just right.

Why would a student player seek out bigger stakes and tougher competition? (If the point of poker is to make money, you should stick with the easy games.) One reason is competitive instinct: if you are good at something, then you want to test yourself against the best. A more important reason is self-preservation. You can't tell how good a poker player you are except by how much you win. That was even more true in the 1970s than today, because there was less poker theory and no computer software to use as a benchmark. It's vitally important in a game to know if there are players better than you. If there are, you want to find them when you are alert, so you can lose a limited amount and avoid them afterwards. If you discover they are no better than you, you can play anywhere with confidence.

There are other reasons as well. Many poker games were (and are) illegal, and players can be targets for robbery because poker players are reputed to carry cash. A network told you the safe places to play. It was also important for knowing cheaters and people who would not pay losses, and for defense if you were accused of cheating yourself.

Then and now, if you did well at each level, someone would introduce you to the next one. In the book and movie *The Cincinnati Kid*, this process continues up to The Man, the best poker player in the world. That's fiction. The process stops at the regional level. The best poker players in Boston did not move to Houston, Las Vegas, or Los Angeles to get better games; they had jobs or other reasons to stay in Boston.

During my student years, I played in three games that were considered among the best in New England, and there were a few others I didn't play that were at the same level. But there weren't 20 games in New England of this quality. Also, there was no single, universally acknowledged, best game, nor did people argue much about whether one game was better than another. There were enough players in common among the games to make it clear that consistent winners in one could hold their own in the others. Similarly, players (including Las Vegas professionals) would visit from out of town, and players from New England games would visit other places, enough to be confident that the top players in different places could sit at the same table without mismatch.

There is enough randomness in poker that it's difficult to measure your ability against any other single player in a reasonable amount of time, but it is fairly easy to establish whether you are or are not a consistent winner at a regular game. It's also easy to establish that two regular games are or are not of about the same quality, because you can assess many players for long periods. That's why poker cannot be a sport—even a nonphysical one, like chess or bridge. Tournaments cannot decide a best player, because it takes years of regular play among many people to identify a group of players of roughly equal ability. Poker is essentially a network activity.

I learned how to play poker before I arrived at Harvard, but the school is where I learned to play poker for the money, rather than for the companionship. I had some adventures playing in those years, and they shaped my character in important ways. I carried both the poker and the character, and the network connections as well, into the world after graduation; all three have served me well.

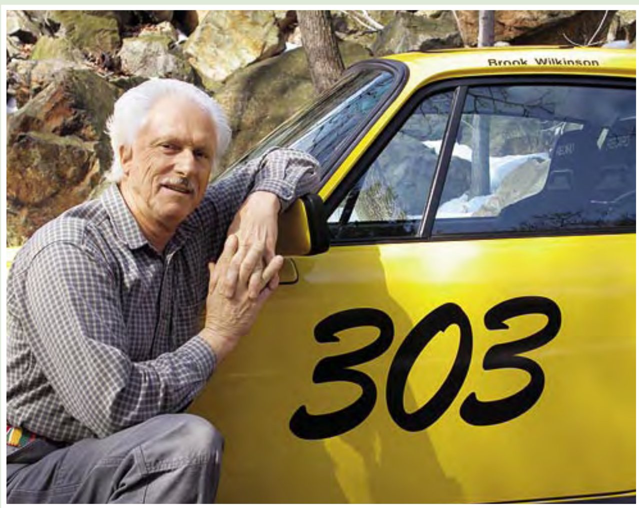
Aaron Brown '78 is an executive director at Morgan Stanley and the author of The Poker Face of Wall Street *($27.95), recently published by John Wiley & Sons. He adapted this essay from the book's sixth chapter, "Son of a Soft Money Bank."*

OPEN BOOK

Karts Get Some Respect

Stephan Wilkinson '58, automotive editor at *Popular Science,* is said to be a longtime expert on the way men entertain themselves when no one is telling them what to do. In *Man and Machine* (Lyons Press, $16.95, paper) he goes on entertainingly and informatively about such matters as restored B-17s, Formula 1 cars, mega-yachts, ambulances customized by the Amish, and go-karts.

So I spend my life playing with fast cars, and the first time I'm on a track with my 23-year-old daughter [Brook '01]—the blonde backpacker with the Ivy League sociology degree—she blows me into the bulrushes. Almost literally: The downhill chicane [a series of tight turns] leading onto the main straight at Oakland Valley threatens to launch you right over the rumble strip into a cattail-bordered pond if you don't get the kart rotated and the power down early.



COURTESY OF STEPHAN WILKINSON

Wilkinson with a modified 1983 Porsche 911SC, the *big* racecar that he and his daughter, Brook, share

That's right, go-karts. Those things that Americans think of as Cushman-engine amusement-park rides, but that Europeans and South Americans employ to turn teenagers into the world's finest open-wheel racecar drivers. (Every Formula 1 driver of any consequence has been a national or international kart champion.) Brook and I had entered a four-hour kart endurance race at Oakland Valley Race Park, near Port Jervis, New York, in that bosky corner of the state where Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York meet. I came home wishing I'd discovered karts 50 years ago. Never have I learned as much about car control in as short a time.

Karts look ridiculous, with their wheelbarrow tires, primitive frames, lawnmower engines, and sitting-in-a-hole seating position, but don't be fooled....The combination somehow replicates all of the dynamics of a true mid-engine racecar except the sheer acceleration and speed, though the fastest laydown shifter karts can do 140.

You're going to laugh, but the racecar that I'm rhapsodizing about was powered by a nine-horsepower, four-stroke, box-stock Honda industrial engine, had a single hydraulic disc brake on the rear axle, and topped out at all of 40 mph. But it's like going 80 in a small speedboat. Unless you've been there, you can't understand how different the sensation of speed is when your buns are two inches off the asphalt and the track is tight enough that only near the end of the main straight does the kart top out.

Karts respond almost exactly as a pure racecar does to threshold and trail braking, to clumsy steering inputs, and asking the tires to do too much, to left-foot braking, to throttle steer, and maintaining the car's balance. One of the things they'll teach most effectively is that a vehicle balanced, pointed, and under firm power is a lot more controllable and predictable than is one being driven cautiously, tentatively, and fearfully. And it's a hell of a lot faster....

I was embarrassed to see Brook's "team fastest lap" notation every time I checked the big video monitor that tracked the race positions in the Oakland Valley Race Park clubhouse—and it kept decreasing by hundredths and tenths—yet at the same time I couldn't have been more proud as I watched her wail past in her tiny racecar, lap after lap....

In a country where size matters, low-horsepower karts have never gotten the respect they deserve as competition machinery. Which is a shame, since it's the cheapest, simplest, safest, and most effective way on the planet to go racing.

New England

REGIONAL SECTION

Extracurriculars

SAVOR the sunshine and dabble in a variety of activities in and around Harvard Square this spring, ranging from a string of orchestral concerts and choral performances to acclaimed Russian films and exhibits of eclectic photomontages and vibrant watercolors.

SEASONAL

Mozart Celebration
http://hcs.harvard.edu/bachsoc/performances.html
Paine Hall
• March 4, 8 P.M.
The ***Bach Society Orchestra*** celebrates the 250th birthday of Mozart by performing his Symphony No. 40 in G minor as well as Sinfonietta No. 1, a tribute to him, by Hector Villa-Lobos.

Harvard Glee Club
www.fas.harvard.edu/-tickets/
617-496-2222; Sanders Theatre
• March 10, 8 P.M.
The ***Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society*** present their "Spring Tour Preview: From Canny to Uncanny," music from the Renaissance to the present.

Harvard Krokodiloes
• March 17, 8 P.M.
www.fas.harvard.edu/-tickets/
617-496-2222; Sanders Theatre
The a cappella group celebrate its sixtieth anniversary with a gala public concert featuring the current ensemble as well as alumni Kroks.

Arts First
• May 4-7
617-495-8699; arts@fas.harvard.edu.
Plan ahead to enjoy the performance fair, dance festival, and colorful parade featuring undergraduate talent. Playwright Christopher Durang '71 is the 2006 Arts Medalist.

NATURE AND SCIENCE

The Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics
www.cfa.harvard.edu/events.html
617-495-7461. Phillips Auditorium, 60 Garden Street.
Stargaze after the lecture (weather permitting) during free observatory nights, on the third Thursday of every month.
• March 16, 8 P.M.
"The Search for Extraterrestrial Life"
• April 20, 8 P.M.
"Voyage to the Center of the Milky Way"
(Doors open at 7:30; seating is unreserved.)

MUSIC

Sanders Theatre
www.fas.harvard.edu/-tickets/
617-496-2222
• March 3, 8 P.M
The ***Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra*** offers Respighi's "Pines of Rome," Dvořak's Symphony No. 7, and Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 24 in C Minor.
• March 4, 8 P.M.
The ***Harvard-Radcliffe Collegium Musicum*** performs Mozart's C Minor Mass with the ***Orchestra of Emmanuel Music.***
• April 21, 8 P.M
The ***Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra*** presents Tchaikovsky's "Suite from *Swan Lake*," Wagner's Prelude and Liebestod from *Tristan und Isolde*, and the Brahms Violin Concerto, featuring Stefan Jackiw '07.
• April 28, 8 P.M
The Harvard-Radcliffe Chorus sings an all-Baroque concert featuring Vivaldi's "Gloria" and choral music by Handel.
• April 30, 7:30 P.M
The ***Boston Chamber Music Society*** presents a program that includes pieces by

Left to right: A performer in the Arts First 2005 Dance Festival; *Highland Light*, 1930, by Edward Hopper (1882-1967), from the forthcoming exhibition *American Watercolors and Pastels, 1875-1950*, at the Fogg Museum; oncologist Rita Marie Kelley, M.D., circa 1925, from the Countway Library

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: COURTESY OF JOANNE CICCARELLO/ARTS FIRST; DAVID MATHEWS/HARVARD UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUMS, © PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE; THE HARVARD MEDICAL LIBRARY IN THE FRANCIS A. COUNTWAY LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

Ravel, Mahler, and Schubert.

Lowell Lecture Hall
• March 3, 7:30 P.M.
The ***Kuumba Singers of Harvard*** offer "Soul Speak: Black Arts as Social Dialogue."

THEATER

The American Repertory Theatre
www.amrep.org; 617-547-8300
• Through March 25
Romeo and Juliet. Renowned Israeli director Gadi Roll makes his debut at the ART with Shakespeare's classic love story.
• March 25-April 23
Orpheus X. Composer Rinde Eckert and director Robert Woodruff present a musical retelling of the legends.

Hasty Pudding Theatricals
www.hastypudding.org
Zero Arrow Theatre (at the ART)
• Through March 19
Set in the 1930s, the Pudding's 158th show, *Some Like It Yacht,* unfolds aboard a transatlantic cruise liner that is mysteriously hijacked, leaving its crew of intriguing characters to seek the truth.

EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
www.peabody.harvard.edu; 617-495-1027
• Opening April 19, 5:30 P.M.
A Noble Pursuit: The Duchess of Mecklenburg Collection from Iron Age Slovenia. The exhibit tells the story of an unconventional woman while displaying many of the European artifacts she excavated prior to World War I. A reception follows a 5:30 P.M. lecture by Gloria Polizzotti Greis, author of a book on the topic.
• March 16, 5:30 P.M
Diet, Demography, & Society: A 200,000-Year Record from the Mediterranean Basin. Lecture by Mary C. Stiner, associate professor of anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.
Yenching Institute, 2 Divinity Avenue
• March 22, 5:30 P.M
Tesseracts Between Futures and Past: Photography in Modern Korean History, 1900-1953. A reception with and lecture by Hyung Gu Lynn, chair in Korean research, University of British Columbia.
Yenching Institute, 2 Divinity Avenue
• April 12, 5:30 P.M
Isotopic Silk Road. A reception with and

lecture by Noreen Tuross, Clay professor of scientific archaeology at Harvard.
Yenching Institute, 2 Divinity Avenue
Continuing: ***Reconfiguring Korea*** showcases former American GI Roger Marshut's photographs documenting U.S. reconstruction efforts and civilian life in Pusan in the 1950s.

Busch-Reisinger Museum
617-495-2317
• March 11-May 21
Tempo, Tempo! The Photomontages of Marianne Brandt. This presentation of more than 30 images from European and American public and private collections showcases the artist's dynamic pictorial investigations of technology, gender roles, and entertainment culture.

Fogg Art Museum
617-495-9400/9422
• Through March 12
French Drawings and Paintings. Approximately 35 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works are on display for the first time since they were donated to the University Art Museums.
• Opening April 8
American Watercolors and Pastels, 1875-1950. For the first time in decades, 50 of Harvard's most magnificent watercolors go on public display, including images by John Singer Sargent, Winslow Homer, Edward Hopper, and James McNeill Whistler.

Sackler Museum
617-495-9400/9422
Continuing: ***Frank Stella 1958*** features 18 experimental works by one of the nation's leading postwar artists.
Continuing: ***The Tablet and the Pen: Drawings from the Islamic World*** explores drawing as an independent artistic medium with a special focus on Iran, India, and Turkey.

FILM

The Harvard Film Archive
www.harvardfilmarchive.org
Visit the website for complete listings.


The Farewell, at the Film Archive

COURTESY OF JAN SCHÜTTE

617-495-4700
• Mondays in March, 7 P.M.
The films of Russian director Andrei Tarkovsky, who won international acclaim with ***Solyaris*** and ***Nostalghia***.
• Mondays in April, 7 P.M.
Screenings of the films of Ousmane Sembène, one of Africa's best-known directors. Includes ***Emitai***, ***Xala***, and ***Moolade***.
• April 21-23
Visiting professor of visual arts and envi-

ronmental studies Jan Schütte screens and discusses several of his films, including ***Bye Bye America, The Farewell,*** and his most recent work, ***SuperTex.***

Sanders Theatre

• March 3 and 7, 8:15 P.M.
Premiere of ***Bachelor's College,*** which explores the toll of World War I on a group of young men. It stars Harvard undergraduates and was filmed on campus. Produced by Michael Van Devere.

LIBRARIES

Countway Medical Library
www.countway.med.harvard.edu
617-432-4807
• March 1
The Role of Jews in the History of Medicine. Scholars of medieval history and Jewish studies speak at a symposium that highlights the rare Hyams collection of

Roman bowl at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

HILLEL BURGER

Jewish medical texts, including one of the first printings of Maimonides. The related exhibit is on display through March 3.
• March 13 through April 20
Changing the Face of Medicine: Celebrating America's Women Physicians. www.countway.harvard.edu/rarebooks/-awm/shtml; 617-432-6206
This nationally touring exhibit looks at Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to earn an M.D., as well as others who have struggled to gain access to the medical profession during the last 200 years.

Houghton Library
www.hcl.harvard.edu/libraries
617-495-2441
• March 15-May 26
In celebration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of *Don Quixote,* the exhibition displays a varied selection of the works of Cervantes to be found among Houghton's holdings.

Hammond Residential

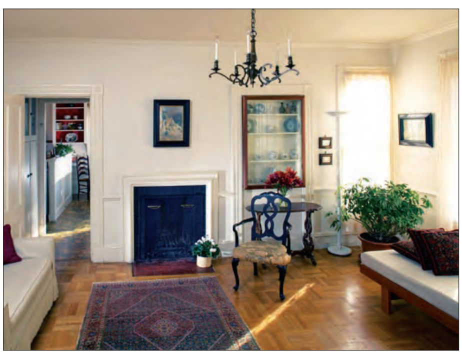
GMAC Real Estate

Cambridge Office
617-497-4400

Cambridge…A rare offering near Cambridge Common and the Longy School of Music. Elegant and meticulously updated 11-room Victorian offers five bedrooms, three baths, and two lavatories. 1-car garage, tandem parking, and landscaped city garden and terrace. $1,750,000

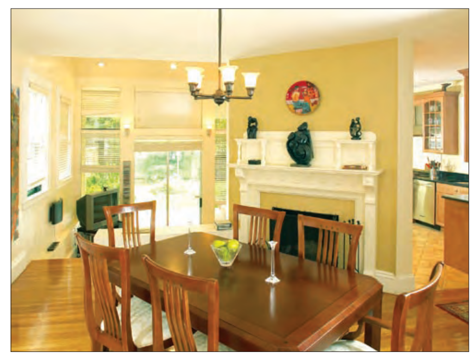
Belmont...Country setting, beautifully renovated 11-room, 5-bedroom, 4-bath home on prestigious Belmont Hill. Rich in detail, light-filled and inviting with many fine architectural details. $2,800,000

Cambridge...this fee simple, multi-level home is just four blocks from Harvard Square and the "T." This residence built in 1979, has a private yard at the garden level and a large deck off the master bedroom. Sun pours into the living and dining area from double-height windows. There are three large bedrooms plus a study, two full baths, oak floors, and a private garage $795,000



Cambridge...Stately Victorian located on sought-after street in Radcliffe area. Walk to Harvard, Red Line, shops, and restaurants. Over 2,200 square feet of living space, high ceilings, hardwood floors, and much of its original period detail. Central air and parking. $1,295,000

Cambridge...On a quiet street in Huron Village, this rare two-family house has been redone inside and out! Duplex units with open floor plans, A/C, decks, yard, and two-car garage. Unusually fine finishes and appliances, including Subzero and Thermador. $1,750,000



Cambridge...Located on lovely side street on edge of Harvard Square. Handsome Victorian single-family has been beautifully updated. Formal and informal entertaining areas. Two-car garage plus. Landscaped yard. $1,600,000

Watertown...1920's built Colonial Revival Philadelphia style two-family. Original details, leaded glass built-ins, and woodwork. Corner lot, close to transportation and convenient to Cambridge. $799,000

Cambridge...Stunning one-bedroom penthouse. Open living/diningroom with exposed brick walls, vaulted ceilings, and five skylights. Fabulous loft study with Boston views. Treetop deck and central air-conditioning. $475,000

West Cambridge...Interested in loft living, but don't want to renovate? Aberdeen Lofts are fully finished with outstanding attention to detail. Parking and Pets! 684 to 1507 sq. ft. www.aberdeenlofts.com. $320,000-$690,000

www.hammondre.com

Cambridge, Belmont, Watertown & Somerville

Residential, Commercial, Rentals & Property Management

• Through March 18
Disbound and Dispersed showcases 60 "leaf books" with manuscript and printed leaves ranging in date from the twelfth through the twentieth centuries.

• March 30-May 26
Of Current Interest: Recent Research on Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts highlights manuscripts that have been cited in scholarly literature in recent years and demonstrates the study of the humanities during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Image by Marianne Brandt, at the Busch-Reisinger Museum

HARVARD UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUMS

Pusey Library
617-495-2413

• Through March 31
Mapping California as an Island features a selection of French, Dutch, German and English maps and atlases, including the first depiction, in 1622, of the west coast of North America.

• Through April 21
British Theatrical Caricatures from Hogarth to Cruikshank showcases the lively disputes, scandals, and personalities of the British stage as satirized in 100 prints by renowned eighteenth-century artists and their lesser-known contemporaries.

LECTURES

The Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
www.radcliffe.edu; 617-495-8212

• March 14, 4 P.M.
"Flights from Attack and Atrocity: The Impact of War-Induced Violence against Women," by Irene Khan, secretary general of Amnesty International.
Cronkhite living room, 6 Ash Street

• April 6, 4:30 P.M.
"Gender, Genes, and Genesis," by Columbia Law School professor Patricia Williams.
Askwith Lecture Hall, Radcliffe Yard

Events listings also appear in the *University Gazette*, accessible via this magazine's website, www.harvardmagazine.com.

Good Times at Frank's

Devotees agree: The fundamentals are right.

Co-managed by the owner's sons, George Ravanis, above, and William Jr., Frank's may be Greater Boston's oldest steak house.

OKAY, you can strap on your credit card, go to Grill 23 in Boston, and have placed before you a 24-ounce (yes, 24 ounce) porterhouse steak ($44) and side orders that would feed multitudes of the famished, plus a bottle of red with a high opinion of itself, and you might not regret any of it. Or you can go to Frank's.

This correspondent has been going to Frank's Steak House on Mass. Ave. in north Cambridge for decades, since before the time in the 1960s that nemesis walked in off the street and shot the piano player, if the correspondent remembers such an episode correctly. William Ravanis bought Frank's in 1974 and straightened things out. No one knows for certain the identity of Frank. According to the restaurant's website, legend has it that the restaurant originally *had* no name, although it did have a regular customer at the bar, a friendly lush named Frank. Eventually, management honored him.

Even though Frank's is a neighborhood restaurant, always full of locals, it is also esteemed by outsiders of all stripes. See that fellow in tweed dining alone at the Early Formica table not far from the piano, putting onion rings into his mouth and reading the *Journal of East Asian Studies*? Why is he here instead of at the Faculty Club? Maybe he lives around the corner, of course. We asked a number of farther-flung fans why they like Frank's.

"Because I always feel welcome there," says a history professor. "Moreover, most of the seating is in booths, and you can actually hear well enough to have a conversation with your companions, a rarity these days."

"Because within its price range, or even at considerably higher prices, it's the best steak in town," says a retired Harvard University Press editor. "If you order medium rare, that's always how it comes. The waitresses are nice. You don't need a reservation, although they'll take one. The parking isn't too horrible usually, and there is a small lot. I've never had seafood at Frank's, but recently I tried the day's special, veal Oscar. I wouldn't recommend it. I usually have steak: sometimes the sirloin ["Frank's Famous N.Y. Sizzler," $15.95], sometimes the filet mignon [with tarragon butter, $17.95]. I've never had a steak there that wasn't great."

"Because the petit filet mignon [$9.95] is just the right size for me," says an academic administrator.

"Because Frank's is a place where Harvard professors and the working folks of Somerville and Cambridge are equals—entirely—at the trough," says an historian and political commentator. "It's one of the last centers of egalitarianism in the United States and definitely the last within shouting distance of Harvard Square."

No respondent seems ever to have had dessert at Frank's, but such things as grapenut custard ($3.50) are on offer. The priciest wine on the list is a Pinot Noir at $31, and 18 wines may be had by the glass. Many beers and ales are on draught. A note on the onion rings: Some years ago, Frank's began to press their rings into a loaf before frying. If you prefer your rings loose, just ask. The kitchen will be happy to oblige. ~C.R.

FRANK'S STEAK HOUSE
2310 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge
617-661-0666
Open for dinner every day except Christmas, and on Sundays from noon to 9.
Entertainment in the lounge on Saturdays, 9 P.M. to 1 A.M.

Photograph by Jim Harrison

Living with Modern Furniture

The "new" aesthetic, from Bauhaus to Eames • by Nell Porter Brown

Beatrice Gruendler, Ph.D. '95, and Steven Brittan, M.Arch. '89, relax at home. The tête-à-tête, based on a 1959 model by American designer Edward Wormley, was custom-made a foot shorter to better fit their 1860s rowhouse.

Elizabeth (Dean) and Heinrich Hermann live in a nondescript ranch house in Concord, Massachusetts, that was built as affordable housing for returning World War II veterans. Its simple, functional lines perfectly suit the couple's mix of mid-century modern furniture, which includes a red, upholstered "wire diamond" chair by Harry Bertoia, an elegantly proportioned Danish sofa by an unknown designer, and a high-backed, padded black-leather chair by Charles and Ray Eames. "When I sit on or handle an Eames chair, I think, 'I could never be as brilliant as they were,'" reports Elizabeth, Ph.D. '96, a professor of urban design, architectural history, and landscape architecture at Rhode Island School of Design.

Such enthusiasm for modernism is common among professionals in the visual fields (Heinrich, Ph.D. '95, is an architect and historian of modern architecture). "But most people have never liked modernism," Elizabeth allows. "North America is very traditional and many people thought modern design looked too industrial or cheap—in the case of ranch houses—or that it was trying to be too intellectual. Despite the fact that my architect grandparents had a modern home [in Wellesley, Massachusetts], my own family members are sometimes reluctant to sit on my furniture."

Photograph by Jim Harrison

GAIL ROBERTS

RESIDENTIAL BROKERAGE

Vice President
1730 Massachusetts Ave
Cambridge, MA 02138
617 245-4044

CAMBRIDGE, MA
Handsomely renovated eight-plus room Colonial with slate roof and landscaped grounds. Kitchen/family room with cathedral ceiling, skylights, Viking stove, granite counters, and a 21' deck. The third floor suite includes a bedroom, bathroom and study; central air, and carport plus parking. $1,695,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
Built in 1868, this nine-room bracketed Italianate home off Brattle Street has a handsome staircase, high ceilings, marble mantle, conservatory and a large artist's studio. It also includes a spacious four-room, two-bedroom apartment, as well as off-street parking for two cars. $1,785,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
In the Harvard Square area, on one of the most desirable streets in Cambridge, and situated down a garden path, is this 5-room gem. Attached to an 1853 Bracketed-Italianate residence it includes an eat-in kitchen, 2 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, French doors to a deck, patio and ample parking. $1,175,000

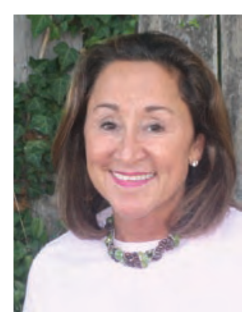
CAMBRIDGE, MA
In the sought after Avon Hill area, between Harvard and Porter Squares, and renovated by one of the premiere developers in the city, is this dramatic 2 bedroom plus study condo. Features include an open living/dining room, fireplace, eat-in cook's kitchen, central air and parking. $815,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
Set upon majestic gardens, this 1889 Colonial Revival boasts a grand entrance and spacious entertaining rooms which flow graciously onto a 21' deck. The period detail, five fireplaces, au-pair suite and two-car garage make this an elegant home steps from Harvard Square. $3,250,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
Meticulously renovated, this Brattle Street home has an open first floor and wonderful decorative details throughout. The 27' living room has French doors overlooking a lovely brick patio, the family/media room has a fireplace and 3 of the bedrooms are en-suite with a 4-piece master bath. Garage. $1,575,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
In a classic brick elevator building in the Radcliffe area, is this lovely corner unit condominium with 1 bedroom and study. Details include high ceilings, fireplace, hardwood floors, natural woodwork and generous closet space. A pied-a tierre just blocks from Harvard Square. $399,000

CAMBRIDGE, MA
This architecturally interesting loft-style 2 bedroom plus study condo with a dramatic soaring ceiling and skylight, open living/dining/kitchen and wood burning stove, is just 3 blocks from Harvard Yard. Amenities include a large study area with built-in bookcases and desk, 2 decks and parking. $595,000



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COURTESY OF MACHINE AGE

In New England, at least, that sentiment is changing. Normand Mainville owns Machine Age in Boston, the region's largest mid-twentieth-century-furniture store. He says that most of his customers are designers, artists, and architects, but that a growing segment of younger buyers of all types is also excited by the modern aesthetic. Some of them live in former industrial spaces, like lofts, and want furniture that fits that style, and others live in small apartments where efficiency is essential. "When I moved in and opened the store 15 years ago, people said that Boston was too provincial for this kind of furniture," he says.

Reside Inc., in Cambridge, also sells vintage modern furniture. "This furniture is timeless—it's as fresh today as it was when it came out," says Pamela Watts, who opened the store in 2002. "People now are also less afraid to mix modern and antique furniture in a room. The

The furniture at Machine Age in Boston exemplifies the modern aesthetic of straight lines, curved woods, and some funky colors.

modern gives the space a feeling of being alive; it adds verve and wit."

The modern aesthetic is rooted in the British Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1880s that was spearheaded by William Morris, who was also a socialist, says Jane Prentiss, director of twentieth-century furniture and decorative arts for Skinner auctioneers in Boston. "The design style exposed joinery and made use of clean, rectilinear shapes for the first time," she continues. "They wanted to make good design and fine art available to everyone, not just the upper classes. Also new was the idea that the whole home—the building, the furnishings, the garden—was considered one design concept. They even had their own type of flowers in the garden; zinnias were very popular."

The style was developed further by subsequent European design movements, such as de Stijl in the Netherlands, the Wiener Werkstätte in Austria, and the Bauhaus School, in Germany, all of which contributed to the architectural sea change of the 1920s and 1930s known as "International Style." "Inspired by a new machine aesthetic, the Modern Movement stripped away unnecessary ornament from the interior," Anne Massey writes in *Interior Design of the 20th Century*. "Mass production was now established as the means of manufacturing consumer goods, and Modern Movement theorists were inspired by concepts of rationalization and standardization. New materials and building techniques were used to create a lighter, more spacious and functional environment. The early Modern designers hoped to change society for the better with the creation of a healthier and more democratic type of design for all."

The Bauhaus was led first by Walter Gropius; its members included Marcel Breuer, Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Furniture from that period includes the unprecedented "Wassily Chair," created by Breuer in 1925 for his friend Kandinsky from bent steel tubes inspired by his bicycle, and the

JIM HARRISON

The long view of Steven Brittan's home shows off the polished cherry-wood top of this 1956-designed Eero Saarinen table that resembles "a Brancusi sculpture."

black-leather chaise longue designed a few years later by the French/Swiss architect Le Corbusier. Gropius and Breuer, among others, fled Germany as Nazism gained power and in the late 1930s brought their vision and talents to the United States, where they worked together for a time, taught at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, and built their own modern homes in Lincoln, Massachusetts. (The Gropius House, now a National Historic Landmark, is owned by Historic New England, www.spnea.org/visit/homes/gropius.htm.)

Meanwhile, a new group of American-based designers was being trained at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Detroit, which opened in 1932 and was directed by Finnish-born architect Eliel Saarinen, whose son, Eero, became famous in his own right for his buildings and furniture. Among them were Florence Knoll (after 1958, Florence Knoll Bassett), Charles and Ray Eames, Harry Bertoia, and Ralph Rapson, who all experimented with new materials such as plywood, wire mesh, and plastics. Knoll, who at one point worked for Gropius and Breuer in Cambridge, later developed Knoll Planning Unit with her first husband, Hans Knoll. Knoll Associates Inc. and Herman Miller became two of the main American manufacturers of the new modern furniture and corporate interiors; Miller holds the license for and currently produces many Eames designs.

"Modern furniture," therefore, encompasses a wide range of designers and architects. Because the work has been mass-produced over time, collectors focus on originality, rarity, value—and the purely aesthetic appeal of a given piece.

Jane Prentiss says modern pieces generally fall into three categories: prototypes, licensed reproductions, and knockoffs. Prototypes include the pieces constructed while the Bauhaus was open, for example, and are exceedingly rare and valuable; if they come on the market at all, it's generally at European auctions. Licensed reproductions are made according to the design dimensions and materials the artist originally specified, Prentiss says, but have been produced by different manufacturers with varying contractual agreements at different times, so the pieces have evolved. "A collector may want just Eames work made by the Evans Products Company, and only the earliest pieces made," she explains. Some work is stamped and/or labeled with serial numbers that track its age.

The knockoffs, Prentiss says, "may look to the eye the same as the original design, but will be a half-inch shorter, or the padding is thinner, the plating not as thick—they've cut corners. I've had people tell me they have a Mies van der Rohe and I'll measure it and say, 'No, it's in the manner of Mies van der Rohe,'" she continues. "I think it's an insult to the artists to put their names on something they did not design."

Mainville's store in Boston's Fort Point neighborhood is a revolving gallery of hundreds of pieces from the 1930s through the 1970s by designers in Italy, France, Scandinavia, and the United States. "People come in regularly to see what's new," he says. "I've even had some professors from the Rhode Island School of Design come in with their classes to study the furniture." One recent visitor found a blond birch bedroom set by the Heywood-Wakefield Company (1826-1966, founded in Gardner, Massachusetts), a roll-top "action office desk" with a walnut top and an aluminum base by George Nelson (an innovative designer and businessman who became head of design at Herman Miller in the mid-1940s), a light-green lounge chair by Danish designer Hans Wegner, and an unusual, nine-foot-long, oval dining table by Florence Knoll Bassett. The pieces are not prototypes: they are more likely the "original" licensed reproductions, most of which were mass-produced, or specifically commissioned for an interior.

"Original" refers to the furniture produced closest to the time it was actually designed, Mainville says; it does not necessarily explain the condition of the object. Vintage furniture often comes to dealers missing parts, broken, or stained. Mainville and Pamela Watts have no qualms about repairing, reupholstering, or sometimes even refinishing a piece to make it more visually appealing. "A sofa that is 50 years old has fabric that is torn, or the foam might be dry—this is not a practical piece," he says. "People want to live with the object, so if I buy an old Florence Knoll sofa, I will buy Knoll fabric to

COURTESY OF MACHINE AGE

Machine Age in Boston offers a wide array of furniture designed between the 1930s and the 1970s.

reupholster it with. Now an Aalto dresser I will not touch, because it's beautiful—the way it has aged—and it is practical the way it is. Its value and character are intact." (Finnish architect Alvar Aalto was a professor at MIT in the 1940s; he designed its Baker Dormitory.)

At Reside, "If a nice original or early vintage piece comes in in good condition, I like it to stay on the floor like that so I can give the customer the opportunity to decide on the restoration," Watts reports, although many customers "buy furniture because they like it and don't worry about where it came from or what's been done to it."

This is true for Elizabeth Hermann. She cut off the ends of a nine-foot Danish teak coffee table (by an unknown designer) to fit in her Concord living room, and her brother is shortening and making teak tabletops for two formerly upholstered stools by Eero Saarinen. Hermann says she respects the originality of these designs but, as a creative person, sees design "as a living, evolving process. While I certainly wouldn't alter one of my more sculptural pieces by a known designer, in the case of the coffee table, it was just too long," she adds. "As for the Saarinen stools, the covers needed to be replaced anyway and, who knows? Given enough time, Saarinen might eventually have seen for himself the value of producing a shorter end table!"

Colebert Andrus, M.Arch. '68, owns Sedia, a furniture store in Boston, which has sold high-quality reproductions of classic modern styles since 1976. "We have been successful because we are able to supply pieces to architects and designers at prices they can afford," he says of his business philosophy. He sells versions of Breuer's "Wassily" and Le Corbusier's chaise, which he calls the "Kandinsky" and the "Salon," respectively. Classic modern pieces, he maintains, "are not 'original' works of art—the designs are in the public domain. Prototypes are virtually nonexistent," unlike the case with printmaking, for example, where artists create a limited number of signed lithographs and then generally destroy the plate. "For factory-produced furniture, this concept doesn't exist," Andrus says. Serial numbers may be stamped onto a piece, he explains, but they are not limited, and there are no dictates on quality, or constraints against ongoing technical improvements.

Moreover, when designers were involved in the process, it was "a collaborative effort—not just on the part of a designer like Mies van der Rohe, for example, but on the part of other people in his studio and probably also with the factory that produced it," Andrus continues. "If you get a 'Barcelona' chair produced before 1964, then Mies had a hand in controlling his own production. But if it was made after that, someone else was in charge. A lot of times you don't really know when these things were made. People use the word 'original' for marketing purposes—and it misleads people into thinking the piece is more special than it really is. The key issue is quality."

JIM HARRISON

This sofa, by an unknown designer, is among Steven Brittan's favorite pieces. The glass and tubular chrome side table was designed by influential Irish-born artist and architect Eileen Gray in 1927.

JIM HARRISON

Sedia Inc. owner Colebert Andrus, M.Arch. '68, seated on his version of a chair by Mies van der Rohe. Note the Eames design to the back right, and the classic 1944 glass table by Isamu Noguchi in the foreground.

The relative scarcity of modern pieces, despite their mass production, is also essential to understanding their value. Many of the people who purchased modern furniture when it was new in the 1930s through the 1950s are still alive, but are moving to smaller homes; others have recently died, so their estates are coming on the market. In New England, it was predominantly architects and academics who built modern homes and furnished them. Mainville predicts that during the next decade, much of the material now in those homes will be dispersed, "and you're not going to be able to find this vintage stuff" thereafter.

Prentiss agrees. Skinner's December auction of twentieth-century furniture featured an armchair and a marble-and-chrome coffee table by Mies van der Rohe that came from his Seagram Building in New York City. "The building was sold, and the vision of Mies van der Rohe that had been protected by the Bronfman family [who commissioned the building]—the interior walls, curtains, lighting, furniture, art work, rugs, the whole look of the place—is all broken up," Prentiss says. "Once those pieces are sold off, nobody will see the whole vision together. It is lost."

The same holds true for individual residences. Prentiss cites an example in Lexington, Massachusetts: a modern home, designed by architect Hugh Stubbins, M.Arch. '35, for Miriam and Albert Goldman, LL.B. '43, that contained the work of furniture maker George Nakashima. "They had a vision of what they wanted and, after World War II, they paid a Japanese-American artist, one of the first designer craftsmen of the postwar era, to furnish their home—which was very unusual," she says. "His work has organic forms that are just beautiful." (Some of them were sold at the December auction.)

For many collectors, the beauty of the design outweighs any issues of originality, provenance, or even monetary value. Steven Brittan, M.Arch. '89, and his wife, Beatrice Gruendler, Ph.D. '95 (a professor of Arabic at Yale), live in a renovated brick row house in Boston that was built in the 1860s and is now filled with modern furniture. A rosewood credenza with a white marble top by Florence Knoll sits in the dining room next to the oval dining table and six chairs designed by Eero Saarinen (whom she knew through Cranbrook Academy). The cherry-wood table top with its thick, beveled edge sits on a white pedestal. "It's a lot like a Brancusi sculpture," says Brittan, director of the Boston Burt Hill architecture office. "There's a feeling that it's floating, that there are no obstacles, and yet it's very well formed and balanced. It's a great work of art that acts as a dining table." Upstairs he points to a sofa with wicker sides, elegantly splayed walnut arms, and a rich charcoal-gray upholstered seat. "We found that on the street when we were students and I think it's one of the best pieces we have," he says. Mainville recovered the seat with Knoll fabric. "It's the form I love so much," Brittan says, running his hands over the no-name sofa's smooth arms. "It's just so shapely." ▽

Nell Porter Brown is assistant editor of the magazine.

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The People's Epidemiologists

Sibling specialists attack the political and economic causes of health disparities.

by MADELINE DREXLER

IN THE CITY OF BOSTON—and everywhere else—wealth equals health. If you live in Beacon Hill's Louisburg Square, which sits in the federal census tract with the third highest median family income in Suffolk County—$196,210—you're sitting pretty. Your risk of dying before the age of 65 is about 30 percent less than if you live on Pleasanton Street in Roxbury, about four miles away, where the median family income is $30,751, and where one-third of residents live (or more accurately, survive) below the poverty line. Put another way, Louisburg Square's red brick and brownstone, lovingly maintained locusts and beeches, wrought iron gates and sparkling windows with wavy glass exert a measurably salutary effect on the human body. Pleasanton Street and its environs—home to dilapidated Victorians and untended maple trees, abandoned lots and overflowing dumpsters, shards of automobile glass and billboards that say "Looking to Re-Establish Credit? We Finance Anyone"—in effect act like a potent risk factor for a spectrum of ills.

Two years ago the *New England Journal of Medicine* published a commentary titled "Class—The Ignored Determinant of the Nation's Health." Its authors, a policy analyst and an academic physician, wrote: "[P]eople in lower classes die younger and are less healthy than people in higher classes. They behave in ways that ultimately damage their health and that take their lives prematurely (by smoking more, having poorer eating habits, and exercising less). They also have less health insurance coverage, live in worse neighborhoods, and are exposed to more environmental hazards. Beyond that, however, there is something about lower socioeconomic status itself that increases the risk of premature death."

For 20 years, that "something" about being poor and getting sick has preoccupied Nancy Krieger '80, Ph.D., professor of society, human development, and health at the Harvard School of Public Health. It has also preoccupied her older brother, James Krieger '78, M.D., chief of the epidemiology, planning, and evaluation unit at Public Health-Seattle and King County, his local public-health authority. Independent of each other, the Krieger siblings have transformed that fixation into the leading edge of public-health theory and practice. Nancy's hypotheses and methods are called, by many colleagues, the most brilliant contributions to social epidemiology in a generation. Jim's on-the-ground innovations are the envy of local health departments across the country. Sister and brother have set a standard for what public health can and should be in the United States; both are trying to steer the profession back to its roots in social justice. That few beyond their respective fields have heard of the Kriegers says as much about their modesty as about the battered profile of public health in America.

Public health is dedicated to the humble proposition that social action to promote health and prevent disease saves more lives more cheaply than does high-tech medicine. Recently, U.S. health authorities have paid some lip service to this perspective. In scientific meetings, official reports, and federal financing, the terms "health disparities" and "social determinants of health" have cropped up. In 2006, the National Institutes of Health will allot $200 million (out of a total budget of $28 billion) for its Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities. Here's the main idea behind the terms: the immediate causes of individual human affliction, parsed *ad nauseam* by newspaper and magazine health-advice columns—fatty diets, tobacco smoke, sedentary ways—are themselves caused by underlying forces: poverty, discrimination, stressful jobs, marketing by profit-driven global food companies, substandard housing, dangerous neighborhoods, and so on. Put another way, if every human being enjoyed all life's opportunities, disease patterns would look very different.

What makes the Kriegers' work unique is that they have toiled in vastly different domains but toward the same goal of understanding the social determinants of health, starting long before the phrase acquired professional cachet. They have proven that these institutional precursors are as amenable to study as any single-celled bacterium—and not only to study, but to change.

Though only 47, Nancy Krieger has published empirical papers, theoretical treatises, and historical essays that have shaken her field. Her work is technically complex, but the main premises are simple: Racism and social class indelibly stamp disease across populations. These forces stemming from the body politic can be dissected every bit as sharply as the body itself. The political and economic structures that prop up race and class differences in health should be named and blamed. "She burst on the scene like a comet, with tremendous intellectual firepower and passion," says Sherman A. James, professor of public policy studies and community and family medicine at Duke University.

In 1986, in the middle of Ronald Reagan's second term, Krieger and her coauthor, physician and public-health researcher Mary Bassett, published a paper titled "The Health of Black Folk: Disease, Class, and Ideology in Science." It argued that the higher premature death rate among blacks, compared to whites, wasn't due to the victims' genes or lifestyle choices, as the conservative line of the time insisted, but rather to the overwhelming circumstances of their lives since birth. To comprehend how jarring this assertion was, consider the statement in a leading epidemiology textbook, published the same year, that "social class is presumably related causally to few if any diseases."

In the 20 years since, Krieger has shown that social class and racism are related causally to the leading sources of illness and death in the United States. Those overarching social forces remain the focus of her curiosity.

Last November she brought her ideas to the REACH Boston Elders 2010 coalition, a group of community advocates, retirees, and citizens concerned about health issues. Traveling from their homes and apartments in the mostly black neighborhoods of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan, they meet each month in a function hall at the golf course in Franklin Park. It is the kind of event Krieger relishes, because it plucks her out of academia and drops her in a world where her work could make a difference. Her attire reflected her self-identity as someone outside the academic mainstream: a man's oxford-cloth shirt that billowed out, with sleeves rolled up (because she is five feet two); cargo pants; a dark vest; a fedora when she was outdoors. Her short black hair, flecked with gray, was combed back. Rimless glasses perched in front of expressive dark eyes.

> "This means that **people born before the 1960s,** including you, carry within their bodies the **history of the Jim Crow era.**"

The Boston Elders' director, April Taylor, a tall, high-spirited woman, was excited to greet Krieger. "I've followed Nancy's work for a long time," she said. "Isn't that crazy? To say you love someone's epidemiology?"

Though Krieger began her speech on a personal note—"Think for a moment about the stories our bodies tell," she said—she soon took up more weighty matters. Midway through, she flashed a chart titled "The Jim Crow Effect: Temporal Lags in Black/White Disparities in Life Expectancy: United States, 1900-2000." Jim Crow laws, in effect from the 1880s to the 1960s, enforced racial segregation in marriage, public facilities, and virtually every realm of life. Krieger's slide showed that in each year of the last century, by depressingly fixed margins, blacks lived shorter lives than whites. In 2000, the life expectancy of blacks equaled the life expectancy of whites in 1960. Today, U.S. blacks live an average of 71 years, while whites live 78 years. The first generation of African Americans to be born post-Jim Crow is only 40 years old. "This means that people born before the 1960s, including you, carry within their bodies the history of the Jim Crow era," Krieger explained.

The room got quiet.

Another slide showed a census tract map of Boston, with rising proportions of "excess" premature mortality—shown in deepening shades of red—in lower-income districts, compared to the richest census tracts. In essence, the map portrayed the economic geography of early death. Krieger cited a figure known euphemistically as the "Population Attributable Fraction," or

PAF, of premature mortality due to census-tract poverty. Translated, it says that 30 percent of those who died under age 65 in the city's poorest areas would still be alive if the premature death rates in their neighborhoods had been the same as those in Louisburg Square. Though researchers have used the PAF for decades to examine a variety of exposures and outcomes—from smoking and death rates to high cholesterol and heart disease—Krieger was the first person to calculate the PAF for poverty and premature mortality in Boston—or to think about calculating it. "Thirty percent is a pretty stark contrast," she said.

"Sure is," said a man in the back. "If the white folks moved to the black areas, would they die any earlier?"

"That's a great question," Krieger said. "If they were born and lived under the same conditions as the African Americans living in those neighborhoods, they would have a worse mortality rate as well."

A woman raised her hand. "This report is very good and honorable," she told Krieger. "Who do you give this report to?" Though Krieger didn't elaborate, the answer is: to a peer-reviewed scientific journal, with the hope that subsequent publication and media publicity will compel health officials, lawmakers, and advocacy groups to do something.

During the past 20 years, for reasons that remain unclear, asthma rates have steadily crept up in the United States. The disease is chronic and often unbearable: muscles of the bronchial tubes tighten and thicken, air passages become inflamed and mucus-filled, and the victim coughs, wheezes, and ultimately gasps for air. The most common asthma triggers are well-known: mold (from dampness and poor ventilation), dust mites (from old carpeting and unwashed linen), cockroaches and rodents (from infestations in dilapidated homes), tobacco smoke, toxic indoor chemicals, and ozone and diesel particulates in congested urban areas. This list explains why the disease disproportionately strikes poor people and minority populations. In King County, Washington, children from low-income neighborhoods are three times more likely to be admitted to the hospital for asthma than children from well-heeled communities.

Photograph by Jim Harrison

Jim Krieger is a slight man, his expression reflective yet impish, wire rims resting on an aquiline nose, gray-tipped beard on sunken cheeks. His most conspicuous feature, though, is his soft voice: so light, high-pitched, airy with a slightly metallic sibilance, that one must and one does pay attention. In the mid 1990s, he hatched a plan to reduce Seattle's asthma rates. The idea was both bold and calculated. He would take on the "social determinants" behind this major public-health challenge—but he wouldn't call it that. The phrase "social determinants," after all, was too ponderous, too accusatory, too lefty, to play well with policymakers. Nor did it play well with the minorities and low-income residents who were the actual victims of harmful environments. "You can't approach them and say, 'Let's work on social determinants of health,'" Jim says. "Instead, start with what they're concerned about—which is, they can't breathe—and then find the social determinants that affect asthma. Work the issue that way. Back into it."

At the time, asthma was the "disease *du jour*." A wealth of data proved it was increasing, which caught the attention of politicians and health officials. It also helped that most people intuitively understood the connection between housing and health, thanks to nineteenth-century campaigns to control typhus, tuberculosis, and other infections by improving sanitation and living arrangements. And so, beginning in the late 1990s, Seattle's Healthy Homes project received hefty grants from federal and private sources.

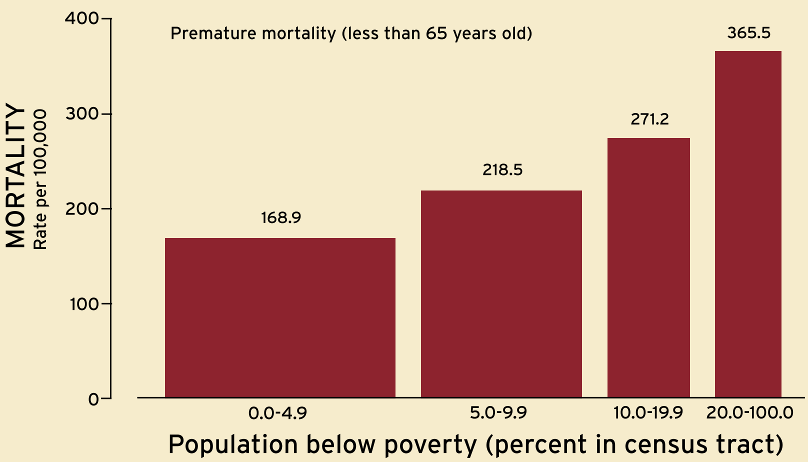
The program rested on an approach known as community-based participatory research. Newly minted health workers, who lived in the affected areas and often suffered from asthma, or had family members who did, went house-to-house to educate their neighbors about how to take care of themselves. Krieger's project demonstrated that children from those families who received frequent visits and intense education from health workers spent fewer days with symptoms and took fewer trips to the emergency room. The families learned about taking medicine properly and cleaning up their homes, but also got material help: allergy-control bedding, low-emission vacuum cleaners with microfiltration bags, cleaning kits, roach bait, and rodent traps. The community workers, meanwhile, collected reams of data on the problems they encountered and the results of their interventions, to meet the highest standards of scientific investigation.

The results were dramatic. In King County, the asthma hospitalization rate for children had increased 57 percent from 1987 to 1995. Between 2000, when the community health workers marched into action and the health department bolstered asthma prevention in schools and clinics, and 2004, the rate declined 39 percent.

In 2003, Krieger received an Innovation in Prevention Award from the U.S. De-

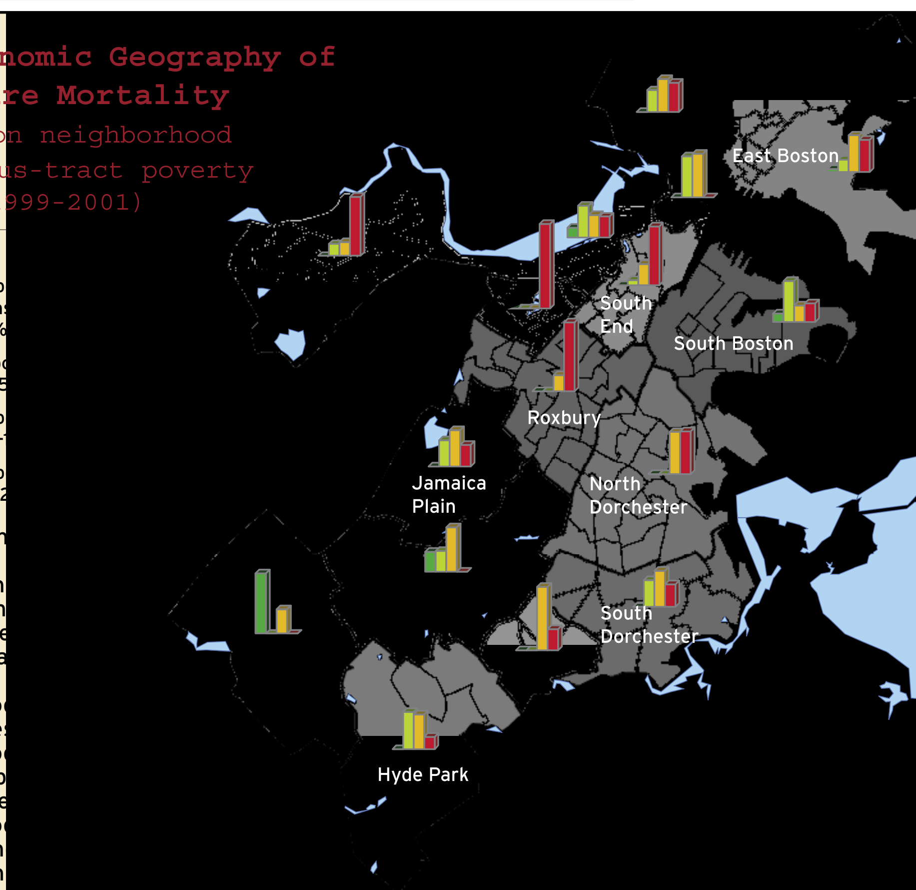
Massachusetts Public Health Disparities

The chart depicts the rates of premature death from 1989 to 1991 in Massachusetts (scale on left) steadily rising among residents who lived in progressively poorer census tracts (shaded bars). The width of the bars reflects the proportion of residents throughout the state living in census tracts at the specified poverty level.



The Economic Geography of Premature Mortality

(by Boston neighborhood and census-tract poverty levels, 1999-2001)



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partment of Health and Human Services. There was irony in his selection. Then-HHS secretary Tommy Thompson had long promoted policies, such as giving obese citizens pedometers to count their daily steps, that were diametrically opposed to the social-determinant model Krieger favored.

All along, Jim Krieger assumed that Healthy Homes was merely a first step toward solving asthma. Until he began addressing fundamental social determinants of the disease, he wouldn't make much difference. In 2002, his interest and that of the city's public-housing agency coincided. The Seattle Housing Authority (SHA) began sketching out an unprecedented vision. High Point, in West Seattle, then consisted of barracks-like single-story structures originally built as temporary dwellings for Boeing workers after World War II. Sixty years later, buildings designed to last five years had become decrepit public housing. Not surprisingly, 10 to 12 percent of residents had asthma. The SHA determined to tear down the old structures in two phases, the first of which ended last fall. (Affected residents, who were relocated to other public housing in the city, were guaranteed a unit in the new site.) Replacing the old project would be a handsome, mixed-income community spread over 34 city blocks: green, sustainable, walkable, with expansive parks and majestic old trees, capacious front porches to deter crime, and a street grid connected to the rest of funky West Seattle. It would also include 35 allergy-free townhouses for people with asthma.

When the Housing Authority asked Krieger if he would be interested in the project, "he leapt at it," said Tom Byers, a well-connected local Democrat and partner in a consulting firm, Cedar River Group, who helped shepherd High Point to completion. Byers had made the initial phone call to Krieger. "He said: 'Oh yes, that sounds very exciting. Now, we'd have to look out for this, and we'd have to look out for that. And we will probably need to build a minimum of 60 homes to make the data reliable.'" For a public-health warrior like Krieger, it made no sense to build designer homes for a small group of impoverished asthma sufferers without a study large enough to offer statistical proof of the homes' benefits. If the project panned out, Krieger hoped to see the concept replicated throughout Seattle's low-income communities—and beyond. "He's the people's epidemiologist," Byers said.

The Breathe Easy units, as they came to be called, are a state-of-the-art response to asthma sufferers imprisoned in bad homes: a direct cure for a deleterious social determinant of health. For about $5,000 extra in construction costs per unit, they are outfitted with filtered ventilation systems, insulated foundations, moisture-removing fans, cherry cabinets free of asthma-triggering glues, low-outgassing paints, easy-to-clean Marmoleum floors—and even landscaping with low-allergenic plants.

Lanh Truong and her two sons were the first to move into a Breathe Easy unit, in December 2005. A meticulous, effervescent 25-year-old, Truong had escaped as a child from Vietnam to a refugee camp in Thailand, eventually landing in Seattle. She earns $9 an hour pouring wax for decorative candles. Two years ago, her younger son, Steven, now four, was diagnosed with serious asthma after repeated trips to the hospital emergency room and the local health clinic. At the time, Truong and her boys were living in the original High Point project. "Mold and too dirty and too old," Truong said of her former home. "Mold on the ceiling. When I clean them, they come back."

"I heard they were building a new house," she said. "Easy for the kid to breathe. I love it. I want it. Because I don't want my kid to be more sick." And though she herself was never officially diagnosed with asthma, she has noticed that she feels better, too. "When I get into the house, easy for breathing."

Jim Krieger may have overseen construction of the Breathe Easy homes, but the idea originated with a tenant leader and former president of the local community council, Bonita Blake. Before chronic respiratory illness and a car accident disabled her, Blake had been a professional opera singer. Like many leaders in poor communities, she was wary of outsiders who wanted to study her neighborhood's problems and impose their own solutions. But she trusted Krieger. "I just love him," she said. "He spoke gentle *to* us, *with* us, on *behalf* of us. He didn't make us feel guilty or lesser than—I had expected him to do that. I wasn't so much hearing what he said as much as I heard his heart. He believed in what he was saying. He had a great *cause*—and he was committed to that cause."

> "He spoke gentle *to* us, *with* us, on *behalf* of us. **He didn't make us feel guilty or lesser than**—I had expected him to do that."

How did two siblings like Nancy and Jim Krieger evolve? They grew up on East 96th Street and Fifth Avenue, on the borderline between the Upper East Side of New York City and Spanish Harlem, an urban demarcation where the statistical link between poverty and early death surely resembled that between Louisburg Square and Roxbury. Steps from Mount Sinai Hospital, their apartment building sat on a city block that boasted the highest concentration of physicians in the world. Two of those doctors were their parents, Dorothy Terrace Krieger, director of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine's division of endocrinology and recipient of a special award in 1984 from the Lasker Foundation, and Howard P. Krieger, chair of the neurology department at Beth Israel Medical Center as well as a teacher and researcher. Dorothy Krieger, a driven, artistic, deeply private woman, was considered the intellectual powerhouse of the two. A Barnard College graduate at 18, she was gifted enough to have considered a career as a classical pianist. Scientific competition and other issues eventually corroded the marriage. The Kriegers divorced when Nancy and Jim were in college, and Dorothy Krieger remarried. She died at 58 of breast cancer.

Nancy and Jim grew up with a regimen of elite schools and directed study. Knowledge was meant to benefit the world; medicine was understood to be the noblest profession. Dinnertable talk centered on school, current events, and hospital politics. "Any topic could be discussed. It was very verbal. But you had to

Data and graphic material provided by Nancy Krieger and Pamela Waterman, Harvard School of Public Health make your case—opinions were not sufficient," Nancy recalls. "I wouldn't say the inculcation was completely enjoyable."

From the start, sister and brother struck out in different directions, a reflection of their personalities. Nancy was solitary, inward, and fiercely strong-minded. At six and a half, according to Dorothy Krieger's notation in a baby book, Nancy was "vacillating between believing in God, because 'doesn't want to be different,' and not believing because of scientific evidence of process of geology and evolution." It may have been the last time Nancy vacillated, or feared being different.

As a Harvard undergrad concentrating in biochemistry, Krieger consumed a heady brew of Marxism, feminism, evolutionary biology, history, and campus activism. She came out. She also plunged into experimental theater, doing tech work for classmate Peter Sellars, the avant-garde director, whose work at the time she considered insufficiently political. "We fought a lot," she said. "We also talked about the nature of theater—making dead things come alive—because we both had interests in the classics as well. I love the world of the theater, and I love the world of making things happen." After graduation in 1980, she moved to Seattle, where she started to make things happen in an unexpected sphere. It was a shock to the family system when Nancy announced that she would pursue graduate work in epidemiology—"The only time my mother hung up on me. If you're at the center of academic medicine, public health looks like less than the last hair on the tail of the dog."

Her University of Washington master's thesis analyzed the effect of class position on breast-cancer survival. In 1988, she wrote presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's AIDS platform. At the University of California, Berkeley, where she earned her doctorate in 1989, she peered across the landscape of women's social roles to explain why breast cancer is more likely to strike black women under age 40, but more likely to strike white women after 45. Until then, researchers had assumed that racial differences in breast-cancer risk were just that: racial. Krieger focused on class standing and its influence on educational level, fertility rates, abortion, oral contraception, and other seeming imponderables. "For Nancy to look beyond the usual cast of characters, to think about it more broadly, was remarkable," says S. Leonard Syme, professor of epidemiology and community health at Berkeley's School of Public Health. "It put breast cancer in the middle of social process."

On the day Krieger was scheduled to deliver her doctoral defense, an event usually sparsely attended, the faculty filed in to hear her. "We couldn't get a room big enough," recalls Syme. "People were sitting on the floor and on the windowsills."

"They knew this was a voice they had to listen to, whether they liked that voice or not," adds Meredith Minkler, now a professor of health and social behavior at Berkeley. "Nancy talks very fast. People shouted out: 'Slow down!' We were scribbling notes as fast as we could, because we didn't want to lose any of it."

A year after being awarded her Ph.D., during which time she became an investigator at the Kaiser Foundation Research Institute, in Oakland, Krieger returned to Berkeley to deliver the commencement speech. "On Becoming a Public Health Professional: Reflections on Democracy, Leadership, and Accountability" is required reading in many public-health courses around the country. In it, Krieger asks: "Are the 'experts' all white? Are they all men? Are they all affluent? Are they all straight? If so, we have a problem."

That made her appointment at Harvard, where she joined the faculty in 1995, all the more arresting. She continues to dress in a provocative way—that is, her version of provocative. "For the first several faculty meetings, I made sure to wear a tie." Krieger's annual course, "History, Politics, and Public Health: Theories of Disease Distribution and Social Inequalities in Health," is regularly oversubscribed. Last year she was awarded tenure, an academic vindication for public-health progressives. As one colleague proclaimed at Krieger's tenure party, holding aloft a glass of champagne: "Every once in a while, justice triumphs."

"The only time my mother hung up on me. If you're at the center of academic medicine, **public health looks like less than the last hair on the tail of the dog."**

In his youth, Jim Krieger created a rich friendship network outside a home oriented 100 percent to scholarship. He committed the apostasy of joining his high school's swimming and soccer teams. And long before his coalition work with asthma, he made a point of meeting people where they were, by fitting in with different cliques: the academic aces, the jocks, the politicos, and the cool crowd. "It was curiosity, more than anything else. I always saw myself as someone who bridged different cultures."

He also took up photography and joined classmates in a group called the Saturday Housing Project, wielding a Nikon to document shocking conditions in Harlem and the Bronx. The students submitted their reports and pictures to tenants-rights organizations, which used them to argue for repairs. "I remember one bathroom where the toilet wasn't working, lime green peeling paint coming down all over the place, one bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling," Krieger said. "The shower was rusty and not working very well, and there was a big leak in that bathroom. It was the only bathroom in a house for six or seven people. Here I was living in an apartment off of Fifth Avenue, and this was less than a mile away."

The Saturday Housing Project was a "shaping experience," he said, sowing "a set of core values that I still have to this day: of addressing social inequities in an activist, concrete, doing kind of way." Advocacy, he saw, produced results. "Some of the clients that we worked with were able to force the landlords to make improvements. [In] other cases, in which the association couldn't do anything, we were able to assist the family in finding better housing or getting them onto public housing."

At Harvard, where, like Nancy, he concentrated in biochemistry, Krieger protested against apartheid in South Africa. After graduating in 1978, he joined VISTA to work on health, school, and housing issues. A chance conversation with an activist physician convinced him that he could do more good working inside the establishment than by knocking on the doors of Somerville triple-deckers. Yet in 1983, he took a year off from his medical school residency at the University of California, San Francisco, and headed to Nicaragua, where the Sandinista revolution had exploded. It was his final transformative push into public-health activism. He toiled in a tiny four-room clinic set in the middle of a sugar-cane plantation. During the day, women and children with anemia, respiratory infections, and intestinal parasites filled the waiting room. At night, men trudged in from the fields with machete wounds. Krieger was swept up in a health revolution, where a nation untouched by the most basic public-health measures was suddenly the target of childhood immunization campaigns, life-saving oral rehydration for deadly diarrheal infections, and other enlightened practices imported by politically impassioned young doctors from the rich world—people like Krieger.

"If you have a transformative period in history like that, where political forces are lined up with social forces," he says, "then you can make profound change. That gave me a vision about the way things could be. But also it helps me understand better the realities of the last 20 years, which has been a conservative period in our country's history." In Seattle, his solution has been to embark on smaller-scale, incremental projects, with the hope that the pendulum will eventually swing and make way, if not for revolution, then for accelerated evolution.

Jim Krieger at the Breathe Easy housing units, Seattle

Nancy Krieger says she gets many of her insights when engaged in intellectual debate with someone: either in person, or in her head. In a sense, the scrupulous logic and extensive footnoting in her papers may be the legacy of her childhood dinner-table discussions. Today, walks around Jamaica Pond are a reliable source of inspiration. In her left shirt pocket, a small pad of paper and three pens are always at the ready. "I don't like to travel," she said. "But my mind likes to travel."

Mostly, it has traveled over uncharted intellectual terrain. Beginning in 1990, Krieger was the first scientist to describe how racial discrimination harms physical health—by explicitly measuring exposure to racial discrimination and testing its association with high blood pressure. "She did things that made some of the leading people in the field quite uncomfortable," says Duke's Sherman James. "But she did it so brilliantly that people who are made uneasy by her intellectual challenges could not fault her on the grounds of sloppy thinking."

Traditionally, epidemiology "adjusted" for race and class: using statistical sleight of hand, it erased the overwhelming effects of racial discrimination and poverty on populations in order to flush out the specific biological pathways behind disease. Krieger said that race should not be treated as a background influence or biological risk factor to be controlled for, but rather that racism should be analyzed as a causal exposure for disease in its own right. She wanted to measure the effects of discrimination, poverty, and injustice on health *directly*.

In 1996, Krieger published the first, and still largest, study to suggest that bearing the brunt of racial discrimination raises the risk of elevated blood pressure, a partial explaination of why blacks suffer more hypertension than whites. She showed that racial discrimination is just as harmful as any of the usual culprits: lack of exercise, smoking, a high-fat or high-salt diet.

"It was controversial," says James. Although the statistical outcomes were surprising, they were also nuanced. "The findings were very complex—and a lot of people have difficulty dealing with that kind of complexity." Even more noteworthy, the paper was based on data collected in one of the gold-plated studies in the history of epidemiology: the Coronary Artery Risk Development in Young Adults (CARDIA) study. The analysis was not only a technical *tour de force*, but a red flag for critics, who charged that her conclusions went beyond the evidence.

To answer them, Krieger developed a scientifically validated research instrument for measuring people's experiences of racial discrimination—one now used by researchers studying a wide array of health outcomes, from hypertension to tobacco use to depression. And she continued to ponder the deeper meaning behind the data, including the hint that repressing the anger and humiliation of racial discrimination exacts a physical toll. "The evidence is there in the bodies, but people can't say, at times, what happened to them," she says. "That's what solidified for me the idea that bodies can tell stories that people sometimes can't, or won't, or aren't able to, or are not free to tell."

In the late 1990s, Krieger set out to devise a method to portray the link between a community's health status and its socioeconomic class. She was building on work she had started as a master's degree student in 1984, frustrated by the dearth of socioeconomic data in U.S. health records. The Public Health Disparities Geocoding Project, launched in 2004, is a major advance in public-health research. (Its methods are freely available at www.hsph.harvard.edu/thegeocodingproject/.) Though the technical details are complicated, Krieger's concept boils down to this: one's street address turns out to be a pretty good indicator of one's health. Within a federal census tract (an area that usually includes about 4,000 people of similar income and living conditions), the poverty rate corresponds closely with residents' health status.

Krieger's linkage of census data with public-health surveillance information helps officials track whether the health gap between rich and poor is getting smaller or bigger, or whether government policies are making the situation better or worse. It also flushes out small, often overlooked, pockets that may need extra attention. Health departments from Boston to Brazil, from China to Costa Rica, are using her techniques. "I'm sitting here in the health department, and I want her to teach me," says Bruce Cohen, director of the division of research and epidemiology at the Center for Health Information and Statistics at the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. "I want to be able to replicate what she does, with fewer resources than she has, so I can use our data to identify target populations for our programs more effectively."

In 2000, Krieger published the first U.S. study to calculate on a state-wide level how poverty raises the risk of becoming infected with the AIDS virus. "Partly as a result of the research that Nancy has done, we have been able to make the case that the number-one public-health issue in Boston is racial and ethnic healthcare disparities," says John Auerbach, executive director of the Boston Public Health Commission. "Several years ago, we would never have been able to make that case."

More recently, Krieger has used geocoding to paint a fine-grained portrait of preventable suffering. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, she showed that *more than half* the cases of childhood lead poisoning, sexually transmitted infections, tuberculosis, nonfatal gun-related injuries, and HIV/AIDS deaths among the poorest residents would not have occurred if their risk had been the same as that of people living in the wealthiest enclaves.

Yet Krieger's theoretical papers may be even more influential. Most epidemiology theory comes from the grand old men of the profession, at the end of storied careers. Krieger began penning her decidedly unpontifical ideas in her thirties. The most famous was published in 1994: "Epidemiology and the Web of Causation: Has Anyone Seen the Spider?" Drawing deeply on history and philosophy, the article in *Social Science and Medicine* dismantles the central tenet of modern epidemiology: the belief that population patterns of health and disease spring from a complex (and rather gauzy) "web" of risk and protective factors. Krieger suggests the web approach is both short-sighted and cowardly because it focuses on individuals and ignores how and why diseases vary and shift across populations and over time. It looks at lots of narrow mechanisms and not at the overarching forces that set those mechanisms into play.

Instead, she asks, "Who or what is the 'spider?'" What societal forces create the risk factors that eventually sift down to the organs and cells and DNA in our bodies? And how are those forces sowing disease across populations? "When you look at it after reading it, you say: Of course. But no one really saw it until then," says her former Berkeley mentor Len Syme. "Everywhere I go in the world, I see that paper sitting on people's desks."

In the "Spider" paper, Krieger also introduced "ecosocial theory," which ties together many of her intellectual insights. She argues that an individual's health can't be torn from context and history. We are both social and biological beings, she says—and the social is every bit as "real" as the biological. Soci-

"**A person is not one day African American,** another day born low birth weight, another day raised in a home bearing remnants of lead paint..."

ety, in fact, intimately connects with biology from the moment we are born—or even before. Explaining the comparatively high risk of hypertension among African Americans, Krieger wrote: "A person is not one day African American, another day born low birth weight, another day raised in a home bearing remnants of lead paint, another day subjected to racial discrimination at work (and in a job that does not provide health insurance), and still another day living in a racially segregated neighborhood without a supermarket but with many fast food restaurants. The body does not neatly partition these experiences—all of which may serve to increase risk of uncontrolled hypertension."

Understanding the deepest roots of disease, in Krieger's universe, requires asking questions about social structure, cultural norms, ecologic milieu, and genetic variability—not piecemeal, but all at once. In a 2004 study, for instance, Elizabeth Barbeau, director of tobacco-control research at Boston's Dana-Farber Cancer Institute, found that class strongly influences the likelihood of giving up smoking—the very kind of role Krieger's theories would predict. "People in working-class occupations actually attempted to quit just as often as people in higher occupational groups. But they were not as successful in doing so," Barbeau explains. Why not? Maybe because they didn't have health insurance to pay for nicotine patches or smoking-cessation counseling. Or because their workplaces still permitted smoking. Or because their jobs were so monotonous that lighting up was the only way to break the tedium.

Or take San Francisco bus drivers, 90 percent of whom suffer hypertension by age 60, not to mention lower back pain, respiratory disease, gastrointestinal distress, and alcoholism. "At some point you have to say, 'Wait a minute. Where's the spider?'" says Len Syme. "The fundamental, underlying problem is a job that is causing a higher rate of everything." In this case, Krieger's hypothesized arachnid was a rigid and arbitrary schedule that drivers could not humanly keep up with.

In the late 1990s, pundits from several conservative think tanks launched incendiary salvos against Nancy Krieger's work. They argued that her research undermined Americans' cultural beliefs in self-reliance. Typical was lawyer Heather MacDonald's 1998 article "Public Health Quackery," in the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*: "Behind all their talk of racism and sexism, Krieger and her colleagues' real prey is individual responsibility. Traditional epidemiology looks at both individual risk behaviors and the environment to determine the source and pattern of disease. But the modern miasmaticians assert that to study individual risk factors, such as drug use or smoking, 'blames the victim'—at least when that victim is poor, female, or black. When such victims get sick, society is to blame. And so the public health revisionists are generating a remarkable body of excuses for the most avoidable and dangerous behaviors, particularly those relating to HIV/AIDS."

Eventually the attacks fizzled out, most likely because Krieger built a massive foundation of empirical research and methods to support her vaulting theories. "I was going to do this work. Or I was not going to be allowed to do this work. But I wasn't going to do something else," Krieger says. "It's very clear that you could only get away with this stuff if you're really good. This is not about doing 'politically correct' science: it is about doing correct science."

In January, Jim Krieger returned to Seattle from a month's hiking in the Andes with his partner, Kim, a public-health program director. As it happened, Nancy was also in Seattle, en route to a talk in Vancouver. At dinner, over pasta and wine, the siblings' resonant lives and divergent personalities were on display. Nancy radiated a feeling of deep stillness, even when she was in motion. Jim exuded a coiled kinetic energy, even when sitting still.

The family dynamic, they agreed, was complicated. Although Nancy was encouraged to pursue any interest, Jim was explicitly pointed toward a medical-research career. During a high-school summer science camp, his parents were disappointed that the program wasn't demanding enough. "They told me I was wasting my time," he recalls, "not doing good enough experiments." As if reliving the experience, Jim shifted to the present tense. "You prove your value through your intellectual achievements. They don't give you attention, affection, love, whatever—you have to earn it."

By happenstance or by design, sister and brother ended up in the same profession, fighting the same villains, doing like-minded but unalike work on opposite coasts. Were they competing, or avoiding competition? Both said that even though the competitive bait had been set at an early age, they didn't bite. "The intellectual was the easy part," Nancy said. "Much more difficult was the emotional part. There was a very limited amount of parental attention to go around, and there was competition for that. You can't win that competition. You can live it—but nobody wins, and everybody loses."

Despite that awareness, Nancy and Jim never lost their emotional connection.

The next day, during a walk around Phase I of the new High Point, the cool air rang with a medley of contractors' saws and nail guns. To the west stood the gray-green, snow-capped Olympics hovering over Puget Sound. To the east, the Cascades. In every block Jim noticed little improvements since he'd last seen the grounds: new plantings, drainpipes, paths cleared through the woods. "This is really looking good," he said. Nancy's mind was churning with political questions: the power shifts that had permitted such handsome housing for poor people, how different ethnic groups would or would not coalesce in the new community. She also felt a sense of possibility.

Earlier, Nancy had said that Jim's work was a "touchstone" for her. "I've always looked up to my brother. I think he's principled. He's displayed political acumen. And he's pushing the edges of what a health department can do."

Similarly, Jim had said, "I like reading what Nancy writes. It's important for people in public health to have theoretical constructs, big-picture vision. It can be very motivating, morale-building. You feel you're plugged into something bigger than you are."

Strolling past freshly painted townhouses, Nancy told Jim she was proud of him. He accepted the compliment—he's been getting better at accepting compliments—but reminded her that it wasn't just him, that lots of people were involved. She said, "Still, here it is."

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Rereading the Renaissance

Reviving the foundational humanist texts

by Adam Kirsch

The only thing most teachers and students of the humanities agree on, it often seems, is that these are troubled times for their field. For a whole variety of reasons—social, intellectual, and technological—the humanities have been losing their confident position at the core of the university's mission. This represents an important turning-point, not just for education, but for our culture as a whole. Ever since the Renaissance, the humanities have defined what it means to be an educated person. The very word comes from the Latin name of the first modern, secular curriculum, the *studia humanitatis*, invented in fourteenth-century Italy as a rival to traditional university subjects like theology, medicine, and law.

According to Princeton historian Anthony Grafton, one of today's leading scholars of the Renaissance, "the *studia humanitatis*, the humanities….encompassed quite a specific range of subjects: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, the arts that gave a command of Latin, the language of learning, and oratory, history, poetry, and moral philosophy." For centuries after, these disciplines were considered indispensable for any well-educated person. Still more important, they helped to define an ethical ideal: they were "forms of thought and writing," Grafton explains, "that improved the character of the student." To study the humanities was to grow more independent and intrepid, both intellectually and morally; it was the royal road to becoming a complete human being. In the words of the critic George Steiner, A.M. '50, modern education has been defined by the principle "that the humanities humanize."

Even today, most members of institutions like Harvard would instinctively endorse, in some form, the proposition advanced six centuries ago by the Italian Renaissance humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio: "We call those studies liberal, then, which are worthy of a free [*liber*] man: they are those through which virtue and wisdom are either practiced or sought, and by which the body or mind is disposed towards all the best things." But today, every part of Vergerio's confident creed is coming under increased attack. For one thing, "liberal studies" can appear less useful, to the student and to society as a whole, than concrete scientific and technical knowledge. Better to emerge from college as a budding biologist or financier, our practical-minded culture incessantly tells us, than as a mere reader of books. Meanwhile, the humanities themselves have become infinitely more self-critical in recent decades, so that "virtue" and "wisdom," unproblematic terms for Vergerio, are now contested battlegrounds. Reading canonical texts, many people now believe, is not the road to freedom, but a subtle kind of indoctrination.

This tumultuous moment, when the humanities and humanism itself face an uncertain future, is the perfect time to shine a new light on the age when they were invented. That's why it seems especially fitting that Vergerio's treatise on education—along with a galaxy of other fascinating, inspiring, and almost wholly unknown texts—is being discovered by a new generation of readers, thanks to the I Tatti Renaissance Library (ITRL; www.hup.harvard.edu/itatti/index.html). Readers have long been familiar with the color-coded jackets of the Loeb Classical Library—red for Latin, green for Greek—which offers standard texts of ancient authors in accessible English translations. Now the ITRL's pale-blue covers have become synonymous with neo-Latin literature, which began in the fourteenth century with the revival of classical learning that sparked the Italian Renaissance.

The series, inaugurated by Harvard University Press in 2001, is edited by professor of history James Hankins and sponsored by Harvard's Center for Italian Renaissance Studies. It takes its name from Villa I Tatti, the estate near Florence of the celebrated Renaissance art connoisseur Bernard Berenson, which he bequeathed to Harvard as a home for the center. Drawing on the expertise of the world's leading Renaissance scholars, the series already includes 20 volumes (with 40 more commissioned to date) and has helped to transform students' understanding of a seminal period in Western cultural history.

According to Higginson professor of English literature and professor of comparative literature emeritus Walter Kaiser, former director of Villa I Tatti and a moving force behind the series, it is already making "a major difference to the teaching of Renaissance history of thought" by making available to students texts that were often referred to, but seldom actually read. Hankins notes that "Renaissance Latin is terra incognita still," and the ITRL has enabled many new explorers to see "the fauna and flora that dwell on…the 'lost continent' of Renaissance Latin literature." Other fields, too, are benefiting

Fresco of Saint Augustine in his cell by Sandro Botticelli, c. 1480, in Ognissanti Church, Florence
© The Bridgeman Art Library/Getty Images

from the series' rediscoveries. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Famous Women*, a biographical dictionary of female figures from ancient myth and history, has become an important resource for women's studies, proving so popular that it is now available in paperback.

But even for readers outside the academy, the volumes in the ITRL are fascinating and important. They offer a wholly new way of understanding the tremendous intellectual flourishing of the Italian Renaissance, a period we usually encounter only through its visual art and architecture. The very names of Fra Angelico, Botticelli, or Leonardo da Vinci can draw huge crowds to art museums, and their individual styles are still immediately recognizable after more than 500 years. Yet the writings of their contemporaries, the first humanists, are practically unknown, even though they continue to influence our ideas about education and literature.

The Neo-Latin Tomb

The current obscurity of Neo-Latin literature is a giant historical irony, since it was precisely for the sake of posthumous fame that the Renaissance humanists chose to write in Latin. In the fourteenth century, Petrarch and Boccaccio were celebrated for their poems and stories in Italian, but they had no faith that their vernacular works would give them the immortality they craved. After all, by the time Petrarch became the first writer to look back systematically to classic Roman literature for inspiration, Latin had already dominated Europe for two millennia. It was the language of the Roman empire and the Catholic Church, of law and medicine and diplomacy. Naturally, as Hankins writes in an essay on "The Rise and Fall of Neo-Latin," "if an author hoped for a fame that could spread throughout the world and outlast his own time, he would have to write in Latin."

The innovation of the humanists, however, was their determination to vault backward over 15 centuries of linguistic and cultural change, to recapture what they considered the pristine Latin of the classic Roman authors. By studying the poetry of Virgil and Ovid, the historical works of Livy, the letters and oratory of Cicero and Quintilian, the Renaissance humanists hoped to recapture what they believed to be the true spirit of the Augustan age. After a thousand years of what suddenly seemed like darkness, literature would light their way back to Italy's glorious patrimony. As Boccaccio wrote, "I begin to hope and believe that God has had mercy on the Italian name, since I see that His infinite goodness puts souls into the breasts of the Italians like those of the ancients—souls which seek fame by other means than robbery and violence, but rather on the path of poetry, which makes men immortal."

The Neo-Latin writers represented in the ITRL succeeded in giving Latin a new lease on literary life. Jacob Burckhardt, in his classic nineteenth-century study *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, noted that, "For fully two centuries the humanists acted as if Latin were, and must remain, the only language worthy to be written." Their purified version of Latin spread beyond Italy to become the language of the nascent Republic of Letters all across Europe. But in time, the modernizing spirit that the Renaissance let loose came to see Latin itself as archaic and outmoded. Even as the Neo-Latinists were writing works they hoped would last forever, the modern European languages began to produce their own classics: Rabelais and Montaigne, Shakespeare and Cervantes. Today, it is these vernacular writers whom we read in order to taste the spirit of the Renaissance, and not Latin masters like Angelo Poliziano, Leonardo Bruni, and Leon Battista Alberti. The Neo-Latinists thought they were putting their works into a time capsule; in fact, it turned out to be a tomb.

The career of Francesco Petrarco, known in English as Petrarch, offers a striking example of Latin's reversal of fortune. While Petrarch wrote Italian poems throughout his life, he certainly did not expect that his sonnets and canzoni would be his major claim on posterity. Giannozzo Manetti, the Florentine humanist whose group biography of Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, *Lives of Three Illustrious Florentine Poets*, is found in the ITRL's volume of his *Biographical Writings*, speaks for his age when he de-

Portrait of Petrarch
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clares that "among the many remarkable fruits of [Petrarch's] studies, the principal one was his revival of correctness and good taste in Latin diction, which he brought back to light out of darkness after it had been nearly defunct for over a thousand years."

If anything, Manetti suggests, Petrarch's works in Italian actually made him *less* respectable in the eyes of his contemporaries. Manetti, a fifteenth-century Florentine humanist who also served his city as a politician and soldier, says that he wanted to write about these local celebrities in order to rescue them from their bad reputation among the learned—which they earned by writing too well in Italian. "While the common people, who are illiterate and uneducated, hold these famous men in the highest esteem for their intellect and erudition," Manetti complains, "the erudite and the learned, on the other hand, despise and dismiss the vernacular writings at which they excelled as if they were worth little or nothing. So it happens that they are praised to the skies by illiterate and uneducated people, whereas learned men take up their poems or their stories, if ever, only to amuse themselves."

The negligible, merely amusing works Manetti is referring to, of course, include the *Divine Comedy*, the "Sonnets to Laura," and the *Decameron*, now some of the most canonical works in Western literature. Far more creditable, to writers and readers of neo-Latin literature, were Petrarch's manifold services to the Latin language. He did not just write a Latin epic, the *Africa*, and many *epistolae metricae*, or letters in verse. He was also a pioneering textual editor, responsible for the first modern critical edition of Livy, and a manuscript-hunter who discovered many unknown letters of Cicero.

When a Good Book Was Hard to Find

Indeed, one of the most moving things in Petrarch's life and work is his sense of the precious rarity of good books—the opposite of our own postmodern sense of literature's crushing abundance. In the fourteenth century, before the study of Greek had been reintroduced into western Europe, Petrarch made an abortive attempt to learn the language—hoping, as Manetti says, "that the great quantity of books written in that language would finally satisfy his intense desire to read, since the regular and constant perusal of Latin texts had not done so." Before the invention of printing and the rediscovery of many ancient authors, finding good new books to read was an ordeal of a kind we can hardly conceive in the age of amazon.com. Manuscripts first had to be tracked down, often in dusty monastic libraries, and then copied by hand. The British historian Lisa Jardine, whose fascinating book *Worldly Goods* explores the material culture of the Renaissance, gives a telling example of the expense and labor involved in assembling a library. Cosimo de' Medici, the ruler of Florence and one of the richest men in Europe, gave his agent Vespasiano da Bisticci an unlimited budget for books: "[A]s there was no lack of money," the latter reported, "I engaged forty-five scribes and completed two hundred volumes in twenty-two months."

No wonder Petrarch never had enough to read, as his modern biographer, Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Ph.D. 1910, records. "I am possessed by one insatiable passion, which I cannot restrain—nor would I if I could...I cannot get enough books," he wrote to a relative in 1346. And the rarity of books made them precious in a way that we can only dimly grasp today. Petrarch's paean to his books still defines the humanities' most elevated ideal of reading as a communion of souls: "Gold, silver, gems, fine raiment, a marble palace, well-cultivated fields, paintings, a splendidly caparisoned horse—such things as these give one nothing more than a mute and superficial pleasure. Books delight us through and through, they converse with us, they give us good advice; they become living and lively companions to us." Wilkins notes that Petrarch's reverence for books affected his entire household, including his illiterate steward, Raymond Monet. "Though Raymond could not read," Wilkins writes, "he loved the books, and had learned to know them by name. When Petrarch put a book into his hands he would press it to his heart, and sometimes, in a low voice, he would talk to its author."

> One of the most moving things in Petrarch's life and work is his sense of the precious rarity of good books—the opposite of our own postmodern sense of literature's crushing abundance.

But as Petrarch's own work in the ITRL shows, the life of the Renaissance humanist was not all quiet hours in libraries. The volume of Petrarch's *Invectives* collects four masterpieces of vituperation, the poet's contributions to the savage literary controversies that were typical of his age. "Of all men who ever formed a class," Burckhardt noted regretfully, the humanists "had the least sense of their common interests, and least respected what there was of this sense. All means were lawful, if one of them saw a chance of supplanting another." Just how far they were willing to go can be seen in Petrarch's *Invectives against a Physician,* in which he repeatedly mocks a papal doctor for spending his life among stool samples: "You wish to speak about any subject whatsoever, and forget your own profession which, in case you don't know, means inspecting urine and other things that shame forbids me to mention."

Learning versus Piety

More enlightening, if not quite as pungent, is Petrarch's *On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others,* which goes beyond invective to become, in the words of editor David Marsh, Ph.D. '78, "an intellectual autobiography and a cultural manifesto that shaped the course of Italian Renaissance humanism." The provocation for Petrarch's outburst is seemingly trivial: one evening in 1366, after what must have been a bibulous dinner, a group of four high-born Venetian intellectuals held a mock-trial of the poet and came to the verdict that he was "certainly a good man but a scholar of poor merit." When the insult reached his ears, it provoked him to write this pamphlet, which, in between jibes and insults, engages in a serious inquiry into the relationship between education and morality.

In this short work, Petrarch is perhaps the first writer to address one of the major intellectual problems of the modern world: the sense, later embodied in the myth of Faust, that knowledge might be incompatible with goodness. The more educated men become, Petrarch laments, the less likely they are to remain pious. Even today, there are fundamentalist believers who echo his complaint that, in the intellectual world, "no one is a man of learning unless he is also a heretic and a madman, and above all, aggressively perverse." And although Petrarch was himself one of the most learned men of his day, he maintains that he would rather be known as a good Christian than as a great classicist: "If You choose to grant me nothing else," he prays, "let it at least be my portion to be a good man. This I cannot be unless I greatly love and devoutly worship You. I was born for this, and not for learning. If learning alone is granted us, it puffs up and ruins, and does not edify. It becomes a gleaming shackle of the soul, a wearisome pursuit, and a noisy burden."

In several of the other volumes in the ITRL, we see just how acute the conflict between learning and piety could become. It was inevitable that scholars who dedicated themselves to resurrecting the spirit of antiquity should run up against questions of faith and morals; after all, though the humanists were all at least nominally Christians, the writers they worshipped were pagans and freethinkers. There were several popular techniques for defusing the theological dynamite hidden in the Greco-Roman classics. Petrarch, for instance, cited the example of the ancient Israelites, who in the Book of Exodus were commanded to plunder the Egyptians' gold before making their way to freedom. So, too, Petrarch wrote, pious Christian writers can despoil the pagan poets of their beautiful language, and use it to serve the true god.

In the work of Leon Battista Alberti, the conflict between pagan and Christian worldviews is not so easily reconciled. Alberti is best known as the Italian Renaissance's leading theorist of art and architecture: the first to give a mathematical definition of the laws of perspective and to revive the classical aesthetic of Vitruvius. More important still, Alberti's many achievements helped to define what we now think of as the Renaissance Man: the supremely well-rounded individual, expert at horsemanship and literature, painting and oratory, engineering and politics. Jacob Burckhardt used him as a living symbol of the Renaissance: "In all by which praise is won," he wrote, "Leon Battista was from his childhood the first."

But Alberti's love of the classics, philosophy, and worldly fame also led him into conflict with traditional Christian ideas about piety and virtue. That tension is both concealed and expressed in his satirical novel *Momus*, one of the most entertaining books in the ITRL. In telling the adventures of Momus, the Greek god of discord and criticism, Alberti composed a rollicking picaresque that respects no sacred cows, social or religious. The long and complicated story is set in ancient Greece, allowing Alberti to avoid any direct confrontation with the Christian faith. But in Momus's barbed, troublemaking speeches, Alberti ventriloquizes some explosive religious doubts. At one point, Momus, having assumed the shape of a human philosopher, declares "that the gods' power was nothing other than a vain, useless, and trifling fabrication of superstitious minds. He said that the gods were not to be found, especially gods who took any interest in human affairs." Another disputatious philosopher offers a powerfully modern argument against belief in divine goodness:

> But from time to time it happens that I'm able to doubt why it is that we call the heavenly gods 'fathers' and 'most holy'....Who could ever bear without emotion—even in the case of depraved children—that any father, however angry, would permit those whom he wishes to be considered his own children to suffer a worse lot in life than that of the greater part of the brute animals?

Change "the heavenly gods" to "God the Father," and the argument is equally potent against Christianity. Indeed, as Petrarch complained, the humanists generally had little use for the Christian virtues—humility, piety, self-abnegation—which had been praised (if not always practiced) in Europe since the Dark Ages. In their rediscovery of the classic authors, humanists were also rediscovering a different ethical ideal, which held that the highest goal of human life is to win glory through famous deeds.

Nowhere is this clash of value systems more striking than in the life and work of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the humanist poet and diplomat who would eventually ascend the papal throne as Pius II. Before he became pope, Piccolomini was as worldly as any of the humanist intellectuals Petrarch despised. The ITRL contains his play *Chyrsis* (in the volume *Humanist Comedies*), an extremely racy farce about prostitutes and their clients, and his essay on "The Education of Boys" (in the volume *Humanist Educational Treatises*), which ringingly asserts that "there is nothing men possess on earth more precious than intellect."

Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti, c. 1460
©Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Most fascinating of all is Pius's autobiographical work, the *Commentaries*, whose first volume has appeared in ITRL. In this memoir, the only one ever written by a sitting pope, Pius gives an absolutely worldly, even profane, account of the inside workings of Vatican politics. He seldom even pretends that his ascent to the papacy was an act of divine providence; he is too obviously fascinated by the sordid world of high politics, and too proud of his own skill in navigating it. The scene in which Pius, then a promising diplomat, plots his future career with the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, could have come directly out of a back room at Tammany Hall:

> One day, Aeneas was out riding with the emperor. Climbing the ridge of Monte Cimino above Viterbo, the emperor summoned Aeneas to his side. "Now look," he said, "We are going to Rome. It looks like you are going to be a cardinal. And your luck won't stop there. You're going to the top. The throne of Peter awaits you. When you get there, make sure you don't forget me.

Pius is too much a creature of his age, however, to believe that he ought to conceal his thirst for glory. At the very beginning of the *Commentaries*, he acknowledges that, in strictly theological terms, ambition is a vain error, for whether you end up in heaven or hell, earthly fame can do you no good: "In wretchedness there is no pleasure, not even from renown; and the perfect happiness of the blessed is neither increased by the praise of mortals nor diminished by their scorn. Why then do we strive so hard to achieve the glory of a good name?" he asks. But that he does strive for glory, Pius cannot deny: "there can be no doubt," he continues, "that the living take pleasure in the glory that is theirs today, and hope it will continue after death. It is this which sustains the most brilliant intellects and (even more than the hope of a celestial life, which once begun will never end) encourages and invigorates the human spirit."

As this passage shows, the idea that ambition could be a noble spur, rather than a sinful snare, was sufficiently novel that all the humanists felt the need to defend it. In his essay on "The Character and Studies Befitting a Freeborn Youth," also in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, Pier Paolo Vergerio notes that, "Generally speaking, the first mark of a liberal temper is that it is motivated by eagerness for praise and inflamed by love of glory; this is the source of a certain noble envy and a striving without hatred for praise and excellence." In his biography of Dante, Giannozzo Manetti concedes that the illustrious Florentine "was perhaps more eager for honor and glory than would seem appropriate to a great and serious philosopher. Yet despite their many writings on despising fame," he insists, "even great philosophers and stern theologians have not managed to remain immune to the natural desire for glory, yielding to what people call its incredible sweetness." And one of Petrarch's best known poems, the canzone *I' vo pensando*, is devoted to that same sweetness:

> A thought that is sweet and sharp abides in my soul, a wearying and a delightful burden. It fills my heart with desire and feeds it with hope, for when I think of glorious and generous fame I know not whether I freeze or burn, or whether I be pale and gaunt; and if I slay it, it springs up again stronger than ever. This thought has been growing in me ever since I slept in swaddling clothes, and I fear that it will go down with me into the tomb.

If Petrarch, Pius, Alberti, and the other major writers in the ITRL could look down on the world today, they would surely be shocked at how badly their plans for posthumous fame had gone awry. Their guarantee of immortality, Latin, has itself become a dead language. More, the Western world is currently in the midst of questioning all their cherished assumptions about the value of literature, education, and the *studia humanitatis*. No longer can we so ardently embrace Vergerio's prescription for human flourishing: "What way of life, then, can be more delightful, or indeed more beneficial, than to read and write all the time?" But the spirits of the humanists would certainly rejoice to see that, in the I Tatti Renaissance Library, their Latin masterpieces are being given the chance to reach a new audience, and to make their names live again.

Contributing editor Adam Kirsch '97 is the book critic of the New York Sun *and the author, most recently, of* The Wounded Surgeon: Confession and Transformation in Six American Poets.

Engraving of Pope Pius II, c. 1459
©Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Mary Ingraham Bunting

Brief life of a bold educator: 1910-1998

by ELAINE YAFFE

When a group of Radcliffe students in the early 1960s complained to Mary Ingraham Bunting about the Harvard English department's requirements, she suggested they "give a party, invite the right professors, and talk to them."

It was rather startling advice from Radcliffe College's fifth president, who is known primarily as a fighter for women's professional advancement. But Polly Bunting embraced complexity. "I do think domestic skills are important," she said, "and that learning to give the right party can be one of the more important things that a woman can do." In the new dormitories whose building she oversaw, she made sure there were small kitchenettes and standard tools of domesticity—vacuum cleaners and sewing machines—as well as apartments for junior-faculty families with small children. As a widow raising a daughter and three sons alone, she knew how challenging parenthood was; if she had had any control over the Harvard curriculum, she would have made sure that there were more courses in child development. "I was trying to backstop the things that women do in their ordinary lives," she said, "and show that we valued those things as well as the scholarly work for which we gave college credit." Education at a residential college "need not and should not be limited to the curriculum."

This innovative microbiologist and exacting educator also stood the world of women's higher education upside down in 1961 with the establishment of the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study. In a bold stroke, she convinced the trustees that Radcliffe should offer the chance to become professionally visible once again to older, often married, women who had been compelled for a variety of reasons to abandon promising careers. It was the first program of its kind in this country. Its purpose, she hoped, was to help alter what she called "the climate of unexpectation": the invisible, corrosive assumption that women, no matter how well trained or how well educated, could do nothing of professional significance.

Bunting accommodated both the assumptions of her grandmothers and the aspirations of her granddaughters. She was impatient with either/or dichotomies and preferred to resolve those conflicts in favor of both. Women could have families and professions—niches as well as nests, as she phrased it. People should be able to work full-time or part-time depending upon where life was taking them, a pattern she likened to the interstate highway system with its clearly marked entrances and exits. Women should be able to leave the education highway when children were small and re-enter a bit later. She, herself, could be a scientist and a humanist, overseeing the interior decorating of the new dormitories and the landscaping of the campus while teaching a demanding freshman seminar on microbial genetics and administering a college during a challenging decade.

Bunting was the right person for Radcliffe during this tempestuous era—someone rooted in women's traditional roles who also favored a transformation of those roles; someone able to take advantage of the moment of change and contribute to it. She had experience with reinvention. Just a few years before, she had reinvented herself, abandoning a life of scientific research and farming to take her first job in academic administration at 44. Her husband Henry had died suddenly of a brain tumor a year earlier, leaving her to raise and support their young children. Yale, where she had been doing her research, refused even to consider giving any woman the full-time job she needed, and so—without bitterness or rancor—she took the one job offered her, the deanship of Douglass College. Five years later, Radcliffe came calling.

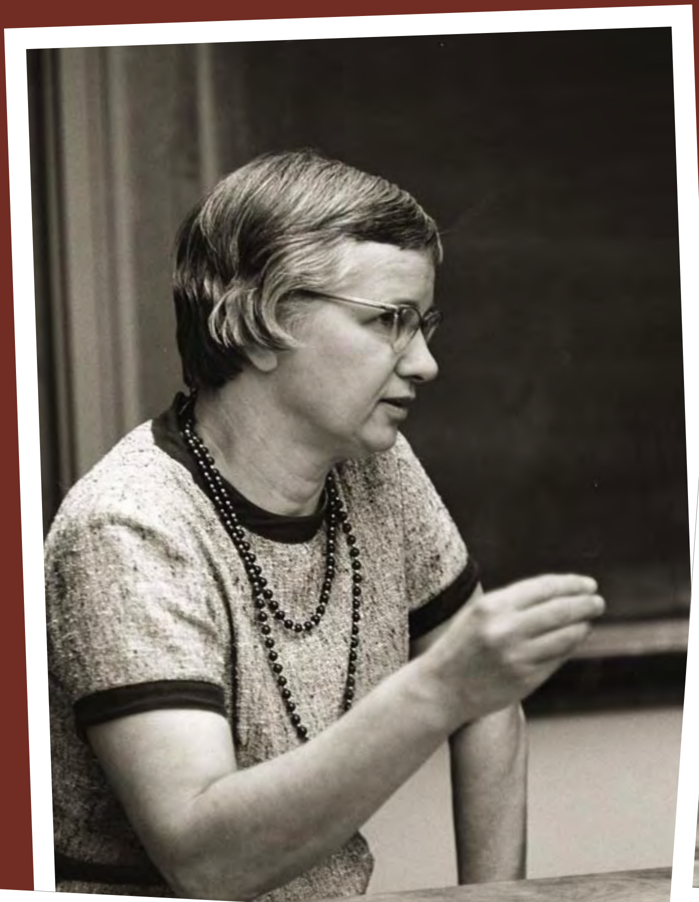
Although she believed in the special opportunities offered by women's colleges, where women could be sequestered from the pressure to strive for the approval of men, Bunting at the same time saw the advantages for Radcliffe students in a closer alliance with Harvard. In fact, she saw Radcliffe as a resource for all the women of Harvard—not only Radcliffe's 1,200 undergraduates, for whom she felt a particular affection and responsibility, but also the women graduate students, the secretaries, the wives of Harvard's graduate students, and the paltry number of women who held academic appointments at the University during her presidency. She supported the awarding of Harvard degrees to Radcliffe students, the establishment of residential units housing both women and men, and the closer linking of the staffs of both institutions. At the same time she spoke for a strong Radcliffe voice within the University. Bunting guided Radcliffe into Harvard's orbit to compel Harvard to recognize its full responsibility for its female students and to offer them access to the full range of its facilities and resources. She saw to it that all doors—not just Lamont Library's—were opened to Radcliffe women.

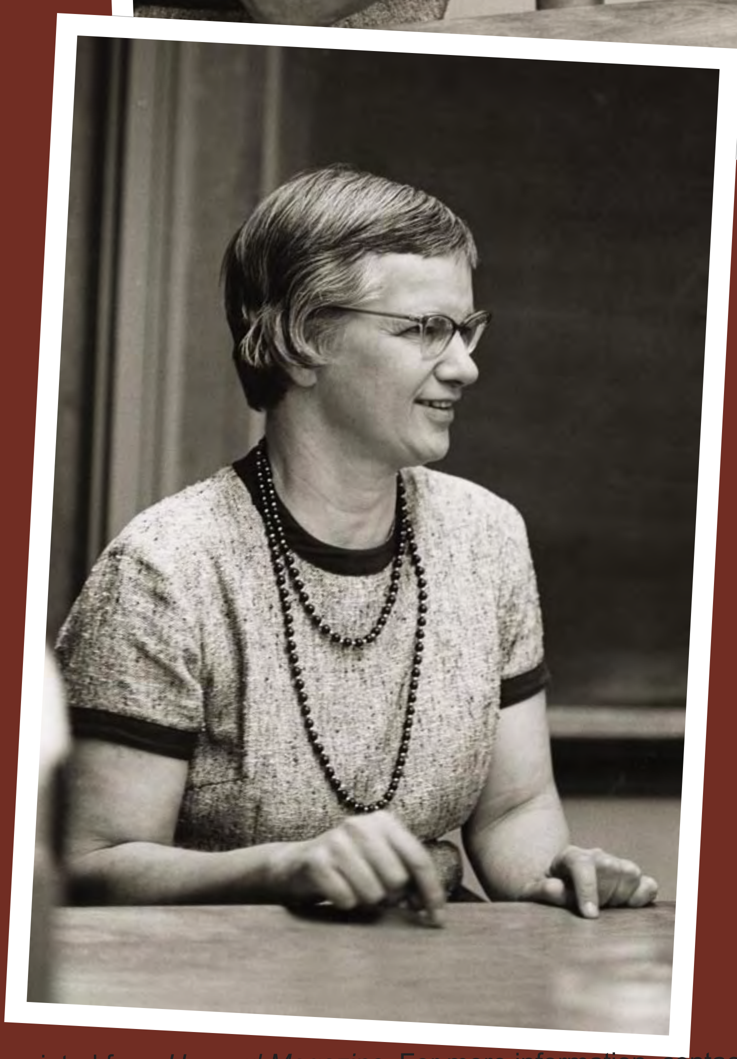
The concept of evolution had fascinated her since childhood. She understood the inevitability of change and saw leadership as guiding and influencing that change. And this process, it seemed obvious to her, would prove to be much more productive in the atmosphere of a dinner party than in that of a battlefield.

Elaine Gordon Yaffe '59 is the author of the recently published Mary Ingraham Bunting: Her Two Lives *(Frederic C. Beil), the first biography of Radcliffe's fifth president, who served from 1960 to 1972.*

Opposite: Mary Bunting teaches a freshman seminar in biology in 1960.

Photographs by W.H. Tobey, courtesy of the Harvard University Archives





Telltale Apparatus

At last, Harvard's Collection of Historical Scientific Instruments has come up from its hiding place in the basement of the Science Center to reveal itself, radiantly, in the new Putnam Gallery on the main floor. That is, some 400 of its more than 20,000 objects have taken up permanent residence in the 2,000-square-foot gallery. Another 1,000 square feet of gallery space on the floor above houses temporary exhibitions staged by faculty members, students, and invited artists and researchers.

Harvard has acquired scientific instruments on a continuous basis for teaching and research since 1672. The elderly pieces of apparatus gathered here, made of brass, ebony, glass, wood, and ingenuity, have many individual tales to tell of jobs accomplished, the search for knowledge, and sometimes its discovery. In this photograph, the view is from a point near the back of the gallery, reflecting recent time, through years of people doing science to the Colonial era at front. Sara Schechner '79, Ph.D. '82,

Left: Hollis professor John Winthrop observed in Cambridge the transit of Venus of 1769 with this 24-inch Gregorian reflecting telescope by James Short, London, 1764. Below: Celestial globe by John Senex, before 1740, with additions by Benjamin Martin, London, 1757. Behind it, left, is an air pump with flywheel for rotating and rubbing objects together *in vacuo,* by Abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet, Paris, ca. 1746. In the background, the Grand Orrery by Joseph Pope, Boston, 1776-1786. This mechanical model of the solar system was acquired by Harvard with funds raised by a lottery in 1788. The celestial dome is supported by bronze figures cast by Paul Revere. Professor of the history of science Mario Biagioli notes that instruments of this period were classified as mathematical or philosophical. Mathematical ones were meant to get a specific job done, such as finding time (see the sundials opposite). The air pump is an example of a philosophical instrument, expected to provide new insights into how nature works.

Between 1831 and 1857 there were 97 train wrecks in New England, most blamed on timekeeping based on the sun….

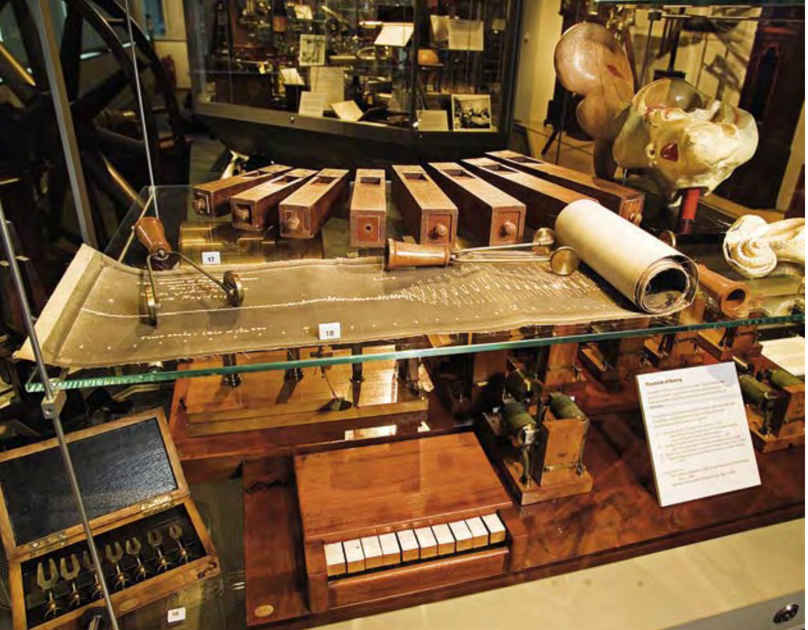
Wheatland curator of the collection, has clustered objects thematically. The prism-shaped case in the foreground concerns experiments on perception in Harvard's psychological laboratory, founded by William James. Prominent is Edward Titchener's color pyramid, circa 1924, a model of visual sensations defined by color, brightness, and saturation. Farther forward are some of the precision clocks that Harvard used when it was in the business of selling time. (Between 1831 and 1857 there were 97 train wrecks in New England, most blamed on timekeeping based on the sun—and thus varying east to west—by communities along the single-track lines. The College Observatory began to distribute standard time by wire to Boston and thence to other stations throughout the region. Trains collided less often. The system led to the establishment of the first time zone.)

The instrument collection, one of the greatest in the world, is unusual, says Schechner, because of the documentation in hand about the provenance and early uses of so many of its pieces of apparatus. Many were employed at Harvard, by graybeard faculty members or eager students, and the gallery features these, although not exclusively.

"The collection has become fully integrated into the research and teaching of the department of the history of science, offering support for work by undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty, as well as researchers from around the world," writes Allan M. Brandt—chair of that department, director of the collection, a professor of the history of science and, at the Medical School, a professor of the history of medicine—in a pamphlet of essays given out at the gallery. He adds that the collection serves also "as a means of educating the general public about the important

Photographs by Jim Harrison

All Harvard students of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were required to learn how to make sundials. The collection includes numerous portable dials; note the one in the shape of a viola da gamba, likely French, ca. 1620, for use by a lady. Some dials, like a Swiss Army knife, contained many useful tools. On the shelf, numbered 8, is a geometrical and military compass, made to Galileo's specifications by Marcantonio Mazzoleni, Padua, ca. 1603, for presentation to the Duke of Mantua. The duke could have used it to aim his cannon and calculate the amount of powder for a shot of a certain bore and material. Not a philosophical instrument.



Left: A case of acoustical artifacts. At top are eight stoppered organ pipes by Rudolph Koenig, Paris, ca. 1889. In front of them is a photographic record of sound waves produced by a phonodeik made by Dayton C. Miller, Cleveland, 1909. On the lower shelf, Helmholtz resonators for sound analysis, also by Koenig, ca. 1865. Resonators were tone detectors, being tuned to respond to specific frequencies of sound. Just as a prism could separate light into colors, a bank of resonators could sort sound into elemental tones. Hermann von Helmholtz's resonators confirmed Ohm's theory that complex sounds were the Fourier sum of simple sinusoidal sound waves, or harmonics.

roles played by material culture in the making of modern scientific disciplines." A broad range of those is represented, from astronomy, navigation, and surveying to geology, physics, medicine, mathematics, and communication.

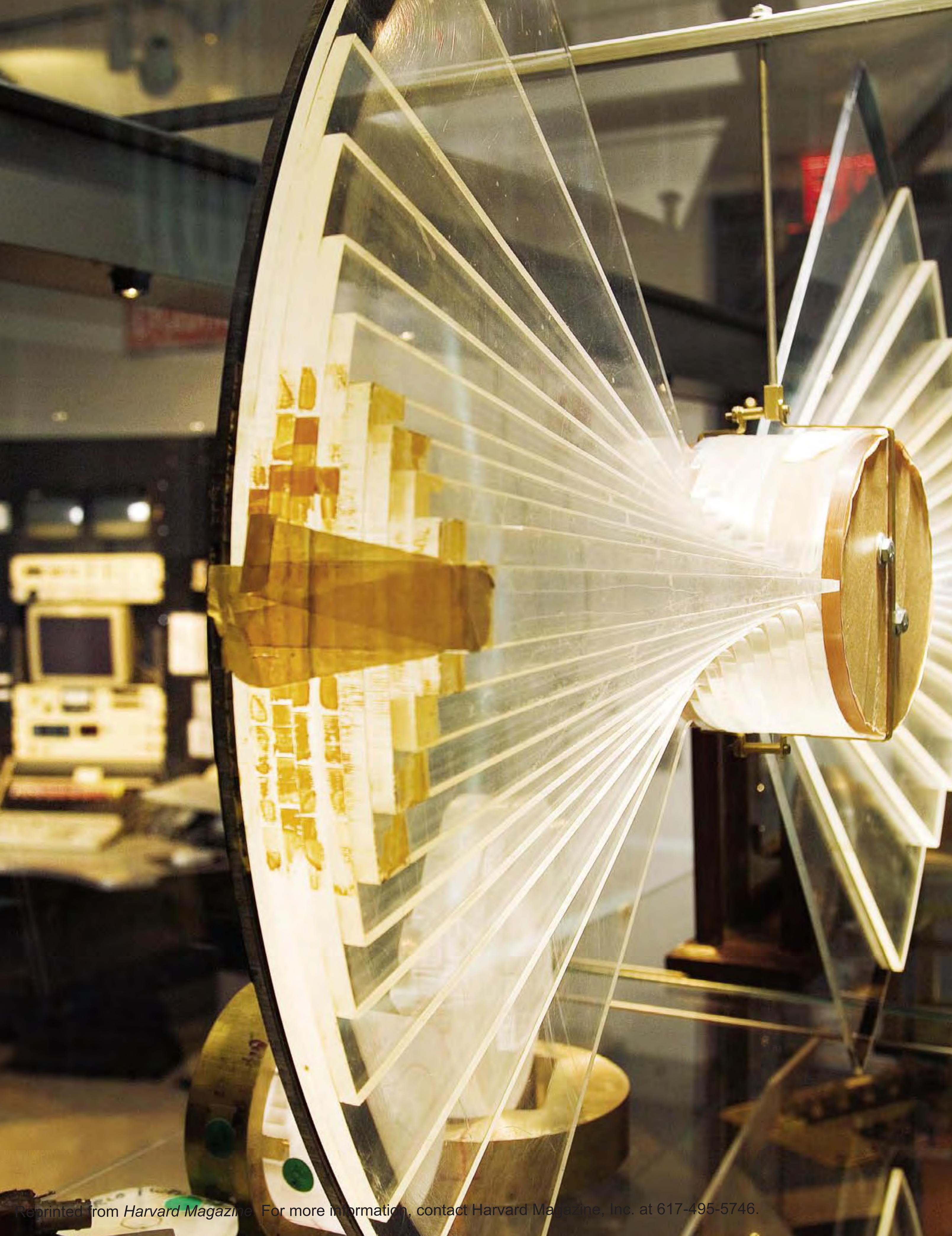
The collection was established in 1949 by David P. Wheatland, later joined by Ebenezer Gay, to save the University's significant scientific apparatus from being cannibalized for parts or discarded because no longer used. At first, physicist Wheatland kept the instruments in his office in Cruft Laboratory. The collection moved to the basement of the Semitic Museum, to the basement of Perkins Hall, to Allston Burr Lecture Hall, and, in 1980, to the Science Center underworld. Curator Schechner still forages, and snatched up the control panel of the Harvard cyclotron when that facility shut down in 2001. Today's obsolete technology may be tomorrow's museum piece.

The Putnam Gallery can be found near the east entrance of the Science Center, at 1 Oxford Street in Cambridge, and is open to the public, free of charge, from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M., Mondays through Thursdays.

~CHRISTOPHER REED

Above, from left: Culpeper-type compound microscope with original box, by Matthew Loft, London, ca. 1724-1740. Cuff-type compound microscope by Claude Simeon Passemant, Paris, ca. 1745-1769. "Great double" compound microscope by John Marshall, London, ca. 1693.

Opposite: At back is the control console of the Harvard cyclotron, just as it looked on the day in 2001 when the machine was turned off for good. Built in 1947 to advance physics, the cyclotron was used later to irradiate hard-to-excise tumors. In front, with high-tech taping, is a range modulator, which controlled the depth of penetration of the proton beam into the target. This one was used in the 1980s by Andreas Koehler in an osteoporosis-detection experiment on a live cat. (The cat was unharmed.)



CUSTOM-DESIGNED PROGRAMS

These trips have been designed in close consultation with the study leaders and reflect their interests in and knowledge and experience of the region visited.

Thomas Jefferson's Garden Tour of England
JUNE 15 – 23, 2006
Lectures by Jamaica Kincaid

King Arthur's England
JULY 1 – 11, 2006
Lectures by Daniel Donoghue

Walk through the Cotswolds and Welsh Borders
JULY 29 – AUGUST 7, 2006
Lectures by Sue Weaver Schopf

In the World of Mozart: A Musical Danube River Cruise on *River Cloud*
AUGUST 4 – 15, 2006
Lectures by Konrad Oberhuber and Victoria Martino

America's Founding Fathers in Paris, in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin
OCTOBER 4 – 12, 2006
Lectures by Joyce Elizabeth Chaplin

ALUMNI COLLEGE PROGRAMS

South Asia: A Changing World
SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 2006
1:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Cambridge

Panel discussions on health, culture, and business. Confirmed panelists include Lincoln Chen, Homi Bhabha, Tarun Khanna, Sugata Bose, and others.

Lewis and Clark Expedition: Arts of Diplomacy
SATURDAY, MAY 13, 2006
1:00 PM – 6:00 PM
Cambridge

In partnership with the Peabody Museum. Panelists include Rubie Watson, Castle McLaughlin, and Carmen Lopez. Program is followed by tours of the collections at the Peabody Museum.

HARVARD HAA ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

Travel

A SAMPLING OF PROGRAM

For a full listing of programs and more detail,

BY LAND

Chinese Art and Culture: An Exploration of Chinese *Wenren* Literati Culture, with one week in Hangzhou
APRIL 15 – 18, 2006
Lectures by Wilt Idema

Spiritual Japan
MAY 9 – 22, 2006
Lectures by Helen Hardacre

Treasures of Peru
JUNE 11 – 23, 2006
Lectures by Thomas Cummins

Gems of Southern Italy: from Puglia to Positano
SEPTEMBER 2 – 10, 2006
Lectures by James Hankins

South Africa: Private Game Reserves and the Cape
SEPTEMBER 26 – OCTOBER 10, 2006
Lectures by Caroline Elkins

BY RIVER

Portugal's Douro River Valley on the *Douro Prince*
JUNE 9 – 17, 2006
Lectures by Marc Shell

Three Rivers Voyage: The Rhine, Neckar, and Mosel on *Rembrandt*
JULY 12 – 22, 2006
Lectures by David Gordon Blackbourn

China and the Yangzi River
AUGUST 17 – SEPTEMBER 2, 2006
Lectures by Michael Shinagel

Canal Barge Cruise from Strasbourg to Nancy on *Lorraine*
AUGUST 31 – SEPTEMBER 8, 2006
Lectures by Alice DeLana

Danube River Cruise on *River Cloud*
SEPTEMBER 4 – 18, 2006
Lectures by Kase Klein

BY TRAIN

Trans-Siberian Rail Journey, from Vladivostok to Moscow, via Mongolia
AUGUST 9 – 24, 2006
Lectures by Marshall Goldman

Rail Journey through China: Hong Kong to Beijing
OCTOBER 27 – NOVEMBER 11, 2006
Lectures by Merle Goldman

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BY SEA

History and Art of the Mediterranean Coasts, on *Corinthian II*
MAY 13 – 24, 2006
Lectures by Madeline Goh

Coastal Maine on *Nantucket Clipper*
MAY 31 – JUNE 7, 2006
Lectures by Gerald Prokopowicz

The Turquoise Coast by Gulet
JUNE 11 – 25, 2006
Lectures by Carol Saivetz

Turkey and the Greek Isles on *Sea Cloud*
JULY 23 – AUGUST 5, 2006
Lectures by David Mitten

Dalmatian Coast on *Callisto*
AUGUST 11 – 22, 2006
Lectures by Sue Weaver Schopf

Journey of Aeneas, on *Corinthian II*
SEPTEMBER 7 – 18, 2006
Lectures by Richard Thomas

Ancient Empires, Modern States: The Eastern Mediterranean on *Le Levant*
OCTOBER 6 – 20, 2006
Lectures by Louise Richardson

In Search of Alexander the Great, on *Corinthian II*
OCTOBER 17 – NOVEMBER 1, 2006
Lectures by Francesca Schironi

HARVARD HAA ALUMNI ASSOCIATION ™

EXPEDITION CRUISES

In the Wake of Lewis and Clark
MAY 10 – 16, 2006

Alaska Inland Passage on *Sea Bird*
AUGUST 13 – 21, 2006
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The Marketplace of Perceptions

Behavioral economics explains why we procrastinate, buy, borrow, and grab chocolate on the spur of the moment.

by Craig Lambert

Portraits by Stu Rosner

Like all revolutions in thought, this one began with anomalies, strange facts, odd observations that the prevailing wisdom could not explain. Casino gamblers, for instance, are willing to keep betting even while expecting to lose. People say they want to save for retirement, eat better, start exercising, quit smoking—and they *mean* it—but they do no such things. Victims who feel they've been treated poorly exact their revenge, though doing so hurts their own interests.

Such perverse facts are a direct affront to the standard model of the human actor—Economic Man—that classical and neoclassical economics have used as a foundation for decades, if not centuries. Economic Man makes logical, rational, self-interested decisions that weigh costs against benefits and maximize value and profit to himself. Economic Man is an intelligent, analytic, selfish creature who has perfect self-regulation in pursuit of his future goals and is unswayed by bodily states and feelings. And Economic Man is a marvelously convenient pawn for building academic theories. But Economic Man has one fatal flaw: he does not exist.

When we turn to actual human beings, we find, instead of robot-like logic, all manner of irrational, self-sabotaging, and even altruistic behavior. This is such a routine observation that it has been made for centuries; indeed, Adam Smith "saw psychology as a part of decision-making," says assistant professor of business administration Nava Ashraf. "He saw a conflict between the passions and the impartial spectator."

Nonetheless, neoclassical economics sidelined such psychological insights. As recently as 15 years ago, the sub-discipline called behavioral economics—the study of how real people actually make choices, which draws on insights from both psychology and economics—was a marginal, exotic endeavor. Today, behavioral economics is a young, robust, burgeoning sector in mainstream economics, and can claim a Nobel Prize, a critical mass of empirical research, and a history of upending the neoclassical theories that dominated the discipline for so long.

Although behavioral economists teach at Stanford, Berkeley, Chicago, Princeton, MIT, and elsewhere, the subfield's greatest concentration of scholars is at Harvard. "Harvard's approach to economics has traditionally been somewhat more worldly and empirical than that of other universities," says President Lawrence H. Summers, who earned his own economics doctorate at Harvard and identifies himself as a behavioral economist. "And if you are worldly and empirical, you are drawn to behavioral approaches."

Professor of economics David Laibson, whose research explores the fundamental tension between "seizing available rewards in the present, and being patient for rewards in the future"

Framing a New Field

Two non-economists have won Nobel Prizes in economics. As early as the 1940s, Herbert Simon of Carnegie Mellon University put forward the concept of "bounded rationality," arguing that rational thought alone did not explain human decision-making. Traditional economists disliked or ignored Simon's research, and when he won the Nobel in 1978, many in the field were very unhappy about it.

Then, in 1979, psychologists Daniel Kahneman, LL.D. '04, of Princeton and Amos Tversky of Stanford published "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk," a breakthrough paper on how people handle uncertain rewards and risks. In the ensuing decades, it became one of the most widely cited papers in economics. The authors argued that the ways in which alternatives are *framed*—not simply their relative value—heavily influence the decisions people make. This was a seminal paper in behavioral economics; its rigorous equations pierced a core assumption of the standard model—that the actual value of alternatives was all that mattered, not the mode of their presentation ("framing").

Framing alternatives differently can, for example, change people's preferences regarding risk. In a 1981 *Science* paper, "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice," Tversky and Kahneman presented an example. "Imagine that the U.S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease which is expected to kill 600 people," they wrote. "Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed." Choose Program A, and a projected 200 people will be saved. Choose Program B, and there is a one-third probability that 600 people will be saved, and a two-thirds probability that no one will be saved. The authors reported that 72 percent of respondents chose Program A, although the actual outcomes of the two programs are identical. Most subjects were risk averse, preferring the certain saving of 200 lives. The researchers then restated the problem: this time, with Program C, "400 people will die," whereas with Program D, "there is a one-third probability that no one will die, and a two-thirds probability that 600 people will die."

This time, 78 percent chose Program D—again, despite identical outcomes. Respondents now preferred the risk-taking option. The difference was simply that the first problem phrased its options in terms of lives saved, and the second one as lives lost; people are more willing, apparently, to take risks to prevent lives being "lost" than to "save" lives.

"Kahneman and Tversky started this revolution in economics," says Straus professor of business administration Max Bazerman, who studies decision-making and negotiation at Harvard Business School. "That 1979 paper was written on the turf of economics, in the style of economists, and published in the toughest economic journal, *Econometrica.* The major points of prospect theory aren't hard to state in words. The math was added for acceptance, and that was important." In 2002, Kahneman received the Nobel Prize in economics along with Vernon Smith, Ph.D. '55, of George Mason University, who was honored for work in experimental economics. (Tversky, Kahneman's longtime collaborator, had died in 1996.)

In the 1980s, Richard Thaler (then at Cornell, now of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business) began importing such psychological insights into economics, writing a regular feature called "Anomalies" in the *Journal of Economic Perspectives* (later collected in his 1994 book, *The Winner's Curse*). "Dick Thaler lived in an intellectual wilderness in the 1980s," says professor of economics David Laibson, one of Harvard's most prominent behavioral economists. "He championed these ideas that economists were deriding. But he stuck to it. Behavioral approaches were anathema in the 1980s, became popular in the 1990s, and now we're a fad, with lots of grad students coming on board. It's no longer an isolated band of beleaguered researchers fighting against the mainstream."

As with most movements, there were early adopters. "In the 1980s the best economists in the world were seeing the evidence and adopting it [behavioral economics]," Bazerman says. "Mediocre economists follow slowly—they continued to ignore it so they could continue doing their work undisturbed."

To be fair, the naysayers would have agreed that the rational model only *approximates* human cognition—"just as Newtonian physics is an approximation to Einstein's physics," Laibson explains. "Although there are differences, when walking along the surface of this planet, you'll never encounter them. If I want to build a bridge, pass a car, or hit a baseball, Newtonian physics will suffice. But the psychologists said, 'No, it's *not* sufficient, we're *not* just playing around at the margins, making small change. There are *big* behavioral regularities that include things like imperfect self-control and social preferences, as opposed to pure selfishness. We care about people outside our families and give up resources to help them—those affected by Hurricane Katrina, for example."

Much of the early work in behavioral economics was in finance, with many significant papers written by Jones professor of economics Andrei Shleifer. In financial markets, "The usual arguments in conventional economics are, 'This [behavioral irrationality] can't be true, because even if there are stupid, irrational people around, they are met in the marketplace by smart, rational people, and trading by these arbitrageurs corrects prices to rational levels,'" Shleifer explains. "For example, if people get unduly pessimistic about General Motors and dump GM shares on the market, these smart people will sweep in and buy them up as undervalued, and not much will happen to the price of GM shares."

> *"Now,* **we want chocolate,** cigarettes, and a trashy movie. In the *future,* we want to eat fruit, to quit smoking, and to watch Bergman films."
>
> —David Laibson

But a 1990 paper Shleifer wrote with Summers, "The Noise Trader Approach to Finance," argues against this "efficient market" model by noting that certain risk-related factors limit this arbitrage. At that time, for example, shares of Royal Dutch were selling at a different price in Amsterdam than shares of Shell in London, even though they were shares of the same company, Royal Dutch/Shell. Closed-end mutual funds (those with a fixed number of shares that trade on exchanges) sell at different prices than the value of their portfolios. "When the same thing sells at two different prices in different markets, forces of arbitrage and rationality are necessarily limited," Shleifer says. "The forces of irrationality are likely to have a big impact on prices, even on a long-term basis. This is a theoretical attack on the central conventional premise."

Meanwhile, the Russell Sage Foundation, which devotes itself to research in the social sciences, consistently supported behavioral economics, even when it was in the intellectual wilderness. Current Sage president Eric Wanner, Ph.D. '69, whose doctorate is in social psychology, was running a program in cognitive science at the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation in 1984 when Sloan started a behavioral economics program as an application of cognitive science to the study of economic decision-making. ("The field is misnamed—it should have been called *cognitive economics,*" says Wanner. "We weren't brave enough.") After Wanner became president of Rus-

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sell Sage in 1986, the two institutions worked jointly to foster the new subfield. In the last 20 years, Sage has made well over 100 grants to behavioral economists; it also organizes a biennial summer institute that has drawn younger scholars like Laibson and professor of economics Sendhil Mullainathan. Princeton University Press and Russell Sage also co-publish a series of books in the field.

Behavioral economics, then, is the hybrid offspring of economics and psychology. "We don't have much to tell psychologists about how individuals make decisions or process information, but we have a lot to learn from them," says Glimp professor of economics Edward Glaeser. "We do have a lot to say about how individuals come together in aggregations—markets, firms, political parties."

The Seductive Now-Moment

A NATIONAL CHAIN of hamburger restaurants takes its name from Wimpy, Popeye's portly friend with a voracious appetite but small exchequer, who made famous the line, "I'll gladly pay you Tuesday for a hamburger today." Wimpy nicely exemplifies the problems of "intertemporal choice" that intrigue behavioral economists like David Laibson. "There's a fundamental tension, in humans and other animals, between seizing available rewards in the present, and being patient for rewards in the future," he says. "It's radically important. People very robustly want instant gratification right now, and want to be patient in the future. If you ask people, 'Which do you want right now, fruit or chocolate?' they say, 'Chocolate!' But if you ask, 'Which one a week from now?' they will say, 'Fruit.' *Now* we want chocolate, cigarettes, and a trashy movie. In the *future*, we want to eat fruit, to quit smoking, and to watch Bergman films."

Laibson can sketch a formal model that describes this dynamic. Consider a project like starting an exercise program, which entails, say, an immediate cost of six units of value, but will produce a delayed benefit of eight units. That's a net gain of two units, "but it ignores the human tendency to devalue the future," Laibson says. If future events have perhaps half the value of present ones, then the eight units become only four, and starting an exercise program today means a net *loss* of two units (six minus four). So we don't want to start exercising *today*. On the other hand, starting *tomorrow* devalues both the cost *and* the

Assistant professor of business administration Nava Ashraf helped adapt a home-grown savings technique she saw in West Africa to the Philippines, where the "cute" SEED ("Save, Earn, Enjoy Deposits") bank (opposite) helped ordinary citizens save money.

benefit by half (to three and four units, respectively), resulting in a net *gain* of one unit from exercising. Hence, everyone is enthusiastic about going to the gym *tomorrow.*

Broadly speaking, "People act irrationally in that they overly discount the future," says Bazerman. "We do worse in life because we spend too much for what we want now at the expense of goodies we want in the future. People buy things they can't afford on a credit card, and as a result they get to buy less over the course of their lifetimes." Such problems should not arise, according to standard economic theory, which holds that "there shouldn't be any disconnect between what I'm doing and what I want to be doing," says Nava Ashraf.

Luckily, Odysseus also confronts the problem posed by Wimpy—and Homer's hero solves the dilemma. The goddess Circe informs Odysseus that his ship will pass the island of the Sirens, whose irresistible singing can lure sailors to steer toward them and onto rocks. The Sirens are a marvelous metaphor for human appetite, both in its seductions and its pitfalls. Circe advises Odysseus to prepare for temptations to come: he must order his crew to stopper their ears with wax, so they cannot hear the Sirens' songs, but *he* may hear the Sirens' beautiful voices without risk if he has his sailors lash him to a mast, and commands them to ignore his pleas for release until they have passed beyond danger. "Odysseus pre-commits himself by doing this," Laibson explains. "Binding himself to the mast prevents his future self from countermanding the decision made by his present self."

Pre-commitments of this sort are one way of getting around not only the lure of temptation, but our tendency to procrastinate on matters that have an immediate cost but a future payoff, like dieting, exercise, and cleaning your office. Take 401(k) retirement plans, which not only let workers save and invest for retirement on a tax-deferred basis, but in many cases amount to a bonanza of free money: the equivalent of finding "$100 Bills on the Sidewalk" (the title of one of Laibson's papers, with James Choi and Brigitte Madrian). That's because many firms will match employees' contributions to such plans, so one dollar becomes two dollars. "It's a *lot* of free money," says Laibson, who has published many papers on 401(k)s and may be the world's foremost authority on enrollment in such plans. "Someone making $50,000 a year who has a company that matches up to 6 percent

Neuroeconomics

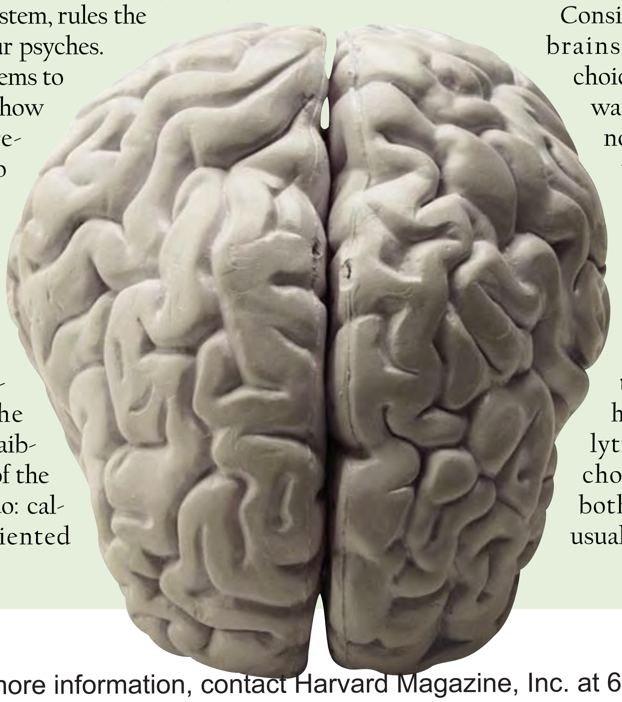
CERTAIN PATTERNS of response to rewards seem to be biologically embedded in the human brain. A branch of behavioral economics called *neuroeconomics* looks inside the brain with scanning tools like magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) to investigate patterns of motivation. Neuroeconomics is controversial, as the link between cerebral blood flow and decision-making is less straightforward than, say, playing slot machines and losing money. Yet it is one of the most fascinating and provocative aspects of the young field.

"Economists specialize in taking really complex things and boiling them down to simple principles," says David Laibson. "So, rather than treat the brain as billions of neurons, or trillions of neurotransmitters, we want to ask, what is the right level of analysis? It turns out that the brain has two key subsystems. One, the limbic and paralimbic system, rules the intuitive and affective parts of our psyches. It's shared by all mammals and seems to do a lot of emotional cognition—how we feel emotionally, how we respond to other humans, or to being treated unfairly. This system seems to function unconsciously; we don't have access to it and maybe can't even control it. It's experiential and rapid in function.

"Contrast that with the analytic system, centered in the frontal and parietal cortexes," Laibson continues. "It controls a lot of the thought processes we learn to do: calculated, conscious, future-oriented thinking. It's not based on past experience; you could have the rules of a brand-new game explained and the analytic system would be able to figure out how to play."

Brain researchers have shown that an interaction of the limbic and analytic systems governs human decision-making. The limbic system seems to radically discount the future. While the analytic system's role remains constant from the present moment onward, the limbic system assumes overriding importance in the present moment, but rapidly recedes as rewards move into the future and the emotional brain reduces its activation. This explains impulsiveness: the slice of pizza that's available *right now* trumps the dietary plan that the analytic brain has formulated. Seizing available rewards now might be a response pattern with evolutionary advantages, as future benefits are always uncertain.

Consider an experiment that scans the brains of research subjects offered a choice between present and future rewards: $20 now, or $23 a month from now. Both limbic and analytic systems show activity. Then change the offer to two future prospects: $20 two weeks from now, or $23 in a month. In this case, the limbic system pretty much drops out. The analytic system, in contrast, shows the same activation patterns regardless of the delay, be it hours or months. When the analytic system is more active, people choose the "patient" reward; when both systems are active, temptation usually trumps prudence.



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of his contributions could receive an additional $3,000 per year."

The rational model unequivocally predicts that people will certainly snap up such an opportunity. But they don't—not even workers aged 59½ or older, who can withdraw sums from their 401(k) plans without penalty. (Younger people are even more unlikely to contribute, but they face a penalty for early withdrawal.) "It turns out that about half of U.S. workers in this [above 59½] age group, who have this good deal available, are not contributing," says Laibson. "There's no downside and a huge upside. Still, individuals are procrastinating—they *plan* to enroll soon, year after year, but don't do it." In a typical American firm, it takes a new employee a median time of two to three *years* to enroll. But because Americans change jobs frequently—say, every five years—that delay could mean losing half of one's career opportunity for these retirement savings.

Laibson has run educational interventions with employees at companies, walking them through the calculations, showing them what they are doing wrong. "Almost all of them *still* don't invest," Laibson says. "People find these kinds of financial transactions unpleasant and confusing, and they are happier with the idea of doing it tomorrow. It demonstrates how poorly the standard rational-actor model predicts behavior."

It's not that we are utterly helpless against procrastination. Laibson worked with a firm that forced its employees to make *active decisions* about 401(k) plans, insisting on a yes or no answer within 30 days. This is far different from giving people a toll-free phone number to call whenever they decide to enroll. During the 30-day period, the company also sent frequent e-mail reminders, pressuring the staff to make their decisions. Under the active-decision plan, enrollment jumped from 40 to 70 percent. "People want to be prudent, they just don't want to do it right now," Laibson says. "You've got to compel action. Or enroll people automatically."

When he was U.S. Treasury Secretary, Lawrence Summers applied this insight. "We pushed very hard for companies to choose opt-out [automatic enrollment] 401(k)s rather than opt-in [self-enrollment] 401(k)s," he says. "In classical economics, it doesn't matter. But large amounts of empirical evidence show that defaults *do* matter, that people are inertial, and whatever the baseline settings are, they tend to persist."

Associate professor of public policy Iris Bohnet, who has played games that measure "aversion to betrayal" with subjects from Brazil to Switzerland to Kuwait

Marketing Prudence

These insights can also be writ large. Laibson's former student Nava Ashraf, who has worked extensively with non-governmental organizations, is now applying behavioral economics to interventions in developing countries. She lived for a year in Ivory Coast and Cameroon, where she "noticed that farmers and small-business owners were often not doing the things that a development policymaker or economist thinks they should do," she says. "They wouldn't take up technologies that would increase agricultural yield, for example. They wouldn't get vaccines, even though they were free! They also had a lot of trouble saving. In January they had a lot of money and would spend it on feasts and special clothes, but in June their children would be starving."

Still, some found ways to offset their less-than-prudent tendencies. One woman had a cashbox in her home, where she saved money regularly—and gave her neighbor the only key. Another timed the planting of her sweet-potato crop so that the harvest would come in when school fees were due. Her farm became an underground bank account that allowed withdrawal only at the proper moment.

Ashraf worked with a bank in the Philippines to design a savings plan that took off from the African woman's cashbox. The bank created a savings account, called SEED ("Save, Earn, Enjoy Deposits"), with two features: a locked box (for which the bank had the key) and a contractual agreement that clients could not withdraw money before reaching a certain date or sum. The clients determined the goal, but relied on the bank to enforce the commitment. The bank marketed the SEED product to literate workers and micro-entrepreneurs: teachers, taxi drivers, people with pushcart businesses.

The SEED box, designed to appeal to the bank's clients ("In the Philippines, they like 'cute' stuff," Ashraf explains), helped mobilize deposits. "It's similar to automatic payroll deduction, but not enough of the customers had direct deposit to make that work," she says. To further encourage deposits, Ashraf worked with the bank on an additional program of deposit collectors who, for a nominal fee, would go to the customer's home on a designated day and collect the savings from the SEED box. The withdrawal restrictions on the account helped clients avoid the temptation of spending their savings. The SEED savings account made a designed choice available in the marketplace that, so far, has helped a growing number of microfinance clients in the Philippines reach their savings goals.

Ashraf is now working with Population Services Interna-


"Policymakers think that if they get the abstractions right, that will drive behavior in the desired direction," says professor of economics Sendhil Mullainathan. "But the world happens in real time."

tional—a nonprofit organization that seeks to focus private-sector resources on the health problems of developing nations—on a project in Zambia to motivate people to use a water purification solution known as Clorin. "We can use what marketing people have known all along," Ashraf says. "There are ways of manipulating people's psychological frameworks to get them to buy things. How do you use this knowledge to get them to adopt socially useful products or services? It's so practical, and very important in development, for anybody who wants to help people reach their goals."

Carefully designed programs like the SEED bank are examples of what Richard Thaler called "prescriptive economics," which aims not only to describe the world but to change it. "Behavioral economics really shines when you talk about the specifics of what the policy should *look like*," says Sendhil Mullainathan, who received a MacArthur Fellowship in 2002. "The difference in impact between two broad policies may not be as great as differences in how each policy is framed—its deadlines, implementation, and the design of its physical appearance.

"For example, in Social Security privatization," Mullainathan continues, "the difference between private accounts and the status quo may be less than that between two different ways of implementing private accounts. What is the default option? Are you allowed to make changes? What's the deadline for making changes? How are the monthly statements presented—just your returns, or are the market returns printed alongside your own? In terms of impact, the devil really is in the details of how the program is designed. We know that people have a tough time making these choices. So how are the choices framed? What metrics do they focus on?"

"We tend to think people are driven by purposeful choices," he explains. "We think big things drive big behaviors: if people don't go to school, we think they don't like school. Instead, most behaviors are driven by the moment. They aren't purposeful, thought-out choices. That's an illusion we have about others. Policymakers think that if they get the abstractions right, that will drive behavior in the desired direction. But the world happens in real time. We can talk abstractions of risk and return, but when the person is physically checking off the box on that investment form, all the things going on at that moment will disproportionately influence the decision they make. That's the temptation element—in real time, the moment can be very tempting. The main thing is to define what is in your mind at the moment of choice. Suppose a company wants to sell more soap. Traditional economists would advise things like making a soap that people like more, or charging less for a bar of soap. A behavioral economist might suggest convincing supermarkets to display your soap at eye level—people will see your brand first and grab it."

Mullainathan worked with a bank in South Africa that wanted to make more loans. A neoclassical economist would have offered simple counsel: lower the interest rate, and people will borrow more. Instead, the bank chose to investigate some contextual factors in the process of making its offer. It mailed letters to 70,000 previous borrowers saying, "Congratulations! You're eligible for a special interest rate on a new loan." But the interest rate was randomized on the letters: some got a low rate, others a high one. "It was done like a randomized clinical trial of a drug," Mullainathan explains.

The bank also randomized several aspects of the letter. In one corner there was a photo—varied by gender and race—of a bank employee. Different types of tables, some simple, others complex, showed examples of loans. Some letters offered a chance to win a cell phone in a lottery if the customer came in to inquire about a loan. Some had deadlines. Randomizing these elements allowed Mullainathan to evaluate the effect of psychological factors as opposed to the things that economists care about—i.e., interest rates—and to quantify their effect on response in basis points.

"What we found stunned me," he says. "We found that any one of these things had an effect equal to one to five percentage points of interest! A woman's photo instead of a man's increased demand among men by as much as dropping the interest rate five points! These things are not small. And this is very much an economic problem. We are talking about big loans here; customers would end up with monthly loan payments of around 10 percent of their annual income. You'd think that if you really needed the money enough to pay this interest rate, you're not going to be affected by a photo. The photo, cell phone lottery, simple or complicated table, and deadline all had effects on loan applications comparable to interest. Interest rate may not even be the *third* most important factor. As an economist, even when you think psychology is important, you don't think it's *this* important. And changing interest rates is expensive, but these psychological elements cost nothing."

> **"An economist would say,** 'With $50,000 at stake, the forms *can't* be the obstacle.' But they can."
>
> —Sendhil Mullainathan

Mullainathan is helping design programs in developing countries, doing things like getting farmers to adopt better feed for cows to increase their milk production by as much as 50 percent. Back in the United States, behavioral economics might be able to raise compliance rates of diabetes patients, who don't always take prescribed drugs, he says. Poor families are often deterred from applying to colleges for financial aid because the forms are too complicated. "An economist would say, 'With $50,000 at stake, the forms *can't* be the obstacle,'" he says. "But they can." (A traditional explanation would say that the payoff clearly outweighs the cost in time and effort, so people won't be deterred by complex forms.)

Economists and others who engage in policy debates like to wrangle about big issues on the macroscopic level. The nitty-gritty details of execution—what do the forms look like? what is in the brochures? how is it communicated?—are left to the support staff. "But that work is central," Mullainathan explains. "There should be as much intellectual energy devoted to these design choices as to the choice of a policy in the first place. Behavioral economics can help us design these choices in sensible ways. This is a big hole that needs to be filled, both in policy and in science."

The Supply of Hatred

While some try to surmount or cope with irrationality, others feed upon it. In the wake of *(please turn to page 93)*

Arts and Sciences Dean to Leave Office

Friday evening, January 27, was quiet, with the College dispersed for intercession. Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) dean William C. Kirby was returning from fundraising meetings in New York. President Lawrence H. Summers was at the World Economic Forum in Switzerland. Then, around 10:30, a notice appeared on the University website announcing Kirby's departure from his administrative duties on June 30, after just four years. This transition exposes serious questions about the faculty historically at the University's center, and about Harvard itself.

The news seemed abrupt. There was no indication of a change at the top when professors on FAS's Resources Committee laid out a plan for dealing with burgeoning expenses at a faculty meeting on January 10 (see page 61). Ten days later, Kirby disseminated a spring schedule for legislation on revising the undergraduate curriculum, his highest-profile priority (see page 69). He was drafting his annual letter to the faculty, usually sent at the beginning of the term (now delayed until later in the spring). Then, during the day on January 27, the *Crimson* signaled that it was about to report the decanal change, and did so electronically that evening. That prompted an accelerated posting of the official release—the announcement said the e-mail address for nominating candidates to succeed Kirby would not be activated until the following Monday. (Suggestions can be sent to fasdeansearch@harvard.edu.)

The story in the *Crimson* (first attributed to "two individuals who have discussed Kirby's

William C. Kirby

JON CHASE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

Crimson Cranescape

This panorama, photographed from the Western Avenue Bridge over the Charles River, gives some sense of Harvard's current, very extensive construction program. From right (east) to left, the cranes in Cambridge work at Western Avenue and Memorial Drive, near the Peabody Terrace towers (new graduate-student housing); across Cowperthwaite Street from Mather and Dunster Houses (more apartments); and in the distance, at the Laboratory for Interface Science and Engineering. Not visible are another laboratory facility, the Northwest Building, and the reconstruction of the Hasty Pudding Theatricals performing-arts space. The building boom is quantified on the next page.

status with a member of the Harvard Corporation," and later to "four people close to the central administration") said that he had been fired by Summers. In an interview on February 2, Kirby said that he had intended to disclose his decision to resign on the first day of classes, February 1; the early report made him scramble to tell his senior staff members about his forthcoming departure before the official posting.

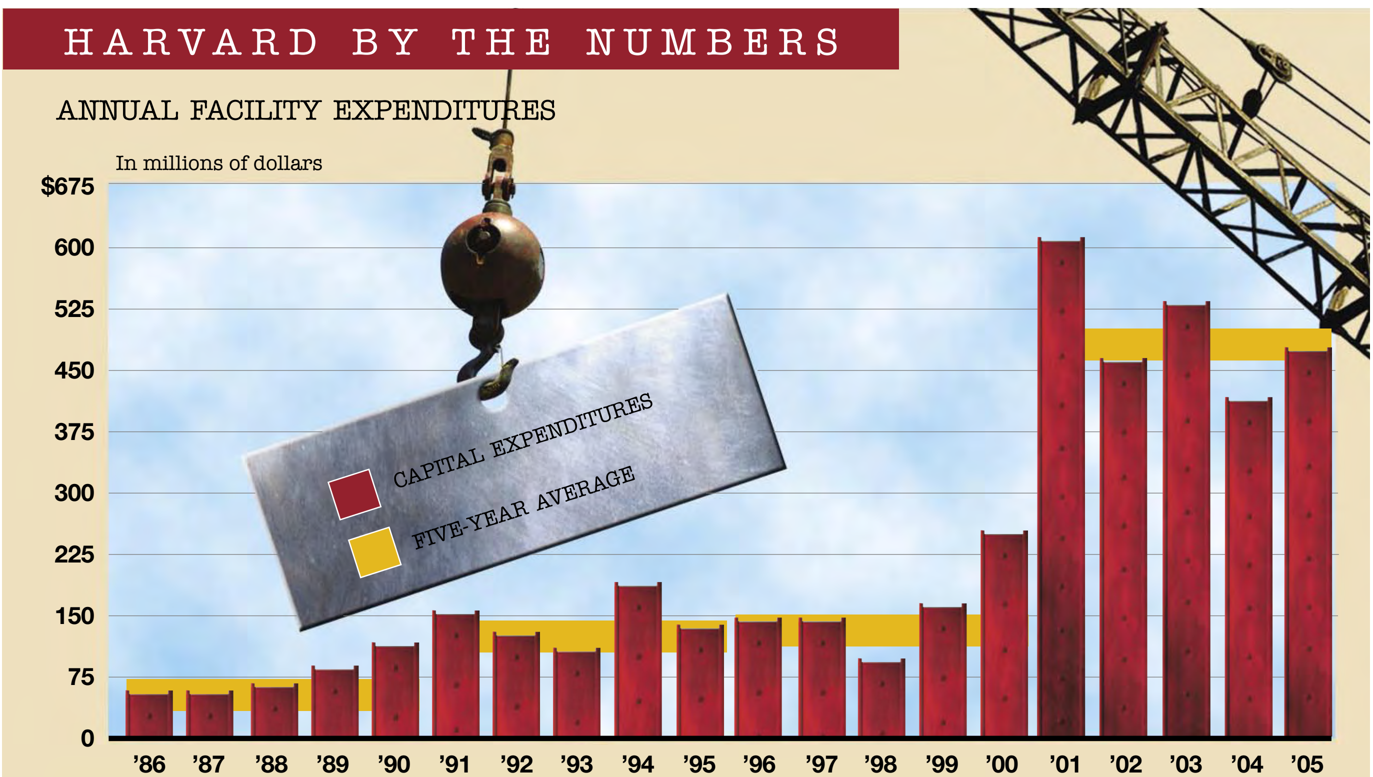
Nonetheless, the announcements themselves indicated extensive preparation for a settled plan. There were letters from Kirby and Summers, a detailed news release, and messages to faculty, development staff, and key alumni. The news release indicated not only that Kirby would return to scholarship (modern Chinese history) and teaching, but that he would also assume two new roles. He will direct the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, one of the principal regional-studies centers—a natural intellectual fit. Former director Roderick MacFarquhar, Williams professor of history and political science, has been serving a second term as director this year. Second, Kirby will "take on a University-wide role in guiding Harvard's expanding array of academic initiatives focused on China."

Close observers were not surprised that Kirby relinquished the deanship. A senior University administrator said, "No one who is around here is unaware that there have been tensions between Mass. Hall and University Hall." Despite expectations that Kirby and Summers would be a good team, "It hasn't worked out that way," even though the two men shared many goals; the president was "frustrated by the slowness of movement," as he perceived it, and likes "to be involved, to come to meetings, to *push* his ideas." A faculty member with administrative duties said, "Bill's resignation was not a big surprise," but characterized the leak as "troubling" because "this is symptomatic of what has been happening in FAS and the University more widely in the last year and...indicates underlying problems of politicization and lack of trust." The bluntest assessment—one of the few made on the record—came from Carswell professor of East Asian languages and civilizations Peter K. Bol, who told the *Crimson* that "Kirby resigned because President Summers didn't leave," and that "it was impossible to work with the president." Bol cited an atmosphere where the dean was being derogated in private conversations with his own faculty colleagues. Other FAS members echoed those accounts.

In his letter, Kirby cited "the allure and the increasingly dynamic nature of my field of study" as factors making his decision "timely and compelling." He cited accomplishments in faculty growth, facilities investments, and, "most important," in the faculty's recommitment to Harvard students. Kirby then reflected on the "serious challenges" during the past year. (Despite his previous plea that the faculty not emerge "divided, fractious, and polarized," those challenges culminated in the faculty's sharp debate about Summers's management and, last March, its unexpected vote of lack of confidence in his leadership; see "At Odds," May-June 2005, page 55.) Kirby observed that in the future, "it will be important for the president and the dean to work closely together, in collaboration with the faculty, toward our common objectives." He then expressed gratitude for working with and on behalf of "this stellar faculty," the FAS staff, "our wonderful alumni," and, "above all," Harvard's students.

Summers used his letter to "express my gratitude, personally and on behalf of the Harvard community," for Kirby's "imaginative and dedicated leadership" during what he acknowledged "has been a not-uncomplicated time in the life of the University." He cited the curriculum review, rapid expansion of the faculty ranks, new paths for study abroad, enhanced financial aid, and "critical large-scale investments" in facilities as among the accomplishments of Kirby's deanship, a "transformative pe-

HARVARD BY THE NUMBERS



Capital Costs

The dimensions of Harvard's current building boom—readily obvious to sidewalk superintendents along Memorial Drive at Western Avenue (graduate-student housing), across from Mather House (ditto), behind the Science Center (physical sciences and engineering laboratories), north of the Museum of Comparative Zoology (life-sciences laboratories), and elsewhere—are quantified in the *Financial Report to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College* for the 2004-2005 fiscal year. The exhibit on annual facility expenditures, adapted here, shows capital spending for new construction, building renovations, and acquisitions of structures and land—the latter principally in Allston. The sharp rise since 2000 is made more graphic when five-year averages are calculated: that figure rises from $78.8 million in the first period, 1986-1990, to $494.5 million from 2001-2005. Even adjusting for inflation, the recent expenditures have been at a rate two to three times higher than in any previous year. As a direct result, University debt outstanding has grown from $1.6 billion in 2001 to $2.8 billion last June. A discussion of the financial implications of this extensive building program for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which is particularly affected, begins opposite.

Chart by Stephen Anderson

riod" for FAS. Summers declined separate comment, but was later reported in the *Crimson* as having said that Kirby's letter "speaks for itself."

In searching for a successor, Summers wrote, he would convene the customary faculty advisory group. Indicating the unusual circumstances, he said he also intended to consult with the Faculty Council (some of whose members have been meeting with the Corporation during the past year to air FAS concerns) and with department chairs, who have also been working together, regularly, apart from the customary administrative structure.

All that will be necessary. On February 1, the Faculty Council created a task force, chaired by new University Professor Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (see page 63), to assure that its views are considered in the search. FAS's Standing Committee on Women wrote about the importance of affirming commitments to faculty excellence and diversity—and of a search process that is "genuinely open, without a predetermined outcome," involving "real and credible" consultation, without which the faculty "will not support the outcome."

The end of Kirby's deanship leaves much unsettled. He is the second of Summers's decanal appointees to leave office: Graduate School of Education dean Ellen Condliffe Lagemann departed last summer. As of early February, neither that search nor the one for a new leader of Harvard Business School had concluded. Within FAS, a search for the important deanship of the Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences is under way. The vice president for finance—Harvard's CFO—is exiting Massachusetts Hall (see "University People," November-December 2005, page 63). Now, the need to fill the FAS vacancy at University Hall adds significantly to the priorities Summers spelled out in his long "Letter to the Community" released last November 9. Those include planning for Allston development and a Harvard capital campaign, in both of which FAS priorities figure prominently.

Within FAS, the stakes are high, too. Three years and more into the curriculum review, the faculty's reaction to official proposals is uncertain. Summers publicly outlined some of the directions he sought for the review in his 2003 Commencement address, and actively advocated for them until he stepped back from participating in the study committees' work last year after professorial tensions with the president surfaced. Kirby, who drove the review forward, was passionate about some of those objectives—notably, international study (see "Elsewhere," January-February, page 59). But the approach to general education advanced to date may neither satisfy faculty members concerned about students' need for intellectual guidance, nor deliver the foundational courses Summers envisioned, nor meet his goals for deeper education in science and empirical methods. On January 31, the Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences, worried about preparing students for concentration work and higher-level study, voted its reservations about lessening requirements and about de-emphasizing the breadth of education, concerns other scientists share.

As noted, paying for FAS's agenda promises to be expensive, too. The strategy for balancing the budget requires successful FAS fundraising now, preceding a large University capital campaign. The decanal vacancy may delay academic planning and outreach to important prospective donors (although some large gifts are pending). A new dean can presumably rely on the central administration's promises of major financial support. Some professors see that as paying FAS back in part for the sums being "decapitalized" from Harvard's endowment ($106 million in fiscal year 2005, about half from FAS) for the "strategic infrastructure fund" for Allston development. Separately, a professor wrote about the need for departments to "make sure that their palisades are in good order, with all the posts sharpened…and with vigilant guards on duty" to protect their budgets.

Beyond these issues, other matters involving FAS in ways significant and small await resolution. Among the latter, the central administration is negotiating with FAS to acquire Massachusetts Hall, Harvard's oldest building, where the president and his senior staff are based; some of the upper-floor space houses freshmen. Converting that area to administrative offices has some symbolic and nostalgic significance. Among the larger issues: the FAS, medical, and public-health deans, and a large faculty committee, are trying to address the future of science University-wide if large new laboratories are built in Allston (as now planned). Triangulating research and teaching in Cambridge, the Longwood medical area, and Allston has huge implications for faculty assignments and appointments, student life, and, not least, access to the research grants and accompanying overhead payments needed to defray the enormous costs of such facilities.

Progress on all these fronts between now and June 30, and beyond, matters to both FAS and Harvard as a whole. Whatever happens, Dean Kirby's successor faces a very challenging agenda.

[An account of the contentious February 7 faculty meeting on the decanal transition and search will be posted at www.harvardmagazine.com.]

Fraught Finances

Amid an historic expansion, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) must now come to terms with the costs of its growth. An anticipated deficit of $40 million-plus in the fiscal year ending this June 30 was disclosed at the January 10 faculty meeting; that gap is being filled from reserves on hand.

More daunting challenges loom thereafter. From this year to 2010, the *annual* cost of building and operating facilities now under construction, hiring more professors (now 700, rising to 750), and funding desired new programs will increase to an estimated $108 million to $122 million. These expenses are *in addition* to already budgeted costs for continuing operations (College and graduate-school teaching and student life, research, financial aid) and exceed the income projected from the endowment, tuition, research, and gifts. The forecasts follow substantial increases in FAS's operating budget, from $699 million (fiscal year 2003), to $754 million (2004) and $858 million (2005)—each of which yielded a surplus—to about $970

HARVARD PORTRAIT

Darren Higgins

REMEMBER the couple of hot dogs in your fridge that you appear to think are immortal? As the dogs lurk there for week after week, precooked and refrigerated though they are, they may grow *Listeria monocytogenes.* This food-borne pathogen can and does kill people at risk, although most of us toss off a touch of listeriosis with a bellyache, et cetera, and never become statistics. Darren Higgins, associate professor of microbiology and molecular genetics at the Medical School, heads a laboratory with 11 other researchers studying listeria. At first they examined how the bacterium attacks fruit-fly cells, but have now moved on to human cells. They have taken the pathbreaking approach of focusing on the cells, not the bug, to discover which of the cells' genes admits the pathogen and lets it replicate. (The photograph behind Higgins, above, shows listeria entering cells.) If the cell doesn't need that gene to function, the gene could be blocked, thwarting the pathogen. Physicians might thus be able in future to rely less on antibiotics to fight disease. Higgins, 39, was born on an Air Force base in Michigan, did his undergraduate work at Texas A&M, and earned a doctorate in microbiology and immunology from the University of Michigan in 1995. When he isn't overseeing his lab, he likes to sit at a bench in it, doing what to the uninitiated appears to be moving small volumes of liquid from one tube to another, but which is more likely to be troubleshooting or testing new research approaches, and which he finds recreational. He runs and skis and is a movie buff—*Blade Runner* being his favorite. When Higgins eats hot dogs, he cooks them plenty.

million currently (with the forecast deficit).

In their January 10 presentations, members of the faculty's Resources Committee advanced a context for FAS's financial position, detailed the underlying academic agenda, and outlined the fiscal measures it will pursue to balance its books.

Speaking first, Florence professor of government Gary King said that forecasts of FAS finances always show future deficits due to new projects or emerging fields. Management then must stave off actual budget gaps. In an interview, he said a prospective deficit "means things are going well," in the sense that FAS is taking intellectual risks. The rest of Harvard, he noted, "has grown spectacularly relative to FAS for a very long time." Now, increasing the faculty (from about 600 members in 2000; see "Growth Spurt, Growing Pains," January-February, page 64) and expanding in "areas of science that FAS represents" is exciting and appropriate. The current "investment plan" requires heavy spending on facilities—"the biggest growing period in Harvard's physical plant in decades" (see page 60)—to accommodate new professors.

Caroline M. Hoxby, Freed professor of economics, detailed the outlook for the faculty. FAS began this fiscal year with reserves of $72.8 million, she said, and with an endowment of $11.7 billion (of which $1.4 billion is unrestricted—the crucial source of funds for new initiatives). Anticipated faculty hiring from this year forward will add $28.5 million to annual costs by 2010, after accounting for any grants that faculty members receive. Programmatic initiatives—international study, science research centers, dissertation fellowships, expanded arts venues and staffing—require another $29.5 million.

Overshadowing those items are debt service and operating expenses for new buildings, which rise from $11.7 million this year to $72 million in 2010, after accounting for recovery of "indirect costs" for sponsored research conducted there. The driving factor is FAS's decision to expand its science space 34 percent in a six-year span. All these commitments—particularly the costly faculty growth and expansion in the sciences—are high priorities of both FAS and the University administration.

Photograph by Michele McDonald/Boston Globe

The aggregate new spending, $130 million per year by 2010, would be reduced by about $61 million, Hoxby explained, through anticipated higher distributions from the endowment authorized by the Corporation (see page 70), and an assumed increase in federal reimbursement for those overhead costs. As FAS reserves are spent, by 2008, Hoxby said, sustainable new sources of revenue must be found.

That left it to Olshan professor of economics John Y. Campbell to explain the financing program. Beyond the $69 million net deficit from the items Hoxby outlined, the projected budget assumes a $10-million gap from continuing operations. Campbell cited further factors—inflated utilities costs and a prudent contingency for unforeseen events and additional investments or programs—bringing FAS's need for extra revenue to a range of $108 million to $122 million in 2010. Campbell then reviewed a four-tier plan to obtain those funds through:

- FAS actions, yielding $15 million to $20 million per year. In a separate conversation, he described such measures as examining restricted funds to see how they could best be used, exploring new fees, or redirecting current revenue streams.
- Increased endowment distributions. Campbell said the Corporation was reassessing whether its payout policies were too conservative, in light of recent investment gains; a liberalized distribution would yield $36 million more annually to FAS, beyond the figure Hoxby described (the 2005 distribution was about $390 million). In addition, the faculty would receive Corporation permission for a discretionary "decapitalization" (spending from appreciation) of its unrestricted endowment, yielding another $24 million per year. Because this reduces future assets and therefore distributable revenue, Campbell said tapping such funds could not be indefinite and would have to be succeeded by gift income.
- Expanded support from the central administration, worth $18 million to $23 million per year. Campbell cited funds for facilities and infrastructure and for graduate-student fellowships. The largess reflects, in part, appreciation in the value of central endowment funds.
- Fundraising, expected to contribute $15 million to $19 million annually. That goal, Campbell said, reflects growth driven by FAS solicitations, in advance of any Harvard capital campaign.

University Professors


JUSTIN IDE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

Peter Galison

President Lawrence H. Summers appointed two utterly different historians, both members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, to University Professorships, Harvard's most distinguished chairs, on January 24. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, currently Phillips professor of early American history, becomes the 300th Anniversary University Professor, succeeding president emeritus Derek C. Bok. Ulrich, author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *A Midwife's Tale* and editor of *Yards and Gates: Gender in Harvard and Radcliffe History,* has recently studied both women's history and early American material culture (see feature articles in this magazine's November-December 1999 and March-April 2002 issues). She directs Harvard's Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History.


STEPHANIE MITCHELL/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

Mallinckrodt professor of the history of science and of physics Peter Galison has been named Pellegrino University Professor, succeeding biologist E.O. Wilson. Galison explores the intersection of experimentation, instrumentation, and theory, particularly in twentieth-century physics. His books include *Image and Logic: A Material Culture of Microphysics* and *Einstein's Clocks, Poincaré's Maps,* and he also works in film (see "The Early Days of the H-Bomb," September-October 2001, page 14, and "Cinema Veritas," November-December 2005, page 34).

Both professors have been MacArthur Foundation Fellows. Both offer Core courses, and were named Harvard College Professors, for excellence in teaching, in 2001.

Faculty members questioned several aspects of the plan. In light of Stanford's recent $1.1-billion campaign for undergraduate education, was FAS fundraising too timid, asked Rabb professor of anthropology Arthur Kleinman. Dean William C. Kirby said the fundraising goal assumed success beyond an already projected 9 percent annual growth in donor support through 2010. President Lawrence H. Summers said the forthcoming campaign would seek more for FAS than Stanford's effort. The annual goal was the expected income from new endowment gifts of $300 million or more. This is "a period of extraordinary investment" in faculty growth and buildings, he said, justifying expanded central support and extraordinary measures such as the decapitalization.

Gurney professor of English literature and professor of comparative literature James Engell wondered whether the need for new funds in 2010 would persist in following years. When Hoxby said that it would, he asked if the committee members were confident about their assumptions. Hoxby reiterated the need for successful fundraising and recovery of overhead costs. Campbell said capital gifts would yield future income, decreasing the need to draw down endowment. Kirby said the faculty was fortunate to be able to take on its "historic investment" and had a 10-year plan to cover costs and replace and replenish its income.

Separate conversations provided further details about the risks and costs associated with FAS's plans. One, of course, is "what happens to the endowment and financial markets in general," according to Campbell, a professor of finance and investments who sits on the Harvard Management Company board. Although the endowment is well diversified, he said, "Bad stuff could happen." If investment returns are poor or fundraising lags, "The shock absorber is Allston": the University could slow down development there to cover costs incurred in FAS.

The decapitalization, he acknowledged, would have a "noticeable effect on the unrestricted endowment" of FAS and so must be a transitional measure. (As described, there is no time limit.)

Hoxby quantified the stakes. Even without further expenditure increases after 2010 (an unlikely event), she said, if the projected use of unrestricted capital extends to 2015, the faculty will "run into trouble." That is, given the "aggressive" decapitalization plan, the unrestricted funds then available for operations would be insufficient to cover those parts of the budget paid for now. Nor are FAS's current investments in any sense "reversible": the faculty are hired, steel has been set for the new buildings—ahead of fundraising. In effect, FAS has made "a very large bet on science that will limit our flexibility for years to come." For instance, it is committed to hiring more science professors to fill the new laboratories, hoping they bring in grants and overhead funds. And beyond some resources for study abroad, FAS has not explicitly reserved funds to pay for reforms from the undergraduate curriculum review (see page 69). Citing FAS's circumstances, she said, "Even if you are very, very rich, you can spend more than you have."

All this puts a premium on execution. Administrators will have to realize anticipated revenues and redeploy funds. (Several observers characterized such steps—for example, charging rent to academic centers and museums which now get free space from FAS—as "politically sensitive" and "difficult.") The Corporation will have to agree to the increased distribution of endowment funds; according to vice president for finance and chief financial officer Ann E. Berman, its current guidance to the faculties for future distributions accommodates a portion of what FAS is counting on.

And then there is fundraising. "The most important thing," said Gary King, "is the coordination Harvard does with its alumni." Having concluded that it would be irresponsible to hoard its wealth, FAS has proceeded with its intellectual agenda. "The more responsible we are, and the more exciting projects we have to invest in," he said, "the more the alumni rally to our support." Of the risks overall, he said, "I'm quite confident it's not going to be an issue." (That assessment preceded the announcement of Kirby's forthcoming departure from the deanship, a possible delaying or complicating factor in planning and fundraising; see page 58.)

Kirby, in an interview January 13, reiterated that "none of these costs is a surprise." The faculty made its academic investments, large as they are, with its eyes open, expecting to use reserves, borrowed money, and endowment funds as needed. Looking ahead, he said, "We won't spend more money than we have available."

Corporation Credentials

The newest member of Harvard's senior governing board, Patricia A. King, J.D. '69 (see "Brevia," January-February, page 69), brings several new perspectives to the Corporation. That is not surprising: her title at Georgetown University Law Center—Carmack Waterhouse professor of law, medicine, ethics, and public policy—suggests work at the intersection of several disciplines.

When she joins the Corporation in May, King will be its only member active on a faculty (a profession rarely represented), although fellow member Nannerl O. Keohane, president emerita of Wellesley and Duke, has extensive academic experience. Perhaps atypically of professors, King brings a broad purview of the ways of educational institutions: she has chaired the board of trustees at Wheaton College, her alma mater. And like her predecessor, Conrad K. Harper, J.D. '65, King has Harvard experience that in part reflects a professional-school education in Cambridge.

Of particular substantive interest, given the University's large role in biomedical research and life sciences, may be King's scholarly expertise. Coauthor of a casebook on *Law, Science, and Medicine,* she has, since joining the Georgetown law faculty in 1974, served on advisory committees and written about a host of fundamental issues ranging from stem cells and the protection of human research subjects to radiation experiments, recombinant DNA, and race and bioethics.

Before entering academia, King held a variety of federal government positions, including service at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Civil Rights at the then Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Justice's civil division. Her husband, Roger Wilkins, is Robinson professor of history and American culture at George Mason University. He previously served on the editorial boards of the *Washington Post,* where he shared a Pulitzer Prize for Watergate coverage, and the *New York Times*. The couple, who live in Washington, D.C., have a grown daughter, Elizabeth.

Art Museums Launch Renaissance

The rebirthing of the Harvard University Art Museums is announced. After months of strategic planning, and a wide-ranging search for real estate, the staff of the museums is bracing for work that will solve alarming infrastructure problems, daringly change the way curators provide access to their collections, take years, and cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

"People's shorthand way of describing our infrastructure problem is to say, 'They don't have climate control at the Fogg.' Believe me, that's just the tip of the iceberg," says Thomas W. Lentz, Cabot director of the museums (HUAM). "We have physical problems that are so severe that they're beginning to negatively impact virtually everything we do as a museum." He says the job can't wait.

The Fogg Art Museum building at 32 Quincy Street, in the corridor of art-related buildings at the edge of Harvard

Illustration by Mark Steele

Yard, opened in 1927 and has wiring to prove it. President Lawrence H. Summers observes that the first report calling for the Fogg's renovation was written when he was two years old. The conjoined Busch-Reisinger Museum, built onto the back of the Fogg in 1991, has interior walls that, for complex technical reasons, are buckling and need to be taken apart.

The Fogg/Busch building will close to the public in or near the summer of 2008, says Lentz. Then, in a 12- to 15-month process, all of the collections there will be taken away. (The Fogg features Western art from the Middle Ages to the present. The Busch-Reisinger emphasizes art from German-speaking countries. The Arthur M. Sackler Museum across the street on Broadway is home to ancient, Asian, Indian, and Islamic art. In all, the collections include 250,000 objects, making the museum the sixth largest in the country.)

All of the staff of the Fogg, the Busch, and the Straus Center for Conservation at the top of the Fogg/Busch building will clear out, too. The Fine Arts Library will go: books, slides, and people. Run by the Harvard College Library, it is located, mostly underground, in HUAM's Quincy Street building.

Once emptied, the Quincy Street building will be renewed. The project architect is Renzo Piano of Genoa, Italy: designer of the Menil Collection in Houston, the Paul Klee Center in Bern, Switzerland, the expansion of the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, the unfolding renovation of the Morgan Library in New York, and the current expansions of the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York and of the Art Institute of Chicago. His design will not only remedy the building's infrastructure problems, but will add modestly to its volume, mostly by digging down. The Renaissance-reminiscent courtyard of the Fogg will stay. The

Yesterday's News

From the pages of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* and *Harvard Magazine*

1931 The Harvard Placement Service appeals for help as it tries to find work for graduating seniors and older alumni who have lost their jobs.

1936 A Cambridge city councilor has suggested that the University make the city a tercentenary gift of $300,000—"on the grounds that 'Harvard receives many benefits from the city and gives little in return.' "

1946 The Faculty of Arts and Sciences has voted to establish two new departments, one in biochemistry, the other in social relations. The latter will incorporate the existing department of sociology and portions of the existing anthropology and psychology departments.

1951 President Conant appears before the House Armed Services Committee on behalf of the Committee on the Present Danger, a nonpartisan group urging "an adequate defense for the United States." He recommends drafting 18-year-olds and deferring, after basic training, 75,000 young men for specialized training and education.

1956 Freshmen seek an extension of parietal rules, complaining that upperclassmen may entertain women in their rooms until 11 P.M., while the freshman deadline is 8. The request is refused because "freshmen entertain more secondary-school girls than do upperclassmen."

1961 Nineteen faculty members are among 250 American professors protesting the House Un-American Activities Committee, citing a dedication to the "proposition that free enquiry and free expression nourish mental growth and are thus basic to our nation's strength."

1971 A "barrage of chanting, shouting, stamping, and screaming" in Sanders Theatre ends a "counter teach-in" on the Vietnam War, sponsored by the Harvard-Radcliffe chapters of Young Americans for Freedom and the Young Republicans.

1976 The Faculty of Arts and Sciences considers ways to make ROTC programs—terminated at Harvard in 1970 in the wake of protests—available again. One suggestion is to allow students to cross-register at MIT for noncredit courses in military science.

Quincy Street façade will likely remain intact. Piano has not yet begun his work, city review boards have not considered it, and so any speculation about the building's final looks would be just that.

While the building is under reconstruction, the museums will maintain a public presence with an exhibition—perhaps of their greatest hits—probably in the Sackler galleries. That state of affairs will prevail until the overhaul of 32 Quincy Street is complete, which Lentz hopes to see in 2011 or 2012. Everything else will go into storage. Paintings, ceramics, clocks, silver vessels, bronzes, furniture, et cetera, will move in part to a commercial art-storage facility now being built in neighboring Somerville and in part to an interim museum site, along with most of HUAM's staff of 250. This facility will also function temporarily as a public museum for modern and contemporary art.

The location of the interim site had not been published as this issue went to press. Lentz has considered at least 25 potential sites, in Boston, Cambridge, and Allston. Some existing Allston edifice will get the nod. A strong possibility, Lentz said in an interview, is a 75,000-square-foot building on Soldiers Field Road, on the Allston-Brighton line, formerly bank offices and now owned by Harvard. The building has things to recommend it for the museums' purposes, but is far removed from the heart of the proposed new Allston campus, a disadvantage.

A permanent second site presumably *will* be part of the cultural complex in the new campus. A committee chaired by associate provost for the arts and humanities Sean Buffington is now discussing creating a museum facility in Allston to provide space for several University collections. Members include Lentz, John Megan, director of the Office for the Arts, Robert Orchard, director of the Loeb Drama Center, Watts professor of music Kay Shelemay, and William Fash, Bowditch professor of Central American and Mexican archaeology and ethnology and Howells director of the Peabody Museum.

The permanent second site will become Harvard's museum of modern and contemporary art. (Its spaciousness will enhance Harvard's ability to add such art, much of which is huge, to its collection; adequate exhibition space is a sine qua non for donors.) The date of the new museum's completion is highly conjectural: perhaps a decade or more hence.

This site will also contain offices for HUAM's noncuratorial staff, the Center for the Technical Study of Modern Art, a multipurpose study center, a satellite of the Straus conservation center, and the museums' major loading facility.

Lentz's predecessor as director, James Cuno, strove to hatch a two-building satellite museum in the Riverside area of Cambridge along Memorial Drive (see "Riverside Rezoned," January-February 2004, page 63). One of its parts would have housed modern and contemporary art, the other the collections in the Sackler. That museum's architect was Renzo Piano. The neighbors shot down the low, wood-and-glass complex he proposed, and Harvard eventually struck a multi-part agreement allowing it to build 250 beds of housing for affiliates on the site instead.

When Cuno's plans were torpedoed, Piano's attention was turned to the rehabilitation of the Quincy Street building. When Lentz became director in Novem-

VOICES

John Simon

PETER NORTH

Critic John Simon '46, Ph.D. '59, celebrated for his acerbic reviews in *New York* magazine—"For better or for worse, I think of myself as a highbrow"—visited Cambridge in December to discuss three recently published volumes of his collected criticism, on theater, film, and music (Applause Theatre and Cinema Books). Here are some of his remarks, made during a presentation at the Harvard Coop:

"If you like eight out of 10 things that you have to review, then you are not a critic. Then you should work for the Salvation Army."

"The 'death seat' is the seat next to the critic, the person who gets dragged to the theater with the critic and doesn't get the satisfaction of getting even with the damn thing afterward."

"Even ferocious writing is a love of writing."

"I think it is good for a writer to be in love a lot, which I was."

"I am very grateful—very grateful—that I started out in life as a poet."

"In the Balkans, we're tough cookies. We don't have thin skins and we don't try to be nice to everyone."

"I think the critic has to do the teacher's job. He has to keep teaching. Since most students, let's face it, are ordinary students, it is very important for teachers to be good for ordinary students."

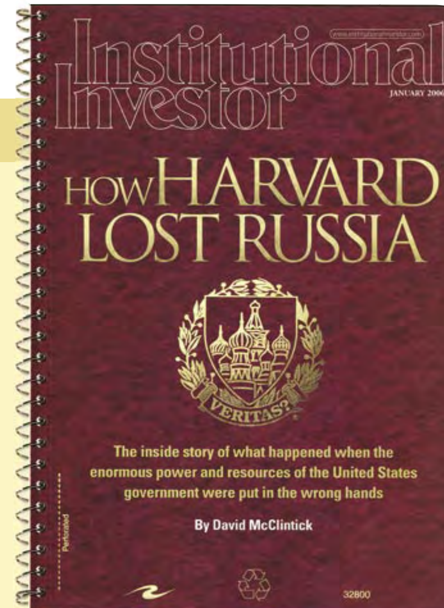
"Sondheim still stands out as a peak over the hills and valleys of the rest."

"Everybody needs to be a critic, since the world is such a mess."

"I think there's always one good movie out of 200, and if you happen to see the one without seeing the other 199, then you are ahead of the game."

"Actors have to take their lumps, and if critics are their lumps, then that's how it is."

HIID Dénouement



The federal lawsuit concerning the conduct of the Harvard Institute for International Development's advisory work on the privatization of Russia's economy has been expensively settled, without any admissions of institutional or personal liability, as reported ["Russia Case (and Dust) Settle," November-December 2005, page 59]. But an in-depth narrative of the underlying events has not been available, until now. The January issue of *Institutional Investor,* long the bible for the international money-management and finance industry, features as its cover article "How Harvard Lost Russia," a 29-page account by David McClintick '62 (www.institutionalinvestor.com). A journalist who has written extensively on the intersection of riches and regulation around the world, McClintick pieced events together from the several dozen depositions, the court records, hundreds of documents, and personal interviews in the United States and Russia; the principal Harvard-affiliated figures declined to comment. (Note: McClintick has been a member of the Harvard Magazine Inc. Board of Incorporators since 1991; he did not report on the Russia story for the magazine.)

McClintick details the politically pressured, freewheeling atmosphere during Russia's transition from communism and a controlled economy toward new forms of government and market institutions in the early 1990s. He interweaves a chronology of the policies advocated by and management actions of the Harvard advisers—Jones professor of economics Andrei Shleifer and Jonathan Hay, J.D. '92—with the financial investments in Russian securities and start-up enterprises by them, family members, and associates. The article finds that the advisers did help launch Russia's principal stock exchange, but quotes international observers who feel that the conduct of the Harvard experts and collapse of the advisory effort damaged Russian economic reform substantially.

Beyond Harvard's $26.5-million share of the legal settlement (plus expenses) and the closing of HIID in the wake of the investigations, the experience has lingered in Cambridge because Shleifer and President Lawrence H. Summers have long been close friends: as student and teacher, during Summers's service in Washington, D.C., and now in his Harvard presidency. In light of that relationship, Summers recused himself from the legal proceedings. The University has declined comment on the matter since the settlement. McClintick quotes faculty members who think that Shleifer should have been disciplined; the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, as is its norm, does not comment on any individual professor's status.

ber 2003 (see "Harvard Portrait," July-August 2005, page 56), he found that Piano was all the way to the schematic-design phase in the Quincy Street project.

Lentz called a halt. The museums had grown in ad hoc ways over the years. Now the staff needed to pause for strategic planning and a space-needs assessment. They spent the next year grinding through the process with a consultant, involving members of the art-history faculty, students, colleagues at the Peabody Museum, and community representatives.

All this cerebration led beyond fixing the Fogg's infrastructure to devising "new structures and new models that will allow us to execute our mission much more effectively and have a farther reach than we've had in the past, both inside and outside the University," Lentz says. "We have a teaching and research mission, attached to a very powerful collection. Together we're part of a university of world importance. Our trick must be to make this great resource more accessible to more students, more faculty, more members of the community."

Eventually, collections, curators and their support staffs, the conservation staff, and probably much of the Fine Arts Library will return to the revivified Quincy Street site. Even though HUAM will have a museum of modern and contemporary art in Allston, "there is no question," says Harry Cooper, curator of modern art, "but that we will maintain highlights of post-1900 painting and sculpture on display in the new Quincy Street building."


MARTHA STEWART/HARVARD UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUMS

The unrenovated Fogg's courtyard

The museums will present themselves in a radically new way, built around study centers where people can have close, perhaps transformative, encounters with art. Lentz, Ph.D. '85, had one himself as a graduate student, when he was first allowed actually to handle the collection of exquisite Persian paintings. "I know from my years at the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery," he says, "that the only way you can really get to understand jade is to hold it and feel it, and you can't do that through an exhibition case. We can teach things *with objects.* We can make visual and tactile what others at Harvard can only talk about."

There will be a study center for

each of the three museums, with exhibition galleries and curatorial offices around it. "We are giving almost equal weight to study centers and galleries," says Lentz. "We asked ourselves, 'What is it we can do that other people can't? What are we really good at?' and time and time again we came back to the Mongan Center and the Busch-Reisinger study center as models."

The Fogg's Mongan Center is a collaborative joining of three curatorial departments—prints, drawings, and photography—which share a support staff and a fairly large room in which their treasures may be spread upon tables, looked at, and even handled by visitors, under supervision. Any member of the public without an obvious screw loose may go there, ask to see the Dürer drawings, and have them fetched for viewing. Students arrive in droves with their teachers. "The Mongan Center model is the key to our future," says Lentz.

Lentz is excited about the collaboration the restructuring should foster. "For example," he says, "there are huge visual, intellectual, and programmatic links between the Sackler departments of ancient, Asian, and Islamic and later Indian art, but these departments don't interact with one another as they should. They're essentially in silos. I need them in a more collaborative structure. The more we can work across fields and disciplines, the more we'll see the kinds of ideas that we should be seeing from a museum that has a huge amount of intellectual and research muscle."

Stephan Wolohojian, a curator in the department of European paintings, sculpture, and decorative arts, says that all of the curators are "interested in exploring the idea of putting these study centers at the core of the museums. It's one of our biggest challenges, since there is no model, either in a major civic museum or at another university."

"For the curators of works on paper, a study-center model is familiar," says William Robinson, Abrams curator of drawings and head of curatorial affairs, a sort of buffer between the director and the curators. "Curators with three-dimensional objects will have to make some practical and mental readjustments." Some are cautious. Asian art objects have been shown to visitors infrequently and with the utmost care, and, says Robinson, "there are good reasons for that. Unrolling scrolls and moving large pieces of priceless ceramic—it's specialized work, and perhaps it's also important that anyone presenting these objects know Asian languages. Under the new model, a visitor will see a vase in an exhibition gallery and ring the study-center bell to ask, 'Do you have any more of those?' Other examples will be brought into the study center." This will make valuable use of the permanent collection. And the museum will need a new staff of professional art handlers.

"Everyone endorses the idea of greater access to the collections," says Robinson. "The study-center model is daring and presents many new avenues to learning. There's nothing like leafing through a sketchbook, or turning over a drawing to see what's on the back—things one can't do in a gallery."

"We assume," says Lentz, "that you can learn certain things in the classroom, and certain things in the exhibition gallery, but

A Saudi Prince's Controversial Gift


SALEH RIFAI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Alsaud

Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Alsaud, reportedly the richest member of the Saudi royal family and head of the investment firm Kingdom Holding Company, has given $20 million each to Harvard and to Georgetown University, those institutions announced in December. Almost immediately, the press reported unhappiness that the gifts had been accepted.

Harvard will use the gift, which was initiated by the prince, to create the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program, a University-wide project run by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in close coordination with the Divinity School. The money will fund four new professorships, one known as the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal chair in contemporary Islamic thought and life, and provide support for graduate students. It will also launch a $1-million initiative within the University Library, the Islamic Heritage Project, that will digitize historically significant Islamic materials and make the resulting images, including digitized texts of the classics of the Islamic tradition, available on the Internet.

Islamic studies at Harvard are currently found within disciplines ranging from religion, history, and law to art and literature. The prince's gift will make it possible to add strength in the history of science and in new areas such as Islamic Inner-Asian, Southeast Asian, or South Asian studies. "For a university with global aspirations, it is critical that Harvard have a strong program on Islam that is worldwide and interdisciplinary in scope," said provost Steven E. Hyman, who will coordinate the new program's implementation.

A sampling of the opposition, much of it indicative of the divided opinions on the Middle East and concern about terrorism, came from Washington: "Accepting money from a member of the royal family legitimizes the regime," wrote Suzanne Gershowitz '04 of the American Enterprise Institute in *National Review*. "[M]uch of the concern about Islam and the Arab world is in fact a justified reaction to that world's uncomfortable realities, such as the oppression of women, Islamist incitement, and apology for terror. But universities—and especially Georgetown and Harvard—are not the place to find this sort of distaste. Their classrooms, and especially Middle Eastern-studies departments, tend instead to amplify anti-American rhetoric, legitimize conspiracy theories, and, in the name of cultural relativism, gloss over the oppression that exists in the Arab world."

in these study centers a different type of learning takes place. It's more interactive, more dynamic, more intimate, less passive." Of Harvard's museums, he says, "We have the opportunity to build something quite different in a museum. I wouldn't suggest that this is a model that would make sense for any other museum, but given our collections, our history, our mission, and the context in which we work, we think it makes huge sense for us."

Curricular Commitments

Departing Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) Dean William C. Kirby has attempted to set the clock ticking for completing a revision of the undergraduate curriculum, after three years of study. In a letter circulated January 20—one week before the news of his personal plans was disclosed—he proposed votes this spring on legislation to effect changes in concentrations (fewer requirements, student choice of a course of study deferred from freshman year to the middle of sophomore year) and then general education (replacing the Core curriculum with distribution requirements). These issues would be followed with action on instruction in writing and speaking; advising; and then the academic calendar: possibly moving reading period and exams before Christmas, and creating a flexible January term. (The letter and underlying committee reports were bound in a single volume, as shown below, for faculty reference during debate. They appear on line, respectively, at www.fas.harvard.edu and www.fas.harvard.edu/curriculum-review.)

Kirby restated several themes from the review. One is to "recommit our Faculty to the central task of educating undergraduates." Another is emphasis on "*liberal* education"—specifically "resisting pressures for early specialization and professionalization" through "a curriculum of choice, incentive, and opportunity more than one of restriction and requirement." On the latter point, Kirby hopes, new general-education courses will succeed "because they *are* great courses, not because they are mandated," and students

Money-Manager Compensation

Compensation data for the most highly paid Harvard Management Company (HMC) investment personnel—subject to some sharp criticism in recent years—were released on the afternoon of December 21, as the campus emptied for the winter recess.

Salary, benefits, and bonus payments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2005, totaled $18 million for domestic-bond manager David R. Mittelman and $16.9 million for foreign-bond manager Maurice Samuels. Under HMC's pay formula, these two senior portfolio professionals each earned more than $25 million in fiscal year 2004, and more than $34 million the year before, reflecting long-term returns well above market benchmarks. Jack R. Meyer, M.B.A. '69, HMC president and chief executive during this period, earned $6 million, down from $7.2 million in 2004. Domestic-bond managers Shawn Martin and Matt Early received $5.4 million and $4.6 million, respectively, and Andy Wiltshire, who is responsible for large timber holdings, earned $5.9 million.

This year's release drily noted that, with the exception of Wiltshire, for all the employees listed, "these payments represent the final payments" under HMC's compensation plan. Meyer and the bond managers are among nearly three dozen HMC personnel who departed September 30 to establish Convexity Capital, a hedge fund. Harvard has retained the new firm to manage part of the endowment assets. The terms of such private contracts are not disclosed.

The lower paychecks did not mollify William Strauss '69, who with a group of classmates has criticized the compensation as inappropriate for an academic institution. After the figures were released, he said, "Yet again, Harvard pays lavish fund-manager bonuses, in a year in which they raised tuition by more than inflation. We had thought President [Lawrence H.] Summers wasn't going to do this any more, but here we are."

The University has maintained that HMC's internal money-management costs are well below market rates it would have to pay hedge funds for equivalent performance (total return, after expenses, was 19.2 percent in 2005). Treasurer and HMC board chair James F. Rothenberg, Summers, and new HMC president and chief executive Mohamed A. El-Erian have all spoken of the incentive-based compensation formula as central to attracting personnel who can garner investment results that exceed market returns and rank Harvard among the performance leaders for comparable institutions (see "El-Erian for the Endowment," January-February, page 54). The news release said senior managers' pay is "structured in a manner consistent with relevant industry standards."

It is not wholly clear what factors underlay the payouts in the most recent fiscal year. The news release did not detail the components of each person's earnings (this information was provided for 2004); for those who are leaving HMC, the 2005 sums represent final payments, with none of the customary carrying forward of contingent bonuses to be paid only if strong performance continues. Mittelman's domestic-bond return exceeded the market benchmark by 7 percentage points in 2005, a lesser margin than in the prior two years; but the return in the foreign-bond portfolio overseen by Samuels exceeded the benchmark performance by more than 12 percentage points, a stronger relative result than in the prior year. Other factors—the performance of different asset classes, the contribution of additional team members—might have come into play. So might recent slight changes in the formula that stretch out the time required for high-performing managers to earn bonuses.

In the end, it will be up to El-Erian to decide whether to refine the pay system. Even more critical, perhaps, will be pressing decisions on restaffing HMC's ranks to sustain effective investment of the University's $25.9-billion endowment and other financial assets.

will study the world and other languages "not because of enlarged requirements… but as a result of a new set of opportunities." Less onerous course requirements and other changes have the aim of "bringing our students and faculty together in intensive, inescapable ways," particularly in small classes and learning groups.

Lofty though those these aims are, Kirby warns that the "history of our curricular reforms in the past century shows that Harvard has been better at making large curricular statements than it has been in improving the teaching of its undergraduates." At this juncture, "We should be pleased for this Faculty to engage in a firm defense of the ideals of liberal education…but only if…we really improve what we do here."

His letter also raises, indirectly, some of the chief obstacles. The proposed approach to general education depends on "summoning the Faculty to mount a new set of foundational courses to serve as portals to large and important areas of knowledge"—not always a priority for professors intent on pursuing research and training graduate students. Similarly, given "our severe deficiencies in academic advising"—a problem that looms larger if students exercise more freedom to choose courses—something tangible has to come out of the report on that subject.

Monique Rinere

COURTESY OF MONIQUE RINERE

Faculty members in fact devoted their December 6 meeting to advising. Harvard College dean Benedict H. Gross began the discussion by announcing the appointment of Monique Rinere, who has been at Princeton, as the first associate dean of advising programs. The new position, overseeing all undergraduate advising, was recommended by the curricular-review advising committee.

Ford professor of human evolution David Pilbeam, chair of the committee, reviewed its recommendations, which extend from informing pre-freshmen about possible course sequences to assisting upperclassmen with concentration concerns. He noted that one-quarter of first-year students, at most, have advisers who are academic personnel—just 60 or so ladder faculty (of 700) participate. He hoped to more than triple that number, and to invite informal advising, too, such as through panel discussions. Most of all, he urged colleagues to consider advising "an integral part of our role as teachers." Doing so, he acknowledged, requires both adviser and advisee to overcome a "culture of mutual avoidance."

Dillon professor of international affairs Jorge I. Domínguez described an ethos of

Sharing the Wealth

Distributions from the endowment now make up the largest source of Harvard's operating revenues: $855 million, or 31 percent of University income, in the fiscal year ended June 30, 2005. So the Corporation's annual decision on how much money to make available from the endowment is of pressing importance to the faculties. In the current fiscal year, a new two-tiered distribution formula yields a "base" 4 percent increase, plus as much as 4 percent more for agreed-upon "incremental" spending plans negotiated by deans and President Lawrence H. Summers (see "The Payout Payoff," March-April 2005, page 61).

Apparently satisfied with this approach, the Corporation in November again authorized a stepped increase in the distribution. For fiscal year 2007, beginning July 1, faculties can expect a 5 percent general increase in funds received, plus as much as 6 percent more for the targeted priorities. According to Ann E. Berman, vice president for finance and chief financial officer, the Corporation also issued "planning guidance" for fiscal years 2008 through 2010. The base distribution would rise 4 percent annually; the incremental distribution would be 4 percent in 2008, declining levelly to half that by the end of the three-year period.

In an interview, Berman noted that the richer distribution for 2007 is driven by the current low payout—the percentage of endowment market value distributed—which is, in turn, "driven by the endowment results." Very high returns on endowment investments in the late 1990s and the successful University Campaign (which raised $2.6 billion) prompted very large distributions to fund University operations. When returns turned negative in fiscal years 2001 and 2002, as Summers took office and began to set new priorities, the distribution was slashed to a low-single-digit rate of growth. Now, following double-digit investment returns for three consecutive fiscal years, the payout rate for 2006 has fallen to 4.3 percent of endowment value—the lowest figure since 2001, and below the Corporation's long-term goal of 4.5 to 5.0 percent. If the faculties are able to make full use of the base and incremental distributions in 2007, Berman said, the rate could rise toward 4.6 to 4.7 percent, assuming normal endowment investment returns.

This year, she said, the incremental funds have been applied to financial aid in every school. In addition, the funds were used to add faculty, or to boost faculty support (for example, in the form of summer research monies and resources for international work). Focusing on these priorities, she said, demonstrates that the University is using its available funds in a targeted way, before prospective donors in a future capital campaign are asked to lend additional support toward such goals.

To enforce that discipline, Berman disclosed, the incremental distributions come in the form of a separate pool of money each year, and will be similarly segregated in subsequent years, rather than rolling into each faculty's main stream of endowment revenue. In this way, the extra funds will have to remain dedicated to the purposes deans and the president negotiate, so long as the Corporation hews to the two-tiered system of distributing money to the schools.

THE UNIVERSITY

BREVIA

CASH CONSERVATION CRIMSON STYLE: The Harvard Financial Aid Initiative aims both to attract applicants and to enroll more students from modest economic circumstances. But what happens when they land in pricey Cambridge? This funky *Shoestring Strategies for Life @ Harvard,* by the initiative's student recruiters, covers everything from budgeting to buying used furniture and cheap(er) textbooks on line. There are tips on subsidized music lessons, free candy (available to participants in psychology experiments), gainful employment—and housing one's parents during the hideously expensive week of Commencement festivities.

Science Summer Camp

The College will run a pilot Program for Research in Science and Engineering (PRISE) this summer, from June 19 through August 25, following last spring's recommendation by the task force on Women in Science and Engineering. Students who secure research positions (in life or physical sciences, applied science, mathematics, or engineering) with professors in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard Medical School, Harvard School of Public Health, or affiliated hospitals or research centers will qualify. They will be eligible for housing, partial board, transportation to the Longwood Medical Area, and enrichment programs on laboratory practice, research ethics, fellowship and graduate- school applications, and other topics. The program (www.priselink.harvard.edu) aims to support women interested in scientific research and stem undergraduate attrition from science generally.

Social Security Scheme

Three finance experts have crafted an actuarially sound, nonpartisan plan for reforming Social Security and sustaining its solvency. The drafters are Kennedy School professor of public policy **Jeffrey B. Liebman** (author of "Reforming Social Security," March-April 2005, page 30), a former adviser to President Clinton; **Maya MacGuineas**, adviser to Senator John McCain's 2000 presidential campaign, now at the New America Foundation; and Dartmouth economics professor **Andrew Samwick**, chief economist of President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers for 2003-2004. They advocated trimming future benefits gradually, increasing the cap on payroll taxes, raising the retirement age, and funding personal retirement accounts with 1.5 percent of current payroll taxes and an additional, like amount from workers' wages. See www.nonpartisanssplan.com.

Medical Managers

The Medical School-Business School joint M.D./M.B.A. program, announced in 2004, admitted its first students this academic year. At a late-fall kickoff ceremony, physician **Daniel L. Vasella**, PMD '89, chairman and chief executive of Novartis, delivered the keynote remarks. Students must apply for admission to each school. They spend three years studying at the medical school, pursuing preclinical and clinical requirements (with a summer management internship after the first year); then take the first-year core business curriculum; and devote a fifth year to electives at each school. On graduation, they are qualified to pursue medical practice before beginning healthcare management or other career tracks.

Nota Bene

Branding the college. According to a January 11 posting on the University's employment website, the College seeks a "Director of Internal Communications," a new position, at salary grade 57 ($49,500-$84,100), "to assume leadership of branding efforts." Those efforts, "utilizing print and web media," will "further one of the strategic priorities of the college: building a Harvard College community" by creating a "unified brand" for publications and web-based media.

Directorates. Scott professor of law **Robert C. Clark**, past dean of the Law School and a scholar of corporate governance, recently found himself

***GAZETTE* GATES: Of special interest to architecture buffs and fanciers of wrought iron and brick is the textual, photographic, and Web-based multimedia presentation on the University's elaborate gates created by Ken Gewertz and colleagues in the Harvard News Office. First published in the December 15 *Gazette*, it is available on line at www.news.harvard.edu/gazette/2005/12.15/18-gates.html.**

in an unusual business conflict of interest. He joined the board of Time Warner in 2004, and of Lazard, the investment-banking firm, when it went public in 2005, under chief executive **Bruce J. Wasserstein**, J.D. '70, M.B.A. '71, a significant supporter of the school during Clark's deanship. When investor Carl C. Icahn retained Lazard to help him promote a restructuring of Time Warner, Clark's dual role attracted extensive attention, ultimately prompting him to resign from Lazard's board. Separately, departing University vice president for finance **Ann E. Berman** has been elected to the Loews Corporation board.

Genomic gains. The Broad Institute—a genomic-focused research enterprise involving Harvard, MIT, affiliated hospitals, and the Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research—has received a second $100-million contribution from **Eli** and **Edythe Broad** (see "Genomic Joint Venture," September-October 2003, page 75). Federal research grants and capital support from Harvard and MIT, plus the Broads' funds, underwrite work in chemical biology, genomics, genetics, and research on cancer and genetic diseases. On December 7, a week after the announcement, a Broad-led team reported that it had decoded the DNA of dogs, using a female boxer named **Tasha**, enabling scientists to decipher genetic variations among different dog breeds.

COURTESY OF BROAD INSTITUTE

Tasha

A,B,Cs at HBS. Harvard Business School acting dean **Jay O. Light** in December ended the seven-year prohibition on disclosure of grades. Members of future classes will now have the option of sharing their marks with prospective employers. Students objected, on the grounds that reverting to the school's historic practice would reduce collaborative study and classroom behavior, and discourage academic risk-taking.

Scientist's scolding. At a news conference following his Nobel laureate lecture in Stockholm, Mallinckrodt professor of physics **Roy J. Glauber** took the Bush administration to task for denying scientific evidence in making policy, and criticized members of Congress for allocating research funds on the basis of their political, rather than scientific, payoffs.

Pudding picks. Movie stars **Halle Berry** and **Richard Gere** were chosen Hasty Pudding Theatricals' 2006 People of the Year in the run-up to the club's 158th show, *Some Like It Yacht*.

Proteome probe. The Harvard-affiliated Dana-Farber Cancer Institute has established a proteomics center, with new equipment, scientists, and staff, to explore proteins and their functioning in normal and cancerous cells. The center was funded by a $16.5-million gift from **John F.** and **Shelley Blais**, of Framingham, Massachusetts. Assistant professor of biological chemistry and molecular pharmacology **Jarrod Marto** will direct the center.

STEVE GILBERT

Jarrod Marto

Miscellany. Graduate School of Arts and Sciences dean **Theda Skocpol** will also serve as the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study's senior adviser in the social sciences, helping to develop fellowships and programs in that field....The Harvard School of Public Health has appointed **Michael T. Huguenin** executive director of its Center for Risk Analysis (www.hcra.harvard.edu), which uses decision-science tools to find and educate the public about cost-effective solutions to health risks....Ruling that the state's public-records law does not extend to private institutions, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court rejected an effort by the *Harvard Crimson* to gain access to the University police department's written incident reports. The daily arrest and incident log *is* released for publication....During intersession, January 25-31, some 80 College students traveled to Louisiana and Mississippi to work on Hurricane Katrina clean-up and reconstruction, through a **Phillips Brooks House Association** program supported by the Coop....Long-time Kennedy School professor **William W. Hogan**, a specialist in energy economics, has been appointed the first Plank professor of global energy policy....The **Graduate School of Design's** postprofessional master in design studies program has overhauled its real estate and project management field, now three semesters long, to accommodate practitioners in development, finance, and public-sector careers.

Photograph by Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard News Office low expectation. During 32 years as a faculty member, he said, he had been asked to serve as an adviser exactly twice; several colleagues echoed that experience. He asked what deans and department chairs were doing to explain professors' duties in the curriculum under design.

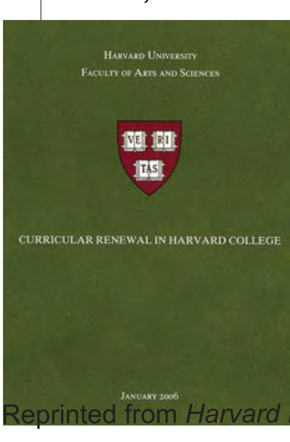
Other faculty members talked about securing departmental resources to pay for the costs of advising. Two House masters suggested bringing advisers to the students: in the evening, over snacks. But even those lures, others worried, would not overcome the scarcity of qualified advisers in large concentrations such as economics. That explains interest in peer advisers, and in drawing on professional-school expertise.

Whatever the specific issues, the problem overall looms large in some faculty members' minds. A week before FAS's first meeting of the term on curriculum issues, scheduled for February 7, the Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences professors (many of whom object to more liberal concentration requirements and the general education proposals) suggested improving advising before *any* curricular changes are adopted.

But the issue of faculty engagement remains. Professor of biological oceanography James J. McCarthy, master of Pforzheimer House, pointed to empty chairs (the meeting was the least well-attended to date of those on curriculum reform) and said, "It speaks to the problem."

The spirit of a solution was expressed by Loeb professor of classical art and archaeology David Gordon Mitten, who described nourishing advising relationships and offered hints about being informal, hanging out in hallways to meet students, and sending them occasional e-mails to check in or offer encouragement. Advising is a wonderful opportunity, he said. And of the students: "They're our bosses!"

Kirby said Harvard spent more on advising than any other college, but performed less well than it might. Given the resources, if the work were done right, it could be effective within current means. In that context, he was encouraged by what he termed the faculty's most extensive debate ever devoted to advising—and he took to heart the challenge to FAS leaders to make it an important faculty responsibility. The same principle animates his hope for the curriculum overhaul as a whole: a vision of liberal education, his January letter said, as "the shared endeavor of faculty and students alike."



Campaigning, College-Style

The Undergraduate Council (UC) unveiled 24-hour Lamont Library access and fatter grants for student groups early in the fall, but soon infuriated its constituents. It planned a concert featuring '90s rap artist Wyclef and sank $30,000 into a venture it was soon forced to cancel due to underwhelming student interest—fewer than half the tickets were sold. In the wake of a rained-out Springfest the previous semester, the Wyclef concert and social-life planning became major issues in an unusually contentious race for UC president. Instead of the expected contest of John Voith '07 and Tara Gadgil '07 versus John Haddock '07 and council outsider Anne Riley '07, the election offered the prospect of significant support swinging to dark-horse candidates Magnus Grimeland '07 and Thomas Hadfield '07.

An overview of the campaign:

- 11/19 —The domain name www.haddock-riley.com is purchased with a credit card later discovered to belong to John Voith.
- 11/28 —Campaigning starts at midnight.
- 11/28 —A joke campaign to elect the "Telepathic Chicken" appears in the *Harvard Crimson* comic strip "Low Table."
- 12/02 —An e-mail from a Voith-Gadgil staff member appears to bribe Grimeland-Hadfield, offering to "pay you back for all the money you spent in the campaign" and to "make sure magnus [*sic*] gets back in the UC." (Grimeland had been suspended for poor attendance; Voith and Gadgil sat on the committee considering his reinstatement.)
- 12/05 —The *Crimson* endorses the Voith-Gadgil campaign.
- 12/05 —On-line voting begins at noon.
- 12/05 —Entrepreneur Aleksei Boiko '06 sets up a website to buy and sell UC votes.
- 12/05 —The Harvard Republican Club and the Harvard-Radcliffe Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, Transgender, and Supporters Alliance publish a joint condemnation of the Voith-Gadgil campaign for apparently contradictory statements regarding the return of ROTC to campus. The groups endorse Grimeland-Hadfield and Haddock-Riley, respectively.
- 12/06 —The UC announces that the 1,812 students who have already voted will not be able to change their votes.
- 12/07 —The *Crimson* retracts its endorsement of the Voith-Gadgil campaign.
- 12/07 —Boiko's site closes; more than 30 students offered to sell, but no one bought.
- 12/08 —The *Crimson* runs an article titled "As Polls Close, Race Still Too Close to Call."
- 12/09 —Haddock and Riley win 59 percent of the vote, ahead of Grimeland-Hadfield (23 percent) and Voith-Gadgil (17 percent). The "Telepathic Chicken" receives no votes at all, doomed by new electronic voting software that does not allow write-ins.

"I had a fantastic bunch of people working for me," says new UC president John Haddock, reflecting on the race. "And now that the campaign is over, it's time to move forward." Among his goals? Earn back the student body's respect for the UC.

~John La Rue

SPORTS

Speeding in the Lanes

Harvard's undefeated women swimmers move sleekly through the water—and past all opponents.

World-class aquawomen: butterfly specialist Noelle Bassi (left) and breaststroker Jaclyn Pangilinan, wearing their Harvard team swimsuits at Blodgett Pool. Opposite: Pangilinan (left) and Bassi take a lap together. Both women also compete in individual medley for the Crimson squad, which is 20-0 for the past two seasons.

Last february, the powerhouse Harvard women's swimming and diving squad rolled into Princeton for the three-day Ivy championship meet, hoping to seize its first Ivy conference title since 1992. (The meets alternate between Harvard and Princeton, the only colleges with suitable facilities; the host institution supplies the officials.) Princeton had won five consecutive times, starting in 2000. The Crimson came in second in 2003, and in 2004 finished only 16.5 points behind the Tigers (1,361 to 1,344.5). But in 2005, Harvard entered the meet with an undefeated 10-0 record.

Yet on the first day of competition, the Crimson dug itself a hole. Its 400-yard medley relay team, which was cruising to victory by a wide margin, was disqualified when an official said Harvard's last swimmer entered the water before her teammate had touched. The Princeton crowd cheered the disqualification, which meant that, instead of 64 points for the win, Harvard scored nothing. Princeton finished the day in the lead by 17.5 points.

Harvard women's relay teams have been disqualified at three of the last four championship meets at Princeton's DiNunzio Pool, though nowhere else. So last winter's disqualification in a won race could have been disheartening. It wasn't. Swimming meets are won or lost in the preliminary heats, and on the morning of day two, Harvard women dominated them.

The Ivy championships score points for the top 24 swimmers in the heats: the fastest eight make the finals, the next group (places 9 through 16) swim the consolation, and the third group (places 17 through 24) swim the "bonus." "If you make the [evening] finals, then you can't score lower than eighth place," says Stephanie Wriede Morawski '92, Ed.M. '99, head coach of women's swimming and diving. "The big thing is doing it in the morning; you've got to get *into* the finals." Get in they did—in droves, and in all four swimming strokes: freestyle, backstroke, breaststroke, and butterfly (or 'fly). Harvard did win the championship, drowning the Tigers by 226 points, 1,615 to 1,389; Brown, in third place, was more than 600 points back.

The undefeated season and dominance at the Ivy meet spotlighted a deep Harvard squad that boasts a few superstars. This year they again went undefeated (10-0) and, by January, ranked twenty-third in the nation after edging out a powerful Rutgers squad, 150-149. "We have tons of talent," says Morawski, now in her ninth year as head coach, noting that Harvard had three sophomores at the 2004 Olympic trials: breaststroker Jaclyn Pangilinan (pan-jill-e-nan), freestyle and butterfly specialist Bridget O'Connor, and backstroker Lindsay Hart. Junior Noelle Bassi was also there in the butterfly.

"It's not just about the clock and the times they go, it's about *racing*," says Morawski. "It doesn't matter what it takes; their goal is to beat the person in the next lane. I've seen women who are absolutely shocked at how fast they went. It's a lot more enjoyable to race someone than to race the clock." At meets, Morawski usually places swimmers in lanes alongside their major rivals, though on occasion she likes to put someone in an outside lane, she says, so "she won't be noticed."

Swimming is unique among sports because the 80-degree water provides a con-

Photographs by Stu Rosner

stant cooling effect. Consequently, "We can train at higher levels and over longer periods of time than any other sport," says Morawski, who was a two-time all-American herself and went to the 1988 and 1992 Olympic trials in breaststroke. The Harvard women do train exceptionally hard, working on different energy systems every day and using props like paddles or buoys to isolate arm or leg motions in the water. "Every [regular season] meet they swim, they swim tired," Morawski says. "We don't back off on training in order to race, because the only way to build endurance and power is to train uninterruptedly."

That changes toward the end of the season, when the team targets peak performance; then, the swimmers take an extended "taper" of reduced workouts—perhaps 10 days of taper for distance swimmers, or as much as six weeks for 50- and 100-yard sprinters. The reduced workload builds a reserve of energy that explodes from the starting blocks in a big competition like the Ivy championships, the NCAAs, or the world's fastest swimming meet, the U.S. Olympic trials. (Overall, heats at the U.S. trials are even faster than those at the Olympic Games, reflecting the unusual depth of swimming talent in the States.)

Before big meets, male and female swimmers also shave their bodies, which does more than decrease drag through the water. "When you fully shave, you're exfoliating the top layer of your skin, and exposing the pores," Morawski explains. "The feeling you get when you dive in is fantastic, as if you're smooth and gliding through the water effortlessly." The advent of swimsuits that reach the ankles—"fast suits"—is "sort of taking away the need for the shave," she notes, but can't replace its psychological effect.

Two of the fastest Crimson aquawomen grew up only a few miles apart in New Jersey. Noelle Bassi '07 of Franklin Lakes had a swimming pool in her backyard; a YMCA teacher gave her lessons there when she was only three years old. Bassi was a decisive child. "I don't want to dance anymore," she told her mother on the day of her dance recital at the age of four. "I want to swim." Bassi did twice-daily workouts in middle school and made her first national cut as a freshman at Mercersburg Academy in Pennsylvania. The next year she was fast enough to make the U.S. trials cut for the Sydney Olympics. She matriculated at the University of Tennessee on a full athletic scholarship, but transferred to Harvard after one year: "It was too far from home," she says, "and not the place for me."

Tennessee did not release Bassi to compete in her sophomore year, so even though she trained with the team, she couldn't race for Harvard. But she did win gold in her best event, the 200-meter butterfly, at the 2004 U.S. nationals. With additional qualifying times in the 100-meter fly and the 400-meter individual medley, she went to the 2004 Olympic trials, finishing sixth in the 200-meter fly. (Only the top two swimmers went to Athens.)

Jaclyn Pangilinan did swim at Athens,

for the Philippines' Olympic squad, finishing twentieth overall in the 200-meter breaststroke and thirty-third in the 100-meter breaststroke; she holds the Philippines' national records in those events. Although her hometown is Clifton, New Jersey, Pangilinan established dual citizenship with the Philippines early in 2004; her father, a native Filipino, emigrated to the United States in his twenties.

Pangilinan took an entourage of 14 relatives to Athens, but she herself enjoyed living with 15,000 other athletes in the Olympic Village. "It was an amazing feeling, to go into this huge cafeteria and be surrounded by some of the greatest athletes in the world," she recalls. "Everyone is on the same level—LeBron James and Andy Roddick were right there; you could walk up and talk to them."

Pangilinan danced longer than Bassi: she studied tap and jazz for nine years. She started swimming at nine ("kind of old," she says) and once beat a friend at a country-club lap race. "I liked it!" she says. By the age of 10, she was at the top of her age group for all YMCA swimmers in the country. At 14 she found coach Ilan Noach of the White Plains, New York, "Middies" swim club, and has worked with him ever since. In high school, that meant driving nearly an hour each way to practices from 4 to 6 p.m. on weekdays, plus a Sunday workout from 6 to 8 a.m.

"Jackie has great feel for the water," says Morawski, "and tremendous strength in her legs, a powerful kick. Her turns are very strong." Pangilinan swims the 200-yard individual medley for Harvard as well as her breaststroke specialties. Last year she was undefeated in the 100-yard breaststroke in dual meets, and lost only

Winter Sports

Basketball

The **women's** team (7-11, 3-2 Ivy) had a bumpy start against non-Ivy opponents, but took out Yale, Columbia, and Cornell, all by comfortable margins, to open league competition. With an average of 11.0 points per game, freshman Katie Rollins led the scoring.

The **men's** team (12-7, 4-2 Ivy) started strongly and beat Dartmouth twice, plus Brown and Columbia, while falling to Yale and Cornell. Guard Jim Goffredo '07 led the scoring with a 16.2 average per game.

Ice Hockey

The **icemen** (13-7-5, 5-4 Ivy) were inconsistent, able to beat teams as strong as Boston College (5-3) but also to lose, badly (5-1), to severe underdogs like Dartmouth.

The **women's** team (10-7-4, 3-2-3 Ivy) split two games with Dartmouth and tied two with Brown, including the first scoreless tie in program history, a 0-0 result at home.

once in the 200—to teammate LeeAnn Chang '07. At the H-Y-P meet, freshman Pangilinan handed Princeton's all-Ivy senior Stephanie Hsiao the only defeat of the latter's four-year career in the 100-yard breaststroke. "She was ahead the whole race, but I came from behind in the last five yards," Pangilinan recalls. At the NCAA meet in 2005, she finished fifteenth and lowered Harvard's previous record (set by Morawski) with a 2:13.98 time in the 200-yard breaststroke. Pangilinan and her teammates wouldn't mind setting a few more records this season, and repeating as Ivy champions at the season-ending meet in Blodgett Pool. ~CRAIG LAMBERT

Olympic Harvard

Visit this magazine's website (www.harvardmagazine.com/on-line/030655.html) for an account of the special Alumni College program on Harvard in the Olympics.

UNDERGRADUATE

Fashion Forward

by ELIZABETH S. WIDDICOMBE '06

The spotlights are on and the music is pounding. I am sitting close to the edge of a stage in the darkened Bright Hockey Center, gaping as my fellow Harvard students parade above me in blazers with no shirts underneath, and sometimes just a sprinkling of strategically placed paper lilies. I'm not alone: 1500 of us have turned out for *Eleganza*—the popular charity fashion show run under the auspices of BlackCAST (Harvard Black Community and Student Theater). A showcase of trends, this event is in some ways a trend in itself. For an increasingly visible set of undergraduates, fashion—the runway kind—has acquired a new significance, becoming both an avowed interest and a professional pursuit.

The idea of Harvard students strutting around in bikinis (and in the case of one brave male, a satin robe that was dropped to reveal a black G-string) might seem to some observers a death knell for both fashion *and* the University. But no one who's been to *Eleganza* can escape its positive energy. Now entering its twelfth year, it attracts one of the most diverse audiences of any campus spectacle—whether by race, nationality, or type of interest—to enjoy what one of its co-producers, Tessa Petrich '07, calls "pop culture."

"It's something different," says Petrich, an ex-varsity athlete who occasionally makes her own clothing. "It's a chance, maybe for one night a year, for us to be normal college students, to show that we can just be young and really have fun with fashion and clothing and music."

Over the years, *Eleganza* has benefited from controversy surrounding its risqué reputation, attracting ever-larger audiences and becoming near-professional in the scale of its production. In 2005, two major student-run projects joined it: Lewis Albert, the launch of an undergraduate's line of designer clothing; and *Haute*, a more style-focused charity fashion show, in its third year.

As an armchair follower of style, I viewed these developments with interest rather than shock. It's true: fashion is not fundamentally intellectual, nor does it pretend to be. But through it, Harvard students are finding a means to express themselves creatively and develop real-world skills—endeavors to which they bring a characteristic mix of brainpower and ambition. In the process, they're leaving their own imprint on a field rarely touched by their predecessors, and engaging in new ways with a set of tensions that always exist here.

"I think more people are embracing fashion these days," says Lewis Remele '06. "The age of the supermodel is kind of dead. It was totally unheard of until five years ago that you would have actresses on the cover of fashion magazines. But there's been a coming together of fashion and mainstream pop culture."

It's a trend Remele is counting on to fuel his career. Wearing a cashmere scarf and blue jeans, he's just wrapped up an interview with the *Boston Herald* about his line of designer women's clothing, which he produced this year in collaboration with a friend, Liz Whitman '06. Remele, who has been sketching dresses since he was seven or eight, says he hadn't planned to become a designer so soon, but Whitman, a history concentrator with experience ranging from costume styling to photography, persuaded him that she could help get the dresses made. It would be expensive—Remele wanted to use natural fabrics like wool and silk—but she thought they could cover their costs. Having interned on the business side of *Vogue* the previous summer, she knew a thing or two about marketing.

Remele spent weeks researching, plan-

Drawings by Lewis Albert

ning, and drawing the looks for his first collection. An art-history concentrator, he decided to model his designs on his other main interest: architecture. His 31 pieces channel Russian constructivism and art deco detailing in dresses like "The Chrysler," whose blue satin straps echo the spires of the New York landmark. He and Whitman came up with the brand name Lewis Albert—using his middle name—and a marketing strategy: Whitman secured funding from private donors to have Remele's drawings made into samples in New York's Garment District, and she organized a runway launch in Boston to generate publicity.

The launch was for-profit, created to sell the clothes on display, and therefore entirely different from *Eleganza*, on which Whitman had worked the year before. She says she kept it minimalist and short, in the style of designer fashion shows, using models from a Boston agency instead of Harvard students to focus attention on the clothes. The show did the trick, generating plenty of press coverage and interest: the dresses and suits sold quickly at two subsequent trunk shows—one in Cambridge and a second in Remele's hometown, Minneapolis. After recouping their production costs, he and Whitman still had more than $60,000—enough to launch them into New York this February, where Remele's second line competed with other young but established designers like Zac Posen.

Back in Cambridge, however, Remele walked a difficult tightrope between his lives as professional designer and Harvard undergraduate. Student publications pointed to the stiff prices of the clothes—from $250 to more than twice that per item—to suggest that his sales profited from connections to well-heeled students. Remele admits that his line was aimed at a "niche market" among students, but adds that he could not have gotten it off the ground for lower prices. "It's a show of support," he says of the friends who bought from him, "like the classic case of alumni who see it of social value to support the ballet." He describes clothing design, despite its commercial element, as a way to support an artistic career: "Like architecture, it's a really functional art. If you choose to take it seriously and try to endow it with meaning, you can."

Within the fashion industry, ironically, he encountered another kind of skepticism: his Harvard affiliation detracted from his artistic credibility. When he and a group of College friends, including Whitman, went to meet a fashion critic at the *Improper Bostonian*—all of them neatly dressed and armed with a portfolio, samples, and promotional materials—Remele says she greeted them with howls of laughter, and told him never to let on where he had gone to college.

"At any other interview I would be trying to act as straight-laced as possible to gain credibility," he says. "Now here I am trying to pretend I am, like, less serious."

One student group has, in fact, taken on the ambitious goal of bridging the mutual distrust between Harvard and the fashion industry. Last winter, after they finished the second annual production of *Haute*—a fashion show that raises funds for low-income women—Kristin O'Neill '07, Alex Tan '06, and Chelsae Smith '08 longed to fill what they saw as a void for students interested in both fashion and the arts. They came up with the Harvard Vestis Council, a group whose aim would be jointly to "promote art and the art of fashion" and to help students find careers in "alternative" industries. According to O'Neill, within three weeks of its founding, Vestis (the name comes from the Latin word for clothing) had attracted more than 100 members, including, to their surprise, quite a few men.

Both explicitly preprofessional and an extracurricular activity, Vestis falls some-

where between *Eleganza* and a project like Remele's. Its members set up general-interest events, such as a gallery talk at the Fogg called "When Fashion Meets Fine Arts" featuring professors from the School of the Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard's department of visual and environmental studies. And they work with the Office of Career Services (OCS) to plan recruiting programs along the lines of those that already exist in fields like banking and consulting. Last year, Vestis helped put together a panel with retailers including Liz Claiborne, L'Oreal, and the Gap, where students split into groups and tried out mini-merchandising projects—for example, how to package and promote a new line of "premium-blend" jeans.

Having secured a hefty grant from the Undergraduate Council (which doesn't get many appeals from fashion groups) O'Neill and Tan set out to make this year's *Haute* into a professional-grade show. Besides raising money for charity, O'Neill says the show's purpose is "to represent something that's really creative and that's student-run. We wanted to do something that's theatrical *and* a fashion show, to give people an experience they might not have had here." They formed a production board, drawing on Vestis's membership, and gathered clothes from a hodgepodge of sources: Japanese couturier Yohji Yamamoto (who happened to have a Harvard student working in his PR department), Remele's line, corporate sponsors like Banana Republic, and vintage clothing donated by local stores. O'Neill reworked many of the pieces on a sewing machine with the help of her sister, a freshman at New York University. Then she and Tan styled them into 87 "looks," using the dark palate of John Singer Sargent's *Portrait of Madame X* for inspiration. The show, staged at the Arrow Street Theater, starred Harvard students as models, and depicted a series of moody "scenes" set to music. Drawing a crowd of nearly 300, it tripled the amount raised for charity during the previous year.

For O'Neill, who considered attending Parsons School of Design before she settled on Harvard, fashion has always been a potential career: her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother came from a long line of seamstresses, and her grandfather designed for Dior in the 1940s. But Tan, a longtime fan of musical theater who just completed a thesis on *West Side Story*, says she used to dream of being a doctor before considering the entertainment business. She was drawn to *Haute* because of its resonance with performance-based art, but she says the experience has made her want to work in luxury retail.

In recent years, the business side of fashion has had growing appeal for Harvard students, observes Nancy Saunders of OCS. She says OCS began setting up information sessions two years ago in response to student queries. Today, these events are "always well attended," while recruiting programs of the kind Vestis sponsors tend to draw between 50 and 70 participants. Whitman, who has deferred law school to run Lewis Albert next year, has a theory to explain this: "I think there's a reversion to trying alternative jobs, and to wanting some sort of autonomous position in today's world," she says. "Women especially are looking for opportunities to be more flexible and to set their own hours…and in the fashion industry, if you are very educated, you can make huge strides forward." At only 22, she is a living example of this strategy: she will be chief executive of her own company next year, setting her own hours and her own agenda.

But even for students not interested in fashion per se, events like *Haute* and *Eleganza* can have all-purpose appeal—combining elements of production, management, and creativity that look good on any résumé. Alissa Gordon '06, an English concentrator who worked on both *Eleganza* and the launch of Lewis Albert, says she hopes to translate her experience into a career in business. In the past few years, she says, Harvard students have used the historic lack of campus fashion activities to become trailblazers: "There's an entrepreneurial bug at Harvard. Everyone's trying to start something new, to get their name on an idea from the ground into fruition. In fashion, there wasn't much of a preexisting structure on campus, so I think that was very exciting for people."

When I buy my last ticket to *Eleganza* this April, I expect that most people in the crowd around me, as always, will be going on to careers in medicine, banking, and public service, and that's certainly a good thing. However, I don't think we're any worse off now that a vocal minority plans on making or selling clothes for a living. No generation has existed without its pop culture, designers, and trends. Watching my peers engage with these forces is, for me, another sign of the range of interests that makes life here so interesting. I find it heartening that, somewhere along the line, a few of them have decided to sketch elegant dresses—or simply take the stage in robes and paper lilies.

Berta Greenwald Ledecky Undergraduate Fellow Elizabeth S. Widdicombe '06, a history and literature concentrator, appreciates many styles.

Three for the Road


JON CHASE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

Thanks to Rhodes and Marshall Scholarships, three current Harvard students will do their research in England next year. Senior **Jay A.H. Butler** (at left), of Eliot House and Paget, Bermuda, was named that island's 2006 Rhodes Scholar. The history concentrator plans to study law at Exeter College, Oxford. Ensign **William Kelly** (near left) of New York City, a 2005 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy who is pursuing a master's degree in public policy at the Kennedy School, has won an American Rhodes; he will study in Oxford's global-governance program. Senior **Lauren Schuker** (far left), of Kirkland House and Cambridge, who won a Marshall Scholarship, will enroll at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. The history and literature concentrator hopes to use art to look at historical change after World War II.


STEPHANIE MITCHELL/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE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ALUMNI

Nothing to Fear

Travels with a snake lover

At left: Kate Jackson with *Nerodia sipedon,* the snake that started it all, at Lake Ontario. Above: In the Republic of Congo, Jackson exultantly displays two (dead) cobras.

Few people devote their lives to creatures that have frightened and killed humans throughout history. Herpetologist Kate Jackson, Ph.D. '02, whose work with venomous snakes has led her to remote Africa and Latin America, cannot explain her own fascination, except to say that it predates kindergarten.

The first live snake she saw, at about age five, was a *Nerodia sipedon* (a common water snake), which her sister accidentally threw at her in a pail of water while they played on the shore of Lake Ontario. Her parents indirectly fed the passion. "I went to a French school in Toronto, and to make sure that I learned French, they gave me books on reptiles, because they knew I would feel compelled to read them," Jackson says.

Scientific aspirations came early. At 11, she dreamt of being curator of the Jersey Wildlife Preservation Trust in the Channel Islands—a pioneering zoo for conservation—so her parents took her there. "I wrote a letter, and the assistant curator wrote me back suggesting books I could read, and which animals would make good pets," she says. In junior high school, a biology teacher let her keep a few pets in the classroom, and paid for an enclosure for the alligator.

Even by academic standards, Jackson's dedication and daring fieldwork are unusual. "She is a congenital herpetologist—the woman loves serpents," says Agassiz professor of zoology Farish A. Jenkins Jr., who sat on her dissertation committee. "We have wonderful students—one, now, who is extremely intense about hairy frogs—but Kate is truly different. Someone who loves venomous snakes has to be a little eccentric."

Her dissertation examined the morphology and evolution of snakes' venom-delivery apparatus. This entailed getting cobra eggs from a zoo, on the condition they not be allowed to hatch. "I didn't know what the incubation period was—they hadn't been studied before—and every day I was opening one egg" to document its development, she explains. "One day, when a little snake came out and spread its hood and hissed at me, I thought, 'This is as close to hatching as I want to go.'"

Her doctoral supervisor, James Hanken, professor of biology and curator of herpetology and director of the Museum of Comparative Zoology (MCZ), praises her contributions as a "very good, popular" teacher and scientist. Using new information gained by biologists in the last 20 years about relationships among species on a molecular level, Jackson exhaustively reexamined the evolution of snakes' venom glands, associated muscles, and fangs. She pored over eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific literature and conducted her own dissections, elec-

Photographs courtesy of Kate Jackson

tron microscopy, and detailed embryologic studies. "It's not like people hadn't looked at these things before," Hanken says, "but it's rare to find anyone who considers all the data simultaneously."

Jackson concluded that the earliest venom-delivery apparatus formed in the Miocene (between 25 million and 10 million years ago), and that later, three separate lineages independently evolved more sophisticated versions, a process called convergent evolution. ("The exciting thing," Hanken adds, "now that we have more robust information on relationships, is that there seem to be more instances of parallel evolution than people had suspected previously.") She also found significant evidence that, counterintuitively, harmless snakes evolved from poisonous ones, losing a presumed advantage.

Jackson has no interest in the role snakes have played in legends and mythology across cultures, or in their various symbolic meanings; "I just like the real thing," she says (see www.zoo.utoronto.ca/kjackson). "The science I do is unfashionable. I don't study molecules in a lab. I do the kind of fundamental exploration that scientists did 200 years ago to study [the earth's] mammals. We're just way behind on amphibians and reptiles." Such singlemindedness has aided her career as a scientist and explorer, but probably contributed to her unwillingness to follow Hanken's advice about shaping her dissertation so that it would appeal to potential employers. "She's very persistent, which is good in the field," he says. "But she can be stubborn."

In her makeshift laboratory in Congo, Jackson takes tissue samples from a recent catch.

She was known as a risk-taker within the department. In 1997, she went to the relatively stable Republic of Congo (not the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo) to collect specimens for the MCZ. Toward the end of the trip, she had to be airlifted out of the forest to a Camaroon hospital where she spent 10 days recovering from a swamp-borne, systemic infection that began in a tiny scratch on her leg. The initial dizziness hit her while she was alone in the forest and worsened as she lurched and swayed along, following a trail of thread she had unspooled to mark a return path to the satellite camp, where she collapsed in the tent with a high fever. Two fellow researchers nursed her through the night and helped get her back to the base camp and then on to a French lumber camp, from which she was evacuated two days later.

Poisonous snakes, her specialty, offer their own set of dangers. Neurotoxins released in a bite gradually paralyze the body but leave the victim conscious until the very end. "What kills you is that the diaphragm stops moving and the heart stops beating," Jackson explains. She has had a few close calls. She let a "playful little snake" slither through her fingers more than once before realizing that it was a baby forest cobra and laying it down "gently—no sudden moves," embarrassed that she had misidentified the creature. "We have all taken risks and made mistakes in the field and gotten away with it," she says. But not always. In 2001, internationally known herpetologist Joseph Slowinski, on his eleventh trip to Burma, with dozens of researchers, was bitten by a baby krait no thicker than a pencil—and up to 15 times more deadly than a cobra. He died before a rescue helicopter arrived.

Last year, Jackson approached Hanken about funding an independent research trip—a return visit to Congo. He refused. "Congo is a politically difficult place to work," he explains. "And a dangerous place to go." Farish Jenkins, a paleontologist, concurs. "To go to Congo alone is kind of crazy," he says. "I mean, I go to the Arctic with collaborators and I'm armed to the teeth."

Nevertheless, Jackson traveled in September to the remote Likouala District of northern Congo, having wrapped up her postdoctoral position at the University of Toronto. (She studied the sensory organs of three crocodiles housed in the department lab, and was the only one who would pick them up.) Once in Congo, essentially on her own, she waited three weeks in vain for a local wildlife-refuge official to give her a collecting permit. Finally she decided to pay a local Bantu chief to let her camp adjacent to the refuge with a hired cook and a guide, two tarpaulins, mosquito nets, and some pots and pans.

The trio lived together on a rare dry patch of land surrounded by flooded forests for five weeks during the rainy season and collected about 130 specimens of rare snakes, lizards, and frogs (including at least one species that may be completely new to the scientific community), all of them destined for the Smithsonian Institution, which paid for much of the trip. "Central Africa is sort of a black hole for herpetology," says Jackson. "There are tons of places to go where no herpetologist has ever been and where, within a couple hundred kilometers, you find no overlap in species. It is that diverse."

Money in Congo for such scientific endeavors is scarce. One professor she met at Brazzaville University had a fledgling fish collection in old mayonnaise and jam jars, but had so little formalin that only half of each creature could be preserved. "A lot of biodiversity in Africa is being lost at a terribly fast rate," confirms James Hanken. "Many species that have not yet even been formally described are probably going to go extinct before they are named."

Jackson herself hopes to publish a book on the largely undocumented snakes of Central Africa, research begun during her first visit to Congo. In addition to collecting for the Smithsonian, she is working with the Congolese National Laboratory on Public Health to reduce deaths from snakebite (a significant problem, because virtually no antivenoms are available). She is also seeking to train Congolese graduate students in biodiversity techniques and hoping to open a small local museum of fauna, "so they don't have to rely on researchers like me to tell them what they've got."

Every day in the field, Jackson and her guide, Etienne Bokobela, waded into the forest's waters—chest-deep in some places—to check the fishnets they used to catch snakes that swim along the surface. "It was like Christmastime," she says. "You get to see what you've got." One day something was thrashing about furiously. Using all her strength, Jackson lifted the net and saw a snake whose head and neck were as thick as her forearm.

They had a water cobra (*Boulengerina annulata*) that turned out to be six and a half feet long. The 24-inch tongs she used to grab snakes from the water were useless; her hemostat wouldn't open wide enough to go around its head. She threw a snake bag at its mouth and "while it had its teeth in the bag, I went in, lightning fast, and grabbed its neck and held on tight, because it was wet and slippery," she recalls. "If it had gotten out even a centimeter, it would have bitten me. Cobras are not as fast as vipers, but they are more clever."

Once she had it by the throat, Bokobela cut off the netting with his machete. They carried the creature back to camp, emptied out the largest plastic supply bin they had, threw in a cloth doused with chloroform, and Jackson pushed the snake in, head-first, and shut the lid. "I was trying at that point to slow it down a little bit so I could take it out—I wanted a picture of a live snake, not a dead one," she explains. "And that's a dodgy decision to make, because they can recover quite quickly once they get some clean air in their lungs." She got her photograph—and measurements. Then she killed the snake, removed a piece of its liver for DNA sequencing, injected the carcass with formalin, wrapped it in toilet paper (they were out of cheesecloth), and stored it in a plastic bag.

Jackson says convincingly that she feels no fear while working. "It doesn't occur to me. People are frightened by different things," she explains. "It is just in my character to be brave and reckless and independent." On her apartment wall hangs a poster of the great British admiral Horatio Nelson, whom she has revered since she was 10. "He conquered Napoleon on the seas and he did it by ignoring orders to retreat and forging ahead," she says. "He lost an eye and an arm, but he won the battle."

Jackson's recent spoils include the water cobra, a species of frog she thinks has not been mentioned in the literature since 1924, and a roadkill snake possibly

Ballots, Please

This spring, alumni vote for a new group of Harvard Overseers and for elected directors of the Harvard Alumni Association (HAA) board.

Ballots should arrive in the mail by April 15 and must be received back in Cambridge by noon on June 2 to be counted. Results of the election will be announced at the HAA's annual meeting on June 8, on the afternoon of Commencement day. All holders of Harvard degrees, except Corporation members and officers of instruction and government, are entitled to vote for Overseer candidates. The election for HAA directors is open to all alumni.

For Overseer (six-year term, five to be elected):

Arne S. Duncan '86. Chicago. CEO, Chicago Public Schools.

Sandra Faber, Ph.D. '72. Monte Serena, Calif. Professor of astronomy, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Leila T. Fawaz, Ph.D. '79. Cambridge. Professor of history and diplomacy, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

Ricardo H. Hinojosa, J.D. '75. McAllen, Texas. U.S. District Court judge.

Henry W. McGee III '74, M.B.A. '79. New York City. President, HBO Video.

Ann Moore, M.B.A. '78. New York City. Chairman and CEO, Time Inc.

Emily Pulitzer, A.M. '63. St. Louis. President, Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts.

Robert N. Shapiro '72, J.D. '78. Cambridge. Partner, Ropes & Gray, Boston.

For Elected Director (three-year term, six to be elected):

Neal Baer, Ed.M '79, A.M. '82, M.D. '96. Toluca Lake, Calif. Executive producer, NBC's *Law & Order: SVU,* Universal City, Calif.

Jeffrey Behrens '89. Newton, Massachusetts. Principal, Adviza Consulting.

James Bell '89. Greenwich, Conn. Executive producer, *Today Show,* NBC News, New York City.

Mary McGrath Carty '74. Belmont, Massachusetts. Executive director, The Lenny Zakim Fund, Boston.

Linda Hotchkiss '74, M.D. '78. Grosse Pointe, Michigan. Physician, Trinity Health Organization.

Patrik Johansson, M.P.H. '01. Washington, D.C. Physician; instructor of social medicine, Harvard Medical School; Kerr White visiting scholar, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality; native investigator, University of Colorado Health Sciences Center.

Linda Kartoz-Doochin, M.B.A. '79. Nashville. Community volunteer.

Linda Niessen, D.M.D. '77, M.P.H. '77, M.P.P. '82. Dallas. Vice president, clinical education, Dentsply International.

Christina Tchen '78. Chicago. Partner, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, LLP.

The HAA nominating committee proposes Overseer and elected director candidates each year. The committee's 13 voting members include three current or former Overseers and 10 other alumni chosen by the HAA executive committee. Overseer and HAA elected-director candidates may also be nominated by means of petitions signed by a prescribed number of eligible degree holders and filed by a set date early in the year.

not known to exist previously in Congo. At press time, she was at the Smithsonian to begin the identification and cataloging process.

Meanwhile, another trip to Congo is in store—as soon as she finds funding, and a new job. Jackson does not fit neatly into any academic spot; a museum with a strong fieldwork program might be ideal. "What I don't want, after 25 years of knowing that I want to be a herpetologist, is to get a job teaching human physiology to undergraduates," she says. "I'm not that interested in humans." ~NELL PORTER BROWN

HAA Clubs Committee Awards

THE HAA CLUBS COMMITTEE presents two annual awards for contributions to Harvard clubs.

Recipients of the 2005 **Outstanding Club Contribution Award** are:

William D. ("Dren") Geer Jr. '56, of Sarasota, Florida. Geer has been active on the Harvard Club of Sarasota's board for nearly a decade, and is the current club president. His contributions include the development of a "Teacher of the Year" program through which the club recognizes a local teacher who is given a stipend and invited to a Harvard Graduate School of Education (GSE) summer seminar; the trip is paid for by the club and the local school board. Geer is also working on further collaborations between the Sarasota County schools and the GSE that could result in a model program that could be used nationwide.

Rodney D. Hardy '60, of Edina, Minnesota. Hardy has twice served as president of the Harvard Club of Minnesota, most recently in 2004-2005. He and his successor, Todd Peterson '84, M.B.A. '87, oversaw the club's transformation into a University-wide organization. This included merging with the previously independent Harvard Business School Club of Minnesota and inviting alumni from all the University's graduate and professional schools to join the new organization. In preparation for its 125th anniversary, the club also waived 2005–2006 dues, which has resulted in a 10-fold rise in membership. Hardy, who is also a leader of his class, has served as HAA regional director for the North Central States and is a longstanding HAA committee member.

The Harvard Clubs of Chile and Switzerland won **Club Recognition Awards.**

The **Harvard Club of Chile** has been a model of revitalization, largely due to the expansion of its board to include representatives of the professional schools and to its significant outreach activities. To better serve and engage alumni in Chile and neighboring countries, the club has sponsored a series of academic and social events, including a dinner with Chile's minister of justice, Luis Bates. The club has also worked closely with the regional office of Harvard's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies to help Harvard students studying in Chile, and now plans to create a scholarship fund for Chilean students attending Harvard.

The **Harvard Club of Switzerland** has an outstanding participation record, with 910 current members, many of them graduates of the Business School. The club offers an efficient on-line system for paying dues and is developing a website. Another key to its success is a committee and board structure that offers "stability, clear leadership, and representation from different alumni constituencies and regions." Alumni participate in a well-promoted series of 14 events annually.

Comings and Goings

UNIVERSITY CLUBS offer a variety of stimulating gatherings. Here is a list of Harvard-affiliated speakers appearing at local clubs this winter. For details, contact the club in question, call the HAA (617-495-3070), or go to www.haa.harvard.edu.

On March 2, the **Harvard Club of Broward County** hosts Thier professor of medicine David Blumenthal for a talk on "The History and Politics of Medicare." Also on March 2, Cabot professor of social ethics and Pforzheimer professor of Radcliffe Mahzarin Banaji will discuss "Mind Bugs: The Psychology of Ordinary Prejudice" at a **Graduate School of Arts and Sciences** event at the **Harvard Club of New York**

A Special Notice Regarding Commencement Exercises

Morning Exercises, Thursday, June 8, 2006

To accommodate the increasing number of those wishing to attend Harvard's Commencement Exercises, the following guidelines are proposed to facilitate admission into Tercentenary Theatre on Commencement morning:

- Degree candidates will receive a limited number of tickets to Commencement. Parents and guests of degree candidates *must* have tickets, which they will be required to show at the gates in order to enter Tercentenary Theatre. Seating capacity is limited, however there is standing room on the Widener steps and at the rear and sides of the Theatre for viewing the exercises.

Note: A ticket allows admission into the Theatre, but does not guarantee a seat. The sale of Commencement tickets is prohibited.

- Alumni/ae attending their major reunions (25th, 35th, 50th) will receive tickets at their reunions. Alumni/ae in classes beyond the 50th may obtain tickets from the Classes and Reunions Office, 124 Mount Auburn Street, sixth floor, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.
- Alumni/ae from non-major reunion years and their spouses are requested to view the Morning Exercises over large-screen televisions situated in the Science Center, Sanders Theatre, most of the undergraduate Houses and professional schools. These locations provide ample seating, and tickets are not required.
- A very limited supply of tickets will be made available to all other alumni/ae on a first-come, first-served basis through the Harvard Alumni Association, 124 Mount Auburn Street, sixth floor, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Afternoon Exercises

The Harvard Alumni Association's Annual Meeting convenes in Tercentenary Theatre on Commencement afternoon. All alumni and alumnae, faculty, students, parents, and guests are invited to attend and hear President Lawrence H. Summers and the Commencement Speaker deliver their addresses. Tickets for the afternoon ceremony will be available through the Harvard Alumni Association, 124 Mount Auburn Street, sixth floor, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

~Jacqueline A. O'Neill, University Marshal

Harvard in India

The Harvard Alumni Association's Global Series conference "The Power of the Idea: An Academic Symposium Exploring Outreach in South Asia," takes place in New Delhi on March 25 and 26.

The event features University president Lawrence H. Summers, five deans, and several faculty members, including Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, and prominent alumni, such as Surat Singh, president of both the Harvard Club of India and the Harvard University Alumni Clubs of Asia.

For registration and details on the event, visit http://post.harvard.edu/-harvard/globalseries/html/index.html.

GURINDER OSAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

City. On March 4, members of the **Harvard Club of Louisville** can learn about "Science, Politics, and Stem Cell Research" from Iacocca professor of medicine Ronald Kahn, who is also president and director of the Joslin Diabetes Center.

At the **Harvard Club of Maryland** on March 4, the Reverend Peter J. Gomes, Plummer professor of Christian morals, speaks on "Harvard in the Eye of the Beholder: The View since 1970." The **Harvard Club of Long Island** welcomes Ali Asani, professor of the practice of Indo-Muslim languages and cultures, on March 18 for a talk about "The Rise of the Anti-Western movement in the Islamic World." On March 30, Marshall Goldman, associate director of the Davis Center for Russian Studies, discusses "Putin: Piratization of Russia" at a luncheon hosted by the **Harvard Club of Dayton.** That evening, he addresses the **Harvard Club of Central and Southeast Ohio.** He also appears at the **Harvard Club of Naples, Florida,** on April 9.

The **Harvard Club of New York City** offers a discussion of "Consumer-Driven Healthcare" by McPherson professor of business administration Regina E. Herzlinger on April 10. On April 28, the **Harvard Club of Western North Carolina** (Asheville) welcomes Robert Woollacott, professor of biology and curator of marine invertebrates at the Museum of Comparative Zoology, for a presentation on the "Health of the World's Coral Reefs, Fishing, and Fish Markets."

Return to Harvard Day

On April 19, alumni of all College classes, their spouses, and high school-aged offspring have an opportunity to visit the College, attend undergraduate classes, and meet faculty members while the academic year is in full swing. The HAA sends brochures promoting the event to reunion classes in the Greater Boston area. If you do not receive a copy and would like to attend, write or call Blake Walsh, 124 Mount Auburn Street, sixth floor, Cambridge 02138; 617-495-2555; fax, 617-495-0434 or e-mail blake_walsh@harvard.edu.

Women and War

The Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study offers April events in Washington, D.C., and New York City that highlight women's roles in times of war.

The April 10 panel discussion at the United States Institute for Peace in Washington is cosponsored by Women In International Security. A reception at 6:30 p.m. precedes the discussion. Jennifer Leaning '67, professor of the practice of international health and senior adviser in international and policy studies at the institute, moderates the event; panelists include U.S. Army colonel Elspeth Cameron Ritchie '80 and Linda Bishai '86, program officer, United States Institute of Peace.

The April 26 event at the Harvard Club of New York City, at 7 p.m., features Margaret Stock '85, associate professor of law at West Point, among others.

Reserve seats by April 3 and April 19, respectively. For details and registration, e-mail the institute at events@radcliffe.edu, or call 1-888-RAD-ALUM.

Alumni Colleges

The HAA offers Cambridge forums on South Asia and diplomacy this spring.

"South Asia: A Changing World," on April 22, is cosponsored by the South Asia Initiative at Harvard (www.sainit.fas.harvard.edu). Discussions focus on "Literature and Public Culture," "Challenges and Imperatives Facing Health Initiatives in South Asia," and the initiative's tsunami-reconstruction project. Panelists include Homi K. Bhabha, Rothenberg professor of English and American literature and language; Tarun Khanna, Lemann professor at the Business School; and research associate Lincoln Chen and lecturer Rena Fonseca, both of the Harvard Asia Center .

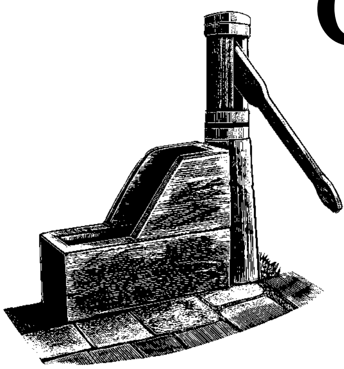
On May 13, the HAA and the Peabody Museum present ***"Arts of Diplomacy: The Lewis and Clark Indian Collection,"*** a behind-the-scenes look at the museum's collection of surviving objects from the exploration and several lectures. Speakers include Rubie Watson, curator of comparative ethnology and former director of the Peabody, Castle McLaughlin, associate curator of North American ethnography, and Carmen Lopez, executive director of the University's Native American Program.

For more information, and to register for the programs, call 617-495-1920, or e-mail haa_alumnieducation@harvard.edu.

Young Bernstein in Boston

The leaders of a spring seminar and fall exhibit and conference on Leonard Bernstein '39 seek firsthand information about the musician in his hometown (into the early 1950s). Students, friends, colleagues, and family members willing to be interviewed are asked to contact Mason professor of music Carol J. Oja (617-495-3791; coja@fas.harvard.edu) or Watts professor of music Kay Kaufman Shelemay (617-495-4008; shelemay@fas.harvard.edu).

Curl Up with the Cloud-gatherer

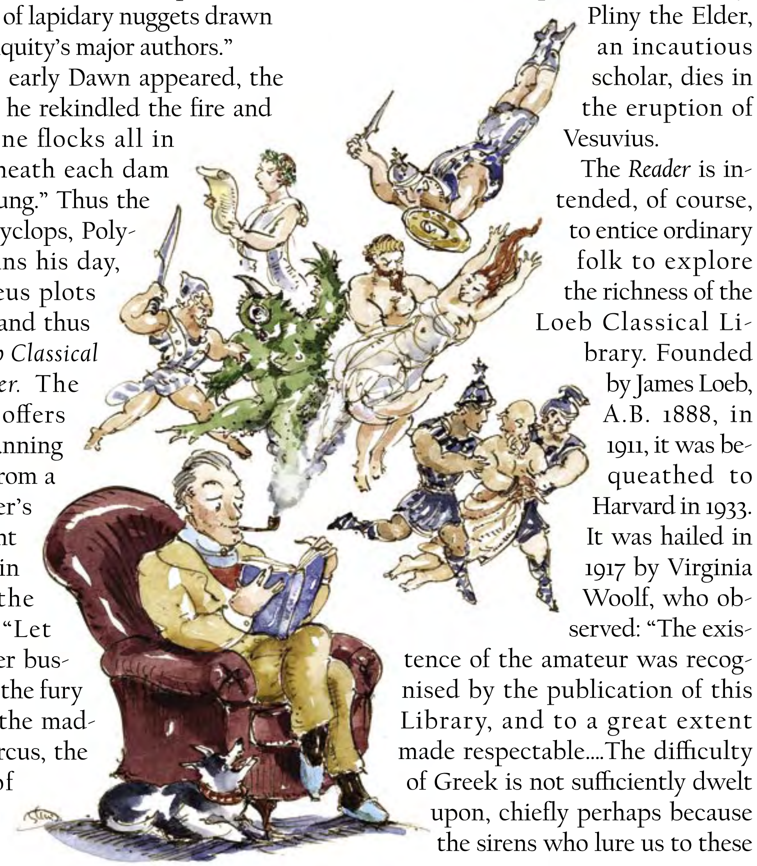


"Your wooden arm you hold outstretched to shake with passers-by."

THIS SPRING Harvard University Press publishes the five-hundredth volume in its Loeb Classical Library and, to celebrate that landmark, also brings forth a sampler of the library's greatest hits, or, as the press calls it, a "selection of lapidary nuggets drawn from 33 of antiquity's major authors."

"As soon as early Dawn appeared, the rosy-fingered, he rekindled the fire and milked his fine flocks all in turn, and beneath each dam placed her young." Thus the man-eating Cyclops, Polyphemus, begins his day, while Odysseus plots to trick him, and thus begins *A Loeb Classical Library Reader.* The slim volume offers selections spanning 12 centuries, from a taste of Homer's *Odyssey* to Saint Jerome's call in A.D. 385 for the simple life: "Let Rome keep her bustle for herself, the fury of the arena, the madness of the circus, the profligacy of the theatre...." Each text appears in its original language on left-hand pages and in English on facing right ones.

After Odysseus mutilates the Cyclops, readers move on to the cloud-gatherer Zeus, who is angry, in Hesiod's account, because men have acquired fire and creates the first woman in retribution. Pindar tells of the first Olympic Games. Euripides's Medea plots to kill her children. Herodotus explains why the Greeks and the Persians don't get along. Aristophanes's Lysistrata campaigns for peace on the horniness platform. Socrates says farewell. Livy has Romulus calm the Sabine women. Cicero preaches about duty. Pliny the Elder, an incautious scholar, dies in the eruption of Vesuvius.



The *Reader* is intended, of course, to entice ordinary folk to explore the richness of the Loeb Classical Library. Founded by James Loeb, A.B. 1888, in 1911, it was bequeathed to Harvard in 1933. It was hailed in 1917 by Virginia Woolf, who observed: "The existence of the amateur was recognised by the publication of this Library, and to a great extent made respectable....The difficulty of Greek is not sufficiently dwelt upon, chiefly perhaps because the sirens who lure us to these perilous waters are generally scholars [who] have forgotten...what those difficulties are. But for the ordinary amateur they are very real and very great; and we shall do well to recognise the fact and to make up our minds that we shall never be independent of our Loeb."

Coming in May in two volumes—Loeb 500 and 501—is Quintilian's *The Lesser Declamations,* a collection of specimen speeches to be studied by Roman law students. One speech for the ages attacks a proposal to equalize wealth. Another good one is an argument in the case of a youth who has forsworn worldly possessions but is suing his father for cutting off his allowance.

THEY CONTAIN SOME NUTS? Visitors to the Marshmallow Fluff website will have noticed a recipe for "Harvard Squares" (www.marshmallowfluff.com/htm/harvard), made with semisweet-chocolate pieces, canned flaked coconut, chopped walnuts, and a 7½-ounce jar of Marshmallow Fluff. Delicious, we're sure, but why are these called *Harvard* Squares?

A NOD TO THE TRINITY. Zachary Warren, a student at the Harvard Divinity School, set a Guinness World Record for the "fastest marathon while juggling three objects" (balls, in this instance) with a time of 3:07:05 at the Philadelphia Marathon last November. He squeaked to fame; the previous record for the event was 3:07:46. "Joggling," Warren was quoted as saying, "makes the world a little more magical a place." ~PRIMUS V

Illustration by Mark Steele

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Oceanfront in Siasconset, walking distance to village center, 4 bedrooms, 4 baths, equipped with all amenities. Daily cleaning and concierge service included in all rentals. Available June - September. Pictures and rates at www.sconseteer.com.

CAPE COD: Summer 2006. Wellfleet shorefront artist's home. Sunset cove view, peaceful, quiet, simple, and nice. Telephone 508-349-1243.

Cape Cod, Eastham. Charming 3 bedroom home on 3 private acres in National Seashore. Walk to beautiful Coast Guard beach. $2000/wk, $1600 June & September. 212-683-2273.

Martha's Vineyard Edgartown-Katama Secluded Cape Cod-style Home 3 Bedroom, 2 Bath Cape Cod-style Home on a Private Cul-de-Sac. Call 201-227-8835, or visit http://www.breovacationrentals.com.

WELLFLEET, CAPE COD. Harvard Professor's solitary, modern 4 BR house surrounded by nature preserve. $900 per week off-season; $2,000 in-season. 617-734-8012.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, AQUINNAH, OCEAN VIEW. Walk to beach, new 3 bedroom, 3 bath, very well appointed, custom built home with spectacular, panoramic views. Summer rental, July-August. Two week minimum. No pets. Sleeps 6. Call 617-964-4464.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD Chilmark. Spacious, clean, 5-bedroom, 3.5-bath farmhouse on 5+ acres. Wide pine floors, country kitchen, deck. Ferry tickets. $2,200-$3,200/week. kfreedberg@partners.org. 781-899-2082.

MENEMSHA MARTHA'S VINEYARD. Pond views, walk to Dutcher Dock, sleeps 6. Available June, July, August, and September. 617-277-3177.

NANTUCKET: DIONIS 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, 4 decks, views, minutes to beach. 530-758-6659, drpsmith@davis.com .

Wellfleet, Cape Cod. WALK TO PONDS. Sunny, fully equipped Contemporary on quiet cul-de-sac. Close to ocean beaches. 3 bedrooms, 1-1/2 baths, sleeping loft, washer/dryer. June-October. 617-731-8539.

Cape Cod Sandwich. Four bedroom house (sleeps seven) on 300 feet private lake beach. Sunfish, canoe, 2 kayaks, rowboat. $1,600 weekly. 301-897-5541.

Martha's Vineyard, Edgartown. Secluded 2-bedroom cottage on the harbor. Private beach, deepwater pier. Easy walk to town. Rustic and charming. Weekly. June-October. 617-547-7596.

Martha's Vineyard, Charming house borders farm. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths. Antique wood floors, old beams. All amenities. May-June 24 $1,500/week. June 24-September 2 $2,100/week. September $1,400/week. Open year-round. Some ferry tickets available if booked early. m.deary@verizon.net; 508-693-2820. http://members.bellatlantic.net/~vze2vrcx/

Provincetown Gardens-Culture-Beaches. Spacious, light-filled, one bedroom apartment with private deck overlooking flowered sculpture garden, East End- 500 feet to Bay beach. Parking, all amenities. Near galleries, restaurants. $1300/wk for weeks in May-September. No pets or smoking. 508-487-0400.

Martha's Vineyard. West Tisbury. **Waterfront**, quality, spacious, 3.5 bedroom, 2.5 bath contemporary house and two bedroom, 1 bath guesthouse. On Seth Pond, fully equipped, boat, walk to ocean, no pets. Have car tickets and pictures. $3,900-$4,200 weekly in-season. 617-965-2662, actionmax@aol.com. Rockport – Oceanfront, 2-3 bedroom houses. Available weekly or monthly. 5/26 - 10/9/06. $1,800-$2,800 per week. Less by month. 508-284-0484.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD overlooking Menemsha Pond, spacious contemporary. 4 bedrooms, 4 baths - family room, screened porch, large deck, sleeps 7-8. Ocean views - swim in the pond. Available June, July and August 26th thru September. 781-326-1750.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD. Newly renovated Cape on secluded 3+ acres in Quansoo (Chilmark). 4 bedrooms, 2 baths. Sleeps 7. Fully equipped. Access to Chilmark Beaches. Ferry tickets. 917-492-1757 robinasr@vzavenue.net.

Nantucket Town. Charming well appointed 3 bedroom home. Four blocks to Maine Street. Deck, yard, and parking. $3,600 per week. ddcorkin@aol.com.

Nantucket Town. Romantic cathedral ceiling large one bedroom cottage. Galley kitchen and sitting area in hidden garden. Four blocks to main street. Patio, yard, and parking. $1,800 per week. ddcorkin@aol.com.

Falmouth, Cape Cod. Charming 3 1/2-bedroom home. Walk to beach, marina, town. 508-823-1188.

Truro, MA. Antique with peaceful porch, 3 bedroom, 2 bath. $2200/week. www.vrbo.com. 508-487-2077.

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Martha's Vineyard 4 Bedroom. Edgartown—Beautiful 4 bedroom with loft home, 2 baths, laundry, sleeps 10. $1600-2250, June-September. uc76@aol.com, 617-972-8553.

Wellfleet waterfront. 4 bedroom 2 bath beautiful modernized Cape. Spectacular bay view. Secluded, large deck, internet. 310-557-9907.

CAPE COD: Traditional waterfront summer home overlooking lovely harbor and Nantucket Sound. Boating, swimming from private beach, generous lawn space. Comfortably furnished, fully equipped, 8 bedrooms (2 in self-sufficient apartment), sleeps 16. 617-527-2651.

HARVARD SQUARE June 2006 GRADUATION Family or REUNION Attendees Furnished/Equipped Home 3 bedrooms 4 baths e-mail smillerhavens@comcast.net for jpgs and details.

TRURO. Year-round peace and quiet. Book-filled studio cottage with loft in painter's gardens, 1/4 mile to bay beach. Heat. Linens. $450-$575/week. 718-596-0291.

MAINE VACATION RENTALS

BOOTHBAY HARBOR, ME. – "Osprey Perch" – Large Cape on 50' cliff overlooking the harbor w/ beautiful waterfront views of islands, working lobster boats & pleasure craft. Lots of privacy. Two houses: main house—6 bedrooms (sleeps 10), 5 bathrooms, fully equipped kitchen/laundry, very large wrap-around porch with charcoal grill. Large living room with wonderful fireplace (firewood included). Two hammocks, slide/swing set. Decor delightfully stuck in the '50s. Private dock/float (suitable craft up to 40'); Guest cottage: two bedrooms (sleeps 4 comfortably, 5-6 uncomfortably), two bathrooms, full kitchen/laundry, screened porch, fireplace. Both houses have cable TV and linens. Can be rented together or separately. $4,500/week high season for both (mid-June through August; low season availability too) Contact 203-227-1001 or email: tigr10@optonline.net.

Pease Cove, Vinalhaven. Recently renovated oceanfront island hideaway. Large sunny lawn. All amenities, sleeps six. Ideal for families, writers, bird watchers or romantics. $1,200-$2,000 per week. Other properties available. 207-594-6321. www.vinalhavenislandrentals.com.

Diamond Cove, Cundys Harbor: 1840s farmhouse. Enjoy the quiet. Kayak. Swim. Read. 4 bdrm. $1200/wk. farmhouseinmaine@aol.com.

North Haven: "Red House" – charming waterfront. Unforgettable view of Bay, Camden Hills, sunsets. Sleeps 6, 2 baths, fireplace, all appliances, deck, pier access, $2500/week; "Barnacle" – 3 bedroom, plus efficiency cabin. Harbor view, pier access, wood-burning stove. $1500/week. allensnhaven@verizon.net or 973-762-0045.

MAINE COAST. Five Islands, Georgetown. Very comfortable 4-bedroom oceanfront home, fireplace, screened porch/deck, near beach and tennis, magnificent ocean/harbor views. Deepwater dock. Monthly or weekly. 610-889-9919.

SPACIOUS OCEANFRONT HOME professionally designed, on 1 1/2 acres with 9 rooms, 4 bedrooms, right on the Atlantic and our rocky beach in Harpswell. Call 207-846-5065 or oceanhouseme@maine.rr.com.

PRISTINE MAINE. Quiet Lakefront cottage. Fireplace. Private dock, boathouse. Registered Maine Guide hire available. 207-991-8042.

BRANCH LAKE. Modern house on pristine, expansive lake (great fishing, boating, swimming). Quiet, wooded site. 3 bedrooms, 2 baths. Sleeps 6. Designed by Harvard GSD graduate. 30 minutes to Bangor and Acadia National Park. 207-374-3500. www.vacationcottages.com. Ask for "Lake House."

K'port, ME. 4+ BR 1775 home. Quaint w/renovated master bedroom and bath situated between beach and town. July - September by month or week. mndowner@comcast.net or 617-512-1580.

COREA–cozy one-bedroom cottage for two adults. 300 foot ocean frontage on Gouldsboro Bay; great view. Secluded woods. Fireplace, full plumbing, electricity, phone. Furnished except linens. No pets, no smoking. $450 per week. 207-866-4872.

Secluded two bedroom cottage on 2 acres. Screened porch, deck overlooking Drift-Inn Beach. Walk down lawn to ocean; 1/2 mile from Port Clyde Village. Telephone: 252-946-72225.

LITERARY RENTAL. Four-bedroom summer house built by novelist Kenneth Roberts in Kennebunk Beach. Available in July. See www.rentblueroof.com for details.

Mount Desert Island: Lovely getaway on 15 secluded, waterfront acres on "quiet side" of island, moments from Acadia National Park. Two comfortable houses (one sleeps 8+, one 7) can be rented together or separately. Both have fireplaces, all appliances, w/d, dock access, and picturesque harbor views. Contact ellen@brokawnursery.com ; 805-525-8238.

Deer Isle, Maine – Lovely, comfortable 1880s farmhouse, completely refurbished, with 3 bedrooms, 2 full bathrooms, all-new kitchen and bath/laundry. Near Deer Isle Village, swimming, hiking, kayaking, tennis, golf nearby. Write keenan@fas.harvard.edu or leave message at 202-625-2118.

NEW HAMPSHIRE VACATION RENTALS

Grand family cottage overlooking crystal river, swimming, fishing, stone fireplace, 6 bedrooms. $1000 weekly. msmaria@earthlink.net; 718-388-4996.

Secluded lakefront, White Mountains, rustic cabin sleeps 8. June-September. $950/week; $1,700/fortnight. Thomasu@maine.rr.com, 207-781-5526.

Northern NH: Exclusive lakefront lodge and guesthouse; spectacular setting on conservation land; unique family home; rustic, historic; double fireplace. Six bedrooms; three baths; sleeps eight. Resident superintendent; private dock and boats. No pets; no smoking. $1750 per week, two week minimum; July through September. Photos from rmargesson@gmail.com. 301-951-3940.

Squam Lake Classic 100-year old "camp" with modern kitchen, 1.5 baths, 7 bedrooms, sleeps 12. Lakefront, large dock. Swimming, waterskiing, sailing, kayaking. July - Labor Day weekly. June, September 3-day minimum. 202-429-0829. jhowell@ucsd.edu.

Serene New Hampshire Lake. Swimming, fishing, canoe, sailboat, kayaks, tennis. Weekly: 2-bedroom boathouse overhanging lake; secluded 2+ bedroom cabin. Private cove. Spring/summer/fall: $800/$1,100. Owner ('64): dcurll@post.harvard.edu or 617-218-1017.

VERMONT VACATION RENTALS

Newly Renovated House, Northeast Kingdom. Country road, 3 bedrooms, fully furnished, daily or weekly rentals, spectacular views, near lakes and mountains. 802-525-4456.

Southern Vermont. 4-bedroom, 3-bathroom, country hilltop home with spectacular views, pond, barn, 300 private acres. 617-645-2585, cmeketa@sbcglobal.net.

Newly Renovated House, Northeast Kingdom. Country road, 3 bedrooms, fully furnished, daily or weekly rentals, spectacular views, near lakes and mountains. 802-525-4456.

Woodstock Summer rental ($6500) or monthly. Sleeps 6. View. Secluded. 757-229-3531, www.mmarvell.com\woodstock.

Woodstock Village. Victorian brick house, 4 bedrooms, 3 bathrooms, gardens, quiet, walking distance from everything. Available July-August for $7,000. 802-457-4627 or ahudnutc@aol.com.

Caspian Lake, Greensboro, VT: Large, charming classic summer cottage (June-October). Walk to private beach/boathouse. Hiking, biking, mountains, ultimate relaxing! Reasonable. 413-548-9113.

RHODE ISLAND VACATION RENTALS

Watch Hill, RI. Fully-equipped, 4-bedrooms, 3 baths in secluded glen. Bike to beach. Available July. $2,400/wk. 215-564-4550, or colby@snyder-co.com for pictures.

Block Island: Private, comfortable cottage on Pilot Hill, spectacular ocean and pond views; newly renovated; sleeps 4; all amenities. Available 2 week minimum July, August and off season. 781-449-4374 or Rmclaug325@aol.com.

Beautiful oceanfront condo available in Misquamicut. Two bedroom, two bath, sleeps eight. Available weekly. Summer $3,500. Other seasons less. 914-328-3741.

Narragansett: private, comfortable, 3 bdrm home on 5 acres with pool. Minutes to beach. Summer weekly rentals. 919-832-8789.

FAMILY SEASIDE VACATION. Grand historic 12,000 sq.ft. National Register home on 35 acre estate overlooking Narragansett Bay. Beautifully restored, sleeps 20, 11 bedrooms, 7 1/2 baths, private beach and tennis court. Near Newport. Summer weekly rental. 203-259-2916.

Block Island house for summer rental. Sleeps 8-10. Close to town, beaches; completely private; eccentric, beautiful. 212-352-0957 or katy@katyhomans.com.

NEW YORK VACATION RENTALS

Adirondacks. Former governor's historic waterfront camp, Upper Saranac Lake, 5 bedrooms/baths, rustic living room, fireplace, original furniture, beach, two lakes, canoe, June through September, two week minimum. $4,000 week. 518-524-0159.

Seashore Summer. Charming one-bedroom apt., East Quogue, LI, coop. On beach; porch, pool. Memorial-Labor Day, $15,000. Rona1@rcn.com 1-800-232-3310.

HUDSON VALLEY COUNTRY ESTATE. Converted barn on 24 acres. 5 bedrooms, pool, tennis court, hot tub, pond, stream, meadows, views and more. Less than two hours from NYC. $3,500-$4,500/ week. 212-222-9555 brochure/information.

Lake George, New York. (Huletts Landing) HAR-TRU clay tennis court, 6-bedroom house, fireplace/wood stove, 660 feet of shoreline, boathouse, swimming dock, nearby trails, golf. $2,400 weekly, July 1 to September 2; $1,900 weekly June, September, October, 212-473-6740 or 518-499-0539.

Cooperstown, NY. Private home on Lake Otsego. Seven bedrooms, private dock and tennis court, newly renovated kitchen, expansive living and dining rooms, porch overlooking lake, Internet, TV. Five minutes to Glimmerglass Opera, fifteen to Baseball Hall of Fame. www.rentwigwam.com, 914-232-8687.

OTHER U.S. VACATION RENTALS

SANIBEL & CAPTIVA. Unique 1-8 bedroom cottages, condominiums, homes, & estates. Perfect for weddings and reunions. 1-800-472-5385, www.Cottages-to-Castles.com.

ZION NATIONAL PARK. Secluded cabin, spectacular views, redrock, white cliffs, wildlife, weekly rates. 612-636-9656, www.danielparkinson.com.

Palm Desert, CA Beautifully furnished 2,300 sq. ft. 3 bedroom 3 bath townhouse, pool, spa, on prestigious Ironwood cc. Available October through May 1,800/week or 5,000/month. Longer terms and June - August negotiable. 925-979-0611, 925-200-4900.

Puerto Rico, Humacao, Palmas del Mar Resort: Oceanfront beautifully furnished, 2,000sf fully equipped condo, sleeps 6, large terrace, garage, TV, Internet, concierge service, visit online www.palmasmarbella.com.

SANIBEL ISLAND. Spectacular Gulf front 2-bedroom condo. Ground floor, sleeps 6. www.pointesantorentals.com or 518-785-9075.

Wyoming Ranch Retreat, Wind River Valley, Dubois WY. Spectacular private ranch abutting Shoshone National Forest. 1+ hour to Tetons/Yellowstone. Beautiful 3-bedroom+loft, 2.5-bath ranch house sleeps 8-10. Private guest house sleeps 2. Fish, hike, ride, hunt, x-country ski, snowmobile. Perfect for families, small groups. Weekly, year round. 508-653-2574, www.duboisranch.com, mrneutra@comcast.net.

SANTA FE, NM. Stunning 2+ bedroom adobe. Historic eastside. Walk to everything. http://home.comcast.net/~santafe_rental, 617-320-4911.

SAN FRANCISCO, Telegraph Hill. Charming guest cottage in ideal location. One bedroom, kitchen, all amenities, nonsmoking. Weekly rental. 415-982-4850.

Mackinac Island, Michigan – A national historic landmark, 300 years of American architecture with transportation only by horse, bike or foot. Escape from your world with lodging from economical to extravagant. 800-454-5227, www.mackinacisland.org.

SAN FRANCISCO. Opulent Victorian mansion restored as B&B. Perfect for romantic escape, family reunions, or wedding parties. www.chateautivoli.com or 1-800-228-1647.

NEW SMYRNA BEACH, FLORIDA. Oceanfront Luxury ground floor Townhouse 3 bedrooms 3 Bath Condo. Steps to Ocean. 407-423-0696, Hutchrp@aol.com.

PALM COAST, FLORIDA. New houses, rent/sale: Near ocean/ beaches, Orlando, Daytona, Jacksonville, phone 571-215-2426.

JACKSON HOLE, Wyoming. Spectacular mountain views from 3 bedroom 3 1/2 bath home overlooking protected ranchland. Reserve early for ski-season. 202-338-8973; MareeW@post.harvard.edu.

SANIBEL ISLAND, FLORIDA. Luxury beachfront full-floor penthouse condo, 3 bedrooms, 3 bathrooms, private garage, roof deck, cabana. Only 3 units in elevator building. Pool, tennis. Florida's best beach, wildlife refuge. Alumni-owned. Royal Shell Vacations 800-656-9111, web www.royalshell.com; e-mail rsvp@rsvpsanibel.com.

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France, Dordogne,Perigord Noir, Magnificent 17 Century historic property,renovated, on 5 acres of River front. Beautiful swimming pool,close to all major sites,yet very secluded. A great place to vacation or take a sabbatical. www.hauterive-dordogne.com.

PARIS: Luxurious, elegant, 1,500 square foot, 2 bedroom, 2 bath apartment at edge of 7th. Sensational views of Eiffel Tower. Professionally decorated to American standards–amenities. Transfer from airport by chauffeur, apartment orientation and access to priority taxi service. Limit 4 with 5-night minimum. Jay Berry, 214-953-9393. www.parisinstyle.com.

Southern France: Modernized 14thC House. Lavender, Rhone wine, gorgeous views/village. Ardéche/Provence border. www.thegreenrock.com, 401-447-9852.

Avail to mid-May & fall 2006: Beautifully restored 18th-c. bastide in Sablet, Provençal village in wine country NE of Avignon. 3,500 sq. ft., 4 BR, 4.5 baths, cook's kitchen, terrace, ADSL. Up to 6 persons, no pets or children under 10. $4,300/mo. + heat. maisondesiree.com. 1-610-407-9633.

PARIS – Marais. Elegant 17th-century 50 square meter renovated one bedroom, 1 1/2 bath, brand new appliances/furniture, private courtyard, high speed internet access. 978-371-0223, asluder@yahoo.com.

France between Cannes and Grasse, newly renovated 5-bedroom house with pool. Fabulous views in private gated community. Weekly or monthly rentals, 617-742-3507 or bmoufflet@yahoo.com.

Paris: Quiet Luxury, 2 Large Bedrooms, Latin Quarter, fully equipped + broad band internet, direct from owner, €200/nt, www.goin2paris.com.

Paris: Near the Luxembourg garden and la Sorbonne very elegant and spacious apartment for 2 or 3. Please consult: www.roquapart.com ref #055A.

Brittany. Spacious old-fashioned mansion in small, non-tourist town. 7 bedrooms, sleeps 15. Great character. Sea view. Steps to beach. Tennis. $2000 to $3000/week. Contact François at 914-834-5718 or odouard@msn.com.

Provence. Beautiful 18th century manor in 36-acre wooded area. 5 1/2 bedrooms, 5 baths, large living room, swimming pool, tennis court in lavender field, caretaker, 2 km from large town. Minimum rental 2 weeks: July and August 8000€, June and September 6000€. Queries at phil_den@hotmail.com.

Elegant Château Loire Valley, luxurious private walled estate, perfect for weddings, reunions, group holidays, sleeps 24, swimming pool, chapel, tennis court. Chef available. www.chateaudedetilly.com, 707-963-7106, e-mail sandyjon@napanet.net.

FRENCH RIVIERA. Tourrettes-sur-Loup. Charming, fully furnished, 2-bedroom, 2-bath house in medieval village of artists and artisans. 20 minutes from Nice Airport. Modern kitchen, washer/dryer, fireplace, garden terrace with panoramic view. $2,000/2 weeks, $3,500/4 weeks. Pictures on request. 617-367-2338.

PARIS APARTMENT Heart of City on Ile St. Louis. Elegant Top-Floor apt w/elevator, updated, well-appointed, gorgeous view, Sleeps 4, maid 3x/week. Inquiries triff@mindspring.com or 678-232-8444 HMS '55.

Charming house in Loire Valley, sleeps 6-8, a gracious family home for part time rental, see our website www.berrysurcher.com. Visit the châteaux of the Loire!

Provence, St.Didier, near Carpentras. Charming, comfortable cottage for two in quintessentially Provencal village. Annette@au-village.com, www.au-village.com.

FRANCE: Distinctive country rentals—Dordogne, Provence and more! Paris apartments, too. Personally inspected properties, expert advice. At Home in France. www.athomeinfrance.com or 541-488-9467.

PARIS/LE MARAIS: One- and two-bedroom luxury apartments, fully restored and elegantly furnished with modern conveniences throughout. See www.bienvenueaparis.com for photos and details. 919-928-9936.

Paris, France. Elegant Left Bank apartment by the Seine, 6th arrondissement. Walk to Notre Dame, the Louvre and the Luxembourg Garden. Short- and long-term. gam1@comcast.net, 609-924-7520.

FRENCH RIVIERA. Luxury 2-bedroom beachfront condominium on Cap d'Antibes. 180° sea view, central air-conditioning, parking, pool, dine on the balcony. Kimball@Cheerful.com, 617-522-2683.

Burgundy, France. Luxurious 18th-century village house, part of historic château in Burgundian countryside. Ideal for biking, hiking, visiting vineyards and historic sites. Available year round. 301-652-6117, www.franceburgundycottage.com.

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Provence. Hilltop village of Menerbes. Two adjoining one-bedroom village houses with fabulous views, king-sized beds. Perfect for couple or jointly for family/group. $600-$1200 per week. 800-537-5408. www.historicrentals.com. HBS '80.

Venasque. Beautiful house, Provençal village. Large pool. Fireplaces, garden, terrace, central heat. Also inexpensive (325 euros per week) apartments. Owner (H `54), 312-503-8426 or e-mail stephengoldberg@law.northwestern.edu.

Paris. Luxurious, sun-filled, large, belle époque, Left Bank apartment across from Notre Dame. Lovely details, unique recent renovation, fully equipped. Sleeps 5. Minimum week, $2,950. Call 617-491-0006.

Provence: Stunning updated farmhouse, magnificent Mediterranean/mountain views. Antiques. Lovely kitchen, gardens, pool. 609-924-7520. gam1@comcast.net.

PROVENCE. Delightful five bedrooms, Pool, vineyard. Tuesday market. Faces Roman theater. 860-672-6607, www.frenchfarmhouse.com.

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PARIS 7th. Romantic, sunny 1-bedroom duplex, lovely terrace–minutes to Musée D'Orsay & Louvre, fully equipped. Sleeps 3. $190 night. Week minimum. 617-491-0006.

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Cours Mirabeau, heart of town. Well appointed, 2-bedroom apartment, remarkably quiet, steps to shops & restaurants, garage. Perfect for exploring Provence. $990/week; 941-363-0925.

COTE D'AZUR, NICE, GRASSE. Lovely townhouse, medieval village Gorges du Loup, breathtaking views, 2 bedroom, 2 bath. $990/wk; 941-363-0925.

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Paris 1st: Sunny one-bedroom with additional sleeping loft, 2 large French windows overlooking quiet street. Just 5 minutes from Louvre and Opera Garnier. Antiques. Beamed ceiling. Newly renovated. Sleeps 4+. $250/night. mkstern@mn.rr.com . 612-374-3703.

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Two one-bedroom apartments in same building near Sorbonne, Luxembourg, and Notre Dame. King-sized beds, charming. $750+/week each, available singly or jointly. HBS '80, 800-537-5408, www.historicrentals.com.

France, Paris - Marais. Exquisite, sunny, quiet one bedroom apartment behind Place des Vosges. King size bed, full kitchen, washer, dryer. $950 weekly. 301-654-7145, max@gwu.edu.

Southwest France. Bordeaux area. Restored, spacious, 18th-century stone farmhouse, pool. Surrounded by sunflowers and vineyards. Near Atlantic beaches and market town. 603-924-9535, gward@mymailstation.com. www.charente-maritime-home.com. Paris apartment also available.

France/Dordogne – 16th Century Stone Manor in Château Country. Updated. Views, pool, vineyards. Alternative to Provence. Good Value. 609-924-4332, jcuad@aol.com.

France – 13th Century Castle in South. Gothic fairy tale: moat, battlements, turrets, banquet hall. Spectacular views, pool, tennis court. Private. Sleeps 29. Separate wing for smaller groups. Perfect for weddings/reunions/corporate meetings. 609-683-3813, jetas5@comcast.net.

Provence, Luberon. Charming 18th-century stone farmhouse fully renovated, 3 bedrooms, 3 full baths, fireplaces, gardens, pool, views. All amenities, beautifully furnished, www.rsvpprovence.com.

NORMANDY, Restored pressoir on sixteen tranquil hilltop acres. Five bedrooms, 3 baths, pool. 1.75 hours from Paris. Photos at www.chateautivoli.com. Available June-October; $1,900/week or $7,000/month. 415-922 3070, geraldinam@aol.com.

France, Provence. Charming hilltop village near Avignon. Restored medieval house with apartments owned by H '65 alumnus. Rooftop terraces, sensational views. $965-$2,250 for two-week period. Website: www.chezkubik.com. Padraic Spence, 413-298-4843.

FRANCE, DORDOGNE Lovely fully equipped home with spacious rooms in countryside overlooking Vézére River valley one kilometer from village officially designated one of the most beautiful villages in France. Private two acres. 3 double bedrooms, 3.5 baths, heated pool. For pictures, description, and rates, contact owner 1-847-657-8144.

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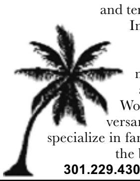

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Author seeks info on/contact with family of **David Wooster King.** Born 1893 in R.I. Harvard College 1912-1914, then left to join French Foreign Legion. Later became key player in Operation Torch. Last known address: Chester, CT. Please contact Pam Zimmerman, 212-873-2916 or cilantro@rcn.com.

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Writer, intellectual, classicist with adorable smile. Tall, slender, graceful and good-looking. Currently residing in Paris (November 05-June 06), speaks French with Southern drawl. Strong sense of self, informed interest in the world. Adventurous, supportive, deeply curious with sly wit – sometimes daringly funny, sometimes naughty. Focused seeker of higher knowledge. Affectionate and very real. Aesthetically-attuned, stylish yet likes to keep things simple. Thinks Vermont in summer is heaven, returns from Parisian home to Cambridge (MA) July 06, loves beaches from Truro to St Tropez, the Sunday Raspail market, the Pont des Arts, contemporary art in ancient spaces, hiking, yoga, cooking and dining. Interested in people and what makes them tick. Seeks active, ethical man, 50-65 – interested in ideas, reading, the arts and establishing a great relationship. mm12254@yahoo.com.

Seriously gorgeous yet so much more. Boston woman. Lively intellect, wonderful smile. Exudes radiance, slender grace, sense of adventure about life and appreciative interest in others. Independent yet believes fun things are often more fun with someone close. Curious, open-minded. Easy laugh, irreverent but never mean. Always cheered by music, visiting friends/family, taking pictures, winning at poker, going up in an airplane and coming down in a place where they don't speak English, enchanted by Venice and Fez. Big fan of movies (not ashamed to admit to watching TV). Interested in politics, literature, people, the brain. Enthusiastic unskilled sailor/skier. Values honesty, intellect, heart. Seeks articulate, thoughtful, man 55-60's who cares about social justice, is unafraid to think outside the bandwidth. Laura_Mrk@yahoo.com.

A knockout. Based in Boston and LA, happy to live on either coast. Good looks plus style and lively intellect. Thrives on travel, music, biking, tennis and the study of languages. Much more a sunlight and summer person than winter, loves nothing more than eating outside with friends, reading at the beach at sundown, exploring Andalucia, playing guitar and piano, being at home cooking, gardening. Slender, very approachable, divorced, blonde. Nice legs and fun humor. Accomplished business owner, both intellectual and down home. Nonworkaholic, unpretentious, wouldn't turn down either theatre or dinner at Tito's Burritos, game for new adventures. Seeks smart, kind, enthusiastic, man, 51-65. 617-571-0232, 310-577-5076, aml78c@yahoo.com.

Successful writer of fiction and poetry, intellectual, humbled, but not entirely defeated by the language of personals ads. Slender, extremely attractive with beautiful eyes, based in Cambridge and Manhattan. Very affectionate, recklessly literary. Great academic job. Informed interest in the world, diplomatic childhood in Washington, Paris, Athens, and elsewhere. A fool for rivers, clouds, hills . . . melons in Provence, scarlet macaws in Costa Rica, New England in the summer. Would-be birder (but have trouble getting my binocs on the birds!) Long term interest in Buddhism, excellent sense of irony. Art, tennis, sailing, biking and watching the changing light. Seeks man between 50 and 65 who is both active and contemplative; interest in the arts a plus. pariscrocus@yahoo.com.

Golden heart young 73, DWF, NS/ND, loving compassionate funny, bright, spiritual. Unique – too good to miss! Organist/teacher, educated, interests: academia, humanitarian concerns, travel ky, nc, usvi. Seeks man 60-75 for warm relationship. No games. 617-713-0193.

Published author – natural beauty, wit, passion and depth of thinking. Athletic, wonderful listener, slender, well-educated widow. Outgoing, authentic, adventuresome, yet unassuming enough to shy away from the spotlight. Drawn to beauty of the natural world, game for about anything (short of jumping out of airplanes). Fascinated by Eastern philosophy, the exploration of ideas and the mystery of life. Loves all kinds of travel – souks of Fez, climbing Matterhorn (halfway), Maine, China, Costa Rican rainforest. Thrives on cappuccinos, tennis, skiing, the Patriots, poetry, making a difference. Seeks bright, fit, Boston-area man, 58-73 with range of curiosity to enjoy life and care about deeper things. 781-640-0313, cindyc61819@yahoo.com.

A welcome surprise. New to Boston, CA transplant, Midwestern upbringing. Sensual and strikingly good looking with dynamic personality, self deprecating humor. Lively in manner and interests. Wears varied career hats: political lobbyist, accomplished entrepreneur, maverick. Known as "world's most supportive friend, intellectual, culturally aware, never stuffy. Fabulous green eyes, good figure. Independent and approachable." Jazzed by walking into Fenway Park, exploring foreign cities, hearing live music, hiking Yosemite, London theatre, singing on road trips. Open-minded learner, global thinker. Heartened by really good conversation, humorous exchanges, word play, thrill of NYC. Likes Mexico, Internet searches, David McCullough, cooking, Coltrane, Schubert. Putters on piano. Seeks engaging, fit, man 55-68. pr_m_2006@yahoo.com.

Looks great – thin, smart, stylish and sympathetic. Expressive passionate eyes and legs that don't stop. Often asked "why don't you model?" Very pretty and toned with incurable sweet tooth, gourmet leanings. Wonderful mix hip and contemporary yet elegant, refined. Not McDonalds person yet loves funky diners, jazz, piano bars, wine tastings, bittersweet chocolate. Professional, divorced, Jewish. Arts appreciator, inquisitive conversationalist, excellent friend. Gracious, even-tempered, willing to go the extra mile, doesn't keep score. Creative, easy to talk to, funny and offbeat. Adores browsing cooking shops, people watching, art openings, Paris, Berkshires, baking – known for knockout biscotti. Seeks nonsmoking, successful, trustworthy man who enjoys learning, 5'9"+, 49-67. furnonset@comcast.net, 617-669-7556.

Young, athletic 50+ New Yorker WSF, enjoys animals, culture, gardening, languages, sports, world travel, and writing. Looking for men in the 40s-50s age category eith height above mine, i.e., 5'8". Liebeskind6@yahoo.com.

Attractive, Sincere Man, early 50's but looks younger, Ivy League graduate. Professionally successful and ambitious, but more concerned with connection, experience and fun. Varied interests, including books, movies, travel, sports, bridge. Seeking special woman who is attractive, evolved and cosmopolitan but also warm, and above all open minded. Boston area. keepgrowingforever@yahoo.com.

Energetic Professor of Physics (69), with a contagious enthusiasm for science and art, romantic by nature, frequent visitor of art museums in the US and Europe is looking for a partner (age 45-57) to share his life with. lewin@mit.edu, 617-253-4282. http://web.mit.edu/physics/facultyandstaff/faculty/walter_lewin.html.

Appealingly thin, beautiful inside and out, yet so much more. Embraces life, expressive, unafraid of joy. Divorced, 5'8". Adventurous in spirit, calm and quiet in manner, laughs a lot, open, deep thinker. Radiantly alive, interested in the human condition, politically liberal. Relishes third world adventures, outdoor activities, skiing, hiking, inline skating, blueberry pie, reading the Economist, Mozart piano sonatas. Savors tapas in Barcelona, trekking in Turkey, galleries in Paris, snuggling at home. Seeking fit, caring, professional man (50's-66) with an intellectual bent and good heart. Boston area.

You are an attractive, venturesome woman with ready humor, independent and fit. And you might be interested in a sixty-something man with similar qualities, well-maintained and low mileage, architect and professor, lives in Texas. design2358@gmail.com.

THE MARKETPLACE OF PERCEPTIONS

(continued from page 57)

the 9/11 attacks, Edward Glaeser began using behavioral economic approaches to research the causes of group hatred that could motivate murderous acts of that type. "An economist's definition of hatred," he says, "is the willingness to pay a price to inflict harm on others." In laboratory settings, social scientists have observed subjects playing the "ultimatum game," in which, say, with a total kitty of $10, Player A offers to split the cash with player B. If B accepts A's offer, they divide the money accordingly, but if B rejects A's offer, both players get nothing. "In thousands of trials around the world, with different stakes, people reject offers of 30 percent [$3 in our example] or less," says Glaeser. "So typically, people offer 40 or 50 percent. But a conventional economic model would say that B should accept a split of even one cent versus $9.99, since you are still better off with a penny than nothing." (If a computer, rather than a human, does the initial split, player B is much more likely to accept an unfair split—a confirmation of research conducted by professors at the Kennedy School of Government; see "Games of Trust and Betrayal," page 94.)

Clearly, the B player is willing to suffer financial loss in order to take revenge on an A player who is acting unfairly. "You don't poke around in the dark recesses of human behavior and not find vengeance," Glaeser says. "It's pretty hard to find a case of murder and not find vengeance at the root of it."

The psychological literature, he found, defines hatred as an emotional response we have to threats to our survival or reproduction. "It's related to the belief that the object of hatred has been guilty of atrocities in the past and will be guilty of them in the future," he says. "Economists have nothing to tell psychologists about why individuals hate. But group-level hatred has its own logic that always involves stories about atrocities. These stories are frequently false. As [Nazi propagandist Joseph] Goebbels said, hatred requires repetition, not truth, to be effective.

"You have to investigate the *supply* of hatred," Glaeser continues. "Who has the incentive and the ability to induce group hatred? This pushes us toward the crux of the model: politicians or anyone else will supply hatred when hatred is a complement to their policies." Glaeser searched back issues of the *Atlanta Constitution* from 1875 to 1925, counting stories that contained the keywords "Negro + rape" or "Negro + murder." He found a time-series that closely matched that for lynchings described by historian C. Vann Woodward: rising from 1875 until 1890, reaching a plateau from 1890 until 1910, then declining after 1910.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Glaeser explains, the southern Populist Party favored large-scale redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, and got substantial support from African Americans. "Wealthier Southern conservatives struck back, using race hatred" and spreading untrue stories about atrocities perpetrated by blacks, Glaeser says. "'Populists are friends of blacks, and blacks are dangerous and hateful,' was the message—instead of being supported, [blacks] should be sequestered and have their resources reduced. [Rich whites] sold this to poor white voters, winning votes and elections. Eventually the Populists gave in and decided they were better off switching their appeal to poor, racist whites. They felt it was better to switch policies than try to change voters' opinions. The stories—all about rape and murder—were coming from suppliers who were external to poor whites."

Glaeser applies this model to anti-American hatred, which, in degree, "is not particularly correlated with places that the United States has helped or done harm to," he says. "France hates America more than Vietnam does." Instead, he explains, it has much to do with "political entrepreneurs who spread stories about past and future American crimes. Some place may have a leader who has a working relationship with the United States. Enemies of the leader offer an alternative policy: completely break with the United States and Israel, and attack them. We saw it in the religious enemies of the shah [of Iran]. The ayatollah sought to discredit the secular modernists through the use of anti-American hatred."

For Glaeser, behavioral economics can take "something we have from psychology—hatred as a hormonal response to threats—and put this in a market setting. What are the incentives that will increase the supply of hatred in a specific setting?" Economists, he feels, can take human tendencies rooted in hormones, evolution, and the stable features of social psychology, and analyze how they will play out in large collectivities. "Much of psychology shows the enormous sensitivity of humans to social influence," Glaeser says. "The Milgram and Zimbardo experiments [on obedience to authority and adaptation to the role of prison guard] show that humans can behave brutally. But that doesn't explain why Nazism happened in Germany and not England."

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Zero-Sum Persuasion

Andrei Shleifer has already made path-breaking contributions to the literatures of behavioral finance (as noted above), political economy, and law and economics. His latest obsession is persuasion—"How people absorb information and how they are manipulated," he says. At the American Economic Association meetings in January, Shleifer described "cognitive persuasion," exploring how advertisers, politicians, and others attach their messages to pre-existing maps of associations in order to move the public in a desired direction.

The Marlboro Man, for example, sold filtered cigarettes by mobilizing the public's associations of cowboys and the West with masculinity, independence, and the great outdoors. "There is a 'confirmation bias,'" Shleifer explained, which favors persuasive messages that confirm beliefs and connections already in the audience's mind (see "The Market for News," January-February, page 11, on work by Shleifer and Mullainathan that applies a similar analysis to the news media). For example, George W. Bush wearing a $3,000 cowboy hat was not a problem, because it matched his image, but John Kerry riding a $6,000 bicycle *was* a problem—that luxury item appeared hypocritical for a candidate claiming to side with the downtrodden.

Citing Republican pollster and communications consultant Frank Luntz, Shleifer noted how the estate tax was renamed the "death tax" (although there is no tax on death) in order to successfully sell its repeal. The relabeling linked the tax to the unpleasant associations of the word "death," and the campaign asked questions like, "How can you burden people even *more* at this most difficult time in their lives?" "Messages, not hard attributes, shape competition," Shleifer said; he noted that the fear of terrorism is a bigger issue in probable non-target states like Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada than in New York and New Jersey.

Because successful persuasive messages are consistent with prevailing worldviews, one corollary of Shleifer's analysis is that persuasion is definitely *not* education, which involves adding new information or correcting previous perceptions. "Don't tell people, 'You are stupid, and here is what to think,'" Shleifer said. During presidential debates, he asserted, voters tune out or forget things that are inconsistent with their beliefs. "Educational messages may be doomed," he added. "They do not resonate." In economic and political markets, he said, there is no tendency toward a median taste; divergence, not convergence, is the trend. Therefore, the successful persuader will find a niche and pander to it.

When making choices in the marketplace, "People are not responding to the *actual objects* they are choosing between," says Eric Wanner of the Russell Sage Foundation. "There is no direct rela-

Games of Trust and Betrayal

"People care not only about outcomes, but about how outcomes came to be," says associate professor of public policy Iris Bohnet of the Kennedy School of Government. "That doesn't strike anyone but an economist—like me—as a surprise." Game theory, as conceptualized by conventional economics, suggests that players care only about substantive results. With Ramsey professor of political economy Richard Zeckhauser, Bohnet developed a concept of "betrayal aversion," building on the well-established psychological principle of risk aversion—by and large, humans simply don't like to take risks.

It turns out they don't like to trust, either, because trust is a form of risk that makes one vulnerable to betrayal. To buy an item on eBay, one must trust the seller. We also trust attorneys, doctors, and politicians to tell us the truth and to represent our interests. "These are principal-agent relationships," Bohnet says. "An agent does something on your behalf. But principals' and agents' incentives are not always completely aligned, and there's asymmetric information."

Traditionally, academics have linked trust to risk tolerance, since it involves taking a risk. Instead, "We're saying that risk-taking when the agent of uncertainty is *nature* is very different from when the agent is another *person*," Bohnet asserts. A farmer, for example, faces natural risks like weather and soil conditions. But there are also social risks—speculative bubbles, HIV infection, terrorism—where other people produce the uncertainty.

Bohnet and Zeckhauser have been running two games, now with about a thousand subjects around the world, playing in groups of 30 at a time. They are two-person games, a variant of the classic Prisoner's Dilemma. In the first game, Player A can choose a "safe" alternative or choose to trust Player B, who can in turn choose an option that rewards both of them more than the safe alternative, or a second option that brings even greater winnings for B—but less than the "safe" option would have given A. In other words, the "good" (i.e., trustworthy) B player will take the win-win alternative, while the "selfish" B will maximize his own outcome at A's expense. When the researchers ask subjects playing A, "What percentage of good people would there have to be in the room [of 15 potential B players] before you would be willing to trust this stranger [the B player]?" the answer has consistently been 50 to 80 percent.

The second game has the same rules as the first, except that an urn containing 100 blue and green marbles takes the role of Player B. The urn is a proxy for an impersonal force, such as nature. If a blue ball is randomly chosen, B selects the "trustworthy" win-win alternative; if a green ball, the "selfish" one. The researchers then asked A players, "What percentage of blue balls would the urn have to contain for you to be willing to take this risk?" A rational money-maximizing person—one who cares only about outcomes—would give the same answer to this question as to the analogous one in the first game. But when playing with "nature," respondents generally peg the figure at 30 to 40 percent, far lower than in the first game. "People are less willing to take risks when confronted with another person than when confronted by nature," Bohnet explains. "Trust is not only about willingness to take risks, but about the willingness to be betrayed."

By comparing the difference between "Minimal Acceptable Probabilities" in the first and second games, the researchers have been able to distinguish risk aversion from betrayal aversion. The "nature" game establishes a baseline level of risk aversion, but the game with a human Player B introduces the additional possibility of betrayal. Thus, the gap between percentages on the two games gives a rough index of betrayal aversion. In the United States, Switzerland, and Brazil, the betrayal aversion differential is 10 to 20 percent. Zeckhauser and Bohnet have also played the games in the Persian Gulf region, with subjects in Kuwait, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. (They are the first social scientists to run economic experi-

GETTY IMAGES

> **"Educational messages may be doomed.** They do not resonate." Voters tune out or forget things that are inconsistent with their beliefs.
>
> —Andrei Shleifer

tion of stimulus and response. Neoclassical economics posits a direct relationship between the object and the choice made. But in behavioral economics, the choice depends on *how the decision-maker describes the objects to himself.* Any psychologist knows this, but it is revolutionary when imported into economics.

"We are vulnerable to how choices are described," Wanner explains. "Advertising is a business that tries to shape how people think about their choices. Neoclassical economics can explain ads only as providing information. But if the seller can invest in advertising that *frames* the choice, that frame will skew the buyer's decision. The older economic theories depend on the idea that the successful seller will produce a better product, the market will price the product correctly, and the buyer will buy it at a price that maximizes everyone's interest—the market is simply where the buyer and seller come together. But once you introduce framing, you can argue that the buyer may no longer be acting entirely in his own self-interest if the seller has invented a frame for the buyer, skewing the choice in favor of the seller.

"Then, the model of the market is not simply buyers and sellers coming together for mutually beneficial exchange," Wanner continues. "Instead, the exchange between buyers and sellers has aspects of a zero-sum game. The seller can do even better if he sells you something you *don't* need, or gets you to buy *more* than you need, and pay a higher price for it." The classical welfare theorem of Vilfredo Pareto was that markets will make everyone as well off as they can be, that the market distribution will be an efficient distribution that maximizes welfare. "But once you introduce framing, all bets are off," Wanner says. A zero-sum game between buyer and seller clearly does not maximize everyone's welfare, and hence suggests a different model of the marketplace.

There are many political implications. We have had 30 years of deregulation in the United States, freeing up markets to work their magic. "Is that generally welfare-enhancing, or not?" Wanner asks. "Framing can call that into question. Everyone agrees that there's informational asymmetry—so we have laws that ensure drugs are tested, and truth-in-advertising laws. Still, there are subtle things about framing choices that are deceptive, though not inaccurate. We have the power of markets, but they are places where naive participants lose money. How do we manage markets so that the framing problem can be acknowledged and controlled? It's an essential question in a time of rising inequality, when the well-educated are doing better and the poorly educated doing worse."

It's a question that behavioral economics raises, and, with luck, may also be able to address. The eclipse of hyper-rational Economic Man opens the way for a richer and more realistic model of the human being in the marketplace, where the brain, with all its ancient instincts and vulnerabilities, can be both predator and prey. Our irrationalities, our emotional hot-buttons, are likely to persist, but knowing what they are may allow us to account for them and even, like Odysseus, outwit temptation. The models of behavioral economics could help design a society with more compassion for creatures whose strengths and weaknesses evolved in much simpler conditions. After all, "The world we live in," Laibson says, "is an institutional response to our biology."

Craig A. Lambert '69, Ph.D. '78, is deputy editor of this magazine.

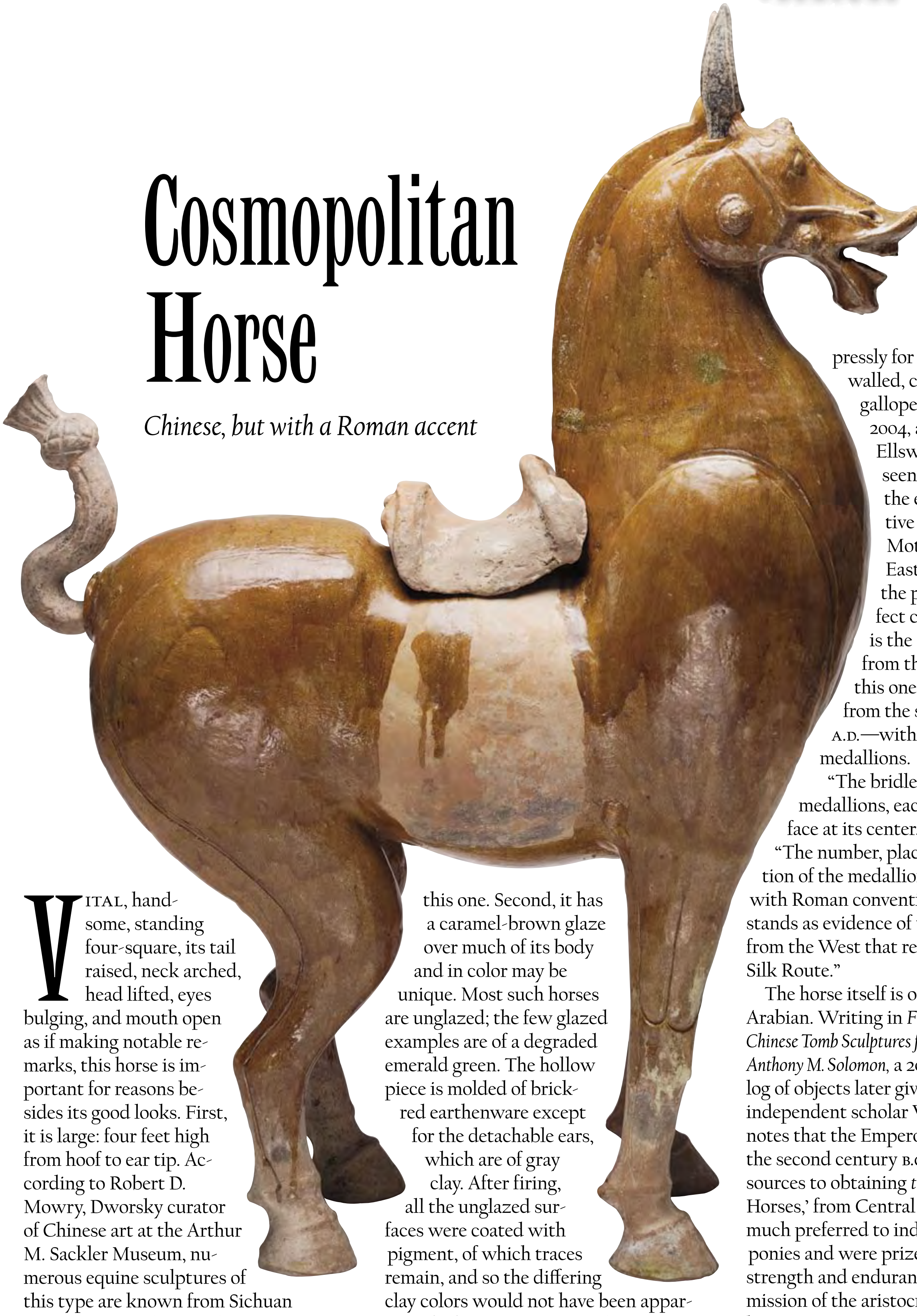
ments in the Gulf region, and will go to Saudi Arabia in March.) In these countries, betrayal aversion is markedly higher, with a differential in the 30 to 40 percent range. "Many in this area say they are willing to trust only if 100 percent of the people are trustworthy," Bohnet reports.

She had an enlightening experience when teaching negotiation and decision analysis to a group of government ministers from the Persian Gulf region in a Kennedy School executive-education program. "I started the class by asking them to recall a time when they lost trust in someone," Bohnet recalls. "One minister said, 'Trust is not an issue for us. We never trust.' What a beginning! It opened up a very interesting discussion. A minister said, 'We cannot dare to trust because we may lose face. I would never come to a meeting and put something on the table that other people could decline.' The meeting-before-the-meeting is absolutely critical in the Gulf, because being let down is terribly humiliating."

Trust has other policy implications. Social capital, per capita income, economic growth, and political stability all have positive correlations with trust in a society. "Trust is a generally good thing," says Bohnet. And nations deal with breakdowns of trust in different ways. "In the Western world, especially the United States, contract law builds on the notion of damages or efficient breach," Bohnet says, "meaning that someone who breaches a contract must compensate their counterpart. But if people are really betrayal averse, damages won't satisfy them, because what they are concerned with is the *fact* of betrayal. U.S. contract law focuses on decreasing the material cost of betrayal, but what betrayal aversion asks for is to decrease the *likelihood* of betrayal, which causes emotional hurt. In Islamic law, which seems to encourage building trust by personal relationships rather than legal means, damages play a much smaller role than in the West. In addition to differences in law, there obviously are other contributing factors. For example, group-based social organization, typical in the Gulf but not in Western countries, is based on long-standing relationships. This substantially reduces the likelihood of betrayal and thus, the social uncertainty involved in trust."

Cosmopolitan Horse

Chinese, but with a Roman accent



VITAL, handsome, standing four-square, its tail raised, neck arched, head lifted, eyes bulging, and mouth open as if making notable remarks, this horse is important for reasons besides its good looks. First, it is large: four feet high from hoof to ear tip. According to Robert D. Mowry, Dworsky curator of Chinese art at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, numerous equine sculptures of this type are known from Sichuan province in southwest China, but most measure half to three-quarters the size of this one. Second, it has a caramel-brown glaze over much of its body and in color may be unique. Most such horses are unglazed; the few glazed examples are of a degraded emerald green. The hollow piece is molded of brick-red earthenware except for the detachable ears, which are of gray clay. After firing, all the unglazed surfaces were coated with pigment, of which traces remain, and so the differing clay colors would not have been apparent. The horse was soon to disappear from view anyway, as it was made expressly for burial in a brick-walled, chambered tomb. (It galloped into the Sackler in 2004, a gift of R.H. Ellsworth, and may be seen through June 11 in the exhibition "Evocative Creatures: Animal Motifs and Symbols in East Asian Art.") Third, the piece is in near perfect condition. Fourth, it is the only known horse from the Han dynasty—this one being probably from the second century A.D.—with decorative bridle medallions.

"The bridle sports five circular medallions, each boasting a human face at its center," Mowry explains. "The number, placement, and decoration of the medallions accord exactly with Roman convention. The bridle thus stands as evidence of the early influence from the West that reached China via the Silk Route."

The horse itself is of imported stock, an Arabian. Writing in *From Court to Caravan: Chinese Tomb Sculptures from the Collection of Anthony M. Solomon,* a 2002 exhibition catalog of objects later given to the Sackler, independent scholar Virginia L. Bower notes that the Emperor Wu, beginning in the second century B.C., "devoted vast resources to obtaining *tianma,* or 'Heavenly Horses,' from Central Asia." They were much preferred to indigenous Mongolian ponies and were prized for their strength and endurance. Entombed, the mission of the aristocratic steed posing here was to transport the soul of the deceased to the next world.

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