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Cambridge 02138

Mill girls, mushroom mirth, folklore myths

ON PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

CHARLES AND GREGORY FRIED'S article "In the Wake of War" (September-October, page 36) is very principled, scholarly, and intelligent, but it misses a major point: What Bush II faced and Obama faces now cannot be fairly compared with earlier incidents, e.g. Jefferson and Lincoln. We are dealing with the real threats of massive slaughter and destruction, involving hundreds, even thousands, of people.

If we could have tortured Mohamed Atta or one of his jihadist team, and so prevented 9/11, would that not have been justified? And in such emergency situations, would that not have been within the commander-in-chief powers of the president?

Granted, we have to be very careful not to antagonize the world, but we are dealing with extreme dangers and we need effective responses for survival!

JOHN McVICKAR, M.P.A. '59
Richmond, Va.

I AM SOMEWHAT PUZZLED by the philosophical proposition the Frieds implicitly maintain, namely that torture is never morally justified. I believe their motivation for maintaining this debatable proposition is the serious practical concern that recognition of occasions when torture may be morally justified creates conditions for a "slippery slope" where torture might become a commonplace instrument of political policy. As I understand the abstract, the Frieds propose as a categorical principle that torture is always immoral, but that it may be excused under certain conditions. This seems to me to be wrong. My understanding of morality has always been that it is categorical: if an action is immoral (e.g., slave owning), you don't perform it, regardless



of its legality. There are no excuses that justify the immoral act.

I also believe that there is at least one relatively well-known counterexample that convincingly undermines the "torture equals *always immoral*" theory. The counterexample is based on the grounds that moral rules logically imply a community in which moral discourse takes place among moral agents. As a matter of logic and reason, the observance of any categorical rule of behavior that could or would result in the extinction of that community qualifies the observance of that categorical rule as immoral and irrational.

Suppose for a moment that a fanatical member of a small and obscure misanthropic environmental group is captured by duly authorized officials of a community of moral discourse. It is an article of faith of that captive and his associates that the extinction of humanity is necessary in order to save the environment and all other species currently living on Earth. Suppose, further, that the fanatic has knowledge of the whereabouts and the means to disarm a "doomsday" device designed to cleanse the environment of human life. The device will annihilate all human life

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within a week. The captive refuses to talk or cooperate with officials.

In these circumstances, should the officials of this community torture the fanatic to obtain information that could lead to the disarming or destruction of the “doomsday” device? Are they acting immorally if they do? If they don’t? I believe the answers in turn are straightforward: yes, no, and yes.

As I understand the Frieds, on the other hand, their answers would be: yes (it’s a politically necessary, excusable immoral act); yes (but it is an excusable immoral act), and no (but the officials should do it anyway because it is a politically necessary and excusable immoral act). If the Frieds are in fact worried about a slippery slope, their moral theory merely moves that serious concern to the issue of what constitutes an excuse and at the seeming cost of logical coherence, simplicity, and clarity (e.g., if it’s immoral, don’t do it).

JIM BEHNKE, J.D. '81
Hanover, N.H.

WHILE Charles and Gregory Fried have written a stimulating and useful article on torture, they seem to have gotten it wrong about public safety, which for a great many Americans trumps the morality, civility, Constitution, and rule of law that concern the Frieds. Thus they refer to events “in which torture truly is the only way to prevent a catastrophe” and to a case “when the usefulness of torture... might seem clear.” But experience shows that torture is not the only way, the clear way, nor even the best way to elicit accurate, timely information from a suspect. Consider the following:

- Lieutenant General John Kimmons, Army deputy chief of staff for intelligence, stated in 2006: “No good intelligence is going to come from abusive practices”;
- FBI director Robert Mueller III stated in 2006 that though the “ticking bomb” case presents a difficult issue, he would rely on the FBI’s non-coercive methods;
- In 2007, General David Petraeus, then the U.S. commander in Iraq, told his forces that torture is both wrong and ineffective; FBI general counsel Valerie E. Caproni noted in 2008: “[T]he FBI has consistently stated its belief that the most effective way to obtain accurate information is to use rapport-building techniques in interviews”;



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- Citing the “ticking bomb” case in 2009, Attorney General Eric Holder said that he would not authorize torture under any circumstances, calling it “a false premise that torture will result in the receipt of good useful information”;
- Jane Mayer in *The Dark Side*, her excellent account of the Bush-Cheney descent into torture, reported that their extraordinary-rendition program has “produced a file of confessions forced out of prisoners claiming to have suffered unimaginable torment. Much of this intelligence, however, proved demonstrably false, leading the United States tragically astray”;
- Mayer relates that CIA agents tortured a captive named Ibn al-Shaykh al-Libi into claiming that ties existed between al-Qaeda and Saddam regarding various weapons of mass destruction. This claim, which was false and which al-Libi later recanted, became a key element of Colin Powell’s pivotal pitch to the UN Security Council in February 2003 for attacking Iraq.

Fortunately, the public safety and the values that concern the Frieds (and me) demand the same result: no torture. I hope that people of the Frieds’ stature will come to embrace and proclaim this conclusion.

MALCOLM BELL '53, LL.B. '58
Weston, Vt.

I HAVEN'T READ the book by father and son Fried. However, it strikes me that if the excerpt in the magazine is exemplary of the arguments pursued throughout, it is undoubtedly a tortuous journey stumbling through a nearly indefinable issue.

Whatever the case, I cannot conjure up the image of the president—any president—voluntarily turning around to Congress and announcing that he or she had violated the law and oh, by the way, here are the articles of impeachment that apply. It is nonsensical. While torture (not further defined) may be in a class by itself for retribution and punishment, once such

SPEAK UP, PLEASE

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a precedent were set, the partisan divide would be exacerbated even beyond its present nearly intolerable state. The first thing the literalists would jump on as not in keeping with the Constitution would lead immediately to refusal to sanction, after the fact, earlier emergency actions deemed beyond the law in retrospect. Cries would go up for self-impeachment proceedings to be initiated. It seems likely that every president has had “chalk on his cleats,” some a great deal, some not so much. We do not need this kind of post facto agitation. We need to pull together now, not tear each other further apart.

BERNARD G. ELLIKER, M.P.A. '69
Laurel, Md.

LOWELL'S LABORERS

DAN YAEGER (Vita, September-October, page 30) offers an all-too-short eulogy of Francis Cabot Lowell's introduction of the industrial revolution to our country. The model Lowell studied in Lancashire in England he imitated in Waltham in the early teens of the nineteenth century. By then Robert Owen and parliamentary committees were already reporting on Lancashire working conditions, with some degree of horror. As in his model, Lowell's imitation involved a workforce of girls 15 and up, at the mill by five in the morning and through 12 or 14 hours later.

As Yaeger says, “[C]loth flew out of the factory as fast as the company could make it.” But it wasn't, of course, “the company” that functioned so satisfactorily; it was the girls and young women. “The operation soon returned 20 per cent annual dividends to its lucky backers.” For “operation” again read “girls and young women.” Their wages were another story that produced strikes beginning in little more than a dozen years. Yaeger has called attention to an interesting story but it is not best told in terms of abstractions.

RAMSAY MACMULLEN '50, PH.D. '57
New Haven

ON SCIENTIFIC MISCONDUCT

The news that professor of psychology Marc Hauser had been found responsible for eight instances of scientific misconduct after a Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) investigation—widely reported in August—attracted passionate correspondence and extensive comment and discussion prompted by the accounts at the magazine's website. One letter is published here; for the online

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LETTERS

comments, see <http://harvardmag.com/marc-hauser>; for detailed reports on the whole matter, see "After the Storm: Presidential Perspectives," page 53, and "Scientific Misconduct, and Its Aftermath," page 57. ~The Editors

DEAN OF FAS Michael Smith's public statement on the findings concerning Professor Hauser is a great disappointment. Like the police captain in *Casablanca*, he is shocked that there is something untoward going on. The statement does not deal with a real problem in the scientific world, and instead of using the opportunity to do some real work on the problem, Harvard is shocked.

ARMIN U. KUDER, LL.B. '59
Washington, D.C.

FOOTBALL FLAG

A SELF-APPOINTED committee of alumni intends to revive the custom, dormant since 2000, of providing an H flag for the alumnus who has attended the most Harvard-Yale football games [see "First and 100," September-October 2003, page 42, and "Football Fandom," in Letters, March-April 2010, page 6]. Since the flag formerly provided is no longer available, on November 20 we plan to present a new flag to Paul Lee '46, who first saw Harvard play Yale in 1935 and who plans to attend his sixty-eighth Game that day.

STEPHEN V. R. GOODHUE '51, *Katonah, N.Y.*

SPENCER ERVIN '54, *Bass Harbor, Me.*

JEFFREY P. LEE '74, *Norwalk, Conn.*

AMANITA EXPERTISE

I WAS INTRIGUED by the illustration by Boudier of *Cortinarius torvus* (Treasure, September-October, page 72). Although I knew that mushrooms in the genus *Cortinarius* develop with a universal veil, the veil is rarely seen and then only as a fine remnant of the veil as a volva; I have never seen one with the veil remnants on the cap.

The illustration did not look like *C. torvus* (which does not have cap remnants) and so I checked the *Revision of Species* in Boudier and found that specimen was identified as *Cortinarius praestans* (Cord.) Gill. I found a description of this species in a British book and it is described as "rare"; *Fungi of Switzerland* describes it as "not common" but a good ed-



ible and "highly prized"! This is in contrast to most of the fungi in this genus, for some are poisonous and we have a saying, "Eat no corts."

Of over 200 *Cortinarius* species in the Swiss book, only one other is described as having some veil remnants on the cap. *C. praestans* has been described in Maine, but in my 40 years of mushroom collecting in Maine I have never recognized it. I will now keep a lookout for this unusual mushroom.

LAWRENCE M. LEONARD, M.D. '56
Falmouth, Me.

ISAAC ASIMOV'S POETIC ADVICE on amanita aroused my muse: En garde, Isaac!

If you nosh an amanita,
You will surely quash your vital!

or

When you fill a luncheon pita,
Do omit the amanita!

ROBERT CARRICABURU '63
Berthoud, Colo.

FOLKLORE AND MYTH MYTHS

ENOUGH ALREADY! On this, the fortieth anniversary of Harvard's first awarding degrees in Folklore and Mythology, I submit it is time to stop drubbing those of us who have chosen this fascinating, but financially unrewarding, specialty for our lack of foresight (Patricia Marx, *The New Yorker*, "On and Off the Avenue," as quoted in "Laugh Lines," July-August, page 57).

As the only member of the first class awarded an A.B. by the Committee on Degrees in Folklore and Mythology to have pursued the discipline on the graduate level, I have been subjected to the ridicule of friends and colleagues longer than most. I was inspired by Albert Lord's Hum 9, "Oral and Early Literature," to consider choosing the newly created folklore and mythology concentration at the end of my freshman year. When I asked Jack Reardon, then my freshman proctor in Mower B [now executive director of the Harvard Alumni Association], whether majoring in this field would keep me from getting into law school, he assured me that I had nothing to worry about as most law schools reserved about 5 percent of their entering classes for complete "wackos" and I would certainly qualify in that category!

Undaunted by Jack's reassurances, I committed to majoring in folklore and mythology and soon became the butt of

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jokes among my teammates on the varsity football team, who decided my major best suited me to the position of children's librarian at the New York Public Library. Over 20 years later, when my wife and I brought our son to Boston to tour prospective colleges, the "rising sophomore" who led our trek around Harvard's campus noted that the University offered such a broad-based liberal arts curriculum that "We even have a degree in—ha, ha, ha—folklore and mythology!"

While admittedly an unusual major, folklore and mythology has served me well over the four decades since graduation. From 1979 to 1985, as a staff member of the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, I was privileged to be part of the creation of the National Heritage Fellowships, which recognize the lifetime contributions of master traditional artists from throughout the United States. In fact, one of the artists recognized in 1983 was Ada Thomas, a Chiti-

macha basketmaker from Louisiana who exemplified the tradition of double-weave basketry described by Ivan Gaskell in his *Vita of Clara Darden* in the same issue of *Harvard Magazine* (page 30). Years later, as executive director of the Cedarburg Cultural Center, I received the 1998 Governor's Award for the Arts for the exhibition *Wisconsin Folk Art: A Sesquicentennial Celebration*, which traveled throughout the state during its 150th anniversary.

So, please, after 40 years of reminding us folklore and mythology majors how frivolous and fanciful our focus might be, give us a break and find some other equally arcane major to thump!

ROBERT T. TESKE '70
M.A. '72, Ph.D. '74 in folklore and folklife
(University of Pennsylvania)
Mequon, Wisc.

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ALL-STAR GREEK CHORUS

THE STORY on James Laughlin '36 and Harry Levin ("Brat. Faker." The College Pump, September-October, page 64) mentioned that Harry Levin '33 was later Babbitt professor of comparative literature. Indeed he was.

It might equally have been noted that Robert Fitzgerald was also '33 and later Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory. I guarantee you that Fitzgerald's Greek was not phonetic.

What a story Primus missed! Also in that same legendary version of the *Philoctetes*, besides Parry (who had no Harvard degree, as I remember but of course was teaching), was Henry Hatfield '33, later professor of German; Mason Hammond '25, LL.D. '94, Pope professor of the Latin language and literature; and John Finley '25, who began his teaching career at Harvard in 1933, and was director or coach of the chorus or something like that for this production. No less amazing was that the choral music was written by none other than Eliot Carter—also class of '33!

Furthermore, although this is not recorded, I frequently heard Henry, Mason, and Robert tell the story of how Harry Levin uncharacteristically got drunk after the final performance, and had to be helped home and to bed by the three of them. If you ever knew Harry that is almost inconceivable to imagine.

James Laughlin could not have done any more than have seen the play, as he must have been a freshman at the time.

This year marks the 100th anniversary of Fitzgerald's birth. He was not simply Boylston professor and the translator of the *Odyssey*, *Iliad*, and *Aeneid*, but also the very close friend of Laughlin and of Harvard men Jim Agee [see "Vistas of Perfection," May-June 2009, page 29] and [author and *New Yorker* editor] Bill Maxwell, who owed much to their friendship with him.

PENELOPE LAURANS, PH.D. '75
New Haven

DROPOUTS

AS A RELATIVE of Famous Dropout Bucky Fuller, I found Craig Lambert's story on less famous Harvard dropouts fascinating ("Dropouts," July-August, page 32). I might be deemed "successful" in some eyes, solely (merely?) because I managed to graduate from Harvard despite real internal obstacles of my own. I was staggeringly immature as an undergraduate. And I knew several incredibly high-quality classmates who did drop out (in the 1960s, in the face of nearly zero intelligent help or counseling whatever at Harvard). Thus one reader's self-congratulatory and sim-

ple-minded reaction to Lambert's story deserves a rebuke.

B. Dan Berger's letter (September-October, page 2) was so smug, so clueless about the writer's own Entitled Privilege, so self-congratulatory, and so judgmental about others, about whose backgrounds, hardships (real or emotional), or level of family support (or lack of it) he hasn't a clue. What he conveys is that because he graduated, he's the super-duper self-made man, while the others are stupid, bad, and lazy. Now there's a sophisticated appraisal for you.

Perhaps Berger should ponder the hilarious anti-Barry Goldwater bumper sticker from 1960s: "Show Some Initiative—Inherit a Department Store."

BERKELEY F. FULLER '69
San Francisco

ON CAREGIVING

I ENJOYED READING Arthur Kleinman's article, "On Caregiving" (July-August, page 25). I am currently working with a home-health-aide agency in New York City, assisting their aides to complete

training and sustain employment. Kleinman's article spoke to the humanistic and moral dimension of healthcare that often seems to be neglected in today's pragmatic discussions of healthcare reform. When I meet with the home health aides, I ask them to read an excerpt from the article and express their thoughts afterwards. I have found that this exercise helps to remind them that behind the technical requirements and bureaucratic regulations, home care is at heart about caregiving.

GRACE KIM '10
New York City

AMPLIFICATION

AFTER PUBLICATION of "The Social Epidemic" (September-October, page 22), assistant professor of medicine Bisola Ojikutu, founding director of the Umndeni Care Program, notified the magazine that the list of donors supporting the program should also have included Lauren and Gary Cohen; the Sullivan Family Foundation; the Gilead Foundation; and the Massachusetts General Hospital Multicultural Affairs Office.

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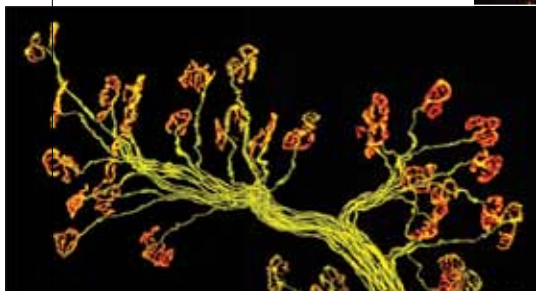
NUMEROUS STUDIES SHOW that caloric-intake restriction (which is known to slow aging in mammals) and exercise have dramatic, beneficial effects on mental acuity and motor ability, says professor of molecular and cellular biology Joshua Sanes, director of the Center for Brain Science. But just *how* these changes improved functioning was unclear. Now Sanes and a colleague, Knowles professor of molecular and cellular biology Jeff Lichtman, have made a discovery that pinpoints mitigation of age-related structural degradation

in neural synapses as the reason for this improvement. According to their research, published this August in the journal *PNAS* (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences), exercise and caloric restriction in lab mice visibly protect and rejuvenate synapses, the neural connections that are critical to cognitive and motor function.

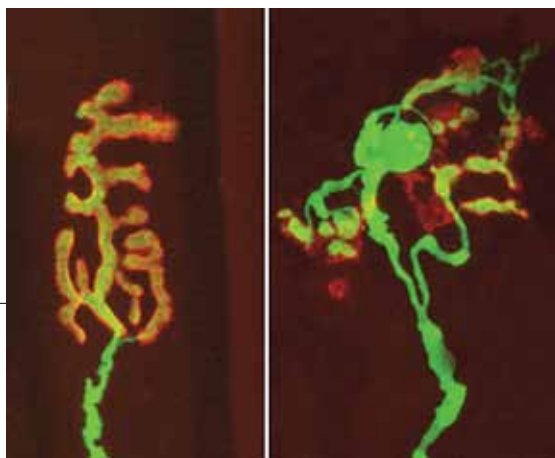
Synapses are junctions between two

nerve cells; electrical signals travel along nerves and are converted to chemical signals that jump a narrow cleft between the sending and receiving parts of the synapse. Unlike most cells, says Sanes, neurons aren't replaced; they tend to be stable throughout life. But with age, a synapse undergoes regressive structural changes—"little pieces of it fragment, or disappear, or the nerve may retract from it; in some cases, the synapse gets so bad that it actually disassembles." Such degradation, Sanes explains, "interferes with transmission of information from nerve to muscle and leads to the muscle

Thick bunches of nerves leave the brain or spinal cord and branch intricately within muscle (fibers of which can be seen running vertically in the background at right). The inset image shows individual axons (yellow) connecting to single synapses (red). The red stain is a snake venom that binds only to muscle receptors; poisonous kraits use it to immobilize their prey.



Exercise and caloric restriction both mitigate the degradation of synapses that occurs with age. In the healthy synapse at left, the receiving end, or muscle receptor (red), and the transmitting end (yellow), attached to a nerve, overlay each other perfectly. With age, the synapse literally falls apart, as shown at right.



VALDEZ, TAPIA, KANG, ET AL.

later, they observed in the synapses that they had surveyed earlier “a partial reversal of structural alterations that had already occurred.”

Because the exercise and caloric-restriction experiments were of different duration, Sanes and Lichtman will now reverse the conditions, testing lifelong exercise against short-term caloric reduction. Meanwhile, one of their postdoctoral fellows is conducting similar experiments, this time using synapses in the brain.

“The research gives us a hint,” says Sanes, “that the way these extremely powerful lifestyle factors act is by attenuating or reversing the decline in our synapses.”

~JONATHAN SHAW

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wasting that accompanies old age.”

Key to the experiment was a technique developed by Sanes and Lichtman that allows individual synapses to be tagged with a fluorescent protein. (The researchers studied neuromuscular junctions in skeletal muscle, rather than synapses in the brain, because the former are large enough to be seen using a light microscope.) The technique allows investigators to surgically open, and capture an image of, a single tiny synapse, and then find the same synapse later, during a second surgical procedure to observe and document the effects of different protocols.

Sanes and Lichtman found that reducing caloric intake in mice by 40 percent for 24 months protected both muscle fiber and motor neurons (which diminish in number with age), as well as synapses. Their exercise experiment gave the lab mice, which typically live two to three years, an exercise wheel at 22 months of age (“Unlike humans, mice actually run voluntarily,” notes Sanes). Just one month

TEACHER DIVIDENDS

Kindergarten Matters

ATTENDING A quality kindergarten that provides experienced teachers and small classes yields measurable benefits, such as higher salaries in adulthood. That finding, in a study led by professor of economics Raj Chetty, has caused a stir by demonstrating that even the earliest school experiences can affect students’ subsequent quality of life, exerting more influence than researchers previously thought.

Chetty and his colleagues, including Harvard Kennedy School associate professor of public policy John Friedman, examined data from Project STAR, a study of nearly 12,000 Tennessee kindergartners conducted in the mid 1980s. The children were randomly assigned to their teachers and to classes that were small (about 15 students) or large (around 24 students) and subsequently tracked (see “The Case for Smaller Classes,” May-June 1999, page 34).

Previous analyses of Project STAR showed that children in small classes, and those with the best teachers, scored higher on standardized tests in

the primary grades. But by the time those students reached junior high, the advantage vanished, a phenomenon known as “fade out.” “By the time they’re in seventh or eighth grade, the kids in a better kindergarten class are not doing any better on tests than the kids in not-so-good classes,” Chetty says. Conventional wisdom held that the boost from a good kindergarten

ebbed with time. “What’s really surprising about our study,” Chetty says, “is that [the advantage] comes back in adulthood.”

When he and his colleagues looked at what the students—now in their early thirties—recently earned, they found that those who had the best kindergarten teachers make more money. “We estimate that if you

Raj Chetty



ERIK IBANSON/GETTY IMAGES

move from an average teacher to an excellent teacher, each student gains an average of \$1,000 per year in earnings,” Chetty says. “If you add that up over a student’s working life, and adjust for inflation and interest rates, you get a total lifetime gain of around \$16,000 per child.” In a classroom with an average of 20 students, then, an excellent teacher means a total gain in earnings of \$320,000 for the entire class. And students from small classes experienced other important advantages: they were more likely to attend college, to own a home, and to save for retirement.

What characteristics separated the best teachers from the worst? Chetty says researchers know little about the teachers except that the standouts tended to have worked in schools longer than the least effective teachers.

And how do excellent teachers create these long-term advantages? Chetty suspects the answer lies in so-called “non-cognitive measures.” When the STAR students reached the eighth grade, their teachers evaluated them on attributes such as manners, the ability to focus, and self-discipline.

Students who had the best kindergarten teachers excelled at these measures, even in eighth grade. “This is a little speculative, but I think it’s consistent with the evidence: A good kindergarten teacher raises your kindergarten test scores by teaching you skills like how to be a disciplined student,” Chetty says. “Those skills don’t necessarily show up in later academic tests, but they end up having a big pay-off in the long run.”

Chetty and his colleagues are working to publish their results, which have not yet been peer-reviewed. When they first presented the findings last July, at a meeting of the National Bureau of Economic Research, wide publicity followed, including comments from bloggers who doubted the researchers could distinguish the influence of kindergarten from such factors as parental education or income. Chetty responds that their findings are particularly meaningful because the students were literally assigned to their classrooms by coin toss. “There was no way for the richer parents or the more informed parents or the more motivated

parents to put their kids in better classes,” he says. Randomization ensured that the composition of classes was comparable, so “any differences across the classes can be attributed to the classes themselves, rather than to potential things like parental background.”

He also disagrees with those who say a gain of \$1,000 a year is too small to matter, pointing out that these students earned an average of \$16,000 a year at age 27, so \$1,000 represents a significant 6 percent raise.

Chetty adds that the new study merely highlights the benefits of a single year. It’s likely, he says, that each subsequent year with an excellent educator would yield additional pay increases: “The point is that over the years, that adds up to quite a bit of money.”

~ ERIN O'DONNELL

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www.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/chetty

MAPPING MATTER

Hypervelocity Stars

THE CENTER of the Milky Way galaxy is a crowded, busy neighborhood: clusters upon clusters of pulsating young stars, giant clouds of gas, dying stars exploding, and, in the middle of it all, a massive black hole. So powerful is the gravitational pull of the black hole that stars in closest orbit have been measured circling it at 26.8 million miles per hour—far faster than the sun, which pokes around the galaxy at a mere 500,000 miles per hour.

According to Warren Brown, an astronomer at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, this black hole has an effect that extends beyond its close neighbors. In rare cases, certain star clusters have come

too close to the black hole and been slung free on a trajectory that sends one of the stars hurtling out of the galaxy—leaving in its wake clues about both the history and the structure of the universe.

Brown discovered the first of these “hypervelocity” stars in 2005 by sheer serendipity. After finishing his Ph.D. in astronomy at Harvard in 2002, he set out to study the movement of older blue stars on the fringes of the Milky Way. (Their increased end-of-life luminosity and puffed size makes them stand out more clearly.) In the midst of his surveys, he discovered a much younger blue star inexplicably speeding toward the edge of the galaxy—on an escape trajectory—at 1.6 million miles per hour. “It was an outlier,” says Brown. “It was so fast that you couldn’t explain it with normal mechanisms.”

He theorized that the star, to generate so much speed, must initially have been part of a trio: a close pair of stars and a third that orbited the two. “We think this third, outer, star was sort of trapped into an orbit around the black hole because it was farther out,” says Brown. As the third star was pulled off, the remaining pair gained gravitational energy from the black hole and were propelled away at an accelerated speed, eventually merging into one.

His most recent paper



RUTH BAZINET/CPA

on the subject, published in July by *Astrophysical Journal Letters*, confirms what Brown had long suspected: that the resulting star's origin was the center of the Milky Way. Using NASA's Hubble Space Telescope, he and a team of researchers



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for more images and a podcast with Warren Brown.

pinpointed the exact location of the star in July 2006, and again last December. The difference between the two images was nothing more than a fraction of a pixel, but it was enough to indicate where the star's path began. "It was pretty exciting," says Brown. "The proper motion pointed directly back to the center of the Milky Way galaxy." The discovery challenged previous suggestions from other astronomers that hypervelocity stars could have

come from outside the galaxy—specifically from a nearby satellite galaxy known as the Large Magellanic Cloud.

Brown has now identified 13 more of the 16 known hypervelocity stars, and intends to locate more of these rare celestial bodies, which account for just one in every 100 million stars. All his previous surveys of the sky have focused on the Northern Hemisphere, but he plans to begin working with a team of astronomers at Australian National University to examine the southern sky. "I think there's every reason to expect we'll have a sample of 40 to 50 stars in five years," he says.

Building a cache of data from the stars will help Brown and other astronomers begin to answer larger questions about the universe. "Hypervelocity stars can provide a measure of what's been happen-

ing down in the galactic center in the past few hundred million years," he says.

They could also offer a better understanding of dark matter—the mysterious, unseen substance throughout the universe that has long been one of astronomy's greatest mysteries. As the stars continue their galactic exit, Brown will be watching for any deviation in their trajectories caused by gravitational influences. "How they arc out betrays the distribution of mass in the Milky Way—both the stars we can see and the dark matter that we can't see," he explains. "So we may actually have our first measure of the distribution of dark matter around the Milky Way."

~DAN MORRELL

WARREN BROWN WEBSITE:

www.cfa.harvard.edu/~wbrown

SOFT SELL

The Power of Touch

METAPHORS OF TOUCH infiltrate our language. When something goes easily, we say it was *smooth sailing*; an uncouth person is *coarse*. We have a *soft spot* for someone we love; the opposite is being *hard-hearted*. In fact, it is difficult to escape these metaphors: try to think of a synonym for *rough day*, and *hard day* probably comes to mind first.

Thus, the ways we describe the world draw on tactile sensations and the emo-

tions associated with them. But research by psychology doctoral student Christopher Nocera suggests that the connections go both ways: that the sensations themselves have a powerful effect on how we perceive situations—and on how we respond.



Nocera and his colleagues, Yale professor of psychology John Bargh and MIT assistant professor of marketing Joshua Ackerman, asked study participants to read a passage about an ambiguous social interaction: one in which comments, motivations, and outcomes could be interpreted in more than one way. Just before reading the passage, the participants were asked to com-

plete a puzzle; those who had handled rough puzzle pieces—covered in sandpaper—rated the interaction they read about as more adversarial than did participants whose puzzle pieces were smooth. Participants who handled a wooden block rather than a blanket before reading a passage about an employee-supervisor interaction were harsher judges of the employee's personality on a subsequent questionnaire.

A third experiment tested similar influences in a situation with more at stake: the researchers asked participants

to rank job candidates based only on a résumé. Subjects who received the résumé

on a heavy clipboard ranked the candidate as more qualified than those who read the same résumé on a lighter clipboard. Nocera believes this is because we equate heavy with serious; a heavy object may broadcast competence the way professional attire or

RIGHT NOW

a firm handshake does (see “The Psyche on Automatic,” page 48).

These tactile cues can influence our impressions—but they may also influence actions. In one example, study participants who sat in hard chairs drove harder bargains in a hypothetical negotiation over a new car: after learning that the dealer had rejected their initial offer, they raised their price less for the second offer than participants seated in a soft, cushioned chair.

Such findings suggest that tactile input is “coming inside in a metaphorical way and then going back out,” says Nocera. The study results, published in *Science* this year, join a small but growing body of research, including earlier work by Bargh that found that people were more generous after holding a warm drink than a cold one. One forthcoming study by Nocera found that subjects who had handled sandpaper were more likely to fall off a low-slung tightrope than those who had touched something smooth before walking the rope. Another (by Nocera and psychology research fellow Omar Sultan Haque) examined the effect of performing movements associated with religion, such as kneeling and prostrating; people who performed such movements reported stronger attitudes of conformity afterwards.

Nocera, whose dissertation will investigate the evolutionary roots and social overlays of physical gestures (such as shrinking back from something disgusting), says that the way we perceive the world is deeply enmeshed in our sense of touch, and this foundation is laid early in life—in fact, before birth. During fetal development, touch is the first of the five senses to develop. During infancy, he says, “we learn to feel a sense of warmth and safety from things like a soft blanket.” In this way, emotional qualities become aligned with certain tactile sensations, and, he says, “I think we probably carry those with us the rest of our lives.”

Understanding these associations may have implications for job interviews, negotiations, and other high-stakes social situations—but also for how we construct our surroundings and conduct ourselves. “If emotions are highly influenced by the body,” says Nocera, “then people need to know.” —ELIZABETH GUDRAIS

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• December 3 at 8 P.M.
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- December 4, 8 P.M.
 "The Music of William Schuman," **Harvard Wind Ensemble**. Lowell Lecture Hall
- December 4, 8 P.M.
 Works by Haydn, **Harvard-Radcliffe Chorus**. Sanders Theatre
- December 9-11, 8 P.M.
 "Les Plaisirs de la Paix: Entertainment of Opera and Ballet," **Harvard Early Music Society**. Sanders Theatre

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Image from *Blue Flower* at the American Repertory Theater; detail of a painting on scrap wood by Somerville artist Tova Speter, whose work is on display at the Arnold Arboretum; an original plate by ceramic artist Kathy King at the Harvard Ceramics Program holiday sale.



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Local Bounty

Alumni celebrate New England-grown food • by Nell Porter Brown



They became friends, with White something of a mentee. One day White cooked up a large pot of Ukrainian borscht for a faculty lunch, but left it to warm on the stove too long. It burned, *badly*, just before it was to be served. “If you’ve ever burned cabbage, you *know* what it smells like!” she says. In tears and nearly hysterical, she called Child. “What is it, dearie, what’s wrong?” Child asked her. “And then she immediately went into action,” White continues. “She told me, ‘Go to Savenor’s and buy a lot of lemons and sour cream

and parsley. Grate the rind into the soup and add parsley. Put out sour cream to put on the soup, then walk in with your tureen and say, “Lunch today is smoked borscht.” And it worked! She was just wonderful.”

White moved on to run her own catering business, which helped pay for graduate school in Japanese studies (she is still an

Corky White relies on her local farmers’ market, in Somerville, Massachusetts, for the foods she cooks, pickles, and preserves.



FOR MANY reasons, many people are joining the ranks of the local-food movement—those bent on consuming primarily what’s grown and produced regionally. The number and breadth of goods sold at farmers’ markets around New England have grown wildly in recent years, as have Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) farms that supply fresh produce to members. The old-fashioned arts of pickling and fermentation, and other modes of non-refrigerated preservation, are also making a comeback as people seek more control over what they consume year-round. These profiles introduce a few of the many alumni cooking, eating, and promoting the foods growing closest to us.

Merry “Corky” White

Cook, food writer, anthropologist

WHEN SHE WAS “young, green, and crazily foolhardy,” Merry “Corky”

White ’63, Ph.D. ’80, had a job cooking for the fellows of what was then the Center for West European Studies. “I was in way over my head,” admits White, now a Boston University anthropology professor. “But I was lucky to be cooking when we didn’t know much about ethnic foods. We didn’t even really know the word *pasta*.” Her strategy was to produce dishes even the well-traveled fellows might never have tasted—food from Afghanistan, Turkey, and all parts of Asia.

Around that time White had also come to know Julia Child, whose *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* she had devoured.

associate of Harvard’s Reischauer Institute for Japanese studies), and write two cookbooks, *Cooking for Crowds* and *Noodles Galore*. But she lopped anything to do with food off her curriculum vitae, as she was advised to, when pursuing an academic career. Only after earning tenure in 1989 did she reinstate that material (“What can they do to me now?!”) in her professional biography—and began merging her interests as a scholar.

“By the mid 1990s, food became more legit as an academic topic,” she says, and in 1997, she began adding anthropological food and culture courses to her offer-

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL SECTION

ings on Japan. She has developed a popular survey course during which she takes students into Boston's ethnic communities to research local food customs, ethnic and immigrant identities, American influences, and how "urban geography can be mapped by food."

In recent years, coffee and Japanese café society intrigued her enough to prompt a book on the topic due out in a year. "People think of Japan and tea," she says, "but Japan is the third-largest importer of coffee in the world; they've been drinking it since the 1880s. They would refer to coffee as the 'fuel of modernization.'" In fact, she adds, it was Japanese workers who went to Brazil in the late nineteenth century who helped establish that country's coffee industry.

This year, White is teaching a fall course on the anthropological aspects of travel and tourism and writing two books: one on work and food (from farmers in the fields to restaurant-kitchen culture); the

other, with her son, a historian, a "world history of food" for Oxford University Press. "We have 160 pages to sort out the human experience of eating through time and space," she says. "It's a tough exercise, and the choices will be interesting."

Leif, Margot, and Wade Holtzman

Entrepreneurs, apple ice wine makers

"**W**ANT TO TRY the sparkling version?" It is 10:30 in the morning as Wade Holtzman flips the lid on a bottle of carbonated apple ice wine he has carefully tended and fermented for three months in his family's basement, now home to Still River Winery, in Harvard, Massachusetts. "Oh yes," say his son, Leif '05, and wife, Margot, Ed.M. '72, happily holding up their empty glasses.

The Holtzmans have been making apple ice wine since 2008, when they first tasted a bottle of *cidre de glace* brought home from a trip to Quebec. "We all fell

in love with it," says Margot. "And we thought, 'Why not make this ourselves?'"

The beverage was invented in Quebec around 1989, using the same techniques that yield the grape ice wine typically produced in Germany and Canada. Made right, the wine is not overly sweet and has a satisfyingly earthy flavor; it carries the same alcohol level as a glass of white wine—12 percent—and is typically drunk chilled before or after a meal. (It pairs especially well with pork, poultry, lobster, and sharp cheeses.) Leif says the carbonated version, which the family produced just for his then-pending wedding, "is a little like apple soda. Because you can't taste the alcohol, it can sneak up on you."

Traditional ice wine uses grapes that have frozen on the vine, but the Holtzmans begin with unpasteurized apple juice fresh-pressed from the nearby Carlson Orchards, a 120-acre farm that grows 14 varieties of apples and has been

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in business since 1936. The liquid is frozen in containers, then allowed to drip-thaw for 24 hours. This process, repeated three times, separates out the watery residue and concentrates the apple juice to its richest state of sugar, acid, and flavor. A five-gallon jug of juice yields about one-and-a-half gallons of concentrated applesness, and the sugar content shifts from 9 percent to 32 percent before fermentation. Once yeast has been added, the concentrate is left to ferment for three months at 50 degrees until the wine is ready for bottling.

Wade, who runs his own business as an antique furniture restorer from another part of the house, is the primary winemaker. Margot, a learning specialist at Cambridge Friends School, takes care of the administrative work; Leif, who studied psychology and economics at Harvard and has worked in online advertising, has overseen business strategy and marketing. Although he enrolled at Stanford Graduate School of Business this fall, he plans to remain an integral part of expanding the winery.

After their apple ice wine has fermented for three months, Margot and Leif Holtzman fill and seal each bottle by hand.




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Still River's annual capacity as a farmer winery (its official classification) is 1,600 cases per year, or 19,200 bottles; the Holtzmans have made a small profit so far selling in four New England states (check www.stillriverwinery.com for retail locations). In 2011, they plan to take advantage of a new Massachusetts law that allows farmer wineries to sell at farmers' markets. That personal touch, Leif agrees, is crucial: "Locally grown, natural products are associated with better health and a smaller environmental impact, which is what people are looking for."

The Holtzmans, for example, still fill and seal one bottle of ice wine at a time, using labels Leif designed. His parents fully expect him to fly home from Palo Alto for the annual marathon bottling session and hope he will cultivate relationships with California wineries for possible future partnerships. Leif laughs at this, but says he will do what he can. "It is a unique, gratifying experience to

be able to hold something in your hand that you made and that people enjoy," he says, looking around the basement, then at his parents. "And that we all enjoy ourselves." *Salud.*

Alex Lewin

Health coach, cooking teacher, food activist

FOR ALEX LEWIN '90, the source of healthy eating—and living—is all about *understanding* that cabbage: where it came from, who grew it, and how. "We've all become too alienated from the foods we eat," asserts Lewin, who is a particular fan of sauerkraut, kimchi, and most things fermented. "People need to take back control over the sources of their food."

After years of working in information technology, Lewin earned enough at Yahoo! to pursue his interests in culinary arts. (He recently took on a job as a software developer and food adviser at the California start-up Foodily, a resource

for food, health advice, and recipes.)

Lewin is part of the collective "real food" movement, which incorporates locavores and proponents of slow food and organic/natural products. He buys primarily what's in season locally at farms, dairies, or farmers' markets, then cooks it or, even better, ferments, dries, salts, soaks, smokes, or pickles it. These "all add flavor, texture, and life, literally, to foods we otherwise take home in a can or a box," he explains. What would be lost in giving up the variety and global exoticism we expect at the supermarket, he asserts, is found in improved ecological and ethical practices, personal health, and, for many, the surprising joy of *creating* something deliciously customized.

Clients come to Lewin, in his capacity as a health coach, with varying concerns: weight loss, medical conditions, or lifestyle changes. One man ate takeout mostly, and had hardly been to a grocery store in years, so he and Lewin went shopping. They ex-

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plored ingredients, nutritional value, and relative cost of foods, then figured out simple ways the client could organize his time and cook more. "I want to help people achieve goals in life," says Lewin, "and if you look at why and how and what people eat, it has a lot to do with the rest of their lives and the decisions they are making. I'm not a dietician or a therapist. I'm not about saying to the client, 'You can never eat ice cream again,' but, rather, 'Let's examine that craving, where it's coming from, and what else can satisfy it.'"

Lewin began connecting his love of food and cooking to personal health and ecology only in 2003, when his father, David Lewin '54, Baumburg professor of music, died of heart disease. "He never had a handle on his own health. I was frustrated for him," Lewin says, "and perhaps terrified for myself."

Deeply impressed by fellow alumnus Andrew Weil's *Natural Health, Natural Medicine*, Lewin graduated in 2006 from the

Cambridge School of Culinary Arts, where he periodically teaches food-preservation classes. He is on the board of directors of the Boston Public Market Association and shares his nearly encyclopedic knowledge of food, with a focus on its science and politics, at <http://feedmelikeyoumeanit.com>.

His own dietary regimen is fairly strict: raw milk, no caffeine, and only "meats of known origin." Most shellfish is OK, and he sometimes consumes farmed freshwater fish from the United States, but avoids all farmed saltwater fish. (*Bottom Feeder*, by Taras Grescoe, he says, "lays out the scenario in all its bewildering complexity.")

Lewin promotes fermentation of vegetables, which he carries out in his tiny Cambridge kitchen. (Fermentation, which involves a chemical change with efferves-

Alex Lewin prepares his signature, locally sourced sauerkraut: high in nutrition, good for digestion, it encourages eating healthily even in the dead of winter.



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cence, is different from pickling, which preserves food in vinegar.) People pay a lot of money for the same bacteria, “probiotics,” in capsule form, he points out, when they could ferment foods at home to help preserve vitamins and enzymes for better digestion, especially of proteins. “It’s not a coincidence that fermented foods are generally served with meats, which can benefit from the additional acid,” he adds: paté and cornichons, sausages and sauerkraut. With climate change, he believes, many agricultural skills that urban dwellers have lost—growing and preserving their own food, for example—are going to become essential to survival in the future.

Moreover, he says, holding up a jar of turnips and beets sitting in rose-colored liquid, “I enjoy the artistry and aesthetic appeal of doing it well.”

Lewin used to own a share of a cow that supplied him with unpasteurized milk; now he gets his milk from farms in Foxboro and Framingham. Raw milk, typically, can only be produced safely on a small scale and then must be sold quickly. Yet, he notes, it is healthier in terms of vitamins and natural enzymes and easier to digest than pasteurized milk, made from “hundreds of thousands of cows, that has been centrifuged, cooked, and reblended to specific constituent percentages, 3.2 percent or ‘whole’ milk.”

Buying raw milk also sends more of the sales proceeds directly to the local farmer, rather than to the distributor, he says. “There is no good reason for homogenization except that it makes things easier for the processor and everyone is used to it,” he says. “The war against raw milk is being waged in part by the distributors and large dairy farms.” Moreover, government efforts to assure safer food supplies “by sterilizing milk...are short-sighted,” he adds. “The mainstream is now questioning overuse of antibiotics in human and animal populations, and antibacterial soap. I hope that raw milk enjoys the same attention soon.”

Does he occasionally indulge? Yes. Lewin loves grapefruit and avocados, year-round, for instance. Sometimes he also eats commercial ice cream. “Although,” he adds, “there’s nothing very good about it; it’s pasteurized milk and sugar and, of course, even worse, corn syrup.” ♡



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VEE VEE is a neighborhood bistro people return to because it's comfortable—but surprising. The venue is cozy, with a dash of the sultry: walls are persimmon orange against dark chocolate-colored wainscoting. Monstera in oversized glass vases hang gracefully by a very small bar that offers well-selected wines and microbrewed beers. The work of fine local artists is on display. The casual atmosphere attracts a diverse crowd, from dating couples to folks who bring their babies to an early dinner.

What's special is that the modestly priced Vee Vee also turns out innovative food that is fresh *and* healthy. Why can't

Above: Among Vee Vee's charms are its boldly colored walls (Benjamin Moore's "Autumn Cover"), a signature touch for co-owner Kristen Valachovic, an interior designer before restaurant life took hold.

more restaurants satisfy this triumvirate of desires in a stylish milieu?

Don't be discouraged by the small menu. Everything tastes good. Chef Seth Amsden plays with an array of textures and emphasizes locally grown produce. Vegetarian fare abounds. The night we were there, five of the seven appetizers had neither meat nor fish and there was no beef or chicken among the entrées.

To start, we had the delectable shrimp and scallop cake with chipotle aioli (\$8), which was, thankfully, free of the surplus breading that ruins many an item like this. The crisp morsels of seafood were just juicy enough and spiced just right, and accompanied by a few spoonfuls of chopped red onion, tomatoes, and parsley in a light vinaigrette.

Noting the peach and purslane salad (\$9) on the menu, we pictured succulent just-ripe wedges atop a bit of crunchy stuff. The textured contrast was interesting, but the proportions were reversed, leading to a bit too much cow-like munching on the grassy weeds, with only a few peachy bites as relief.

The mushroom ragout entrée was a tangle of thinly sliced crimini, maitake, and oyster mushrooms (\$17) that came, carefully salted, in a miniature frying pan over chewy pellets of farro. A handful of fava beans added a playful color and softer bite. The egg, cooked sunny side up and topped with shards of aged cheese, made the dish cohere, while the accompanying arugula salad was a welcome, sharp contrast.

We also loved the Southwestern-style tofu dish (\$14). It featured a bed of thick, smoky black beans (worth eating all alone), teamed with a cold avocado, onion, and mango salsa. The tofu's texture was like chicken and the molé crust gave it a surprising kick. Delicious, too, were slabs of roasted sweet potato in their crackling skins.

Vee Vee's desserts can be a rich reward for eating right. The Polynesian vanilla bean *pot au crème* (\$7) was served with perfectly rendered chocolate *sablés* (round French butter cookies), and we savored the novel pairing of chocolate brioche pudding (milky, loosely packed slabs of bread with molten chocolate) with brandied figs (\$7).

When they opened their restaurant in 2008, owners Daniel and Kristen Valachovic (whence Vee Vee) envisioned a truly local haunt with startlingly good food. They host various community events, fundraisers, and specialty food nights. If the people lined up for Thursday's \$1 oysters (until 7 P.M. only!) are any indication, they have succeeded. ~N.P.B.

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Elizabeth Whittaker, at her office in Boston, with basswood architectural models for residential and commercial structures

Spartan Means, Splendid Spaces

Elizabeth Whittaker's beautiful buildings look expensive, but aren't.

by CRAIG LAMBERT

IN THE SUMMER of 1991, as a new North Carolina State University graduate in environmental design in architecture, Elizabeth Whittaker, M.Arch. '99, wore a hard hat, pouring concrete over rebars at Arcosanti, a planned community in the Arizona desert designed by the celebrated architect Paolo Soleri. "It was a hippie-throwback place," she recalls. "Living off the land in a progressive, communal atmosphere. A hilarious place." Today, as principal of MERGE Architects, Inc. (www.mergearchitects.com) in Boston, Whittaker still dons a hard hat occasion-

ally, but now she's overseeing the pours, and the buildings under construction are her own designs.

The hard hat suggests the hands-on, intimate involvement with details of a project that Whittaker specializes in, a way of working that she calls "extreme collaboration." It's a modus operandi that took form in the early days of her firm, which she founded in 2003, when "we were flying by the seat of our pants, doing these small, quick, needs-to-be-built-in-three-weeks-for-10-dollars kind of projects," she explains. "We would be inventing the con-

struction details right in the shop or on site with the artists and craftsmen—the steel fabricators, woodworkers, structural engineers, concrete fabricators. Every architect collaborates; this is extreme only in that it is so immediate. We're inventing it *with* the tradesmen. I've built a practice on learning from these people—it's more inventive when there are more voices."

At a health club in Woburn, Massachusetts, for example, MERGE worked closely with a structural engineer to construct an undulating interior wall by physically stacking up cylindrical Voss glass water bottles from Norway, creating a reinterpretation of the glass block wall. The clear bottles nicely embody the club's mission of health and fitness.

FOR A SMALL FIRM (there are three on staff), MERGE has designed and/or built a considerable number of structures in its eight years: 35 residential, 14 commercial, and four institutional projects. "We *make*

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MONTAGE



Stacks of Voss water bottles form a translucent curving wall at a health club (above); a Mount Everest photo (right) enlivens a Nepalese/Indian restaurant, where cotton straps and custom light fixtures (far right) create a unique wall and ceiling.



things,” Whittaker declares. “We’re not a firm that works on a lot of design competitions.” MERGE has done plenty of local, smaller-scale, super-fast projects: for example, design and build a loft residence or restaurant interior in six to nine months from date of hire. “They’re fast-track projects because often the client is paying two mortgages, or the rent has kicked in,” Whittaker explains. “The budgets are crazy tight, so we have to invent on the fly, very quickly.”

That spurs creativity. For the Yak & Yeti Nepalese/Indian restaurant in Somerville, Massachusetts, for example, on a budget “smaller than zero,” MERGE made something out of nearly nothing. The owner hired them to draw up basic plans—“This guy didn’t come to us for high design,” says Whittaker, grinning—and had planned to hang framed pictures of Mount Everest and the Buddha on the walls. Instead, MERGE took one stun-

ning Everest photograph, made it into wallpaper, and bled it across three walls. They bought nine bare-bulb light sockets for \$1.50 each and had circular mounts custom made for them (about \$150); these now light a dining room and represent the Nepalese notion of the “nine eyes of the Buddha.” Whittaker and her colleagues spent weeks on ladders installing a wall and ceiling made of thin, horizontal cotton straps stretched between and around upright poles; the project ended up a net loss for the firm, but “We enjoyed it,” she says. “The food is fantastic, the res-

A design for a YMCA health and wellness center (below), projected to go up at one or more YMCA camps, beginning in 2011





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O P E N B O O K

Dickinson's Trinity



This light—but blasphemous—little poem parodies the Trinitarian formula of baptism, initiated by Jesus' commandment to his disciples that they should go forth baptizing all nations "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matthew 28:19)...Dickinson relies—as we first think—on simple alliteration to bind her poem together: Bee, Butterfly, and Breeze make up a natural spring "trinity." But...if alliteration were all she was after, she could have said "Bird"...or "Buttercup"...We have to look a little more curiously at the import of her three successive nouns.

Dickinson has assumed here the authority of the vicar who inaugurates a ritual with his "In the name of the Father" and ends it with his "Amen."...It is Dickinson's conviction of her intellectual and aesthetic authority that enables her to stand, however whimsically, against the church, and offer Nature as a better object of worship than the Trinity. The authority of the poem is so sweetly exerted that its sting is felt only after its charm: this mixture of comedy and satire is characteristic of many of Dickinson's early poems.

...[S]uch a short poem raises the

Winter looms, but the artistic imagination can summon the warmer seasons. Porter University Professor Helen Vendler has turned her critical skills to Emily Dickinson, and by happy coincidence, *Dickinson: Selected Poems and Commentaries* (Harvard University Press, \$35) begins with a deceptively simple verse:

In the name of the Bee -
And of the Butterfly -
And of the Breeze - Amen!

Vendler's interpretation follows.

The young Emily Dickinson, in a daguerreotype made in late 1846 or early 1847

question of what counts as a poem at all. Using "In the name of the Bee -" as our example, we could say that what a poem needs above all is imagination. In this tiny poem we see a first, second, third, and fourth effort of imagination.

First, the poem invents the idea of a parody of a Christian form of words, while retaining a trace of its source in its closing "Amen." And second: the poet decides on the three nouns to be substituted for the three Persons of the Trinity. And third: the poet has to make her trinity of nouns "mean something" in relation to one another (as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are related). While Bee and Butterfly are named and capitalized living things (as are the Father and the Son), the Breeze is a motion of air (as was the Holy Spirit at Pentecost). And fourth: the nouns chosen must have a "spiritual" quality, must be symbolic as well as "real"; the Bee (for Being), the Butterfly (Psyche, the resurrected Soul), and the Breeze (the Spirit) all fit that criterion. While the imagination is doing its work, a parallel investigation is being carried out by the ear, creating a link of sound—Bee, Butterfly, Breeze—to substitute for the "familial" links of the Trinity.

Dickinson keeps a secular Sabbath in the open fields, her ear open to the bee's hum, her eye open to the butterfly's flight, and her skin open to the caress of the spring breeze; but she sanctifies them by making them "match" the Christian Trinity. It is her own imaginative effort that Dickinson is "baptizing" here, calling on the authority of Nature, not of God.

COURTESY OF MERGE ARCHITECTS



The award-winning Penn Street Lofts in Quincy, Massachusetts, include six residential units, each with its own balcony and pattern of windows.

restaurant is doing extremely well, and the neighborhood loves the space."

The designs typically have clear, clean lines: "I'm interested in abstraction," says Whittaker, who worked for a year in Berlin, where the Bauhaus legacy lingers. "We have to get to the point quickly. We don't do fussy trim." For example, in Quincy, Massachusetts, the six-unit Penn Street Lofts—which have won three awards from the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and its affiliates—is a multifamily residential building of 1,100- to 1,600-square-foot lofts, built most economically for \$100 per square foot. It replaced a moribund industrial facility in a neighborhood of one- and two-family homes. ("We felt this building could be a catalyst for real change in the neighborhood," Whittaker says.) The exterior has a crisp, angular simplicity, softened by red cedar siding. Instead of an "anonymous façade of repetitive windows," each loft has its own window pattern. "The unit, and the life within the unit, become more of a cinematic moment on the façade, and that therefore involves the street," she explains. "It's not the same as having a front stoop, but it's the next best thing." Balconies, instead of projecting outward, are recessed into the units' footprints: "You have a balcony stating that this is *your* unit, distinct from the others."

Her creative solutions to problems of site, structure, budget, timeline, and function have won Whittaker invitations to lecture at Taliesin West in Arizona and



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for more photographs of Elizabeth Whittaker's buildings.

to represent the United States in an AIA lecture series in Puerto Rico, alongside architects from France and Spain. Last year and this, as design critic in architecture, she has also taught a studio—the heart of the curriculum—at the Graduate School of Design. “I love teaching,” she says. “It keeps your mind fresh and helps you stay engaged in all aspects of the discipline. It’s beyond stimulating.”

In the classroom, Whittaker can also reconnect with the feeling she had when she took her first architecture course and found it “the most fascinating, hardest, and most challenging thing I had ever done.” Having painted and done graphic design, she felt that architecture opened a door to infinite possibility. “Architecture is everything: it’s sculpture, it’s graphics, it’s product design—done in three-dimensional experiential space,” she says. “Layered on top of that, you have the responsibility of making a building people actually want to inhabit. How could I give that up and just do one of those, when architecture asked me to do them all?”

Chocolate à la Vietnamese

Truffles with a South Asian accent

IT’S A SATURDAY NIGHT in San Francisco. Time feels tight for Susan Lieu ’07 and her older sister, Wendy, founders of Sôcôla Chocolatier. (Sôcôla, from the French *chocolat*, means “chocolate” in Vietnamese.) They must make 1,200 more truffles—pear *pâte de fruit*, yuzu ginger, jasmine tea, and burnt caramel with red Hawaiian sea salt.

What sets the sisters’ confections apart are their inventive Eastern- and Western-inspired flavors, perfected confection, and playful packaging. These truffles—some with sassy names like Give It To Me Guava and Notorious H.O.G. (a



COURTESY OF SÔCÔLA

The upscale chocolates—boxes of a dozen, like these, retail for \$25 each—draw on flavors from Vietnam and the rest of the world.

play on the stage name of the late rapper The Notorious B.I.G.)—are tantalizing taste buds and winning prizes.

Sôcôla (www.socolachocolates.com)

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PHOTO: STEPHANIE MITCHELL/HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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LEFT: SHIGEHISA KURIYAMA, REISCHAUER INSTITUTE
PROFESSOR OF CULTURAL HISTORY

What's New on the Web



WEB EXTRAS add new dimensions to many articles in this issue. Read the stories, then visit harvardmag.com/extras for video, audio, photos, and more.



LISTEN

The Power of Photography

In locations from Vermont to Kurdistan, Susan Meiselas, Ed.M. '71, has made it her life's work to understand through images. Read the article on page 41, then log on to our website to hear an interview.



SEE

Responses to Marginalization

Social psychologist Amy Cuddy studies first impressions and draws on recent research that found a neurological basis for why societies marginalize the poor. Read about her work on page 48, then go online to see paintings created by homeless people responding to their social categorization.



DISCUSS

Your Take: Snap Judgments and Stereotypes

Tell us about a snap judgment or stereotype that was applied to you, and the consequences. Do you try to compensate for your own snap judgments? Share your thoughts and see what other readers said.



EXPLORE

Harvard and Hollywood

Read a review of the new book on the *National Lampoon*, founded by Harvard Lampoon alumni (see page 27). Then enjoy three more articles online from the *Harvard Magazine* archives on Harvard, comedy, and Hollywood.



WATCH

A Poet at Work

Poet April Bernard '78 considers herself a "disillusioned Romantic" (see page 24). Learn more from a *Harvard Magazine* original video in which Bernard, at her home in Vermont, reads from, and discusses, her work.

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 dan Dæt was ond cuning

LEARN

Medieval Manuscripts

A new Harvard University Press series aims to make medieval texts accessible by pairing significant works in their original languages with modern English translations on facing pages (see page 64). Online examples offer excerpts from the Vulgate Bible and from *Beowulf*.

MONTAGE

began in 2001 as a teenagers' side business in a farmers' market booth. This year, it took 10 awards at the San Francisco International Chocolate Salon, including a second place for "Most Exciting Experience." They've supplied truffles for Google, Chevron, Pixar, and CBS, as well as San Francisco's Asian Art Museum, and have 11 retail vendors (\$25 for a 12-piece box). "We have the go-ahead to do 26 additional stores in northern California," says Susan. "Are we doing it? No. I'm doing a full-time Coro Fellowship. My sister has a full-time job."

Even so, with only a few basic ingredients—chocolate, butter, cream, and a given batch's special flavor, such as guava—they find time to create truffles for all tastes. Environmentally conscious food producers, they curb their greenhouse-gas emissions by buying locally produced, organic ingredients whenever possible. They use E. Guittard's 72 percent dark chocolate: "It's local, family owned and operated, and it has a rich chocolate taste

The flavors come from travels, experiences, Wendy's dreams.



COURTESY OF SÔCÔLA

The whimsical Sôcôla logo, a winged alpaca nicknamed "Harriet," appears in various colors on some of the truffles.

that doesn't overpower other flavors," says Susan. The sisters always follow Wendy's time-tested confectionary regimen: smooth, dense, creamy ganache coated in a shiny dark chocolate shell.

The rest of the magic is in the science of truffle-making: ingredient ratios and the tempering of the chocolate—the process of heating and then cooling it for stability, a nice crunch, and a smooth shine. Their jasmine tea truffle recipe (detailed on www.instructables.com) begins with mixing and boiling cream and invert sugar, then letting the liquid steep with loose jasmine



ELIZA WILMERDING

In the Sôcôla kitchen, sisters Wendy (left) and Susan Lieu dip a few dozen chocolate truffles laid out on baking parchment.

tea leaves away from the heat. Straining, re-boiling, pouring into melted chocolate, and adding butter follow, as do refrigerating, spreading, dipping, and garnishing.

The flavors come from travels, experiences, Wendy's dreams, "and just what we're into," says Susan. "Wendy loves stout—bam, it's in there. Wendy loves bacon, there you go. We drink Vietnamese coffee—it's in the chocolate."

By day, Wendy is a management con-

sultant; by night and on weekends, she's Sôcôla's self-taught chocolatier. "She gets ganaches right on the first or second try," says Susan. "That's brilliant. She's talented! In Vietnamese, you'd say she's *khéo tay*—clever, skillful, and dexterous with her hands. I can't do that. I hate origami!"

This evening, kitchen conditions are perfect. Wendy's happy with her ganache—it's firm, velvety, and the flavor releases on the tongue. The liquid dark chocolate has been tempered just so. The air conditioning keeps their rented kitchen cool for chocolate hardening. Standing opposite one another, the sisters dip ganache squares topped with pear *pâte de fruit* into dark chocolate and drag it an inch on the parchment-lined tray to lose the excess coating. As they reach for the next one, a long-time assistant applies the garnish—in this case, a cocoa-butter transfer of their trademark, a winged alpaca the sisters call Harriet.

THE LIEU SISTERS' PARENTS escaped Vietnam by boat after the war and lived

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PHOTO: STEPHANIE MITCHELL/HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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LEFT: SARAH DE BESCHE AND ZENAB TAVAKOLI '12

in refugee camps for two years before starting their own gardening and nail-salon businesses in the Bay Area. After Harvard, Susan worked on a government-run sustainable cocoa development project in Vietnam while staying with family in the Mekong Delta. She returned to San Francisco for her Coro Fellowship (the nonprofit program trains fellows for “effective, ethical leadership in public affairs”)—and with her aunt’s recipe for a Vietnamese dessert, which led to their popular tamarind black sesame truffle.

Susan will soon take over managing Sôcola’s operations, sales, and marketing full time. She plans to systemize and streamline their production process, and find out if the business is expandable and

The sisters with their “Duchess of Earl” Earl Grey-flavored truffles. After dipping, they push each one to the side to prevent a trailing “foot” of excess dipped chocolate.

sustainable enough to support one if not both sisters.

“Sometimes I think, ‘Why am I trying to make chocolate?’” Susan says, pondering what her parents went through for her and her siblings. Upon reflection, she remains committed. “What am I so afraid of? Maybe the world *will* fall in love with our chocolate,” she says. “It’s fun and delicious. It gets you out of the grind and into the body. If people can give them as gifts, share them around a table, enjoy, be grounded in the moment, and maybe take that feeling somewhere else—I think that’s success.” ~ELIZA WILMERDING



ELIZA WILMERDING

Noir Romantic

Poet April Bernard samples the air of Keats, Shelley, and James M. Cain.

“OH, I’M A ROMANTIC, but a heart-broken romantic—and *noir*, deeply *noir*,” says poet April Bernard ’78, with a full-throated laugh. Then she explains: “*Noir* is romanticism embittered. The life of feeling that has been *betrayed* leads to the attitude and genre of *noir*. No one who loves *noir* is a cynic—cynics never believed in anything in the

first place. People who love *noir* are disillusioned romantics. You couldn’t have Raymond Chandler, James M. Cain, and Dashiell Hammett unless you had the Romantics: the belief that feeling is primary and expressing feeling will lead you to spiritual enlightenment. When you find out that it doesn’t, you end up in a place of *noir*.”

Consider her poem “To the Knife,” in

which she mentions Alfred Hitchcock’s 1946 film

“...*Notorious*, where I discovered myself

a long time ago, before I learned the
finish of the dance
could never be a box-office-pleasing
slow dissolve to kissing.
No; my dance like theirs properly never
ends, it is a *danse*

apache to the death, so much violence to
reason in lovers kissing
and sighing, because they love because
it’s impossible,
and pretending a happy ending is just an
excuse for more kissing.

This poem, with others in her most recent book, *Romanticism* (2009), embraces the irrationality of both romanticism and *noir*: “They are both emotional reactions to the world.

Neither is very smart,” she says. Yet, in this collection, her fourth, “The impulse behind the poems is to experience extremities,” she observes. “Shelley wrote, ‘I fall upon the thorns of life; I bleed!’ And I said to myself, ‘Why can’t I say that? How do I do that? So I decided to write poems interrogating language, exploring



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for a video of Bernard reading and discussing her work.

“I like people to stand on tiptoe when they read my work,” says Bernard. “Not that it’s difficult to understand—but I’m trying to articulate complex ideas and feelings.”



CRAIG LAMBERT

Off the Shelf

Recent books with Harvard connections

Roosevelt's Purge: How FDR Fought to Change the Democratic Party, by Susan Dunn, Ph.D. '73 (Harvard, \$27.95). The author, professor of humanities at Williams, dramatically narrates FDR's 1938 campaign to defeat conservative senators who helped to thwart New Deal bills. His intervention in Democratic primaries didn't go well, but it did prefigure the realignment into the more ideologically pure parties that dominate (and divide) Washington now.

How Did the First Stars and Galaxies Form? by Abraham Loeb, professor of astronomy (Princeton, \$24.95 paper, \$75 cloth). A small book (169 pages) on a large subject: the first billion years of cosmology. "I get paid to think about the sky," Loeb writes engagingly—but there's no escaping the physics and math.



Bright jets from a collapsing stellar core provide astronomers with an essential measuring device for probing the universe.

Music at the End of Life, by Jennifer L. Hollis, M.Div. '03 (Praeger, \$44.95). Harvard Divinity School's assistant director of admissions explores the role of music in hospice and palliative care ("easing the pain and preparing the passage," per the subtitle), the subject of the emerging field of music-thanatology.

The Lowering of Higher Education in America, by Jackson Toby, Ph.D. '50 (Praeger, \$34.95). The retired Rutgers professor maintains that need-based fi-

ancial aid makes education an entitlement, but erodes standards. Federal aid, he argues, must be tied to academic performance as well.

The Decline and Fall of the American Republic, by Bruce Ackerman '63 (Harvard, \$25.95). Yale's Sterling professor of law and political science devoted his 2010 Tanner Lectures, at Princeton, to the untoward consequences of "triumphalist" constitutional thought, including his own, and what he sees as the "clear and present danger" now posed by America's too-powerful presidency.

The Frugal Superpower: America's Global Leadership in a Cash-Strapped Era, by Michael Mandelbaum, Ph.D. '75 (PublicAffairs, \$23.95). It's easy to be powerful (if not loved) when rich. But what happens when the chief guarantor of world security becomes less so? The author, of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, sees a more modest U.S. profile, and less imported oil.

Death in the New World, by Eric R. Seeman '89 (University of Pennsylvania, \$45). The ubiquity of death and common responses to it—belief in an afterlife, care for the corpses—facilitated understanding among Indian, European, and African peoples. Seeman, at SUNY-Buffalo, explores the cultures crossing, 1492-1800.

Reshaping the Work-Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter, by Joan C. Williams, J.D. '80 (Harvard, \$29.95). The director of Hastings College of the Law's Center for WorkLife Law argues that women don't just opt out of careers, that men are disadvantaged by work norms, and that the prevailing gridlock requires new thinking.

The Leafcutter Ants, by Bert Hölldobler and Edward O. Wilson, Pellegrino University Professor emeritus (Norton, \$19.95 paper). The foremost myrmecological coauthors collaborate again, on a visually stunning illustration of the spe-



A texting break, in Shanghai. Layers of tradition and modernity make it rewarding—and essential—to learn about China through its languages.

cies that, they show, demonstrates "civilization by instinct."

Dreaming in Chinese, by Deborah Fallows '71 (Walker, \$22). The author, plunging into life in China (with husband/journalist James Fallows '70, to whom she dedicates the book), self-deprecatingly recounts her "Mandarin Lessons in Life, Love, and Language" (the subtitle)—from mastering a soap opera to being able to chew out a cabbie for overcharging.

Just Like Someone Without Mental Illness Only More So, by Mark Vonnegut, M.D. '79 (Delacorte, \$24). A memoir about growing up with a suddenly famous parent, and coping with one's own psychoses, alcohol dependence, and pediatric practice.

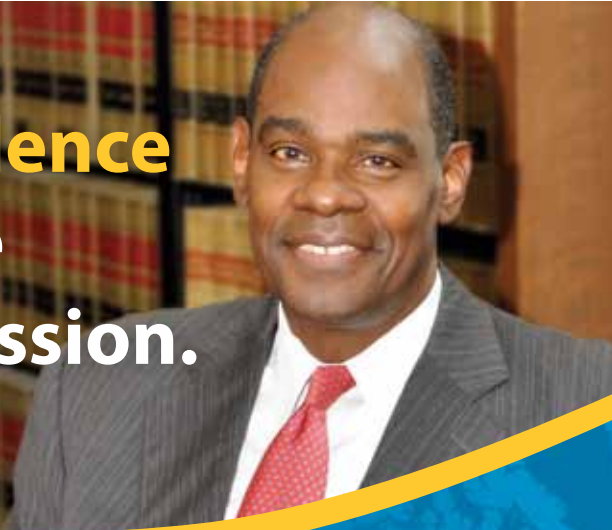
The Two Faces of American Freedom, by Aziz F. Rana '00, Ph.D. '07 (Harvard, \$29.95). A dense, textured, and bold interpretation of American constitutionalism and political culture, disentangling the themes of freedom, subordination, and empire, by an assistant professor of law at Cornell.

The Intelligent Entrepreneur, by Bill Murphy Jr. (Henry Holt, \$27.50). A journalistic account of start-up success, as taught at Harvard Business School, through the experiences of three '98 M.B.A. graduates: Marla Malcolm Beck (also M.P.A. '98, Bluemercury cosmetics); Marc Cenedella (TheLadders.com job search); and Chris Michel (military.com).

DEBORAH FALLOWS

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modes of romanticism. There is tremendous pain in these poems and I didn't know how to express it any better."

Take the ending of "Romance":

...Most of what I imagine,
what I want, is small: Hands with
mine in the sink, washing dishes,
the smell of wool, feet tangling mine in
bed. I know

the gods punish the proud, but I do
not yet know
why they punish the humble.

Although after all

it is not humble to ask, every minute
or so, for happiness.

Bernard is now in her second year as director of creative writing at Skidmore, where she also teaches literature. (Her own mentors at Harvard included Robert Fitzgerald and Elizabeth Bishop.) Previously, she taught for a decade at Bennington. (She still lives in Bennington, Vermont.) Her first book, *Blackbird Bye Bye*, won the Walt Whitman Award from the Academy of American Poets; current U.S. poet laureate W. S. Merwin declared it the work of "a poet of obvious gifts and power and ambition, unsparing and brilliant."

She'll admit to the "intellectual ambition" of her work: "It is not just about 'me.' I'm interested in writing in a way that reaches beyond the subjective and personal to something greater. That's what all serious art is for: reaching beyond the self." While writing *Romanticism*, she reached for a lot of Henry James (a "late Romantic," she says, who appears more than once in the poems), listened to lieder, and heard plenty of opera.

Yet the sorrow and disillusion in the book are "tempered with aesthetic and intellectual playfulness," Bernard says. "I'm playing a game with readers and at the same time engaging their emotions and wits." In one case, she brings together the unlikely duo of Roy Orbison and John Milton in a poem that mixes tongue-in-cheek celebration ("Someone will return a phone call today!") with the feeling of waking from a dream to realize, crestfallen, that a lost love is *not* present after all. Language, she finds, can help melt desolation: "Truth telling, saying it as exactly as I can, provides a form of refreshment."

—DAVID SCRIBNER

Funniest Pages

A tasting menu from the most hilarious magazine ever

by CRAIG LAMBERT

CONTRARY TO the romanticized image of a solitary artist forging brilliant creations in inspired isolation—Franz Kafka, say—most great works of art emerge from a group of creators who catch fire together. Renaissance Italy is probably the grandest example, but think of the Abstract Expressionists breaking new ground in New York in the 1940s and 1950s, or the Bauhaus of Germany in the 1920s.

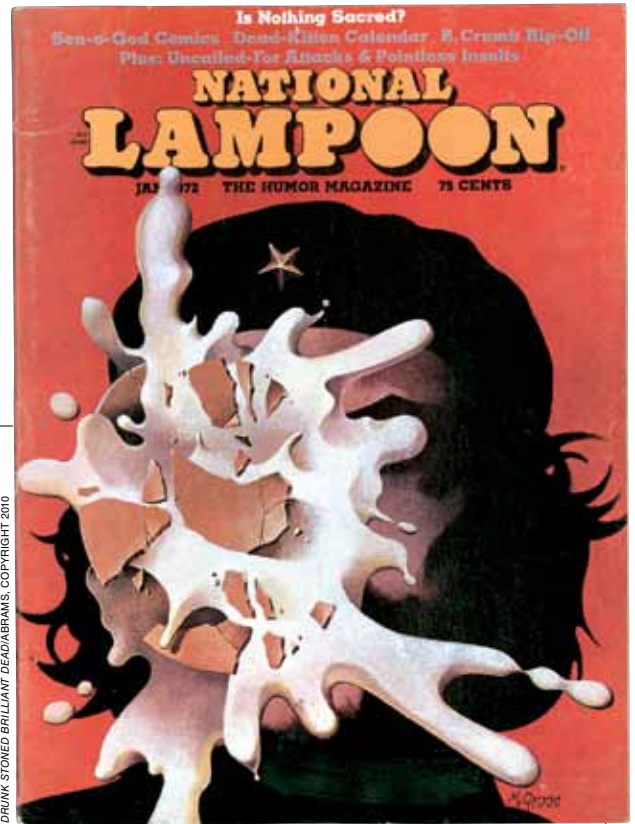
In American humor, such a magical moment happened in the early 1970s in New York City, when cosmic forces converged to bring together a critical mass—and critical they were, of virtually everything in mainstream culture—of gifted satirists, comic writers, and artists and allowed

National Lampoon demolished icons of both the Left and Right. Here, a cream pie to Che Guevara's face on a 1972 cover.

them to flourish. The vehicle for their savage iconoclasm was a magazine whose ethos echoed the telephone greeting radical journalist Paul Krassner used instead of “Hello”: “I’m ready for anything.”

The *National Lampoon*, founded in 1970 by three young alumni of the Harvard Lampoon—Henry Beard ’67, Doug Kenney ’68, and Rob Hoffman ’69, M.B.A. ’72—was not only unlike anything seen before (or since) in the realm of humor, but, in retrospect, was the wellspring for several streams of

comic creation that irreversibly altered popular culture. Outside conventional TV sitcoms and formulaic Hollywood mov-



Rick Meyerowitz,
Drunk Stoned Brilliant Dead
(Harry N. Abrams, \$40.)

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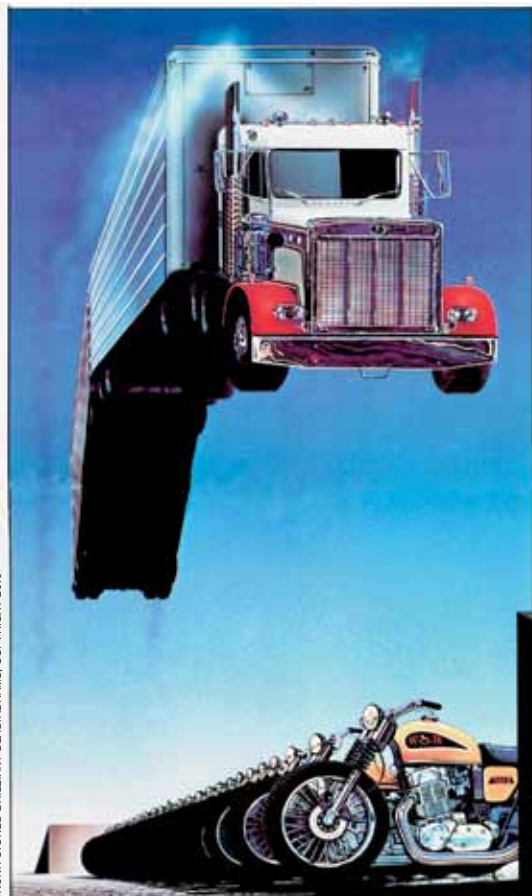
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MONTAGE



World's Longest Truck Jump, 55 7, March 12, 1975

Artist Wayne McLoughlin upends Evel Knievel's motorcycle leaps over rows of cars and trucks: here, a tractor-trailer vaults a row of motorcycles.

ies (pardon the redundancies), very little professionally wrought humor in America since 1970 has been untouched by the legacy of *NatLamp*, as its readers soon styled it.

Now comes *Drunk Stoned Brilliant Dead: The Writers and Artists Who Made the National Lampoon Insanely Great* by Rick Meyerowitz, an artist who contributed regularly to the magazine for 15 years, including its heyday—which lasted only until about 1975, when the founders cashed out and went on to other things: art collecting and a family Coca-Cola bottling business in Texas for Hoffman, humorous book writing and golf for Beard, and, for Kenney, *Animal House*, *Caddyshack*, and death at 33. Meyerowitz was in the thick of it all: he painted the *Animal House* movie poster and one of *NatLamp*'s best-known covers,



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to read three articles on Harvard, comedy, and Hollywood from our archives.

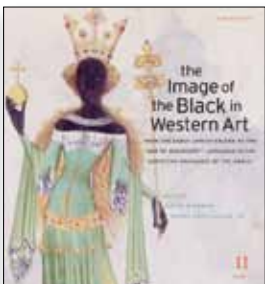
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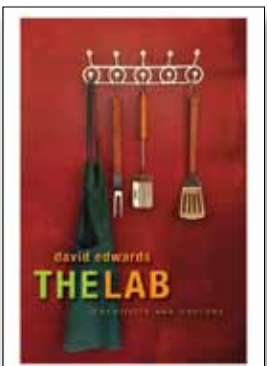
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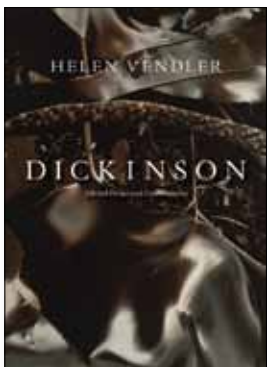
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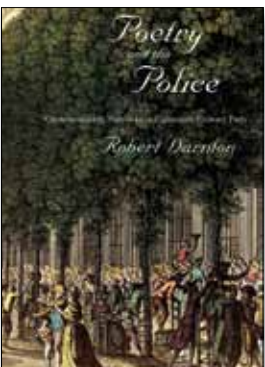
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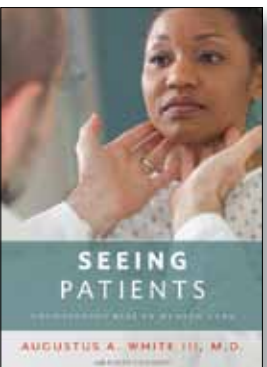
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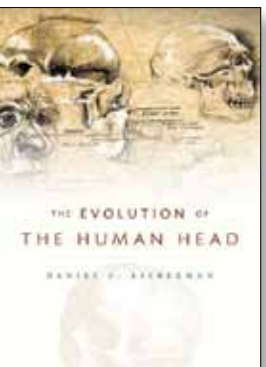
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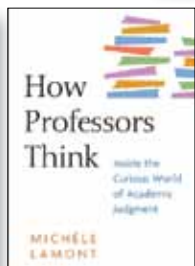
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the iconic “Mona Gorilla.”

The early *National Lampoon* may have had the greatest office culture ever. “It was an electric place to work,” writes Meyerowitz in his introduction. “It had the feel of a rogue enterprise, and the competition to top each other was fierce. You could feel the energy in the air, and I swear you could hear the synapses of some of the funniest minds of that generation firing like broadsides from a pirate ship.” The three founders, he says, were “prodigies of a kind that make other prodigies appear incompetent.” In the pre-launch months of 1969-70, they “drank themselves into comas, acquired a mad commune of underground art directors, hired a staff, smoked odd substances, and drew to them like-

Chapter & Verse

Correspondence on not-so-famous lost words

I. Allen Chirls asks if there is an earlier source for the avowal that Paul Child makes to his wife in the movie *Julie and Julia*: “You are the butter to my bread, you are the breath to my life.”

“**Wisdom...comes late.**” (July-August). After reading the comment by Justice Felix Frankfurter, Eliot Kieval wrote to share words along similar lines from Robert F. Kennedy’s address to a crowd in Indianapolis on April 4, 1968, informing them of the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther King. Kennedy said, “My favorite poet was Aeschylus. He wrote: ‘In our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God.’” The Kennedy Presidential Library states that the quotation, as recited by Kennedy, “is derived from Edith Hamilton’s classic study, *The Greek Way*.”

Send inquiries and answers to “Chapter and Verse,” *Harvard Magazine*, 7 Ware Street, Cambridge 02138, or via e-mail to chapterandverse@harvard-mag.com.



National Lampoon cofounder Henry Beard in the magazine's heyday. Beard's editorial genius kept the wild enterprise from hurtling off its tracks.

mindful, almost equally brilliant writers and artists who all wanted to change the world—or blow it up, or both.”

Drunk Stoned Brilliant Dead isn't a history of those heady days; Tony Hendra's *Going Too Far* (1987) and Josh Karp's *A Futile and Stupid Gesture* (2004) serve that function admirably. Rather, this is a greatest-hits collection, on two levels: brief, highly personal essays that sketch 38 of *National Lampoon's* funniest creators, each essay followed by a representative sampling of work. You won't get any profound sense of who these people were from the portraits. What you will get is a sumptuous coffee-table volume of cartoons, photographic travel-magazine features (a stern Hitler holding a rum drink with a paper parasol, in a Caribbean hideaway), a xenophobic political direct-mail piece (“Let's Get America Out of Dutch,” by Beard and Christopher Cerf '63), comic strips and Foto Funnies (comics made from black-and-white photographs); brutal send-up ads (a floating VW Bug, headlined “If Ted Kennedy drove a Volkswagen, he'd be President today,” which triggered an unsuccessful \$11 million lawsuit from the automaker). It's the definitive compendium of the *National Lampoon's* output, at least for those who don't frequent the Library of Congress or Widener Library, which hold what may be the sole complete sets of the magazine in its salad days. (I conveyed such to Widener myself, as agent of Henry Beard.)

The magazine's timing was exquisite. With the Vietnam War, black power, feminism, the Nixon administration, marijuana and LSD, student rebellion, and the sexual revolution roiling the country, targets were plentiful. Meanwhile, a

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burgeoning audience of baby boomers—mostly males, to be sure—eagerly seized upon this wildly imaginative, stoned successor to the *Mad* magazine they had grown up on. Fortuitously, in 1970, Congress banned tobacco advertising on television and radio, driving cigarette ads into print media to produce a revenue gusher for *NatLamp*. (If one subject was off limits to the magazine's ridicule, it was lung cancer, although Bruce McCall's ad for "Egyptian Corks" cigarettes, parodying Camels, eventually broke even that taboo, with a chain-smoking surgeon atop the headlines: "A Lung Surgeon Needs Steady Nerves/No Wonder America's Hospitals Are Full of Egyptian Corks Smokers.")

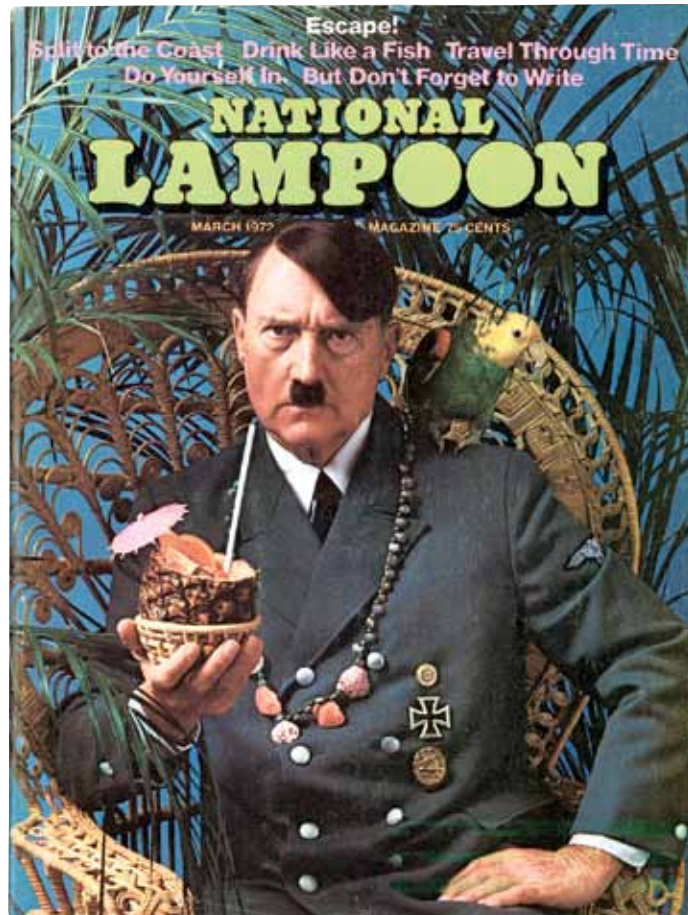
The Harvardians, all Harvard Lampoon alumni, congregate at the front of Meyerowitz's chronology. They include John Weidman '68, now an award-winning *Sesame Street* and Broadway writer and librettist; Cerf, a power in children's television; and longtime *New Yorker* contributor George W.S. Trow '65, who died in 2006. Rob Hoffman exercised his genius primarily on the business side—it was he who structured the buyout deal that made the founders young millionaires in 1975, and also gave the Harvard Lampoon a royalty on *NatLamp* projects including, for example, the 1980s series of National Lampoon's Vacation movies starring Chevy Chase. Kenney's selections include an installment of "Mrs. Agnew's Diary," the gossipy, pitch-perfect send-up of backstage antics in the Nixon White House, and "The Undiscovered Notebook of Leonardo da Vinci," with sepia-toned drawings sketching prototypes of Hula-Hoops, whoopee cushions, Coca-Cola, and squirt guns ("Aqua Pistola.")

Beard, a man born to edit a magazine, worked superhuman hours for years on end; he was *NatLamp*'s flywheel, an essential counterweight to the mercurial Kenney, who once simply vanished without a trace for a few weeks. Inexplicably, Beard's segment is dominated by "Law of the Jungle," 12 pages of convincing legalese that describe the purported legal code of fauna—for example: "One of the first recorded cases, *Brontosaurus v. Tyrannosaurus Rex* (7 Fossils 3446), a fairly routine water-

hole case in which a dispute arose following the closing of a traditional easement by a volcanic eruption...." It's laden with funny conceits, but a dozen pages of text unrelieved by art is far too much of a good thing, particularly given Beard's varied oeuvre and the vivid layouts that fill the rest of the book. Similarly, six of the nine pages devoted to work of the great Bruce McCall, painter of marvelous travesties of scale ("Indoor golf! How our gardeners hated that game!"), are wasted on an unfunny take on travel via zeppelin, with lengthy, unfathomable captions in German.

But most of the selections are excellent, and the theme-issue covers (for years, every issue was a theme issue) instantly recall the magazine's glorious heresies: Che Guevara getting a pie in the face for the *Is Nothing Sacred?* issue; a pipe-smoking professor spanking a bare-bottomed coed with a slide rule for the *Back to College* issue; Gerald Ford mashing an ice-cream cone into his forehead for the *Civics* issue; a bandaged Vincent van Gogh holding a banana stuck into a detached ear for the *Banana* issue.

The creators of this panoply were indeed inspired, not least by each other. All were brilliant, many drunk and/or stoned, and several, alas, now indisput-



The 1972 "Escape!" issue placed Adolf Hitler on a tropical island—with parrot, beads, and a paper-parasol-garnished rum drink.

ably dead. Beard is the sole surviving founder, and crucial writers like Trow, Gerry Sussman, and the black-comedy genius Michael O'Donoghue have passed away.

Most of the creators went on to successful careers in the arts or media. Yet many of them might agree with Meyerowitz that the pages of the *National Lampoon* ran the best work they've ever done. Clearly, the author has never gotten over the experience, and this book is bound to ensure that you won't, either. ♡

Craig A. Lambert '69, Ph.D. '78, is deputy editor of this magazine.

Author/editor Rick Meyerowitz then (left) and now (right). Creator of the *Animal House* poster, he contributed to the *National Lampoon* for 15 years.





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“A Nation Arguing with Its Conscience”

Deliberative democracy, philosophical pragmatism, and Barack Obama's conception of American governance

by JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG

Warren professor of American history James T. Kloppenberg, a specialist in the intellectual history of the United States and Europe and now chair of the history department, observed the 2008 presidential election from afar: he was teaching at the University of Cambridge. As he lectured on the U.S. political tradition and studied Barack Obama's writings, he began to see three strong, but unexamined, themes. The first is Obama's sophisticated understanding of America's history and its continuing democratic experiment. The second is the idea of pragmatism—America's principal contribution to Western philosophy—which was first elaborated by William James and John Dewey, themselves advocates of deliberative democracy. The third is the shaping force on Obama's writings of the intellectual currents that swept through academia during his years as a student and professor.

That realization prompted Kloppenberg, in his new book, *Reading Obama: Dreams, Hope, and the American Political Tradition*, to focus on the president's ideas: “Locating Obama's development in the frameworks of the history of American democracy, the ideas of philosophical pragmatism, and the intellectual turmoil of the 1980s and 1990s,” he writes, “reveals how Obama thinks and why he sees American culture and politics as he does.” Along the way, Kloppenberg explores Obama's personal experiences across and among diverse cultures; the pluralistic worldviews arising from the work of scholars such as anthropologist Clifford Geertz and historian of science

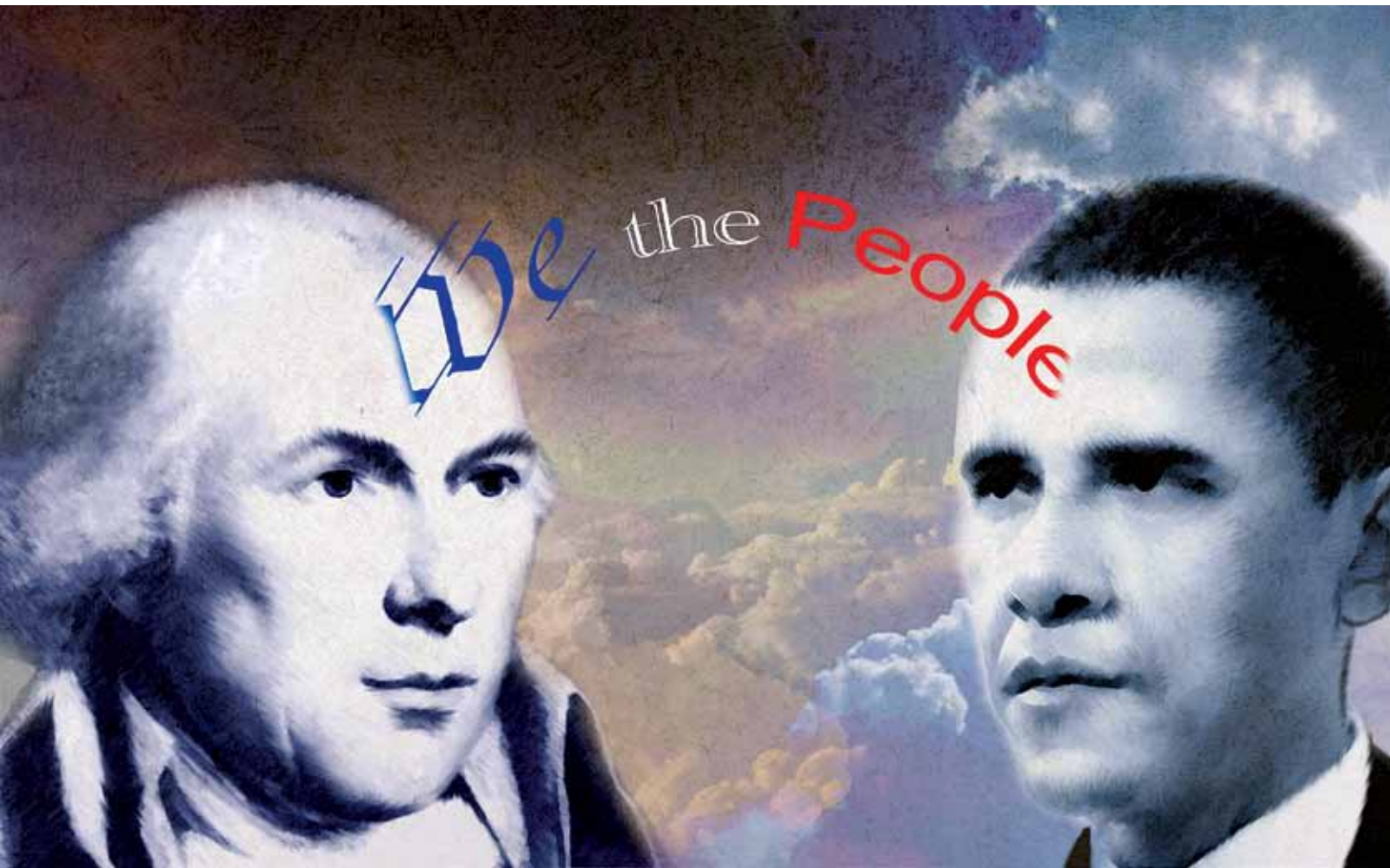
Thomas Kuhn; the monumental effects of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*, when published, critiqued, and refined, and of new interpretations of American history by Gordon Wood and others who stressed the idea of “civic republicanism”; the authors Obama read in college and law school, and the articles that appeared in the *Harvard Law Review* during his editorship; and more. At their broadest, Kloppenberg describes the contending ideas at stake as “jarring conflicts between universalism and particularism, timelessness and historicism, science and hermeneutics.”

The following excerpt is adapted from the beginning of chapter three, “Obama's American History.” There, Kloppenberg explores the view of the Constitution not as a settled, set arrangement for American governance, but as a creative compromise among its diverse authors. The Founders, in this perspective, were attuned to a deliberative, open-ended way of conducting public life: an ingenious, if imperfect, solution that has endured even as similar experiments in other countries have not, precisely because it is premised on accommodating differences and changing people's views, not embedding them in stone. As Kloppenberg notes, James Madison himself emphasized remaining “open to the force of argument.” A second excerpt from a few pages later, available online at harvardmag.com/extras, explicates Obama's perspective on the American democratic idea of melding individual views and interests into the community's common good.

~The Editors

BARACK OBAMA IS A MYSTERY. To critics on the left he seems a tragic failure, a man with so much potential who has not fulfilled the promise of change that partisans predicted for his

presidency. To the right he is a frightening success, a man who has transformed the federal government and ruined the economy, a man whose presidency threatens the foundations of the Amer-



Obama points out—accurately—that the Constitution resulted from a series of compromises made necessary by the depth of disagreement at the Constitutional Convention and during the process of ratification. The framers realized that the Constitution would have to change with American culture, albeit slowly.

ican social order. Obama antagonizes the right for some of the same reasons he fails to satisfy the left. He stands for principles that have attracted American progressives for a century: individual autonomy and greater equality, the gradual expansion of the principle of one person, one vote, from the political to the social and economic spheres. But other features of Obama's sensibility distinguish him from many politically engaged Americans, progressives as well as conservatives.

Obama is drawn toward the ideas of anti-foundationalism, historicism, and philosophical pragmatism. As an anti-foundationalist, he questions the existence of universal truths. As a historicist, he doubts that any ideas transcend the particularity of time and culture. Finally, as a philosophical pragmatist he insists that all propositions, positions, and policies must be subjected to continuing critical scrutiny. Whereas many activists on both the left and the right proclaim their incommensurable principles

with the fervor of true believers, Obama sees things differently. He believes that anti-foundationalism, historicism, and philosophical pragmatism are consistent with the principles of civic republicanism and deliberative democracy on which America was built and for which it should stand. In his speech marking the end of U.S. military engagement in Iraq, on August 31, 2010, Obama declared, "The greatness of our democracy is grounded in our ability to move beyond our differences, and to learn from our experience as we confront the many challenges ahead." That single sentence encapsulates Obama's commitments to deliberative democracy and pragmatism, the signature features of the approach to American history and politics he adopts in his writings and his speeches. Where did it come from?

Obama was educated in two of America's leading colleges, Occidental and Columbia. He earned his law degree at Harvard Law School, then taught law for more than a decade at another

top-flight institution, the University of Chicago Law School. In his books Obama never explicitly addresses his education or his teaching, but his writing clearly reflects his experience as a student and as a professor in turbulent times. His books manifest his serious engagement with the life of the mind. Obama's worldview emerged not only from his family, his friends, and his colleagues in the sharp-elbowed worlds of community organizing and electoral politics, decisive as those surely were. His sensibility was also shaped by the debates that rocked the campuses where he studied and taught, debates about ideas as well as politics. Much as he might need to mask it on the campaign trail, where he demonstrates his impressive skill as a politician, his books make clear that Barack Obama is also very much an intellectual.

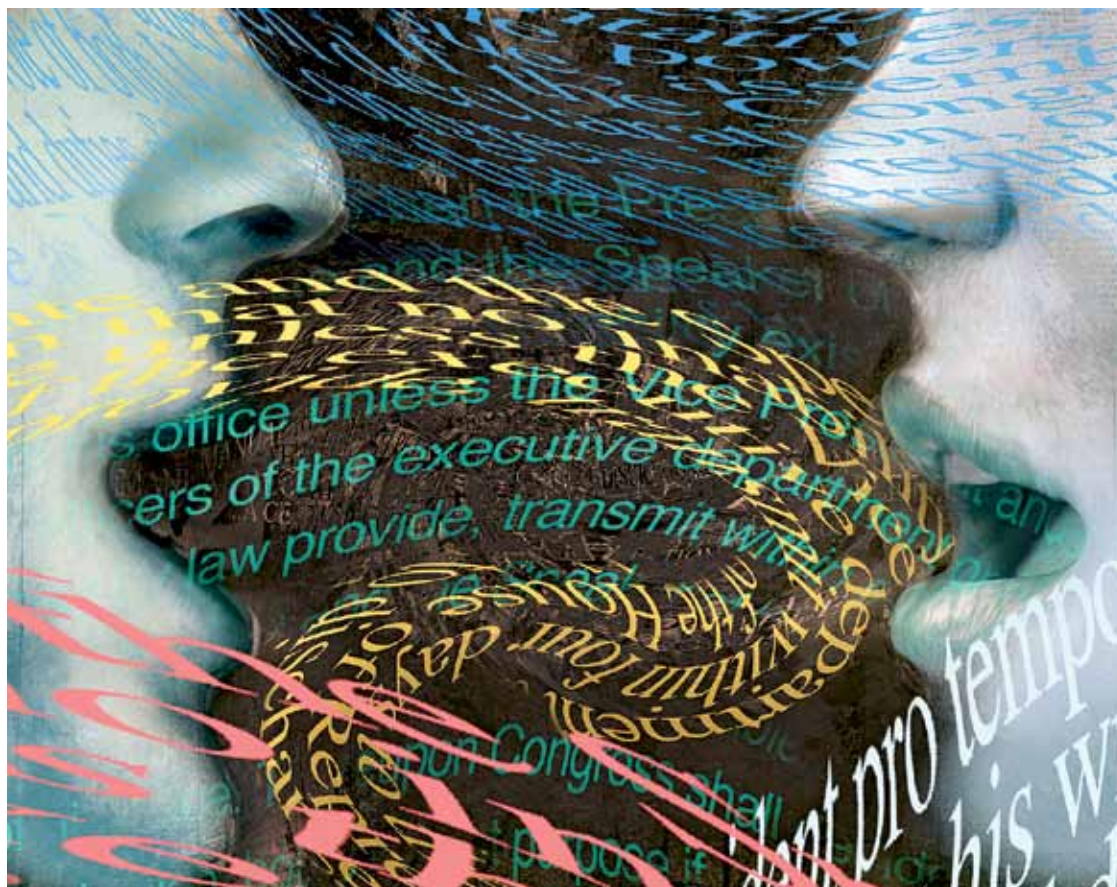
Perhaps not surprisingly for someone who studied and taught constitutional law, Obama writes incisively about the United States Constitution. Near the end of *Dreams from My Father*, he describes the law as the record of “a long-running conversation, a nation arguing with its conscience.” In *The Audacity of Hope* Obama's argument is less lyrical but even more provocative. Against those conservatives who invoked the idea of the founders' so-called original intent, a set of determinate meanings that are said to limit what legislatures and judges can legitimately do, Obama points out—accurately—that the Constitution resulted from a series of compromises made necessary by the depth of disagreement at the Constitutional Convention and during the process of ratification. Moreover, Obama correctly observes that the decision to leave the document open to

amendment testified to the framers' realization that the nation's Constitution would have to change with American culture, albeit slowly, in order to survive.

The failure to provide a mechanism for such alterations, the framers understood, had doomed earlier republics to failure—as we can see now that it doomed later republics, such as the first several republics proclaimed in France—when they proved incapable of adapting to changed circumstances. Obama quotes a crucial passage from James Madison concerning the value and the necessity of open-mindedness in democracy. Reflecting on the process of reaching provisional agreement

at the Constitutional Convention, Madison wrote, “no man felt himself obliged to retain his opinions any longer than he was satisfied of their propriety and truth.” Everyone remained “open to the force of argument.” That passage expresses Obama's understanding of democracy as deliberation.

Madison himself, although often credited with having framed the Constitution, did not get the Constitution he wanted. His own position on crucial issues such as the Senate and the authority of the executive changed not only during the convention itself but also during the debates over ratification, particularly when he became convinced by his friend Thomas Jefferson that the Anti-Federalists were right about the strategic necessity, and perhaps even the desirability, of a Bill of Rights. *The Audac-*



Of Obama's two principal books, many people prefer *Dreams from My Father*, a meditation on his personal identity and the problems of race and cultural diversity in America. To understand Obama's ideas about American culture and politics, however, his personal story must be placed in the framework provided by *The Audacity of Hope*, a book in which one can identify the echoes of earlier and more recent voices in the traditions of American political thought. Particularly important are his discussions of the Constitution, antebellum American democracy, Lincoln and the Civil War, and the reform movements of the Progressive, New Deal, and civil rights eras. From his well-informed and sophisticated analysis of those issues emerges a particular conception of democracy.

Recent historians of Madison and the Constitution have all demonstrated why the ideal and the practice of democratic deliberation proved so important. Madison believed that the process of deliberation could produce results different from, and superior to, any of the ideas that representatives brought with them to an assembly.

ity of Hope contains no footnotes, and Obama rarely mentions the scholars whose work has shaped his ideas. It seems clear from his discussion of Madison and the Constitution, however, that he rejects claims about original intent and also sees beyond the 1950s-era obsession with Madison's so-called realist pluralism: the view that Madison wisely abandoned aspirations to political ideals and settled instead for an institutional structure that would merely facilitate and accommodate the clash of competing interests. That interpretation served to justify the political moderation of the post-World War II era. Although that view still appeals to many scholars, including those on the right who praise Madison's prudence and those on the left who accuse him of selling out democratic ideals, it has become increasingly difficult to sustain. Recent historians of Madison and the Constitution, such as Jack Rakove and Lance Banning, legal scholars such as Harvard's Frank Michelman and Laurence Tribe, Yale's Akhil Amar and Obama's longtime Chicago colleague Cass Sunstein, and Supreme Court Justices such as Stephen Breyer, have all demonstrated why the ideal and the practice of democratic deliberation proved at least as important for the acceptance and durability of the Constitution as did the checks and balances built into the new nation's institutional architecture.

The older, conspiratorial view of the Constitution as the product of scheming elites out to dupe the unsuspecting and virtuous masses, an interpretation that originated with Charles Beard a century ago, still makes compelling drama; it persists among many historians committed to the idea that the deck was stacked against "the people" by "the interests" from the beginning. But the record of the debates in the Constitutional Convention and afterwards is much more complex. Neither the neo-Beardian conspiracy theory nor the sepia-tinted portraits of the founders trotted out by conservatives eager to preserve the status quo captures the dynamic process of writing and ratifying the Constitution.

Madison himself went into the Constitutional Convention self-consciously committed to constructing a democracy, and he came away from the ratification process convinced that the result, despite his misgivings about it, was the best that could be attained through a democratic process. In his first speech to the Constitutional Convention, Madison argued that a federal government, because it would "expand the sphere" of representatives' horizons beyond their local preoccupations to the needs of the entire nation, "was the only defense against the inconveniences of democracy consistent with the democratic form of government." Notice Madison's use of the terms "democracy" and "democratic" in that sentence. The familiar notion that Madison envisioned a republic rather than a democracy is widespread, but it is false. He did envision a representative democracy rather than a direct democracy, and the elaborate checks and balances of the

federal framework appealed to him in part for that reason. But his preference for representative democracy hardly makes him an antidemocrat. Other contemporaries who shared that preference included Jefferson and Thomas Paine, two thinkers often contrasted to Madison but with whom he had much more in common from the 1770s through the 1820s than is usually recognized.

Madison aligned himself with those who opposed the idea that delegates, either to the Constitutional Convention or later to the United States Congress, should be bound by instructions from their constituents. His position derived from his faith in a particular form of representative democracy, not his distrust of its potential. He believed that the process of deliberation, if it remained open-ended, could produce results different from, and superior to, any of the ideas that representatives brought with them to an assembly. As his own letters after the convention confirm, Madison had experienced in Philadelphia the creative potential of deliberation, a potential short-circuited by demands that representatives must follow precisely the preexisting preferences of those who sent them. It is true that many Anti-Federalists cherished a different conception of democracy from that embraced by Madison, Jefferson, and Paine. Many Anti-Federalists distrusted the idea of delegating authority to those they elected to serve in a distant assembly. But their vision of democracy is as difficult to translate into a national framework as their critics at the time contended, and the preference for a federalist form of government did not necessarily make its champions opponents of ordinary citizens. Some Federalists, notably Alexander Hamilton, did distrust the people and did seek to limit their influence. Madison's commitment to the Constitution, by contrast, sprang from his deep desire to see democracy survive.

In his description of the Constitution and the way it was constructed, Obama shows his familiarity with one of the most important developments in American scholarship since the 1970s, during the years since Gordon Wood and other historians sparked the revival of civic republican ideas and legal scholars such as Michelman and Sunstein brought it to law schools. Not only constitutional lawyers but also political theorists are now rediscovering what Madison, Jefferson, and Paine already knew: representative democracy is not a bastardized or second-best version but instead a distinctive variant of democracy that values persuasion over the rigid, unyielding defense of preferences or interests. Representative democracy is designed to substitute the dynamic process of making reasoned arguments for the simple tallying of votes dictated by constituents' preferences. In Obama's words, not only did the size of the new nation mean that "an Athenian model of democracy was out of the question" and that "the direct democracy of the New England town meeting" was "unmanageable." It was not just practicality that dictated representation.

What we need, Obama suggests, is a “shift in metaphors,” a willingness to see “our democracy not as a house to be built, but as a conversation to be had.”

The institutional machinery of the Constitution was intended, he argues, not to solve our problems once and for all but “to force us into a conversation.”

The process of deliberation, particularly when it brought together people with diverse backgrounds, convictions, and aspirations, made possible a metamorphosis unavailable through any other form of decision making. People who saw the world through very different lenses could help each other see more clearly. Just as Madison defended the value of delegates’ willingness to change their minds and yield to the force of the better argument, so Obama explicitly echoes the arguments of Madison—and, strikingly, of Hamilton in *Federalist* number 70—concerning the importance of encouraging the “jarring of parties” because such differences of opinion could “promote deliberation and circumspection.” He points out that scholars now agree that the Constitution was “cobbled together” from heated debates and emerged “not as the result of principle but as the result of power and passion.” The ideas of Madison were never identical to those of Hamilton. No unitary meaning or intent can be found. Instead the Constitution shows traces of competing arguments drawn from sources including the Bible, the English common law, Scottish philosophy, civic republican traditions, and the Enlightenment idea of natural rights.

Obama the law professor concedes that such a conception of the founding appeals to him because it encourages us to emphasize the contingency of the original document and to appreciate the contingencies that lie beneath our own invocations of high principle. His constitutionalism fits neatly into the historicist framework that was displacing older verities in the academic communities of Los Angeles, New York, Cambridge, and Chicago during the 1980s and 1990s. Such historicism, he writes, might free us to “assert our own values unencumbered by fidelity to the stodgy traditions of a distant past.” In other words, it might tempt us to proclaim that constitutional interpretation is a question of Clifford Geertz’s shifting conventions or Thomas Kuhn’s shifting paradigms. But Obama admits that such freedom makes him uneasy. He describes it as “the freedom of the relativist, the rule breaker,” or “the apostate,” and he concedes that “such apostasy leaves me unsatisfied.” Facing that conundrum, where can a conscientious scholar of constitutional law such as Obama turn?

He can, and he does, turn to philosophical pragmatism and to American history. What we need, he suggests, is a “shift in metaphors,” a willingness to see “our democracy not as a house to be built, but as a conversation to be had.” Madison did not give us a “fixed blueprint.” Instead he provided a framework that cannot resolve all our differences but offers only “a way by which we argue about our future.” The institutional machinery of the Constitution was intended, Obama argues, not to solve our problems once and for all but “to force us into a conversation.” The Constitution gave birth to “a ‘deliberative democracy’ in which all citizens are required to engage in a process of testing their ideas against an ex-

ternal reality, persuading others of their point of view, and building shifting alliances of consent.” It would be hard to find in William James or John Dewey a clearer statement of the conceptual and historical connections between philosophical pragmatism and deliberative democracy in the American political tradition.

Obama’s arguments about American democracy rest on a solid scholarly foundation. Sunstein argued in the 1989 *Harvard Law Review* article “Interpreting Statutes in the Regulatory State” (when Obama was newly on the editorial board) that Madison envisioned the clashing of arguments in American legislatures as a uniquely productive process, a process whereby representatives found their own convictions, and those of their constituents, challenged and changed. Madison sought, as the historian Marvin Meyers argued decades ago in a brilliant essay cited by Sunstein, not merely stability but new understandings of the common good, understandings unavailable to any individual but emerging from the processes of contestation and deliberation. In Obama’s formulation of this crucial point, the founders wanted above all to avoid “all forms of absolute authority,” and the most perilous moments for the new nation occurred when that fallibilism was threatened by attempts to freeze the dynamic process of democratic deliberation by stifling debate. Through this process of making arguments, encountering objections, rethinking our positions, forging compromises, and testing our ideas against a resistant reality in which our schemes succeed or fail, Obama concludes, we learn “to examine our motives and our interests constantly.” We learn, in short, that “both our individual and collective judgments are at once legitimate and highly fallible.”

Balancing the historicism of cutting-edge constitutional scholarship against his lingering desire for something more substantial than quicksand, Obama makes use of the American tradition of philosophical pragmatism: we should debate our differences, and test provisional interpretations of principle, not by measuring proposals against unchanging dogmas but through trial and error, by trying to solve problems creatively and then democratically deliberating, yet again, on the consequences of our experiments. “We hang on to our values, even if they seem at times tarnished and worn,” even if we realize that “we have betrayed them more often than we remember.” Our democratic values, deliberation and truth testing, constitute the American people as a nation developing over time. Our commitments to freedom and equality are “our inheritance, what makes us who we are as a people.” As individuals and as a nation, we are constituted by the values we cherish, the principles we seek to realize, and the democratic process whereby we attempt to reach those goals.

But we must not pretend that the meaning of those shared principles has ever been anything but contested. As the pragmatists James and Dewey insisted repeatedly, and as more recent

philosophical pragmatists have confirmed, democratic principles should not be confused with unchanging dogmas. They must remain subject to criticism and revision. In Obama's words, "our values must be tested against fact and experience." Freedom and equality had one set of meanings in the agrarian settlements of the seventeenth century, another set in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they are destined to have new meanings for every generation. That is the challenge of democracy, and that is the reason why the philosophy of pragmatism is uniquely suited to democratic decision making. When our understandings no longer conform to the facts of lived experience, as has been the case over and over in American history, it is time for critical inquiry and substantive change. Ritual invocations of earlier nostrums, as if such formulas could help solve problems earlier generations could not have imagined, deflect attention from the hard work of democracy.

The need for such hard work derives, at least in part, from the deeply flawed institutional structures put in place by the Constitution. Although subject to amendment, the Constitution nevertheless erected formidable barriers in the way of those who would alter the framework of American governance. Of all the flaws, the most serious was the founders' failure to address the outrageous practice

of slavery. In Obama's words, the generation of John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison bequeathed to their successors "a form of government unique in its genius—yet blind to the whip and the chain." A second antidemocratic feature of the "great compromise" between the North and the slave-holding South was the provision for electing two senators from each state. That arrangement has given those chosen to represent small, sparsely populated states—then Rhode Island and Delaware, now Vermont and Wyoming—equal power with the most populous. In 1790 Virginia had 10 times the population of Rhode Island; California now has more than 70 times the population of Wyoming. Madison—himself a Virginian—opposed this feature of the Constitution because of its antidemocratic quality, as does Obama. From the beginning, the Senate has tended to resist change more vigorously than has the more representative House.

THE WAY IN WHICH the structure of the Constitution has facilitated some forms of change and blocked others remains as clear as

ever. As president, Obama has demonstrated already the depth—and the perils—of his commitment to philosophical pragmatism and deliberative democracy, particularly in his handling of the protracted debate over healthcare. His flexibility and his willingness to compromise infuriated some of his supporters on the left, and the refusal of his intransigent Republican opponents caused many observers to mock the president's repeated appeals to negotiation, bipartisanship, and creative compromise. As savvy pundits left and right pointed out repeatedly, it takes two to compromise, and efforts to negotiate are futile when the other side shows no interest. But Obama's steadfast insistence that he was open to suggestions, that he was willing to meet with his adversaries and consider their ideas, and his repeated invitations to Republicans to propose alternatives served a purpose that few commentators



seemed to notice as the debate wore on. He was displaying, over and over, with a patience that outraged his allies and bewildered his foes, an iron fortitude that his critics mistook for weakness. In *The Audacity of Hope* and in many of his speeches since he wrote that book, Obama has acknowledged that Americans are deeply divided on the issue of healthcare. Even those who agreed that our system does not work disagreed bitterly about how to fix it. Obama pointed out that calls for a single-payer plan, a comprehensive, government-run program patterned on national healthcare systems firmly entrenched elsewhere, diverged too dramatically from the traditions and practices to which Americans are accustomed. Americans happy with their doctors and their insurance plans, he promised repeatedly, should be able to keep them. In *The Audacity of Hope* he proposed trying out multiple options, notably what he called "insurance pools," taking advantage of the nation's federal structure to conduct a controlled experiment in the states. After evaluating the results, the nation could opt for the most successful solution available.

Freedom and equality had one set of meanings in the agrarian settlements of the seventeenth century, another set in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they are destined to have new meanings for every generation. That is why the philosophy of pragmatism is uniquely suited to democratic decision making.

That proposal, advanced several years before Obama was elected president, suggests one way to frame the outcome of the lengthy negotiations in 2009–2010 that culminated in the passage of healthcare reform legislation. Thanks to Republican Mitt Romney, then governor of Massachusetts, the Commonwealth had been conducting for several years an experiment in state-mandated health insurance, with encouraging results. Obama was careful not to replicate his predecessor Bill Clinton's mistake of declaring too early—and too dogmatically—what must be done to solve the problem. He let the debate proceed, at times it seemed interminably, while his supporters shrieked and his foes gloated. The plan Congress eventually adopted in March 2010—the plan Obama worked tirelessly in the final months to enact—more closely resembles the Massachusetts model than any of the other options under consideration. If that model did not suit Republicans in the House or Senate, not long ago it appealed to one of the most prominent Republican candidates for his party's presidential nomination in 2008.

When paroxysms of anger, even threats of violence, followed the passage of healthcare reform, many Americans expressed surprise. But given the intensity of public disagreement on the issue, that response might have been expected. It also suggested the reasons for, and perhaps even confirmed the wisdom of, Obama's strategy: wait patiently until the deliberative process had run its course and the House and Senate had hammered out their misshapen, unlovely bills. In his State of the Union Address, he pointedly chided Republicans for failing to offer their own ideas and invited their proposals. He later convened a much ballyhooed day-long summit to give Republicans a chance to explain their objections and present alternatives. When those overtures were greeted with even more strident refusals, it became apparent that Obama's sustained efforts to encourage, and to engage in, deliberation as a way to identify a common good had been categorically rejected. At that point he threw himself into the battle.

Like Social Security in 1935 and voting rights, Medicare, and Medicaid in 1965, the healthcare reform measure of 2010 is a product of the sausage factory that we call representative democracy. It will need to be revised as its flaws become clear. It might also be the best bill Obama could have gotten through Congress. As a student of American history, Obama knows that the election of 2008, although historic because it put him in the White House and gave his party a majority in the House and the Senate, was hardly a landslide. The political scientist William Galston, a veteran of Clinton's White House, has pointed out that Obama's own electoral majority of 7 percent was only 1 percent greater than Clinton's in 1992, and Obama was running at the time of the worst economic calamity since the Great Depression. Democrats held 60 seats in the Senate. By contrast, when Franklin D. Roosevelt

began his second term, Democrats held 79 seats in the Senate, the Republicans only 16. When Lyndon Johnson pushed the Voting Rights Act through Congress, Democrats held 68 seats in the Senate and a 295–140 majority in the House. Moreover, in the 1930s and 1960s both parties were far less ideologically homogeneous than they are now: more than half the Republicans in the House and more than 40 percent in the Senate voted for Medicare.

People who used to complain about the lack of coherent ideology in American party politics have gotten their wish. More than three-quarters of Americans who identify themselves as Republicans now accept the label conservative. Democrats are less unified: 40 percent identify themselves as liberals, another 40 percent as moderates, and 20 percent as conservatives. Comparing the current political situation with those of the mid-1930s and the mid-1960s makes clear, as does the difficulty Democratic congressional leaders faced in rounding up the votes to pass the final version of the bill, that Democrats were hardly in a position to dictate the terms of debate. As has happened repeatedly in American history, even a measure that incorporated many concessions to its opponents barely squeaked into law. It seems unlikely that Republicans will be able to fulfill their promise of repealing a package almost certain to win adherents as quickly as Social Security and Medicare did. Even so, as Obama noted in *The Audacity of Hope*, in a democracy “no law is ever final, no battle truly finished,” which is why philosophical pragmatism and deliberative democracy go hand in hand. Principled partisans of pragmatism and democracy are committed to debate, experimentation, and the critical reassessment of results.

For that reason no straight lines run from philosophical pragmatism or deliberative democracy to Obama's positions, strategies, or policies—or any others. One of the characteristic features of pragmatism, in fact, has been the incessant disagreements among its adherents. Every major debate in American politics in the last century has seen self-proclaimed heirs of James or Dewey lining up on opposite sides, usually on multiple sides. Getting pragmatism right does not dictate a certain political position, although the connection between philosophical pragmatism and an experimental, democratic approach to politics is hard to deny. But the forms experimentation and democracy should take are not only appropriate subjects for debate. Wrangling over such questions is what a commitment to pragmatism and democracy means. Obama has demonstrated such a commitment himself, and spirited debates about all aspects of his presidency, from its overall thrust to its tactical maneuvers, are not only bound to continue whatever he does, they are fully consistent with the conception of democracy he has outlined and embraced.



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A Lens on History

Photographer Susan Meiselas's quest to understand via images

by JIM HARRISON



Barefoot and in a bright red dress, she has the body of a young woman, but her face is older and worn. She looks left, out of the frame, holding the handle of a wooden cart on which is roped a figure primitively wrapped in dirty burlap, a foot barely visible. Her name is Nubia. She is 14. The figure is her husband's body. The photograph has the grace and mystery of a piece of art, but goes beyond art to the heart of the anguish of war and the price of revolution on a very personal level.

IN THE YEARS since she first took up the camera at Harvard, Susan Meiselas, Ed.M. '71, has created a body of work that combines the graphic intelligence and artistry of photography with the inquisitiveness of a social scientist. Though her photographs often have political resonance, her passion is less to reform the world than to understand it. Now a major retrospective, *Susan Meiselas: In History*, mounted by the International Center for Photography

in New York, brings together 40 years of her work. The exhibit (www.icp.org/museum/exhibitions/traveling/susan-meiselas), on display this spring at the Hood Museum of Art at Dartmouth College, is now touring Europe.

The retrospective's three sections—a gritty look at carnival strippers in New England country fairs; powerful journalistic images of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua;



Above: Tunbridge, Vermont, 1974. “The girls think of the men the same way as the men think of the girls—as objects. They both seem to have little respect and a large amount of contempt for each other. They both seem to be taking this whole man-and-woman thing out on each other and it degrades everybody involved in it, everybody, from the manager on down to the guys who have to sweep up after.”

—Glen, a “roughie,” from the book *Carnival Strippers*



Left: Essex Junction, Vermont, 1973. “We aren’t professional show girls, we’re prostitutes pretending to be show girls. But what else can I do? The only thing I know how to do is dance. I can’t be a teacher; I don’t have the patience. I couldn’t work as a nurse, because I get too emotionally involved. The only thing I can do is dance or be a waitress. Do you want me to be a waitress for the rest of my life?” —Lena, from the book *Carnival Strippers*

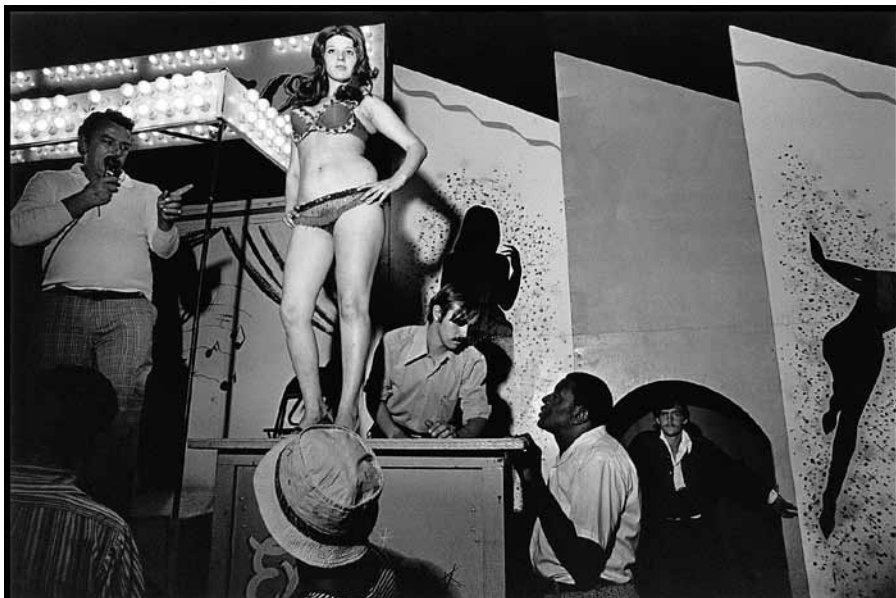
the creation of a history of Kurds using 100 years of visual relics—display chronologically how Meiselas has always been

emphasizing the voices of the women, Meiselas goes well beyond both the confines of art photography and the strictures of academic social science.

The chasm between the tantalizing vision of sexuality that the strip shows offer and the very human world that Meiselas records fits into a documentary tradition that seeks to produce meaningful art. Meiselas began working at a time when John Szarkowski, curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art, was the philosophical giant of the photographic art world. His seminal 1967 MOMA show of works by Garry Winogrand, Lee Friedlander, and Diane Arbus heralded a reign of “street photographers” whose philosophical underpinnings were best codified in Susan Sontag’s 1966 book *Against Interpretation*. “Interpretation is the revenge of the intellect upon art,” she wrote, arguing that to seek understanding from art is to impoverish its meaning. Sontag saw photographs as objects unto themselves, to be viewed for their

driven to collaborate with her subjects in as many ways as possible.

Her 1976 book, *Carnival Strippers*, drawn from three summers of work in Vermont and Maine, includes extensive transcriptions from tape recordings she made at the time. The rawness of the book’s pictures recalls Robert Frank’s work in *The Americans* (1959). But her interviews expand the context of her uncompromising photographs, presenting a surprisingly complex, compassionate look at these women who, by and large, are simple farm girls trying to make a living as best they can in a seedy world. By



“Bally call,” Essex Junction, Vermont, 1973. (The call, performed by a “talker,” is used to entice men into the show.) “Watch it! Watch it right now! You’re gonna see burlesque, striptease, hootchie-kootchie, and daddy-o it’s all the way. The show starts right now—now’s the time to go.”

—From *Carnival Strippers*

tography. Her carnival-stripper images combine the visual energy of a Winogrand street scene and a Diane Arbus-like attraction to a strange, almost perversely exotic world with the tools of a social scientist—in this case, camera and tape recorder. This approach grew from her passion for anthropology, which began with work on a Navajo reservation in high school, and later in classes at Sarah Lawrence College, where she earned her B.A. in 1970. Her choice of the camera as her principal tool for exploring and understanding the world around her was

spatial and tonal relation to the frame, without any attempt to provide a larger, more “meaningful” context. (At one of Winogrand’s lectures at MIT in the early 1970s, upon seeing the photograph of a bloodied older woman lying on a New York street, a sarcastic questioner asked, “What did you do after you took that picture?” Winogrand replied, “I think I took a vertical.”)

Meiselas took a very different approach to documentary pho-

Molotov Man: Sandinista fighter Pablo Araúz (known as “Bareta”) at the walls of the National Guard headquarters, Estelí, Nicaragua, 1979. From *Pictures from a Revolution*

somewhat serendipitous. It began with classes she took with lecturer on photography Len Gittleman and Barbara Norfleet, associate of the department of visual and environmental studies, when Meiselas was pursuing a master’s in visual education at Harvard. “It could just as easily have been a compact video recorder,” Meiselas says, “if such a thing had existed at the time.”

The strippers are gone from New England carnivals. They have become a part of history. Meiselas’s next significant project would take her to Nicaragua, at her own expense, to explore a burgeoning revolution. Today, most who know her pictures think of Meiselas as





Rebels from the town of Monimbo, Nicaragua, wear traditional Indian dance masks while holding homemade contact bombs. “Some people wore masks so if the Guard managed to see them, they wouldn’t recognize them. If they recognized them, they’d come back at night and take them.”

—*Monimbo woman, from Pictures from a Revolution*

top tier displays magazine and newspaper clippings, showing where these images appeared in the media. The bottom row displays contact sheets and work prints of the same scene, revealing other options her editors had considered. The interplay of these three levels amounts to an investigation of the visual communication process. This is photography not as art, but as news—or news raised to the level of art, and art transformed into elements of history.

In the chaos of a war there was time only to photograph. Understanding would come a decade later, when Meiselas and longtime companion (and eventual husband) Richard Rogers '67, Ed.M. '70 (see “The Windmill Movie,” May-June 2009, page 17), returned to Nicaragua to make the 1991 film *Pictures from a Revolution*. Small video screens embedded in the exhibition wall show five segments from the film, each focusing on an individual photograph as Meiselas tries to track down the people in her original images, seeking to understand both the story behind the image and the revolution’s effect on individuals. It was only during filming that Meiselas learned that the young girl with her husband’s body whom she’d photographed a decade earlier was just 14 at the time. In the video, Nubia wears tiny gold earrings—the same earrings as in the photograph. “I buried him all by myself,” she says. “The National Guard shot at me from helicopters and I saved myself by crawling under the cart. They saw my red dress.” Some of Meiselas’s subjects felt the revolution had been betrayed, and things were little better under the Sandinistas than under Somoza; as one, Justo, put it, the Sandinistas had cut off the *alas*, the wings, of the revolution.

In 1991 Meiselas went to Kurdistan with anthropologist Clyde Snow of Human Rights Watch to document the unearthing of the remains of genocide committed in the Kurdish towns of Arbil and Koreme under Saddam Hussein. Trying to understand the devastation and human tragedy she found, she recognized that she “couldn’t photograph the present without understanding the past.” In other words, she needed to construct a history, and realized that she could build one from the works of photographers and reporters who had preceded her. “What I suddenly see,” she says, “is that there’s a whole timeline of people like me.”

Meiselas took on the monumental task of reconstructing 100

a war photographer, based on her decade of work in Central America. But for her, it began as another quest to find meaning with her camera; that she recorded history was accidental.

The Nicaraguan photographs caused a sensation. Her first foray into journalism flooded the world media, and individual pictures like “Molotov man” became iconic, finding their way not just into the international press but onto Nicaraguan matchbooks, stamps, murals, and Sandinista propaganda pamphlets.

One wall of the *In History* show arranges the Nicaraguan material in three parallel tracks. Color prints of the individual photographs stretch along the middle row. Above them, the

Below, right: Margaret George, photographed by Zaher Rashid. George (1941-1969) was an Assyrian Christian who fought with the Kurdish resistance movement known as the Peshmerga (“those who face death”) in northern Iraq. “A lot of people came and asked for photographs of Margaret, especially the Kurds of Iran. Margaret has been famous since the sixties, and her photograph is everywhere. The Peshmerga in the mountains keep photographs of Margaret.”

—*Zaher Rashid interview, 1993*

Far right: A Peshmerga soldier poses for a formal portrait by a street photographer in Arbil, Northern Iraq, 1991. Family members carried portraits of Peshmerga martyrs in small lockets pinned to their clothes as a remembrance.

—*From the series Kurdistan*





Above: Widow at a mass grave, Koreme, Northern Iraq, June 1992, from the series *Kurdistan*. “Eventually, a Middle East Watch forensic team focused on the village of Koreme to systematically record sufficient detail of a single site so it could become the basis for an unassailable accusation of genocide. I documented the process of identifying the bones of townspeople, mostly male, who were lined up, shot dead, and dumped into open pits. For me it was difficult to begin the encounter with the Kurds through their deaths.”

—Interview with Susan Meiselas, July 1997
 From the book *Kurdistan: In the Shadow of History*

Right: Arbil cemetery, Northern Iraq, 1991. “People had already dug up the bones to try to find their loved ones as soon as the uprising against Saddam’s forces was over. They dug up the graves, found the clothing around the bones, and, if it wasn’t their kin that they found, they put the clothing on the graves so the next person didn’t have to dig it up.”

—Interview with Susan Meiselas by Kristen Lubben
 from Susan Meiselas: *In History*. From the series *Kurdistan*



years of Kurdish history by collecting and reproducing the artifacts of hundreds of photographers, newsmen, and chroniclers.

A MacArthur grant freed her from the constraints of journalism to pursue this venture into cultural anthropology. The result was her book *Kurdistan: In the Shadow of History* (1997), which she refers to as “a timeline of image makers.” In the exhibit, this section is presented by glass cases filled with photographs and other original materials; a video Meiselas shot in 1992 of local photographers taking formal portraits on the streets of Arbil; and a four-screen projection of material from the book itself, with her own narration.

In the 40 years since she first looked to the camera as a collaborator in her quest to explore, understand, and ultimately reconstruct her world, Meiselas has generated not only unforgettable photographs, but collections that challenge conventional beliefs (the carnival strippers), document history in the making (Central America), and create a unique understanding of history itself (the Kurds). Her images are at once artful and guileless, combining with disciplined skill the power of representation and an honest affection for her subjects. ▣

Photographer Jim Harrison is a contributing editor of this magazine.



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to hear Susan Meiselas discuss anthropology, journalism, and photography’s power to effect change.

Alice Paul

Brief life of a pioneering suffragist: 1885-1977

by MARY WALTON

WHEN ON JANUARY 10, 1917, Alice Paul challenged Woodrow Wilson to a political face-off, she was a day shy of 32, a slightly built New Jersey Quaker with a crown of dark hair and compelling violet-blue eyes—"great earnest childlike eyes that seem to seize you and hold you to her purpose," wrote a supporter. "Suffragists Carry Fight to Gates of White House," clamored the headlines.

Picketing the White House, a first in the annals of protest, capped a four-year campaign for a federal women's suffrage amendment that had made Paul the country's most controversial suffrage leader. But neither the parades she organized, nor the lobbying, demonstrations, publicity stunts, meetings, petitions, or electoral campaigns had won over hostile southern Democrats in Congress.

Wilson, she strategized, held the key. Though a progressive Democrat, the Virginia-born president was no friend of suffrage. Publicly he maintained that states should decide their own course. (Only 11 thinly populated western states, plus the territory of Alaska, had awarded women full voting privileges.) Privately, he told a correspondent, "my personal judgment is strongly against it."

Paul set out to shame the president into changing, if not his mind, at least his position, and that of his legislative kinsmen.

Little in her cloistered background hinted at the charismatic and clever tactician she had become. Born on a small farm in Mt. Laurel, New Jersey, the eldest of four, the young Alice "never met anybody who wasn't a Quaker," apart from her family's Irish Catholic maids. Quakers believe in dedication to a divinely inspired "concern." For an earlier generation it was abolition. For Paul, it was suffrage. She graduated from Swarthmore in 1905, flirted with social work on New York's Lower East Side, and traveled to England in 1907 for further studies. There she enlisted in the militant wing of the British suffrage movement headed by Emmeline Pankhurst. Paul dreaded public speaking, but was fearless of confrontation. She returned to the United States in 1910, a veteran of imprisonments, hunger strikes, and an ugly episode of force-feeding.

She had launched her American campaign in 1913, under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with a massive suffrage parade on Pennsylvania Avenue the day before Wilson's inauguration. Now, she and her followers were at his doorstep. They called themselves "Silent Sentinels" but they carried banners that shrieked. "MR. PRESIDENT, HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?" "MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?" They mined Wilson's statements for hypocrisy. When in April 1917 he declared, in his war message to Congress, "We shall fight...for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments," the same words were held aloft days later by women with no voice in *their* government.

Hecklers, inflamed by war fever, branded the demonstrating women "Traitors!" and ripped down their signs. Tensions escalated in June when a new banner accused Wilson of lying to Russia when he claimed America was a democracy. The next day, the suffragists on duty—wives and mothers, young college graduates, social luminaries and progressive "new women"—were hurled to the ground, their banners torn away and shredded. Then they were arrested—and charged with "obstructing traffic."

The first sentences were for three days. The picketing, and arrests, continued. When sentences for repeat offenders reached 60 days, Wilson issued an unconditional pardon. Suffragists resumed their vigil. "KAISER WILSON" trumpeted a sign. Wilson lost patience.

On October 6, Paul was arrested while picketing and eventually confined to a prison psychiatric ward. Her windows were boarded shut, a light beamed into her eyes hourly. A psychiatrist pressed her to admit that she had a fixation on Wilson. When the prison doctor threatened her, she felt fear of another human being for the first time in her life. She refused food; she was force-fed.

Before her imprisonment, she called for a massive picket line to overwhelm the penal system. And on November 14, 31 suffragists arrived at a Maryland workhouse. The press, bowing to White House pressure, buried news of the protestors, but reports of brutal treatment leaked out. Late in November, all the prisoners were released after a trial that turned on a technicality.

A year after the picketing began, Wilson announced his support for the amendment "as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and the world." Backtracking from his states-rights position, he declared suffrage a "national question." America's allies, grateful for women's war service, were giving women the vote, he noted. The United States should do no less.

When the Nineteenth Amendment became law on August 26, 1920, Paul had won more than the vote. A federal court had thrown out charges against the pickets, and permits to demonstrate in the nation's capital, once denied, were now grudgingly issued. The legal precedents set by her efforts empowered future protestors, with her pioneering campaign of civil disobedience as a model.

Post suffrage, Paul armed herself with three law degrees for battles ahead. She wrote and campaigned for the Equal Rights Amendment, living to see it pass, but dying too soon to know it would never be ratified. Once women achieved freedom, she said late in life, "they probably are going to do a lot of things that I wish they wouldn't do; but it seems to me that it isn't our business, to say what they should do with it. It is our business to see that they are free." ♡

Mary Walton '63 is the author of *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (Palgrave Macmillan), published in August.



The Psyche on Automatic



Amy Cuddy probes
snap judgments,
warm feelings,
and how to become
an “alpha dog.”



by CRAIG LAMBERT

THOUGH SNAP judgments get no respect, they are not so much a bad habit as a fact of life. Our first impressions register far too quickly for any nuanced weighing of data: “Within less than a second, using facial features, people make what are called ‘spontaneous trait inferences,’” says Amy Cuddy.

Social psychologist Cuddy, an assistant professor of business administration, investigates how people perceive and categorize others. Warmth and competence, she finds, are the two critical variables. They account for about 80 percent of our overall evaluations of people (i.e., Do you feel good or bad about this person?), and shape our emotions and behaviors toward them. Her warmth/competence analysis illuminates why we hire Kurt instead of Kyra, how students choose study partners, who gets targeted for sexual harassment, and how the “motherhood penalty” and “fatherhood bonus” exert their biases in the workplace. It even suggests why we admire, envy, or disparage certain social groups, elect politicians, or target minorities for genocide.

Cuddy also studies nonverbal behavior like the postures of dominance and power. Intriguingly, her latest research connects such poses to the endocrine system, showing the links between stances, gestures, and hormones. This work may help clarify how men and women rise to the top—or fall by the wayside—in school and at work. And it relates to some surprising findings about how venture capitalists decide where to make their high-risk investments.

QUITE LITERALLY BY ACCIDENT, Cuddy became a psychologist. In high school and in college at the University of Colorado at Boulder, she was a serious ballet dancer who worked as a roller-skating waitress at the celebrated L.A. Diner. But one night, she

was riding in a car whose driver fell asleep at 4:00 A.M. while doing 90 miles per hour in Wyoming; the accident landed Cuddy in the hospital with severe head trauma and “diffuse axonal injury,” she says. “It’s hard to predict the outcome after that type of injury, and there’s not much they can do for you.”

Cuddy had to take years off from school and “relearn how to learn,” she explains. “I knew I was gifted—I knew my IQ, and didn’t think it could change. But it went down by two standard deviations after the injury. I worked hard to recover those abilities and studied circles around everyone. I listened to Mozart—I was willing to try anything!” Two years later her IQ was back. And she could dance again.

She returned to college as a 22-year-old junior whose experience with brain trauma had galvanized an interest in psychology. A job in a neuropsychology lab proved dull, but she found her passion in social psychology. Cuddy graduated from Boulder in 1998, then began a job as a research assistant to Susan Fiske at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Fiske became her mentor for the next seven years; in 2000 they both moved to Princeton, where Cuddy earned her doctorate in social psychology in 2005; her dissertation investigated aspects of warmth and competence perception. (Fiske remains on the Princeton faculty, and the two women still collaborate on research.)

Cuddy taught at Rutgers, then was recruited to join the faculty at the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern. She spent two years in Chicago before moving to Boston in 2008 to join the faculty at Harvard Business School, where she teaches courses in negotiation and power and influence.

WARMTH—does this person feel warm or cold to me?—is the first and most important interpersonal perception. It no doubt

has roots in survival instincts: determining if another human, or indeed any organism, is “friend or foe” can mean life or death.

Warmth is not only perceived first, but accounts for more of someone’s overall evaluation than competence. The warm/cold assessment amounts to a reading of the other’s intentions, positive or negative.

Competence is assayed next: how capable is someone of *carrying out* those intentions? “If it’s an enemy who’s competent,” Cuddy explains, “we probably want to be vigilant.” Surprisingly, in their *self*-perceptions, individuals value competence over warmth. “We want *other* people to be warm, but we want to be competent,” she says. “We’d rather have people respect us than like us.” (Cuddy thinks this human tendency represents a mistaken judgment: “Social connections will take you farther than respect.”)

There’s an interesting asymmetry. Many acts can indicate competence: scoring well on a College Board exam (SAT), for example, or knowing how to handle a sailboat, or deftly navigating through a software application. Demonstrating a single positive-competent behavior tends to broaden into a wider aura of competence: someone with a high SAT score, for example, will be viewed as *generally* competent. In contrast, a single *negative*-competent behavior—not knowing how to sail, for example—does *not* generalize into a perception of overall incompetence: it will simply be dismissed as, say, an unlearned skill. “Positive competence is weighted more heavily than negative competence,” Cuddy summarizes.

With warmth, the inverse applies. Someone who does something nice, like helping an elderly pedestrian across an intersection, is not necessarily seen as a generally nice person. But a single instance of negative-warmth behavior—kicking a dog, say—is likely to irredeemably categorize the perpetrator as a cold person.



Amy Cuddy,
at Harvard
Business School's
Baker Library

In other words, people feel that a single positive-competent, or negative-warmth, act reveals *character*. “You can purposely *present* yourself as warm—you can control that,” Cuddy explains. “But we feel that competence can’t be faked. So positive competence is seen as more diagnostic. On the other hand, being a jerk—well, we’re not very forgiving of people who act that way.”

This principle has powerful leverage in public life, where a single misstep in the warmth-negative category can prove fatal. In the 2006 U.S. senatorial campaign in Virginia, for example, Republican incumbent George Allen had a wide lead over challenger Jim Webb, but stumbled at a campaign event in August. Allen singled out a young man in the crowd, S.R. Sidarth, a U.S. citizen of Indian descent, who was filming Allen’s campaign stop as a “tracker” for the Webb campaign: “This fellow over here with the yellow shirt—*Macaca*, or whatever his name is...” “*Macaca*” was widely taken

as a derogatory racial epithet. Allen’s lead in voter polls tumbled, and Webb won the seat. Another example is the sudden destruction of Hollywood actor Mel Gibson’s image wrought by his alcoholic anti-Semitic rant after being stopped for drunk driving in 2006.

The human tendency to generalize from single perceptions produces the familiar “halo effect,” the cognitive tendency to see people in either all-positive or all-negative ways that psychologists have documented since at least 1920. Certain central traits, like attractiveness, tend to affect perceptions of unrelated dimensions and induce a generally positive take on someone. (“Attractive people are generally seen as better at everything,” says Cuddy.) But the halo effect “assumes that you’re not comparing the person to anyone else,” she adds. “And that’s almost never true. Unless you’re a hermit, social comparison is operating all the time.”

Very often, what's really being compared are not *individuals*, but *stereotypes*. The halo effect hints at the power of mindsets, which are strong enough to override direct perceptions. And in rating warmth and competence, we inevitably take cues from stereotypes linked to race, gender, age, and nationality—assuming, for example, that Italians will be emotionally warmer than Scandinavians.

Some stereotypes lean on each other. “Let’s say you’re down to the final two in a hiring situation,” Cuddy says. “This is where ‘compensatory stereotyping’ kicks in. The search committee is likely to see one candidate as competent but not so nice, and the other as nice, but not as competent.” In other words, the lens of social comparison distorts perception by exaggerating and polarizing the differences. This clarifies the comparison, but does so by introducing incorrect information. The same rule applies in a political election. Think of the 2000 campaign: George W. Bush was perceived as an amiable but inexperienced policy lightweight, while Al Gore came off as well-qualified but lacking the common touch.

The same pattern shows up when we judge individuals. In a 2009 *Harvard Business Review* article, “Just Because I’m Nice, Don’t Assume I’m Dumb,” Cuddy wrote, “People tend to see warmth and competence as inversely related. If there’s a surplus of one trait, they infer a deficit of the other.” In a business context, she says, this means that “The more competent you are, the less nice you must be. And vice versa: Someone who comes across as *really* nice must not be too smart.” This pattern is the opposite of the halo effect: a plus on one dimension demands a minus on the other. The unconscious logic might be: If she were *really* competent, she wouldn’t *need* to be so nice; and conversely, the highly competent person doesn’t *have* to be nice—and may even have reached the top by stepping on others.

THE INTERSECTION OF WARMTH and competence generates four ideal types (see illustration), a model Cuddy has developed over the past few years with Susan Fiske and Peter Glick, of Lawrence University. Their schema allows social psychologists to disaggregate the notion of prejudice, which is too often conceived merely as an us/them phenomenon: “My in-group is superior to your out-group.” It’s not that simple. “That [binary] model predicts almost nothing about the *treatment* of an out-group,” Cuddy says. “Not prejudice, the emotional component, and not discrimination, the behavioral component.” The *content* of the stereotypes is also relevant: stereotypes are systematic. Almost every out-group will fall into one quadrant of the warmth/competence

The more
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example, white supremacist and neo-Nazi Matthew Hale, despite his strong anti-Semitic beliefs, hired Frankfurter professor of law Alan Dershowitz to represent him in a suit against the Illinois Bar Association. “Now, Matthew Hale doesn’t like Alan Dershowitz,” Cuddy says, “but he clearly sees him as competent.” Another example: a new pupil in a mathematics class is told to pair up with another student to work on a problem. Research suggests that a pupil who knows no one in the class will tend to partner with an Asian student; Asians are stereotyped as cold/competent. “People are willing to team up with them, but it’s only out of self-interest,” says Cuddy.

However, there’s a far darker side to the cold/competent stereotype. “If you look at the groups that were targets of genocide, at least over the last century, they tend to be these groups” perceived as cold/competent, Cuddy says, citing qualitative evidence. (She has not collected data on the question.) “In times of economic instability, when the status quo is threatened, groups in this cluster are scapegoated—Jews in Germany, educated people in Cambodia, the Tutsi in Rwanda.” In general, she explains, this cluster “tends to contain high-status minority groups: they’re seen as having a good lot in life, but there’s some resentment toward them. ‘We respect you, there’s something you have that we like, but we kind of resent you for having it—and you’re not the majority.’ Asian-Americans, career women, and

black professionals also tend to be perceived in the cold/competent quadrant.”

For those seen as cold/competent, sexual harassment can become a form of what Cuddy calls “active harm.” “It’s very aggressive—it’s not about flirtation,” she explains. “The lay theory was that sexy women are the targets of sexual harassment—the sexy secretary who shows cleavage. But the actual targets tend to be women who are more masculine and very successful. It seems to be a form of

tence map, and that quadrant will predict how it is treated. The most advantaged category, of course, is warm/competent; that perception evokes *admiration* and two kinds of behavior: active facilitation (helping) and passive facilitation (cooperating). At the other extreme, the cold/incompetent group elicits *contempt* and two markedly different behaviors: passive harm (neglect, ignoring) and active harm (harassment, violence). In both cases, the emotions and behaviors are unambiguous, predictable, and directly linked to the warmth/competence perception.

In contrast, groups seen as cold/competent evoke *envy*, and “envy is an ambivalent emotion—it involves both respect and resentment,” Cuddy explains. Envy also drives ambivalent behavior. In 1999, for

How We See Others		
	Competent	Incompetent
Warm	Warm/Competent <i>admire</i>	Warm/Incompetent <i>pity</i>
Cold	Cold/Competent <i>envy</i>	Cold/Incompetent <i>contempt</i>

black professionals also tend to be perceived in the cold/competent quadrant.”

For those seen as cold/competent, sexual harassment can become a form of what Cuddy calls “active harm.” “It’s very aggressive—it’s not about flirtation,” she explains. “The lay theory was that sexy women are the targets of sexual harassment—the sexy secretary who shows cleavage. But the actual targets tend to be women who are more masculine and very successful. It seems to be a form of

active harm directed at a group that's threatening—a way of 'putting them in their place,' or even expelling them from the environment."

The warm/incompetent quadrant, too, evokes an ambivalent emotion: *pity*, which fuses compassion and sadness. People are more likely to *help* groups in this cluster, like the elderly, but also much more likely to ignore and neglect them, says Cuddy. Furthermore, the more strongly one subscribes to the warm/incompetent stereotype, the more likely one is to both help *and* ignore such people. "It depends on the situation," she says. "If you're at a backyard barbecue, you're more likely to help the elderly person. In the office, you'll probably neglect them."

On the job, many studies have shown that working moms are seen as both significantly nicer—and significantly less competent—than working fathers or childless men and women. "We call this the 'motherhood penalty,'" says Cuddy. "At the same time, fathers experience the 'fatherhood bonus.' They're viewed as nicer than men without kids, but equally, if not more, competent. They're seen as heroic: a breadwinner who goes to his kid's soccer game once in a while. But in or out of the office, working mothers experience a fair bit of hostility from people who think they should be at home with their kids. Researchers have documented thousands of cases of motherhood discrimination; a mother being laid off might hear things like, 'I know you wanted to be at home anyway.'"

Cross-cultural research shows that the only group that consistently occupies the cold/incompetent "contempt" quadrant is the economically disadvantaged: the homeless, welfare recipients, poor people. "They're blamed for their misfortune," Cuddy says.

"They are both neglected and, at times, become the targets of active harm." Deep-seated cognitive patterns may prepare the way for maltreatment. "There's an area of the brain, the medial prefrontal cortex (mPFC), that is necessary for social perception," she explains. Recent imaging research showed no activation of the mPFC in response to pictures of homeless people, Cuddy points out: "People are not even recognizing them as human."

NONVERBAL DATA are powerful factors in our assessments of others. For example, "A lot of what reveals lying happens below the neck," Cuddy explains. "Lying leaks out physically. To come across as authentic, your verbal and nonverbal behavior must be synchronized." She became interested in identifying which nonverbal behaviors indicate warmth and competence. "Appropriate self-disclosure, the use of humor, and natural smiles



Examples of poses used in the "power posing" study. These are high-power postures: expansive positions with open limbs.



These examples illustrate low-power postures: contractive positions with closed limbs.

all signal warmth," says Cuddy. "So do behaviors called 'immediacy cues,' like leaning toward someone, communicating on the same physical plane, and being closer physically, although the ideal distance varies greatly across cultures."

Recently, she has begun to study nonverbal cues that drive perceptions of competence, which relate directly to one's position in the social pecking order: a star athlete, for example, enjoys far higher status than a journeyman. "Dominance and power are highly correlated with perceived competence," she says, "and people make inferences of competence based on how dominant someone appears."

"In all animal species, postures that are expansive, open, and take up more space are associated with high power and dominance," she says. "Postures that are contractive—limbs touching torso, protecting the vital organs, taking up minimal space—are associated with low power, being at the bottom of the hierarchy. Any animal you can think of, when it's prey, makes itself as small as possible."

In primates, these postures also correlate with testosterone and cortisol

levels. Expansive, high-power postures mean (in both sexes) high testosterone, a hormone that animal and human studies connect with dominance and power, and low levels of cortisol (the "stress" hormone), while the inverse holds for contractive, low-power postures. "Those endocrine profiles are associated with disease resistance," Cuddy says. "Low testosterone and high cortisol make you very vulnerable to diseases, so you're more likely to be picked off by whatever comes through. At the top, you're more disease-resistant."

Until recently, primatologists believed that those who inherited high-power neuroendocrine profiles became the dominant creatures in their groups, the so-called alpha males or females. "But it turns out that those hormone levels *change* when you take on the dominant role," Cuddy explains. "If an alpha is killed and another primate has to take over that position, his or her testosterone and cortisol levels will change in just a few days. Likewise, if you get pushed to the bottom, your hormone profile shifts. It's both cause *and* effect. It's possible that slight innate differences in neuroendocrine profiles are greatly exaggerated by role assignment."

In a recent paper published in *Psychological Science*, Cuddy, Dana R. Carney, and Andy J. Yap (both of Columbia) report how they measured hormone levels of 42 male and female research subjects, placed the subjects in two high-power or low-power poses for a minute per pose, then re-measured their hormone levels 17 minutes later. They also offered subjects a chance to gamble, rolling a die to double a \$2 stake. The results were astonishing: a mere *two minutes* in high- or low-power poses caused testosterone to rise and cortisol to decrease—or the reverse. Those in

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIBERT LEOW



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to see paintings by homeless artists responding to their social categorization.

high-power stances were also more likely to gamble, enacting a trait (risk taking) associated with dominant individuals; they also reported feeling more powerful. “If you get this effect in two minutes, imagine what you get sitting in the CEO’s chair for a year,” Cuddy says.

This work has practical applications—for example, in the M.B.A. program at the business school, where classroom participation determines 50 percent of a student’s grade. There, women students have a harder time getting airtime, and speak more briefly when they do talk. Cuddy has observed that women are also much more likely to cross their legs and arms, or to lean in: low-power poses. While men raise their hands straight up, women tend to raise them with an elbow bent 90 degrees, commanding less space. “The guys spread their arms out and take up as much space as they can,” Cuddy says.

She and Carney, who teaches at Columbia’s Graduate School of Business, have begun to advise their women M.B.A. students to stop crossing their legs and minimizing their physical presence—and instead to raise their adjustable classroom chairs as high as possible while keeping feet on the floor, to “be as big as you are.” Some former students have told her that they’ve used this advice to good effect in job interviews. And recently, she and Carney launched a study to measure the effect on fundraising success of having telemarketers at the Columbia University Alumni Giving Center adopt high- or low-power postures.

“Tiny changes that people can make can lead to some pretty dramatic outcomes,” Cuddy reports. This is true because changing one’s own mindset sets up a positive feedback loop with the neuroendocrine secretions, and also changes the mindset of others. The success of venture-capital pitches to investors apparently turns, in fact, on nonverbal factors like “how comfortable and charismatic you are. The predictors of who actually gets the money are all about how you present yourself, and nothing to do with content,” Cuddy says, citing research by Boston College doctoral student Lakshmi Balachandra (a research fellow at Harvard Law School’s Program on Negotiation), who studied 185 venture-capital pitches and found that variables like “calmness,” “passion,” “eye contact,” and “lack of awkwardness” were strong predictors of success.

Nonverbal states like confidence are infectious in part because “People tend to mirror each other,” Cuddy says. “There are dedicated ‘mirror neurons’ in the brain.” Mirroring may facilitate social connection: by enacting the same nonverbal behaviors, individuals increase social cohesiveness. A simple example is smiling. A natural smile (which involves muscles around the eyes, unlike a fake smile) produces physiological feedback that makes the smiler feel happier. Someone watching this involuntarily mirrors the smile. “Even on the phone, you ‘hear’ them smiling back,” Cuddy says, “and this makes you even happier.” Thus a feedback loop kicks in, both *between* the people and *within* each individual, as the body produces neurochemicals that correlate with happy feelings.

Leaders often see themselves as separate from their audiences. They want to stake out a position and try to move audiences toward them. That’s not effective.



Whether we smile or frown with someone (frowns trigger a different feedback loop) has much to do with what traits we believe them to possess—such as warmth or competence. Social psychologists have long understood the “Pygmalion effect”: we treat people in ways consistent with our expectations of them, and in so doing elicit behavior that confirms those expectations. “If you think someone’s a jerk, you’ll behave toward them in a way that elicits jerky behaviors,” says Cuddy. “And then you say, ‘See? He is a jerk!’ This is one of the dangers of stereotypes. When we elicit behaviors consistent with the stereotypes we hold, we tell ourselves, “See? The stereotypes are right!”

Finally, those powerful high-testosterone, alpha-dog people may be more prone to deploying stereotypes. Cuddy refers to Dana Carney’s theory that feeling powerful is disinhibiting, so you stereotype *more*;

if stereotypes are automatic, to *avoid* stereotyping requires an inhibiting process. A second explanation is that “Top people tend to see everyone under them as the same,” says Cuddy. “It’s OK if they confuse Employee A with Employee B—they’re not going to lose their job because they offended somebody beneath them. Lower-status people need to be more vigilant; stereotypes won’t give them all the information they need. Stereotypes are cognitive shortcuts you take when you don’t have that much to lose.”

Leaders often see themselves as separate from their audiences, says Cuddy. “They want to stake out a position and then try to move audiences *toward* them. That’s not effective.” At the business school, she notes, many students tend “to overemphasize the importance of projecting high competence—they want to be the smartest guy in the room. They’re trying to be dominant. Clearly there are advantages to feeling and seeing yourself as powerful and competent—you’ll be more confident, more willing to take risks. And it’s important for others to perceive you as strong and competent. That said, you don’t have to prove that you’re the *most* dominant, *most* competent person there. In fact, it’s rarely a good idea to strive to show everyone that you’re the smartest guy in the room: that person tends to be less creative, and less cognitively open to other ideas and people.”

Instead, says Cuddy, the goal should be *connecting*. When people give a speech or lead a meeting, for example, they tend to exaggerate the importance of words. They “care too much about content and delivering it with precision. That makes them sound scripted.” Far better, she advises, to “come into a room, be trusting, connect with the audience wherever they are, and then move them *with* you.”



Tell us about a snap judgment or stereotype that was applied to you, and the consequences. Do you try to compensate for your own snap judgments (or will you, after reading this article)? How? Visit harvardmag.com/extras to share your thoughts and see what other readers said.

Craig A. Lambert '69, Ph.D. '78, is deputy editor of this magazine.

JOHN HARVARD'S JOURNAL



After the Storm: Presidential Perspectives

DURING A CONVERSATION at her Massachusetts Hall office on September 8, and in a September 21 Sanders Theatre dialogue with former ABC news anchor Charlie Gibson, President Drew Faust sounded sanguine notes about the condition of the University and its direction. After the “unanticipated, earthshaking crises of 2008-2009” (when the endowment’s value sank by nearly \$11 billion

and Harvard faced liquidity challenges), she said, it feels as though the institution has “come through a thunderstorm and into the sunlight again.” She touched on finances and operations (fortified by positive investment returns for fiscal year 2010—see “Endowment Improvements,” page 58); Harvard’s ability to sustain its core academic priorities; the prospects for a fundraising campaign; the findings of scientific misconduct by a faculty member (see “Scientific Misconduct, and Its Aftermath,” page 57); University gover-

GUT RENOVATION of the Sherman Fairchild building this fall will yield 62,000 square feet of space for 275 investigators dedicated to stem-cell research, including faculty members, graduate students, technicians, postdoctoral fellows, and research assistants. The high-density open labs—211 net square feet per workstation—are part of a design philosophy intended to foster collaboration that carries over from the unbuilt Allston science complex. When the \$65-million to \$70-million project is complete in the fall of 2011, there will be 16 faculty investigators engaged in stem-cell and regenerative biology in Cambridge here and in the adjacent Bauer Laboratory.



Drew Faust and Charlie Gibson
in conversation

nance; and other matters. Highlights from the two conversations follow.

Operations, and academic initiatives. Faust said that fiscal constraints had “given us the opportunity” to scrutinize how work is done, from the individual schools to the central administration. Necessity



To read more from the September 8 interview, see harvardmag.com/through-a-thunderstorm. For a complete account of the September 21 event, see harvardmag.com/faust-gibson/

provided the impetus to examine practices that had developed unplanned, and to reconfigure them where appropriate. The result, she said, is a set of better procedures, such as those arising from the study of Harvard’s dozens of libraries (see “Libraries on the Edge,” January-February, page 41): better integrated operations, tangible efficiencies, improved collecting practices,

and enhanced digital capabilities. “We wouldn’t have undertaken that scrutiny” and brought people together to address problems and pursue new opportunities without a sense of crisis, she suggested—and was reminded, she joked, that as a

Civil War historian, she had written a book titled *Mothers of Invention*.

Gibson, now a Shorenstein Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School, asked about the administration’s citing of financial straits for everything from the termination of hot breakfasts in undergraduate Houses to the halting of construction of the science complex in Allston. Addressing meals first, Faust explained that Harvard had focused on essentials: teaching, scholarship, and financial aid; confining undergraduate hot-breakfast service to one location, rather than 12, made sense as the University trimmed dispensable spending.

About campus development, she said Allston “is critical to the future of Harvard—but visions for academic use would be realized “much more slowly” because of the financial crash. She insisted that the University now has no timetable for development, and is, as reported, trying to lease properties it has bought; provide community amenities; and explore options including commercial co-development—part of a broader “re-envisioning” that might yield a lively mixed-use com-

munity of academic, institutional, and private investors during the next 50 years.

When Gibson asked whether Harvard’s commitment to financial aid was sustainable, Faust responded firmly that it was, because the most important of Harvard’s commitments is to attract talented individuals regardless of their financial circumstances.

While acknowledging continued uncertainty about the economy, Faust said in the earlier conversation, “We have gotten hold of the situation,” ensuring that Harvard is “much better positioned to respond” in any circumstances. Harvard, she said, must be prepared to “build on our strengths no matter what” ensues, while guarding against the assumption that the University had quickly moved “back to where we were” before the current recession began. “For a considerable time,” she said, Harvard would be “more constrained.”

A capital campaign. A Harvard-wide fundraising campaign would of course help loosen those constraints. (The last such effort, the \$2.6-billion University Campaign, concluded more than a decade ago, in May 2000—ancient history, in fundraising terms.) A campaign is tied to the institution’s president, Faust explained to Gibson, and had been among her highest priorities on taking office in 2007—but the financial events of 2008-2009 (implicitly, on campus and off, but she did not say so) made it impossible to move forward rapidly. She said that during the process of planning and consulting with prospective donors (now under way), neither the timeline nor the size of a campaign goal could be set or publicized. That planning includes sorting out deans’ priorities, aligning them with the University’s, and testing ideas with donors. On September 8, she noted that this effort, lasting at least several months, is taking place in an economic environment very different from the robust conditions that shaped peer institutions’ plans earlier in the decade, and the campaigns they now have under way. (Among institutions attempting to raise \$1 billion or more are Brown, Columbia, Dartmouth, Penn, Princeton, Stanford, and Yale.) In all, she indicated, the initial strategizing and the “quiet phase” of actual fundraising—where institutions seek to secure commitments for a substantial minority of their capital goals—could

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consume the “next couple of years.”

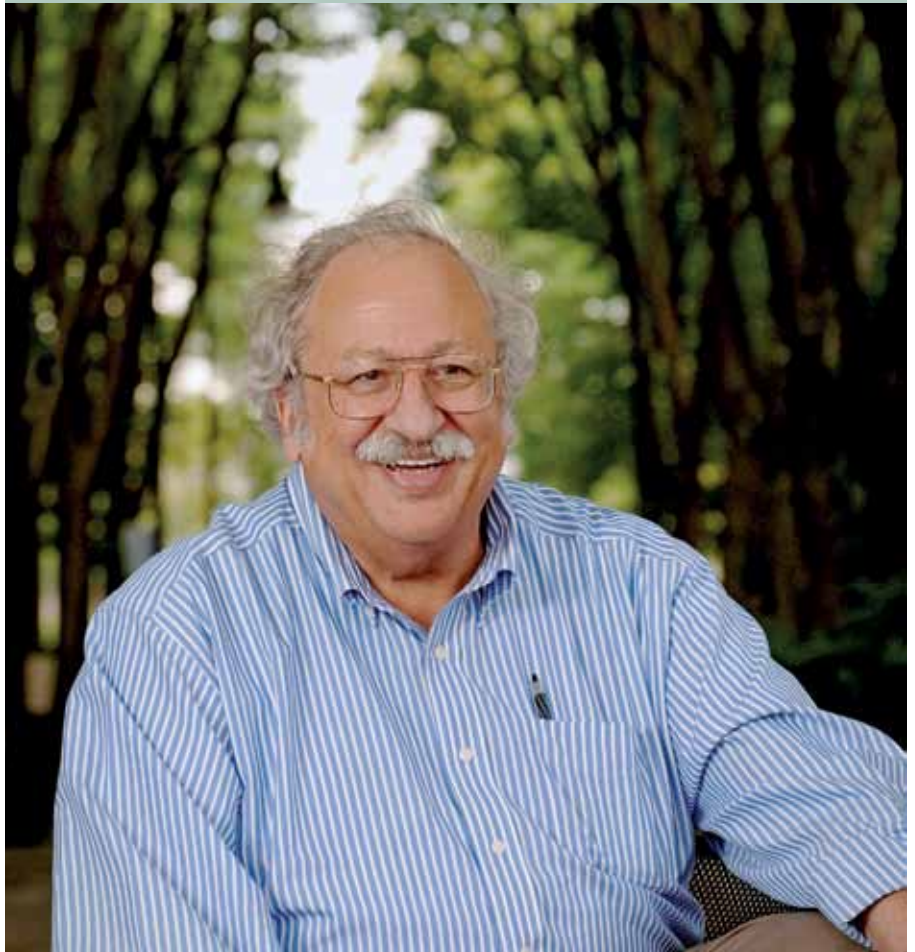
Scientific misconduct. Concerning the findings that professor of psychology Marc Hauser was responsible for “eight instances of scientific misconduct” under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences’ (FAS) standards, Faust—who had not addressed the issue publicly before—said on September 8, “This is something at the core of who and what we are. We must support scientific integrity. We must assure scientific integrity.” Then, and when pressed by Gibson—who asked why Hauser was still a member of the faculty, and suggested that University-level silence on the issue had been “somewhat deafening”—Faust explained that the review of the initial allegations of misconduct (reportedly begun in 2007) was necessarily lengthy and appropriately conducted within FAS: the complex matters involved require faculty experts who understand how research is conducted to determine when it has been done inappropriately. Peer institutions proceed similarly in comparable cases, she noted. Furthermore, she is “committed to appropriate levels of confidentiality” so that such investigations can protect complainants, individuals whose work is being reviewed, and subsequent federal investigations (where required, as in this case, because federal research funds supported the work); but, she added, Harvard had disclosed more in this instance than in the past.

Within that context, she continued, the findings had prompted extensive conversations about how to right the scientific record, how to make sure investigative procedures operate in the best way, and how the discoveries should be communicated—and at least some of those matters will be reviewed at the University level.

Openness—and its opposite. What vision would Faust propound for the central aim of her presidency? Gibson asked. “I would like people to feel that Harvard is open to them,” she said: to enroll, and, within the institution, to cross any internal boundaries that might stand in the way of their research, teaching, or learning.

In that context, Gibson subsequently inquired about the controversy surrounding Martin Peretz, Ph.D. ’66, a long-time social studies lecturer whose teaching and mentoring experience were to be recognized September 25 during a fiftieth-anniversary celebration of that undergradu-

HARVARD PORTRAIT



Marshall Ganz

Few who drop out of college for 27 years later return to join the Harvard faculty. But Marshall Ganz '64, M.P.A. '93, Ph.D. '00, who left after his junior year to register black Mississippi voters (he wrote his senior tutor: “How can I come back and study history, when we are busy *making* history?”) didn’t complete his A.B. until 1992. He’s now a lecturer in public policy at the Kennedy School and a lecturer on social studies at the College. In the interval, he worked as an organizer with César Chávez and the United Farm Workers from 1965 to 1981; his 2009 book, *Why David Sometimes Wins*, recounts that saga and extracts its lessons. Toward the end, “The organization began to implode,” he recalls. “They were fruitful years that ended with a lot of hurt. A tragic story of success consuming itself.” The son of a rabbi and a teacher, Ganz imbibed an ardor for social justice, but explains, “I never got engaged in the theoretical, ideological stuff. I was *really* engaged by meeting the people involved.” He later worked on electoral campaigns for politicians like Robert F. Kennedy '48, Nancy Pelosi, and Jerry Brown; in 2008, he helped set up a Camp Obama operation that trained 3,000 organizers. Ganz met his late wife, Susan Eaton '79, M.P.A. '93, at his twenty-fifth class reunion; she died of leukemia in 2003. His training in “leadership through community organizing” has reached organizations ranging from the Sierra Club to the Episcopal Church to grassroots groups in Jordan and Syria. Ganz teaches courses on moral leadership, organizing, and “public narrative”—stories that transform values into action. “They’re not courses *about* leadership,” he says. “They’re courses *in* leadership.”

ate concentration—but who had also prompted sharp criticisms for his broad attacks on Muslims* (see “50 Years of Social Studies,” page 62). Ought Harvard to be honoring this man—in a research fund raised in his name? Gibson inquired.

For Faust, who had just talked about making Harvard open and inclusive, these are obviously fundamental matters. She referred to her remarks on this theme at Morning Prayers, at the beginning of

*Blogging in early September, Peretz had written, as editor in chief of the *New Republic*, “Muslim life is cheap, most notably to Muslims,” and added, “I wonder whether I need honor these people and pretend that they are worthy of the privileges of the First Amendment which I have in my gut the sense that they will abuse.” These comments prompted *New York Times* columnist Nicholas D. Kristof ’82 (recently elected an Overseer), to lament the “venomous and debased discourse about Islam” represented by Peretz’s post. James Fallows ’70, writing for *TheAtlantic.com*, denounced Peretz for “an incredible instance of public bigotry in the American intelligentsia.” On September 13, Peretz posted “An Apology,” saying he was embarrassed about the sentence concerning Muslims’ First Amendment rights, but stating about his other sentence, “This is a statement of fact, not value.” For Yom Kippur, Peretz followed up with “Atonement,” noting that “in this past year I have publicly committed the sin of wild and wounding language, especially hurtful to our Muslim brothers and sisters....I allowed emotion to run way ahead of reason, and feelings to trample arguments.”

the fall term. (Then, she had said, after recounting the University’s increasing openness to blacks, women, and gays and lesbians, “Much of Harvard’s history, especially in the past half-century, has been a story of extending the opportunities for belonging, challenging not just our own institutional assumptions but working to become an agent of change and openness in society more broadly.”) Peretz’s comments, she said, “struck a very different chord”—the suggestion that there are people who aren’t valued. Those sentiments, she said, were clearly at odds with the values Harvard wished to embrace. Peretz herself, she said, had recognized the “wild and wounding” nature of his remarks.

As for the funds raised, she continued, they reflected his former students’ appreciation of their teacher and adviser. The money would support undergraduate research and engaged teaching—an “entirely appropriate basis” for such a gift. So it would be accepted, a situation that Faust acknowledged was a matter of “but/and.”

University governance. The Corporation-led review of Harvard governance is proceeding, Faust said at Massachusetts Hall (see “The Corporation Changes,” March-April, page 52). Corporation members have been meeting as an extended

group (including Seth P. Waxman, president of the Board of Overseers; past Overseers president Frances D. Fergusson; and Robert N. Shapiro, an Overseer and past president of the Harvard Alumni Association) to assess responsibilities, access to information, the best ways to operate, and so on. They are being assisted by Richard P. Chait, professor of higher education emeritus at the Graduate School of Education, who is advising on practices and structures at other institutions, among other matters. (Chait, a scholar of and consultant on institutions’ leadership and governance, was a participant in this magazine’s “Governing Harvard” roundtable [May-June 2006, page 25]; among other suggestions, the discussants recommended changes in how the Corporation communicated with the wider community about its work and decisions.)

Asked whether there would be a public component to the Corporation’s process, Faust responded that the Corporation and the wider group are reaching out, talking with many people—as she was—and sharing more fully their queries and what they had learned. But the work inherently could not be fully turned into a broad process for decision-making, she noted: undergraduates are not necessarily the best advisers on how the Corporation should carry out its fiduciary duties. What course the process ultimately takes and the conclusions it reaches depend, she said, on what Corporation members and those with whom they consult think is needed—“what the absences or omissions have been and trying to fold those in” to a more effective way of proceeding.

The outlook. Faust declared herself “really excited about this year....We can get a lot done,” given the community’s “appetite for change and a willingness to get it done,” academically and administratively. With leaner operations, and further improvements in processes planned, “It’s an extraordinary moment for Harvard,” she said. Campaign planning represents a commitment to take advantage of opportunities ahead by envisioning the University as a “forward-thinking, integrated” whole, identifying the most important dreams involved in its teaching and research missions, and coming together to realize them. The result, the president said, will be a “coherent statement of what Harvard is—and thus of what a university is in the twenty-first century.”

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Scientific Misconduct, and Its Aftermath

A UNIVERSITY INVESTIGATION found psychology professor Marc Hauser “solely responsible” for eight instances of scientific misconduct, announced Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) dean Michael D. Smith on August 20, 10 days after the *Boston Globe* broke news of the investigation.

Hauser has taught at Harvard since 1992; he investigates animal cognition as a window into the evolutionary roots of the human mind. “A star in his field and an intellectual celebrity,” as the journal *Nature* put it, he has written popular works that include *Wild Minds: What Animals Really Think* (2000) and *Moral Minds: How Nature Designed a Universal Sense of Right and Wrong* (2006). He has won many teaching awards, including a Harvard College Professorship, and co-taught the popular Core course “Evolution and Human Nature” (nicknamed “Sex”).

Now he is on a yearlong leave of absence; the University has not said whether the leave was previously planned or connected to the misconduct investigation. Hauser has not responded to inquiries from *Harvard Magazine*. An automatic e-mail reply stated that he is at work on his next book, listed on his curriculum vitae as *Evilicious: Explaining Our Evolved Taste for Being Bad*; Viking Press has not indicated whether the book is still scheduled. (After news broke of the investigation into Hauser’s lab, the University office of public affairs and communications removed photographs of Hauser from its inventory of available images.)

Hauser was to have taught a psychology course at the Extension School this fall, but on the first day of the session, students who had enrolled were notified by e-mail that the course had been canceled at Hauser’s request, and tuition and fees would be refunded to those who did not wish to take an alternate course. The message contained a statement from Hauser: “Because of the controversy surrounding the investigation, I have decided that the best thing for the students is that I not teach at the Extension School until things conclude with the case. Given my great desire to teach, I look forward to sharing my knowledge of these disciplines in the future.” A course Hauser was scheduled to teach in the spring, “The Moral Sense: From Genes to Law,” has also been canceled. Two grad-



Marc Hauser, photographed in his laboratory in 2003

uate students he advised, and two undergraduates whose senior theses he was to advise, have found other mentors. President Drew Faust told the *Globe* on September 22 that Hauser “may decide he may not wish to come back.” She was apparently not hinting that Hauser *had* made this decision, but rather was responding to a reporter’s follow-up question after she said there were “uncertainties” surrounding his scheduled return in the fall. (See also Faust’s comments on the Hauser incident and University values, page 55.)

In explaining the misconduct finding, Dean Smith cited three papers with which a faculty investigating committee found “problems.” One, published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* in 2007, involved rhesus monkeys’ ability to recognize human gestures; a correction published in July states that Hauser and a collaborator returned to the original site to re-run the experiment after it was discovered that video records and field notes for their original work were incomplete. The new experiment reproduced the original findings, the journal reported. A second paper, published in *Science* in 2007, examined the ability of rhesus monkeys, cotton-top tamarins, and chimpanzees to make inferences about humans’ mental states based on observed actions. Field notes and other information about the rhesus monkeys were missing for this paper also, so the researchers returned to the site to replicate that experiment, too. A *Science* spokeswoman

said peer reviewers were still analyzing the new material.

The third paper, published in 2002 in the journal *Cognition*, purported to find that cotton-top tamarin monkeys could recognize auditory patterns, or “grammars.” The experimental setup described in the paper exposed one group of monkeys to two different grammars, and another group to two sequences from the same grammar. The paper reported that the monkeys who heard a second sequence from a different grammar paid more attention, indicating that they noticed the difference. Heightened attention to novel stimuli, a faculty much studied in human infants, is believed to underpin the capacity for speech.

The *Cognition* paper was retracted in August, after Hauser notified the journal that the data did not support the reported findings. Editor Gerry Altmann said he subsequently received more details in a letter from Smith: an examination of the experiment’s videotapes found that *all* the monkeys had been exposed to two different grammars, making it impossible to compare reaction to a familiar versus a novel grammar. Altmann said the letter did not specify how this happened. “It is conceivable that there was in fact no intent to deceive or fabricate, if we assume a whole chain of procedural errors,” he wrote on his blog—if, for example, one group heard

the wrong grammar due to computer error or human error, and none of the researchers who scored the monkeys' responses or checked the results noticed the discrepancy. But Altmann, a psychology professor himself, believes this explanation is improbable: "I am forced to conclude that there was most likely an intention here, using data that appear to have been fabricated, to deceive the field into believing something for which there was in fact no evidence at all."

Smith's public statement did not give details on the other five counts of misconduct, but said they related to studies that "either did not result in publications or where the problems were corrected prior to publication." Neither did Hauser in his statement to the *Boston Globe* the same day, though he said he was "deeply sorry" and had made "significant mistakes." "I have learned a great deal from this process and have made many changes in my own approach to research and in my lab's research practices," he added. "Research and teaching are my passion. After taking some time off, I look forward to getting back to my work, mindful of what I have learned in this case."

Harvard's investigation evidently began in 2007; the *Chronicle of Higher Education* obtained a statement from a former research assistant in Hauser's lab who said he and other researchers had approached University authorities with their concerns about practices there. According to the *Chronicle*, the trouble started with an experiment involving rhesus monkeys' ability to recognize auditory patterns. Hauser and one research assistant watched the monkeys' responses to the sounds and "coded" the results, marking whether they seemed to respond to novelty (similar to the study with the cotton-top tamarins). A second research assistant, who was asked to analyze the data, noticed a major discrepancy: the first research assistant's coding found the monkeys didn't notice the patterns; Hauser's coding of the same videotapes indicated that they did.

After Hauser resisted a request to have a third investigator review the data independently, one of the research assistants and a graduate student reviewed the tapes themselves without Hauser's permission, the *Chronicle* said.

They each coded the results independently. Their findings concurred with the conclusion that the ex-

periment had failed: The monkeys didn't appear to react to the change in patterns. They then reviewed Mr. Hauser's coding and...discovered that what he had written down bore little relation to what they had actually observed on the videotapes. He would, for instance, mark that a monkey had turned its head when the monkey didn't so much as flinch. It wasn't simply a case of differing interpretations, they believed: His data were just completely wrong.

HARVARD did not announce anything about the affair until the *Globe* reported the *Cognition* retraction on August 10. By that point, *Nature* subsequently noted, gossip about an investigation of Hauser's lab "had become standard cocktail-hour fare" at conferences of scientists. Other publications reported that, years earlier, SUNY-Albany psychology professor Gordon Gallup Jr. had publicly questioned a Hauser finding that monkeys could recognize their own reflections in a mirror; he reviewed the videotapes from Hauser's experiment and said he saw no evidence of recognition.

The University still has not said exactly what discipline, if any, has been handed down. According to Smith's statement, the options for cases of misconduct include involuntary leave; the imposition of additional oversight on the laboratory of the scholar in question; and restrictions on his or her ability to apply for grants and supervise graduate and undergraduate students.

In an interview with *Harvard Magazine*, President Drew Faust said neither the length of the investigation, nor Smith's

reticence, should be interpreted as an attempt to sweep the incident under the rug. She noted the complexity of the work under review and the need to keep certain details confidential until federal agencies have concluded their own investigations. (Smith said the University was cooperating with inquiries from agencies including the Public Health Service Office of Research Integrity, the National Science Foundation Office of Inspector General, and the U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Massachusetts. Spokespeople for all three agencies said they could not confirm their involvement; generally, sanctions imposed by the three agencies range from a requirement for additional oversight to return of grant money, a prohibition against applying for government grants for a set period of time, and criminal indictment.)

Facing so much uncertainty, Hauser's colleagues in evolutionary biology are left to wonder how much of his work is reliable. He has been a prolific researcher, coauthoring more than 200 papers during a 25-year career. Emory University primatologist Frans de Waal, quoted in *Nature*, called the affair "disastrous" for the field: "If one prominent person is under suspicion, then everyone comes a little bit under suspicion." The danger, Hauser's colleagues have said, is that the wider academic community and the public may start to believe that animal behavior can't be objectively evaluated. There have already been suggestions that "this kind of work is imprecise and it's really anybody's call what the animal is doing and it's not rigorous," UCLA primatologist Joan Silk told the *Globe*. "That's a big misperception."

Endowment Improvements

THE UNIVERSITY'S endowment was valued at \$27.4 billion as of June 30, the end of fiscal year 2010—up 5.4 percent from \$26.0 billion at the end of fiscal 2009—according to Harvard Management Company's annual report, released on September 9. During the fiscal year just ended, HMC recorded an investment return of 11.0 percent on endowment and related assets—a welcome improvement from the negative 27.3 percent investment return during the financial upheavals in fiscal 2009, when the

endowment's value declined by nearly \$11 billion. The difference between the rate of investment return and the growth in the endowment's absolute value reflects the distribution of endowment funds to support University operations (about \$1.56 billion in fiscal 2010, down from \$1.66 billion in fiscal 2009 and \$1.63 billion in fiscal 2008), offset by gifts received.

The arithmetic—gross investment gains, less distributions, plus gifts, equals net endowment growth—matters. HMC's fiscal 2010 investment return handily exceeded its long-term goal: 8.25 percent annual gains. After distributions for University spending (the endowment

now provides about 35 percent of operating revenues), the endowment grew at half the rate of the investment return. That is above the rate of inflation: it represents real growth. (The Commonfund Institute's Higher Education Price Index for fiscal 2010 was a record low 0.9 percent.) But it implies a very extended period of recovery after the \$11-billion decline in fiscal 2009. For context, HMC's annualized rate of return for the past five years is now 4.7 percent, and 7.0 percent for the past 10 years. Those figures reflect not only the fiscal 2009 drop, but also the extraordinarily favorable rates of return (23.0 percent in fiscal 2007, 16.7 percent in fiscal 2006, 19.2 percent in fiscal 2005) realized in some earlier years.

It is this longer-term performance, and the value of the endowment, that shape the Corporation's budget decisions—significantly including the rate of distribution of cash to support the University's academic operations. On September 21, the *Crimson* reported a scoop: Harvard's schools have been advised to plan for a 4 percent increase in their endowment distributions for fiscal 2012 budgets—reversing direction after 8 percent and 12 percent decreases, respectively, last year and this.

HMC'S PERFORMANCE (after all investment-management fees and HMC operating expenses) was better than the 9.4 percent return calculated using market benchmarks for the assets in the "policy portfolio" (HMC's model for allocating assets among categories such as equities, fixed-income instruments, real estate, and so on). In fiscal 2009, HMC's performance trailed its market benchmarks by 2.1 percentage points.

In both years, the University's portfolio fared less well than a popular measure of large endowment funds, the Trust Universe Comparison Service. Median performance for the TUCS in fiscal 2010 was a 13.3 percent investment return, 2.3 percentage points above the HMC results. The difference reflects dissimilar asset allocations. As HMC president and chief executive officer Jane L. Mendillo explained subsequently, TUCS funds are about half invested in public equities (versus one-third

Yesterday's News

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

1915 The *Bulletin* salutes the fiftieth anniversary of the Harvard Club of New York with particular praise for its activism: more than 30 years earlier, the club "set on foot" the movement to elect non-Massachusetts residents to the University's Board of Overseers.

1925 The Harvard Fund is officially established to provide a way for alumni to support the University through annual contributions, as distinct from special gifts to a particular campaign.

1930 Harvard proves one of the largest employers of construction labor north of New York, the "business depression" notwithstanding, with five new undergraduate Houses, new buildings for the physics department and the geography school, new freshman dorms, a biological lab, a faculty club, and a \$700,000 addition to the Medical School powerhouse under way.

* * *

An ad in the *Bulletin* by the Harvard Alumni Placement Service states, "Unemployment, widespread and serious, is causing many Harvard men to look for jobs for the first time in their lives." Fellow

alumni are asked to forward information about job openings.

1940 "A decade ago," note the editors, "any Harvard man who rode a bicycle was thought at least eccentric." But "since the universal recognition of carbon monoxide," bicycles have made a comeback in Cambridge, with more than 250 counted in daily use around the Yard and the Houses.

1955 The Business School and Radcliffe announce that Radcliffe's Management Training Program will become the Harvard-Radcliffe Program in Business Administration. Its directors note a "significant demand for trained women for market research and sales promotion positions."

1960 The Center for the Study of World Religions opens. Scholars from the United States and six foreign countries, representing the Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, and Christian faiths, are already in residence, and a Muslim scholar from Iran is expected shortly.

1990 Harvard and the City of Cambridge sign a document calling for the University to give \$1 million in annual payments to Cambridge in lieu of taxes.

* * *

The "French chef" gives 2,000 cookbooks from her collection to Radcliffe's Schlesinger Library, with a promise of more to come. Julia Child hopes her gift will promote cooking as a respected profession and academic field of study.



for HMC's portfolio—where they were among the better performing holdings), with only a few percent invested in real assets (typically almost one-quarter of HMC's allocation—and this year, the only segment where it recorded losses). Among peers, Columbia reported a 17 percent investment gain, Penn 13 percent, Dartmouth 10 percent, and Brown and MIT both 10.2 percent. Among schools with portfolios most comparable to HMC's, Yale gained 8.9 percent and Stanford 14.4 percent.

According to Mendillo's report, investments in U.S. equities returned 17.1 percent and those in developed-market international equities 12.9 percent—both comfortably ahead of benchmark returns. Investments in emerging-market equities returned 17.6 percent, below benchmark returns. (Each of these three public-equity classes is assigned an 11 percent weight in the policy portfolio.)

Private-equity investments were the strongest segment in absolute terms, up 16.2 percent. Although Mendillo indicated that the policy-portfolio weightings for fiscal 2011 will not change, her report indicates a more nuanced view of this asset class. "Private equity bears a mention of

Harvard Management Company 2010 Investment Performance

Asset Class	HMC Return	Benchmark Return	Difference	Weight in Policy Portfolio
Public equities	15.8%	15.2%	0.6%	33%
Private equity	16.2	13.3	2.9	13
Absolute return*	15.2	12.3	2.9	18
Real assets**	(2.7)	(4.7)	2.0	23
Fixed income	8.5	7.2	1.3	11
Total endowment***	11.0	9.4	1.6	

*Includes high-yield bonds

**Includes real estate (9 percent), commodities, and natural resources

***The policy portfolio also includes a 2 percent allocation to cash.

its own," she wrote. "Harvard has benefited from being an early participant in the private-equity arena, and we have a strong team in this area and many important relationships with a number of the best private-equity and venture-capital investors in the world. However, the field of private equity has become more and more crowded—with capital, with managers, and with investors—over the last decade. Our expectations...are that returns will be more muted going forward." Accordingly, although HMC expects to maintain "a meaningful level of exposure," those private-equity holdings will be entrusted to a smaller roster of "our highest conviction [investment] managers."

Returns on high-yield investments (reported within the "absolute return" category) were 19.6 percent, somewhat below benchmark results. That implies that hedge-fund managers' results—the larger

part of absolute-return investments—exceeded their benchmark, but Mendillo's report does not provide a figure.

Real assets produced investment losses, reflecting the continued weakness in commercial real estate—a segment where HMC's results trailed market benchmarks. Natural-resources investments (such as timber and agricultural land) yielded a

"relatively low" nominal return, Mendillo wrote, but above-market results; commodities returns, she said separately, were nil.

Fixed-income returns (excluding high-yield bonds, as noted) were driven by above-market results in HMC's internally managed funds, Mendillo wrote. Her report did not categorize returns for the domestic, foreign, and inflation-indexed bond segments.

Finally, the policy portfolio now allocates 2 percent of total assets to cash. (In prior years, HMC borrowed up to 5 percent of its total holdings, using leverage to boost returns; this strategy was obviously unhelpful when financial markets declined sharply.) In a year with positive investment returns but near-zero interest rates on cash instruments, such an allocation would have depressed HMC's overall results slightly. But the fund managers have the opportunity to deviate from the policy portfolio to some degree, and, Mendillo said subsequently, HMC in fact was fully invested during fiscal 2010. Making cash a formal category within the policy portfolio, she said, imposed a useful discipline on the money managers, who have to be very clear about their reasons for varying from the model parameters, as they identify opportunities to do so during the year for tactical investment reasons.

MENDILLO called the year "a successful one for the Harvard endowment" and HMC. She cited the value added in returns that exceeded market benchmarks; improvements in the organization through hiring of new skilled personnel; and changes that "more closely aligned HMC with the University," after the harrowing months in late 2008 and early 2009 when long-term investments were out of synch with Harvard's urgent need for cash. She

Other Financial Updates

Harvard's friends remained supportive during the fiscal year ended last June 30. Vice president for alumni affairs and development Tamara Elliott Rogers announced in September that donors had given \$596 million, just \$6 million shy of the fiscal 2009 total. The Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) exceeded its goal of \$40 million for unrestricted, current-use funds, she noted. The business and medical schools also had good years, as did the Kennedy School—bolstered by a \$20.5-million gift from the Rajawali Foundation to support policy research and education in Asia. The figures reflect cash gifts during the year, plus payments on earlier pledges. The mix of gifts between current use and endowment funds will appear in Harvard's annual financial report.

That report was to be published in mid October, after this magazine's press deadline. Also likely to be reported are faculty members' responses to an early-retirement incentive program offered last December; their decisions, due June 30, were subject to a recision period. (Of the 180 individuals in five faculties qualifying for the offer, 127 are from FAS.)

For detailed reports on the University's annual financial disclosure and the retirements, visit harvardmagazine.com.

noted “the much improved flexibility of the portfolio we are managing today,” the result of “attend[ing] closely over the last two years to liquidity, capital commitments, and risk management.” Having built up cash during fiscal 2009, through sales of investments and other actions, she said, “We redeployed funds throughout this year.”

In a notable sign of that repositioning, she reported that uncalled capital commitments (contractual obligations to provide funds in the future to real-estate and private-equity investment managers) had been reduced to \$6.5 billion at the

end of fiscal 2010, down from \$8 billion a year earlier, and by nearly a half from the \$11 billion at the end of fiscal 2008. These reductions apparently reflect fulfilled obligations plus sales of interests in investment partnerships, maturing investments, and renegotiation of terms with fund managers.

More generally, she added later, across the portfolio, “We have evolved toward more liquidity and fewer long-term lock-ups” of Harvard funds under management. “That has given us more direct access to our capital, so we are able to shift to better oppor-

tunities.” For every asset class, HMC has adopted a “much more multilayered approach,” she said, considering liquidity, investment horizon, manager relationships, and other risk factors.

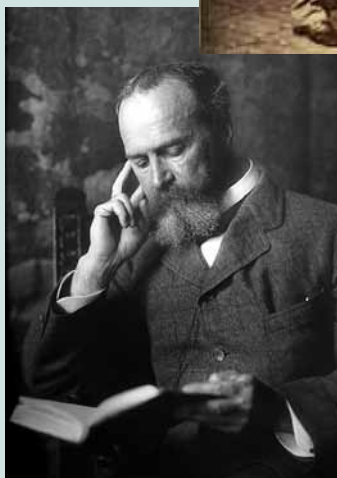
Looking ahead, Mendillo wrote that depressed conditions in the real-estate market have so reduced values that this is now “one of the areas we find most interesting in terms of current and future opportunities.” Mendillo helped launch

William James: Summers and Semesters

A century after his death in August 1910, William James, M.D. 1869, LL.D. 1903, remains an outstanding figure in both philosophy and psychology. He is as illustrious a scholar as Harvard has ever produced, and one of the very few to shine brightly in two disciplines.

In mid August, the William James Society (www.wjsociety.org) convened an unusual conference, “In the Footsteps of William James,” for the centennial. For its first three days, about 80 Jamesians gathered in Chocorua, New Hampshire (where their cynosure maintained a summer residence from 1886 onward), to sample dozens of scholarly presentations, tour James’s house and barn thanks to the cooperation of its current owners, and enjoy the trails and lake. For the final day, the group decamped to Cambridge, taking in an exhibition of Jamesiana, “Life is in the Transitions,” at Houghton Library (<http://tinyurl.com/wjames>), which runs until December 23.

The transitions include James’s personal crisis of March and April 1870, an episode of what he called “soul-sickness.” The Houghton exhibit explores several of his life passages using letters, sketches, photographs, diary entries, and lecture notes, as well as a few personal objects like the



Clockwise from far left, below: William James reading, 1895; wearing sunglasses in Brazil, 1865, after suffering a mild form of smallpox on an expedition with Louis Agassiz; an 1866 self-portrait, when James was about 24 years old; *Here I and Sorrow Sit*, an 1860s, red-crayon drawing echoing James’s depression.

large envelope he inscribed, “My unfinished book,” which held a working manuscript.

There is a touching 1876 love letter to his future wife, Alice Howe Gibbens, that declares, “To state abruptly the whole matter: I am in love, *und zwar* [namely] (—forgive me—) with Yourself.” There’s also correspondence with his novelist brother Henry James, Litt.D. 1911, whose large, florid script contrasts sharply with William’s neat handwriting. The exhibit fleshes out how James was first hired to



teach at Harvard, his academic home for virtually his entire career. It also explores his forays into psychical research, séances, and, of course, several varieties of religious experience. Lastly, it records James’s final transition—with a death mask and a photograph of the beloved professor in repose after passing away at his summer home on August 26, 1910.

direct investments in timber and agricultural land when she was on the HMC staff in the 1990s. Now, she said, with new real-estate talent in house, HMC will look beyond limited partnerships in this area, pursuing joint ventures and direct relationships of the sort that have succeeded in natural-resources investing. And she noted opportunities throughout HMC to hire skilled professionals as the

financial industry worldwide continues to restructure. As she suggested last year, HMC is likely to increase the portion of funds managed internally: she again cited the advantages of control over assets, staff insights into market conditions, and lower expenses compared to using outside firms.

More generally, she reaffirmed Harvard's commitment to the "endowment

model" associated with Yale, HMC, and other institutions in recent decades: relying on highly diversified portfolios, with significant investments in untraditional and relatively less liquid asset classes where sophisticated investors can realize long-term advantages compared to conventional holdings. "Has the 'endowment model' run its course?" she wrote. "Our answer to that question is No."

50 Years of Social Studies

IN 1960, the idea that Harvard undergraduates could concentrate in a field that pulled together economics, political science, sociology, history, and philosophy, instead of choosing just one of those disciplines, was revolutionary.

Social studies (the College's second-oldest interdisciplinary concentration, after history and literature) was "ahead of its time," said University of Pennsylvania president Amy Gutmann '71, Ph.D. '76, one of the program's eminent graduates. Giving the keynote address at the concentration's fiftieth anniversary celebration on September 25, she noted that fellow alumni work in "political science and polling, journalism and jazz, economics and history, law and medicine, sociology and philosophy, corporate law and investing, the judiciary and, very importantly, public service." Regardless of one's chosen profession, Gutmann said, "you cannot do better—intellectually, ethically, and practically speaking—than to come to terms with the question:

What is a well-constituted society and what is my role in it?"

The program confronts concentrators with this question immediately in its famously intense sophomore tutorial, Social Studies 10. The tutorial's reading list has displayed remarkable consistency since the beginning, noted Rogers Brubaker '79, a program veteran who is now a sociology professor at UCLA. Seven theorists—Adam Smith, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, Max Weber, Alexis de Tocqueville, Émile Durkheim, and Sigmund Freud—have been taught nearly every year; Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, and Simone de Beauvoir were added in the 1990s and have been taught every year since. This roster, Brubaker said, "speaks to the program's defining and abiding commitment to serious engagement with the great theorists of the epochal transformations—social, political, economic, and cultural—that have formed the world that we still inhabit."

An afternoon panel on "Social Studies and Social Change" featured four other notable concentration alumni.

- During her career, Adele Simmons '63 has conducted anthropology research in Mauritius, worked for the *Economist* in North Africa, taught at Princeton, served as president of Hampshire College (during her tenure, it became the first U.S. college to divest its South Africa-affiliated holdings to protest apartheid), and headed the MacArthur Foundation.

- E.J. Dionne '73, *Washington Post* columnist and Georgetown Public Policy Institute professor, is the author of several books on American politics and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

- Attorney Jarrett Barrios '91, a former Massachusetts state legislator, is now president of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD).

- Former deputy U.S. attorney general Jamie Gorelick '72, J.D. '75, served on the 9-11 Commission and as general counsel to the Defense Department; she now chairs the public-policy and strategy practice and national security practice for WilmerHale in Washington.

Gorelick said her social-studies education taught her to argue with courage, respect, and a spirit of compromise, and to consider thoughtfully the exercise of state power. "While I cannot tell you that I sat in my study these 35 years since I graduated and pulled Durkheim and Weber and Freud and Marx off the shelves," she said, "those ideas affected me enormously. I am very much in debt to this concentration for the powerful ideas it has put at my disposal."

INTRODUCING the afternoon panel, political philosopher and former social-studies chair Michael Walzer, Ph.D. '62, now a professor emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study, recalled that, within the concentration, "Like-minded never meant agreeable. Most of the time, we agreed on what were the necessary arguments, but not at all on what were the right positions....Anyone with convictions about anything had to be ready to defend them in the face of sharp and skeptical questioning."

It was perhaps appropriate, then, that protest accompanied, and at times interrupted, the day's events. The protesters objected to the social-studies committee's decision to accept a \$650,000 endowment for an undergraduate research fund, given by alumni and other supporters of *New Republic* editor in chief Martin Peretz, Ph.D. '66, a former head tutor who taught

Amy Gutmann



Time to “Change the Channel”

Michael D. Smith, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), was expected to tell colleagues at the fall’s first faculty meeting, on October 5, that the time has come to “change the channel” on campus conversations. “For the past two years,” he wrote in his annual report, “our decisions, though well grounded in intellectual priorities, often felt forced by the pressures of our financial circumstances.” Now it is suitable to “shift our attention more fully” to academic priorities, “charting actions in a manner that is informed by, but not dictated by, our financial resources.” (The report, made available to FAS members for the meeting, was set for public release on October 20, at www.fas.harvard.edu/home/content/annual-report.)

Smith was expected to put the fiscal/academic year ended last June in context as the second stage in a three-part response to the global financial crisis. In this light, during fiscal 2009, “FAS arrested an aggressive growth trajectory established in times of plenty,” by cutting costs. The year just ended entailed the “harder work of making structural changes based on well-informed, long-term priorities.” The current year should mark the period of maximum belt-tightening, with another \$35 million to be wrung out of annual operating expenses during the next 24 months (in anticipation of modest growth in endowment distributions soon; see “Endowment Improvements,” page 58).

The report does not quantify precisely *how* FAS dug itself out of an annual deficit projected at one time to be as large as \$220 million. In the financial section, dean for administration and finance Leslie Kirwan lists contributing factors in the past year: savings on energy and discretionary expenses (travel, meals, etc.); the cumulative effects of early retirements and layoffs at the end of fiscal 2009, restraint in filling vacancies, and the year-long compensation freeze; and lower expenses than planned for science initiatives. Revenue gains helped, too: a change in state law authorized distributions from “underwater” endowment funds, worth millions of dollars to FAS; gifts exceeded expectations; sponsored-research grants and awards rose 11 percent, to \$193.4 million. And FAS was able to buffer the anticipated 8 percent reduction in endowment distributions during the

thus holding the decrease in funds received to \$30 million, just a 5 percent cut from fiscal 2009; the initial projection was a \$50-million reduction.

The net effect was a \$12-million unrestricted-funds surplus for FAS as a whole (down from \$87.6 million in fiscal 2009), and a \$3.6-million unrestricted surplus in FAS’s “core” operations (the faculty, College, and graduate school): well below the \$58.6 million of fiscal 2009, but *not* deeply in the red, as once feared.

Kirwan pointed out challenges. Unrestricted spending for undergraduate financial aid rose \$36.9 million in fiscal 2010, reflecting larger awards; less funding from the diminished endowment; and the depletion of balances the year before. The faculty and research-support ranks actually *grew* in fiscal 2010 (administrative and clerical personnel declined by 240 positions). Despite higher balances, investment income on short-term reserves declined \$12.5 million (down more than 60 percent) as the central administration slashed the interest rate credited.

Smith’s upbeat tenor comes through particularly in his expressed enthusiasm for a forthcoming University capital campaign. FAS’s goals, he signaled, are due for presidential vetting by early spring. One ambition he highlights is programmatic: renewed focus on teaching and learning (as outlined by the Task Force on Teaching and Career Development three years ago; see “Toward Top-Tier Teaching,” March–April 2007, page 63, on the faculty’s teaching “compact”). The second is a huge, deferred capital item: renovation of the undergraduate Houses—a task likely to consume at least a billion dollars over many years (see “Renewing the Houses,” July–August 2009, page 56). Kirwan outlined another need: “ensuring adequate resources to attract and retain outstanding faculty and graduate students.”

Of his own ideas, Smith wrote, “These...are not our only FAS aspirations.” But they ought to more than suffice to begin a conversation to “share our vision with the Harvard community”—part of an effort, after two years of looking inward, “that articulates to our alumni and the world the essential and unique nature of our institution and its mission.”

year by accessing what the financial footnotes called “the incremental distribution on all endowment funds,”

at Harvard for more than 30 years. Several dozen people picketed outside the Science Center, holding signs quoting from Peretz’s writings about Muslims, including a September 4 blog post that attracted national attention.

Outside the Science Center classroom where the event was held, University police officers stood guard, limiting entry to registered guests. Still, questions about the decision to honor Peretz pervaded nearly every question-and-answer session. When he walked from the morning

panels to a luncheon in Adams House, the protesters tailed him, chanting, “Harvard, Harvard, shame on you for honoring a racist fool!” At lunch, when he rose to give brief remarks as had other head tutors, a handful of attendees walked out.

Earlier in the week, President Drew Faust had stated publicly that in accepting the money, Harvard was not endorsing Peretz’s views (see “After the Storm: Presidential Perspectives,” page 53). Jamie Gorelick, who had led the effort to create the fund in Peretz’s name, echoed this

sentiment; she described him to the panel audience as “a fantastic teacher” who was supportive and generous with his time. “You can honor him as a teacher,” she said, “without agreeing with everything he’s ever said.”

For more on the social studies celebration and the Martin Peretz protest, see www.harvardmag.com/social-studies-50th.

For more about President Faust’s comments on the matter, see www.harvardmag.com/faust-gibson.

Jan Ziolkowski



A Renaissance for Medieval Classics

FOR NEARLY 70 years, Harvard's scholarly outpost at Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, D.C., has housed one of the world's greatest collections of material relating to Byzantine studies, while also providing an academic home for some of the field's foremost scholars (see "Home of the Humanities," May-June 2008, page 48). As of this fall, after more than a decade of planning, it will also give its name to a new series of medieval texts published by Harvard University Press (HUP)—making a bit of Dumbarton Oaks more accessible in Cambridge (and everywhere else) than ever before.

The Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (DOML) is modeled on the 512-volume (and growing) Loeb Classical Library, whose distinctive, tidy green and red hardcover editions of Greek and Latin texts with facing-page translations have become an informal emblem of classical studies during the past century (see "Renewal of a Classic," September-October 1993, page 48). The new venture began in the late 1990s with Porter professor of medieval Latin Jan Ziolkowski's wish for a similar public face for medieval literature. Now general editor of DOML, Ziolkowski recalls that there "wasn't

really anything that could serve the same functions as the Loeb for the medieval period, and that was a frustration for me as I thought about trying to communicate my field to a wider public." The project incubated until Ziolkowski was appointed director of Dumbarton Oaks in the summer of 2007, when he began to discuss the process of bringing it into existence with HUP.

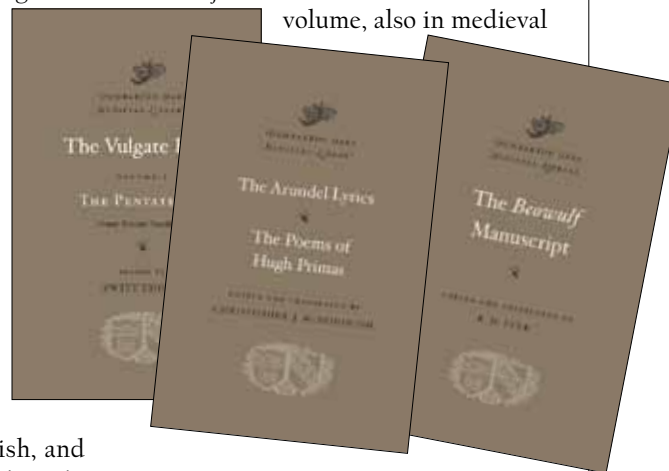
Sharmila Sen, general editor for the humanities at HUP, oversees DOML (www.hup.harvard.edu/collection.php?cpk-1320) as well as its predecessors and companions, the Loeb Classical Library and I Tatti Renaissance Library (see "Rereading the Renaissance," March-April 2006, page 34). "There is a thousand-year gap between Loeb and I Tatti, so DOML performs a much-needed function of making those missing years come alive," she says. "We benefit a lot from having learned how to publish the Loeb's and I Tatti, and we hope that we can take those lessons and use them to help this new series grow." Yet "every period is very different," she explains: "The world of Renaissance Latin requires very different things than the world of classical Greek and Latin, and this is equally true of Dumbarton Oaks: the field of medieval studies has its own contingencies, its own challenges. You cannot blindly follow the Loeb model."

For one thing, unlike the Loeb series, which covers only classical Greek and Latin, DOML will publish texts in medieval Latin, Byzantine Greek, and Old English, and expand, potentially, to works written in other medieval vernacular languages. Because scholars with equal expertise in all these languages are rare, the series has separate editorial committees (headed by professor of English Daniel Donoghue for Old English; Danuta Shanzer, professor of classics and medieval studies at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, for medieval Latin; and historian Alice-Mary Talbot '60, former director of Byzantine studies at Dumbarton Oaks, for Byzantine Greek). Furthermore, the form of the languages themselves is less standardized, and DOML will expose a lesser-known part of the history of each. "On the value-added principle, I've been trying to have us work with texts where we

can keep a medieval spelling," Ziolkowski explains. "It's going to throw people who are trained in classical Latin, to get some of the spellings that we've got, I feel no doubt about that; however, they'll have the English alongside to help them get accustomed to it, so I hope the novelty will excite people rather than deter them."

But Ziolkowski also hopes the series will appeal more broadly, serving both the lay reader and the specialist. "You have to appeal to a wide audience, but also satisfy the erudite people," he explains. This approach has also informed the selection of the texts for DOML: "I've been trying to strike a balance between something that people will have heard of before, and then some texts that are quite offbeat."

Three titles will formally open the project. The Pentateuch of Saint Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible—the first part of a projected five-volume edition of the complete Vulgate—is paired with the seventeenth-century Douay-Rheims translation *en face* for the first time. A second volume, also in medieval



Latin, presents two separate manuscripts of secular Latin poetry from the twelfth century: a collection known as the Arundel lyrics, which comprises love songs, Christmas poems, and ecclesiastic satires, as well as the work of a poet known as Hugh Primas—whom Ziolkowski compares to "a Beat Generation poet" in terms of the cultural position and effect of his work.

The third volume of the initial release, and the first in Old English, presents the full *Beowulf* manuscript: not just the eponymous poem, but also the four other works included in the single, centuries-old, manuscript that preserved the Anglo-Saxon epic into the modern era. "Daniel Donoghue was amazingly adept at get-



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for excerpts from the *Vulgate Bible* and *Beowulf*, and an article about the Loeb Classical Library.

Helping the Humanities

The Humanities Center at Harvard, an interdisciplinary hub within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (www.fas.harvard.edu/~humcentr) has been endowed via a \$10-million gift from Anand Mahindra '77, M.B.A.'81, vice chairman of Mahindra & Mahindra, Ltd., an industrial conglomerate based in Mumbai. President Drew Faust hailed the “remarkable gift” as “a significant affirmation of the importance of the humanities and the central place of the liberal arts in the University.” Center director Homi Bhabha, the Rothenberg professor of the humanities, said he hoped the gift would enable further exploratory, interdisciplinary, and even international work in diverse fields. The organization will be renamed the Mahindra Humanities Center, in honor of the donor’s late mother, Indira.

Doctoral Data

The National Research Council’s long-awaited evaluation of Ph.D. programs placed 27 Harvard programs as high as first in at least one of two ranking schemes; the closest peer institutions were Princeton, Berkeley, Stanford, and MIT, at 19, 18, 18, and 12 respectively. Graduate School of Arts and Sciences dean Allan Brandt observed, “Ninety percent of our programs are in the highest tier of the NRC rankings.” Separately, the Council of Graduate Schools reports that in the 2008-2009 academic year, women for the first time earned a majority of the doctoral degrees awarded in the United States.

Admissions Competitions

Inside Higher Education reported a “New Tactic in the Aid Arms Race”: Cornell has offered students admitted for next fall, who are also admitted to Harvard, financial support that matches the packages extended by Harvard (or any other Ivy); and Dartmouth athletics has posted a letter to football supporters promising to “eliminate the differential” in aid offers when an admitted athletic recruit

is wooed with “a more favorable projection from an Ivy competitor.”

Cancer Challenge

In August, Paul Farmer, Presley professor of global health and social medicine and co-founder of Partners in Health; Harvard School of Public Health dean Julio Frenk; Felicia Knaul, director of the Harvard Global Equity Initiative; and Lawrence Shulman, chief medical officer at the University-affiliated Dana-Farber Cancer Institute collaborated on a call to action to address cancer prevention, diagnosis, and treatment in underserved

Brevia



PROFESSOR SUMMERS RETURNS: The White House on September 21 announced that Lawrence H. Summers would conclude his service as director of the National Economic Council—the principal economic-policy assistant to President Barack Obama, J.D. '91—at year-end. Summers is expected to resume the Eliot University Professorship; he was previously based in the Harvard Kennedy School and the Business School. Shown above in March 2009 are Summers (right) with the president, economic adviser Christina Romer, and Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner.

areas. As conveners of the Global Task Force on Expanded Access to Cancer Control in Developing Countries, they were principal authors of a paper, published in the *Lancet*, pointing out that two-thirds of cancer deaths occur in lower- and middle-income nations, but just 5 percent of resources spent on cancer prevention and care are devoted to those countries.

Nota Bene

PLANT PROPONENT. University of Colorado professor of ecology and evolutionary biology William Friedman will become director of the 265-acre Arnold Arboretum and professor of organismic and evolutionary biology, effective January 1. He succeeds former director Robert E. Cook. A specialist in the origin and evolution of flowering plants, Friedman will pursue his scholarship in the Arboretum’s new Weld Hill research and administration building (“Ready for Growth?” May-June 2007, page 60), according to the University release—a significant development: occupancy of the Jamaica Plain facility was delayed during the height of Harvard’s financial stresses in fiscal year 2010.

RADCLIFFE FUNDRAISER. The Radcliffe Institute has appointed Karen Putnam associate dean for advancement. She has raised

funds for the Fogg Art Museum and at Bryn Mawr, Penn, Yale, the Brooklyn Museum, and the Central Park Conservancy, where she became president and chief executive officer. Putnam graduated from Wellesley and earned an American studies doctorate at Yale.

HANDHELD HARVARD. A new application provides access to information about Harvard on smart phones and compa-



William Friedman

JUSTIN IDE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE



Karen Putnam

COURTESY OF RADCLIFFE INSTITUTE

rable gear, launching “a strategic mobile initiative to package content from across the University for display on handheld devices.” Products are accessible at <http://m.harvard.edu>.

NEWSMAN IN THE NEWS.

Bob Giles, curator of the Nieman Foundation for the past decade, announced on October 1 that he would retire at the end of the academic year. The foundation provides year-long, midcareer fellowships for journalists from around the world to study at Harvard. Under his direction—during a period of intense upheaval in all the traditional news media—the Nieman program has created a popular online “laboratory” covering rapidly emerging new media, and has expanded support for narrative journalism and investigative reporting.



Bob Giles

COURTESY OF THE NIEMAN FOUNDATION

room assignments and hire teaching fellows more reliably. Seniors must indicate their spring intentions by November 3, juniors a week later, and sophomores and freshmen the week after that. This is *not* formal preregistration or the end of shopping period: selections are “non-binding” and subject to any changes students wish to make during the first week of classes. Students who fail to comply will incur a late fee of \$40 per week.

J-TERM PLANNING: OWAW. The Undergraduate Council has allocated part of its term-time activities budget to fund student-initiated events during this January’s intersession—a new period in the calendar, initiated last year, for which there have been no formal academic or other programs. President Drew Faust also announced a faculty “innovation fund” to support academic or co-curricular activities, with on-campus work limited to January 16-23. Faust’s fund encourages public service, new pedagogies, or activity-based learning experiences (many related to the arts). The College is cataloging the results at an “Optional Winter Activities Week” portal.

ENGINEERING ORGANIZATION. The School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (www.seas.harvard.edu), which operates without



GUND GRAFFITI? The first-floor corridor in the Graduate School of Design’s Gund Hall complex is usually given over to vivid displays of architecture and design projects; one on Seoul’s riverfront snakes across the floor, as seen here. Graffiti-like signs near the Cambridge Street entrance invited exhibitions of student work early in the fall term—an invitation that was quickly accepted.

separate academic departments, has increased the number of faculty “area deans” from two to seven. The move points the way toward defined concentrations or secondary fields within the current engineering-sciences concentration. Joining deans for applied mathematics and for computer science are leaders for applied physics, bioengineering, electrical engineering, environmental science and engineering, and

materials science and mechanical engineering.

MACARTHUR FELLOWS. Among winners of the MacArthur Fellowships announced in late September (with accompanying \$500,000 grants spread out over five years) were two Harvard affiliates: Annette Gordon-Reed, J.D. ’84, National Humanities Medal winner, professor of law and of history and Pforzheimer professor at the Radcliffe Institute, whose *The Hemingses of Monticello* (2008) won a



Carlos D. Bustamante

COURTESY OF THE MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award for nonfiction; and Carlos D. Bustamante ’97, Ph.D. ’01, a professor of population genetics at Stanford University School of Medicine.

MISCELLANY. Applicants to the College class of 2015 face one less hurdle. Having satisfied itself that the writing portion of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) provides useful predictions of student performance at Harvard, a faculty committee decided that would-be Crimson freshmen now need submit only two SAT subject test scores. Previously, three were required...John Walsh, M.P.P. ’78,



John Walsh

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

has been named acting Comptroller of the Currency (the supervisor of national banks), succeeding the twenty-ninth Comptroller, John C. Dugan, J.D. ’81...M. Lee Pelton, Ph.D. ’84, president of Willamette University since 1998 and a past member of Harvard’s Board of Overseers, has been named president of the arts-focused Emerson College, in Boston, effective next July 1... The School of Engineering and Applied Sciences has created an Institute for Applied Computational Science, aimed at broadening course offerings and research in the field. It is directed by Van Vleck professor of pure and applied physics Efthimios Kaxiras.



M. Lee Pelton

COURTESY OF EMERSON COLLEGE

ting together an energetic board of people to put together the Old English volumes; they saw it as being of great benefit to the field...and he did a great job of enlisting Robert Fulk [professor of early English at Indiana University] to take care of the *Beowulf* manuscript, with extensive commentary," Ziolkowski says. "What's exciting is that, just a few years ago, the theory was advanced that maybe the *Beowulf* manuscript as a whole was a sort of anthology that had to do with monsters, and this new collection enables one to appraise certain ideas like that." DOML's first volume in Byzantine Greek will appear next spring: three collections of accounts of miracles, a distinctive genre of medieval Greek literature.

Like the Loeb and I Tatti Libraries,

DOML will have its own signature appearance. "One of the first things that anyone asks us, when we talk about the project, is 'What color?'" Sen says. "I Tatti has a very lovely light blue color scheme, and we decided to do something different: a kind of metallic light bronze. These are going to be jewel-like books." The three series' complementary visual appearance is far from accidental, underlining their shared vision of producing accessible, high-quality editions of important literature in their original languages. Sen hopes the three collections, together with the forthcoming Hackmey Hebrew Classical Library and Murty Classical Library of India, will present an unparalleled set of tools for "a whole new generation of scholars who might be

able to do a completely new type of research," explaining, "I don't think there's any other publisher in the world right now who can present such an extensive and exhaustive list of classical titles across these languages."

Ziolkowski agrees. "Every morning I walk past the inscription from the bequest [for Dumbarton Oaks], which says, 'The Dumbarton Oaks Research Library has been assembled...that the continuity of scholarship in the Byzantine and medieval humanities may remain unbroken,'" he says. He hopes that the DOML will continue the spirit of that gift: "I want the series to be here forever," he explains, laughing. "I would love to dream that it would grow into the sort of series the Loeb has become." ~SPENCER LENFIELD

UNDERGRADUATE

Walking a Mile in My Own Shoes

by SARAH ZHANG '11

BLACK, CLOSED-TOE, not too shiny, enough of a heel to announce her arrival—this is the kind of shoe I imagine on successful women. Two days before the Harvard-Radcliffe Women's Leadership Conference (WLC) in August, I found myself in dire need of such shoes. The sneakers that had protected my feet from lab chemicals during the rest of summer certainly would not do. A hasty shopping trip ensued, and I strode into the conference with two extra inches of height. By lunchtime of day one, however, a blister was already asserting itself, and I was hobbling in a manner that was neither lady- nor leader-like.

My feet were telling me what I had suspected, that maybe this conference on women in leadership wasn't quite the right place for me. WLC brings together 30 female undergraduates for six days of panels, discussions, and workshops on planning our future personal and professional lives. I had applied on blind faith in a friend's recommendation, even though I was personally ambivalent about female-only undertakings. By drawing these cir-

cles around women, aren't we further isolating ourselves from the men with whom we have to compete?

At a pre-conference meeting in the spring, we each received a packet of readings for discussion that included an essay by Joanne Lipman, founding editor of *Portfolio* magazine. "When I was in college in the 1980s," she writes, "many of us looked derisively at the women's liberation movement. That was something that strident, humorless, shrill women had done before us. We were sure we were beyond it. We were post-feminists. After all, we lived equally with men." And here I was in college in the 2010s, still wanting to be post-feminist, and largely indifferent toward women's movements.

Or was I? On second thought, I have been involved in a number of women's organizations. I had joined Women in Business freshman year (which is also when I first encountered difficulty in finding good dress shoes). When my interest in business waned and I turned to science, I signed up for the Radcliffe Mentor Program and the Women in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics men-

toring program. But I never consciously chose to join women's organizations, and if equivalent ungendered organizations had existed, I probably would have joined those.

As a young woman in science, I have not personally experienced discrimination based on gender. But that is not to say my experience has been gender-neutral. Of the dozen courses I have taken toward my concentration in neurobiology, exactly two were taught by female professors, both of whom were co-teaching with male colleagues. The neurobiology concentration is 65 percent female. When I took physics, most students who showed up for help at office hours were female, even though the class itself was predominantly male. These statistics are more anecdotal than rigorous, but the fact that these observations have stayed with me suggests their subtle influence.

The conference reminded me how far we have come from a time when discouraging women was not at all subtle. Sandra Moose, Ph.D. '68, formerly senior vice president and director of the Boston Consulting Group, gave the keynote ad-

dress. She impressed me as sleek and steely. In the Vietnam era, when Moose earned her doctorate in economics, the campus was especially hostile toward women, she said, because she was seen as taking the place of a male student who would then have been exempt from the draft. In fact, she was not especially interested in academic research, but her preferred choice, Harvard Business School's two-year M.B.A. program, did not admit women. Neither, she discovered, did Lamont Library. During her first week at Harvard, she settled in to study at Lamont, only to be told, when leaving, never to return. Today, she serves on the Harvard Library's visiting committee.

In spite of such stories, the more sobering realization, I discovered, is that women still have a long way to go. Throughout the week, we heard repeatedly that women make up at least half of college students, professional-school students, and middle-management positions, yet hold only a fraction of such top positions as tenured professor, partner, or CEO. There are plenty of women in the pipeline, but they are opting out.

In my naïve view, this had seemed to be a problem caused by ingrained cultural attitudes, which are more difficult to change than rules, not as if women are institutionally deterred from those positions. Not quite, argued dean of student life Suzy Nelson, making a point in her speech that I, as a 20-year-old college student, had barely begun to consider: the most important steps toward gender equality are longer maternity leaves for both men and women and access to affordable, quality daycare.

HOW TRIVIAL OF ME to fixate on shoes, I thought. Surely a discussion about successful men would start with the head, not the toes. But



the truth is: women are held to standards of appearance that are double and high. Teresa Valmain, a campaign adviser to Hillary Clinton, talked about the endless press coverage of whether Clinton had shown too much cleavage. The current secretary of state's famous predilection for pantsuits was challenged by another conference speaker, who advised, "Don't wear pantsuits. They are never flattering on women, and it looks like you're trying too hard to be masculine." As the type of girl who still has not mastered the curling iron, I remain conflicted on whether to play the appearance game or try subverting it. I suddenly missed my summer job, where a lab coat was routine and the only clothing criterion was safety.

I noted that the women who presented at the conference were not, actually, all wearing black pumps. They were remarkable and diverse, including a freelance wedding photographer and a nonprofit consultant who had picked up and moved to Cambodia to start a business. Two doz-

en incredible young women who are my classmates also became my friends. Their stories inspired me, but I admired them for their accomplishments, neither because nor in spite of their gender. I did come out of the conference more conscious of the barriers, both structural and cultural, that women face.

After six days spent with women, I became more curious about how the other half thinks. Did men understand the unequal burden that child-care placed on women? Did they realize the double standards imposed on women as leaders?

When I posed these questions to male friends over dinner, the first response was, "We're guys! Why would we even think about that?" The jokester's exaggerated grin assured me he wasn't serious, but the laughter seemed to be covering the

uncomfortable truth of his words taken at face value. "I *would* have no problem with being a stay-at-home dad," replied a more serious friend when pressed for a straight answer, "but that's not what I *plan* on doing." The young men I know are mostly of the liberal type who grew up with working mothers or high-achieving sisters, but in their responses I still detected the strain of gender expectations, explicit and implicit.

In the *Crimson* earlier this year, Susan Marine, assistant dean for student life and director of the Harvard College Women's Center, stressed the role of men in promoting gender equality. "When a man addresses another man about a problem in society, he may be more likely to see it as something pertinent to his own life than if a woman brought it up." Discrimination against women is indeed a problem for society, not just for women. When a woman leaves her job to take care of children or when her effectiveness as a leader is undermined by double standards, everyone

is affected. It is important that these issues are understood not only by the women who will encounter them but also by the men who will be working alongside those women.

The end of the conference meant the beginning of the new school year, which in turn meant a flurry of e-mails recruiting students for extracurricular activities. One message arrived from Women

in Science at Harvard-Radcliffe, seeking upperclassmen to mentor younger students interested in science. I reflected on my three years at Harvard—a sliver compared to the experiences of the women at the conference, but still quite hefty compared to my freshman self. Even though I may not be quite ready to carry the torch for successful women, I am now pretty handy with a Bunsen burner. Yes, I re-

plied, I would like to be a Big Sib. But you know what? The Harvard College Undergraduate Research Association (HCURA), a general organization for students of all genders, has a mentorship program as well. I will be signing up for that, too.

Berta Greenwald Ledecy Undergraduate Fellow Sarah Zhang '11 is still searching for a good pair of dress shoes.

SPORTS

Hotfoot

Cross-country's Daniel Chenoweth keeps a cool head while burning the competition.

FEW SPORTS EVENTS are more elemental than a footrace. There is little fancy equipment to tweak, and no one else to blame or praise for the results. In the hours and minutes before the starting gun fires, says Daniel Chenoweth '11—Harvard's first winner of the Ivy League's Heptagonal Championship individual crown in cross-country in 15 years—runners ask themselves: "Am I going to be tough enough to do what I need to do to win?"

And then there is the pain.

"That is a distinguishing characteristic of cross-country and track," says the harriers' captain, who has been a Harvard standout in both since he belted out the second-fastest 3,000-meter time among freshmen nationally in 2008. "There is a certain level of pain in other sports, but you can still have a good game and maybe feel okay," he explains. In running, "You know that to do your best, it is going to be painful. You need to be ready for that."

Chenoweth, a sociology concentrator with an interest in architecture and film, doesn't worry about these things as much as most runners do: "I focus down on the things I can control, making sure I'm ready to go, stretched out, and have enough food and water." In his first race this fall, he set a new course and meet record

at Yale, finishing 25 seconds ahead of his closest competitor. He laid the foundation for speed months earlier, logging 80 to 90 miles a week in the summer to develop a core of endurance. "We put in lots of base training miles, nothing fast, and then slowly transition to faster and harder workouts"—such as regular 400-

1,000-meter hill runs—as the season approaches, he says. "We want to come back really strong and then get really sharp," by which he means quick.

The training week begins Sunday with a long run, and ends with a weekend race. Chenoweth credits Jason Saretsky, now in his fifth year as head coach of cross-country and track and field, for taking the mental strain of training off the team. "There's a lot of trust there," he says. "Basically, coach is in control" of deciding how to train; the athletes' job is to "go out and run the workout." Constant practice pays off, Chenoweth says, because "running fast is a game of efficiency in the end."

BUT ATOP the layers of endurance and biomechanical efficiency that can be built



Cross-country captain Daniel Chenoweth running hill repeats at Fresh Pond

up only with dedication and consistency in practice—a hallmark of Chenoweth's work ethic—is race strategy. “In races,” he says, “I am completely focused on what is going on”: where his rivals are, whether the terrain changes, how he is feeling—and thinking about when to attack. On a downhill, he may stride faster to gain a little momentum that he can carry through a flat, or take the lead at a corner to avoid being forced to the outside, which adds a yard or two to the total distance. On uphills, he may push the pace a little harder right at the top, in an attempt to drop a competitor. “Even if your strategy is to sit back,” he explains, “you always have to be aware of what is going on at the front, because if a group of runners tries to break off and you want to win the race, you have to be ready—at the college level, they usually aren't coming back.”

When he won the 3,000-meter race at the track and field Heptagonal Championship his sophomore year, he recalls, “It

was an interesting field because some guys were really strong and a couple of guys were really quick.” The challenge in such a situation is that if the front runners are still in a pack approaching the finish line, those with a fast finishing kick will break away over the last few hundred meters to win. But simply running a faster pace throughout the race eliminates the speedsters and benefits the endurance crowd.

He and Saretsky planned to let someone else do the work of leading until about halfway through. Then Chenoweth would “make a break, to get a good gap on some of the guys” who were dangerous near the finish. “That was what I needed from Coach,” he says. In the race, the runners adopted a relatively slow pace at first. When Chenoweth made his move, he “threw down a really fast, hard lap” that opened a gap on the rest of the field. He took the next lap “a little easier” to recover and then “drove hard in to the finish,” and won.

A five-foot-eight, 130-pound Platonic ideal of a runner, Chenoweth hails from Geneseo, Illinois. He took up the sport at the urging of his older brother Brian, who ran for Wartburg College in Iowa. (His parents also run, but only in an occasional road race.) At Harvard, Chenoweth competes nearly year-round: cross country in the fall, and then track—indoors during the winter months and then outdoors in the spring.

As he drives toward the finish of his college career, his personal goal is to make all-American—one of the few honors (awarded to the top 20 or so runners nationally) that has eluded him during the course of a stellar Ivy career. His aspirations for the team he now leads have focused on the Ivy League championships on October 29. Columbia and Princeton have been the teams to beat in the last few years, but Harvard has a quintet of promising freshman talent—and Chenoweth. ~JONATHAN SHAW

Soccer Under the Lights

In early September, the new, illuminated, artificial-turf Soldiers Field Soccer Stadium opened with a nighttime women's soccer match against Long Island (a 2-2 tie); the next night, the men took on Stanford (Harvard won, 2-1). Free sunglasses in neon colors, T-shirts, and raffles, refreshments, and prizes served as promotions. The artificial surface allows play in a wider range of weather than the natural grass pitch of nearby Ohiri Field (named for star Crimson forward Chris Ohiri '64), which “remains the primary site for men's and women's soccer now and in the future,” according to director of athletic communications Kurt Svoboda. This fall, Harvard played its first two men's home games on the new surface, with the final four scheduled for Ohiri; the women split their home contests 4-3 between Ohiri and the new stadium.

“The ability to install lights was important” as a factor in the decision to use restricted funds to build the new facility, Svoboda says. (Ohiri Field abuts a residential community, so installing lights might have created problems.) A lit field allows practice after dark: a useful option when undergraduate resistance to early classes has pushed lectures and sections later in the day. The new surface



HARVARD ATHLETIC COMMUNICATIONS

also enables more flexible preparation for different opponents: if a Crimson side is particularly fast, playing more games on the artificial turf, which speeds up play, may amplify that edge. There is also more space for club and

recreational play and for varsity lacrosse, which scheduled games against the men's and women's national teams for early October.

Soccer at its highest levels, however, is played on grass. The elite professional leagues of England and Europe, as well as the World Cup matches, take place on natural grass (although this year FIFA, the international governing body, permitted some qualifying matches to go off on artificial surfaces in places like Scandinavia, where it is hard to maintain good grass pitches).

And many players favor God's sod. “I spring from the grass roots,” says Brian O'Connor '78, a varsity midfielder in college, who has played on many artificial surfaces. “Nothing equals a well-tended grass field for aesthetics. The ball has a skip off the grass that is unique to its contact with organic matter.”

Another varsity alumnus, David Updike '79, says, “Artificial turf changes the nature of the game, the speed at which it is played, probably induces more injuries than grass, and is less aesthetically pleasing.” For O'Connor, the new man-made surfaces “are much better than the hard, unforgiving turf we sometimes played on in college. But they will never rival the green, green grass of home.”

A Man for One Season

Quarterback Andrew Hatch returns to the Harvard fold.

IT WAS THE BEST OF TIMES, it was the worst of times. With new quarterback Andrew Hatch ably managing the offense, the football team looked invincible in its opening game, a 34-6 rout of Holy Cross. Harvard then lost to Brown, 29-14, and played so ineptly that the prospect of a championship season seemed fanciful.

Harvard won the Ivy League title outright in 2007, shared it with Brown in 2008, and was favored to win it a year ago. But the 2009 team lost to Penn and finished second to the Quakers. This year, for the fourth time in the past five seasons, a preseason media poll had the Crimson finishing first, ahead of Penn, Brown, and Yale. Head coach Tim Murphy said the ranking was undeserved, and his team's poor showing in the Brown game—a farrago of turnovers, botched plays, and costly penalties—suggested that the coach was not being coy.

Murphy was fortunate to have Hatch, of Henderson, Nevada, and Leverett House, as his quarterback pro tem. A transfer from Louisiana State University, he'd been expected to back up Collier Winters '12, a hard worker who had made second team all-Ivy in his first season as a starter. But Winters tore hip and groin muscles in a preseason scrimmage, and Hatch got the starting assignment. In his varsity debut he directed the Crimson offense with aplomb, completing 20 of 25 passes against Holy Cross. Early in the second quarter he threw the first of three touchdown passes, a 26-yarder to receiver Marco Iannuzzi '11. Chris Lorditch '11, the team's top receiver, caught second-half touchdown passes of eight and 43

Stadium Sonnet

Adam Kirsch's review of *The Art of the Sonnet* ("Echo Chamber—and Amplifier," July-August, page 17) delighted Philip M. Williams '57, of Falmouth, Massachusetts, who wrote that the form is "a fine tool, just like the sharpening steel that whets one's knives." The former cross-country runner was moved to share his homage to Harvard Stadium stair climbers, which we have held for publication now, during the height of the football season.

~The Editors

Song to the Stadium Stair Climber

Drag, oh stair climber, those heavy legs.
Let burn, those lungs, each deep drawn breath.
Look down upon each concrete tread that begs
The failing will to quit. But nay, that's death
To high achievement. Up, up, up!
Oh climb another riser. Once more
Again. Each brings thee close to sup
With ancient heroes. Feel the muscles sore,
As players in the field, as runners on
The long gone cinder track. Let soar
The beating heart. The whistling breath, in song
To endless pain, will gain the greatest height.
And when you heave your failing body, right
Next the colonnade, behold the sight.



KRIS SNIBBE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

yards, giving Harvard a 34-0 lead midway through the final period. The Crimson defense kept the visiting Crusaders off the scoreboard until the game's final minute.

Hatch threw the ball with precision, connecting on 12 of 14 first-half passes. When he had to scramble, he showed speed and mobility for a man of his size (he stands six-four and weighs 225).

A week later the team journeyed to Providence for the first night game ever played at Brown Stadium. Brown's swarming defenders put relentless pressure on

Hatch and stopped the Crimson rushing attack in its tracks. Hatch took a stinging helmet-to-helmet shot on Harvard's first offensive play, and was later found to have received a concussion. He con-

Quarterback Andrew Hatch's forte is passing, but Brown's defenders kept him on the run in a 29-14 blowout.

tinued to play and was lucid on the sideline, completing 11 of 23 passes for 128 yards but throwing two interceptions that led to Brown scores.

The Bruin offense dictated the course of the game from the outset, keeping Harvard's defense on the field for 39 minutes of play. A moment of uplift came late in the first half, after a Brown scoring drive had staked the Bears to a 23-0 lead. A squibbed kickoff gave Harvard the ball at midfield with just 29 seconds to play, and Hatch needed only three throws to move his team 45 yards, rifling a 21-yard scoring pass to Iannuzzi in the Brown end zone. Iannuzzi then caught the second-half kickoff and returned it 95 yards for a second Harvard touchdown.

In a span of 36 seconds, Harvard had cut Brown's lead to 23-14 and was seemingly back in contention. But Hatch threw his second interception of the game on the Crimson's next series, and Brown capitalized with a 44-yard field goal by freshman Alex Norocca. Another offensive misplay led to Brown's final score, after an errant center snap sailed over the head of punter Jacob Dombrowski '13. The Bears retrieved



MEREDITH KEFFER/HARVARD GRIMSON

the ball at Harvard's 22-yard line and Noroccea kicked his fifth field goal of the game, tying a Brown record.

Hatch's concussion kept him out of the season's next game, a 35-10 win at Lafayette. How soon he would be cleared to compete again remained uncertain.

HATCH IS IN his second tour of duty at Harvard, and the Crimson offense could still profit greatly from his return. Seasoned by seven games as a quarterback in the fast-track Southeastern Conference, he has a keen field sense, quick reflexes, and strong leadership skills. "He's one of those quarterbacks who brings that calming presence to the huddle," receiver Levi Richards '12 told the *Crimson*. "You'd walk off a cliff for that guy."

But because Hatch took the scenic route back to Soldiers Field, he now has scant time to make his mark in Harvard football. Recruited by Brigham Young University as a high-school senior, he had second thoughts when coach Gary Crowton left BYU, and enrolled at Harvard instead. As a freshman Hatch was the junior varsity quarterback in 2005, running for one touchdown and passing for another in the JV finale at Yale. He then took a leave of absence to go on a Mormon mission to Chile. There he injured his knee in a soccer game, and returned to Nevada for surgery. Transferring to LSU, where Crowton was coaching the offense, Hatch started the first three games of the Tigers' 2008 season, but was sidelined by a concussion and later by a leg injury. Resolved to wind up his college football career where it began, he reapplied to Harvard and enrolled at the start of 2009. The NCAA's transfer rules required him to wait a full season before suiting up, so he spent last fall as quarterback of the varsity's scout team.

A psychology concentrator, Hatch is classed by the College as a second-semester junior. But because his eligibility expires this year, his athletic status is that of a senior. With Collier Winters expected to remain on the disabled list, Harvard football fans must hope to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of Hatch in action before time runs out.

TIDBITS: Winters tore adductor and labrum muscles on his right side, mirroring a left-side injury that kept him out of action

in 2008. He won the starting assignment a year ago, led the Ivy League in passing efficiency, and sparked Harvard's late-game comeback in a 14-10 victory over Yale (see "Stinging the Blues," January-February 2010, page 56). Winters could return next year with two seasons of eligibility.

After hours: The last four home openers have been played at night, drawing an average of 19,380 spectators. Harvard is 4-0 under Stadium lights. The loss at Brown was the Crimson's first night road game; the stated attendance was 17,360....Harvard has won its Ivy opener in 10 of the past 12 seasons, but has lost in its last two visits to Brown Stadium.

Abysmal: The Harvard offense recorded minus-16 yards rushing against Brown. That statistic reflected a fumbled punt snap and two quarterback sacks, costing a total of 44 yards. Three Crimson running backs were held to a collective net gain of 12 yards on eight carries; all-Ivy back Gino Gordon '11 netted minus-one yard on five carries....Tackle Brent Osborne '11 is the only returning starter on the offen-

sive line. The effects of front-line attrition were all too evident in the Brown game.

Harvard yardage: The ground game revived in the team's 35-10 victory over winless Lafayette. The offense rolled up 311 yards rushing, with Gordon gaining 170 yards and scoring two touchdowns. His second came on a 74-yard broken-field run, the longest gain of his Harvard career. With sophomore quarterback Colton Chapple subbing for Hatch, the offense had a fumble-free, interception-free day.

Reshuffle: Crimson teams have faced the same slate of opponents for six seasons, but that will change in 2011-2012. Bucknell replaces Lehigh as a Patriot League adversary next year, and in 2012 the University of San Diego comes to the Stadium for the season's opening game. A road opener at San Diego is set for 2013. Harvard hasn't played football in the West since its calamitous 44-0 loss to Stanford in 1949....San Diego's only previous Ivy foe has been Yale. The Toreros and Elis met four times from 1999 to 2006, splitting the series, 2-2. ~"CLEAT"

ALUMNI

Jerusalem Milestone

An American recreates a national landmark.

THE ISRAEL MUSEUM in Jerusalem defied convention in 1996 by recruiting an American, James Snyder '73, as its director. "I was the *big anomaly*," he says. "In a country that has a huge amount of nationalist sensibility, it was unexpected to bring in an outsider. There was a lot of hesitation."

Snyder did not speak Hebrew. And although he is Jewish, he had never spent time in Israel. But 14 years later, with the July 25 opening of the museum's critically acclaimed \$100-million campus expansion and redesign (and a juggernaut fundraising campaign) under his belt, he has successfully made the museum a much more accessible and significant institution and revitalized its campus.

The museum is Israel's largest cultural institution. It houses the Dead Sea Scrolls, along with nearly 500,000 other objects ranging from Neolithic artifacts from the seventh millennium B.C.E. and early Jewish art from the ninth century B.C.E. to an array of modern and contemporary works whose number Snyder, an avowed modernist, has increased.

The complex is essentially a series of low-lying, Mediterranean-inspired buildings that stand on the Neveh Sha'anani, the Hill of Tranquility, opposite the Knesset. Snyder, a former deputy director at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), was determined that the redesign build on and respect the original, award-winning, 1965 modernist design by Israel-based architect Alfred Mansfeld, and reflect

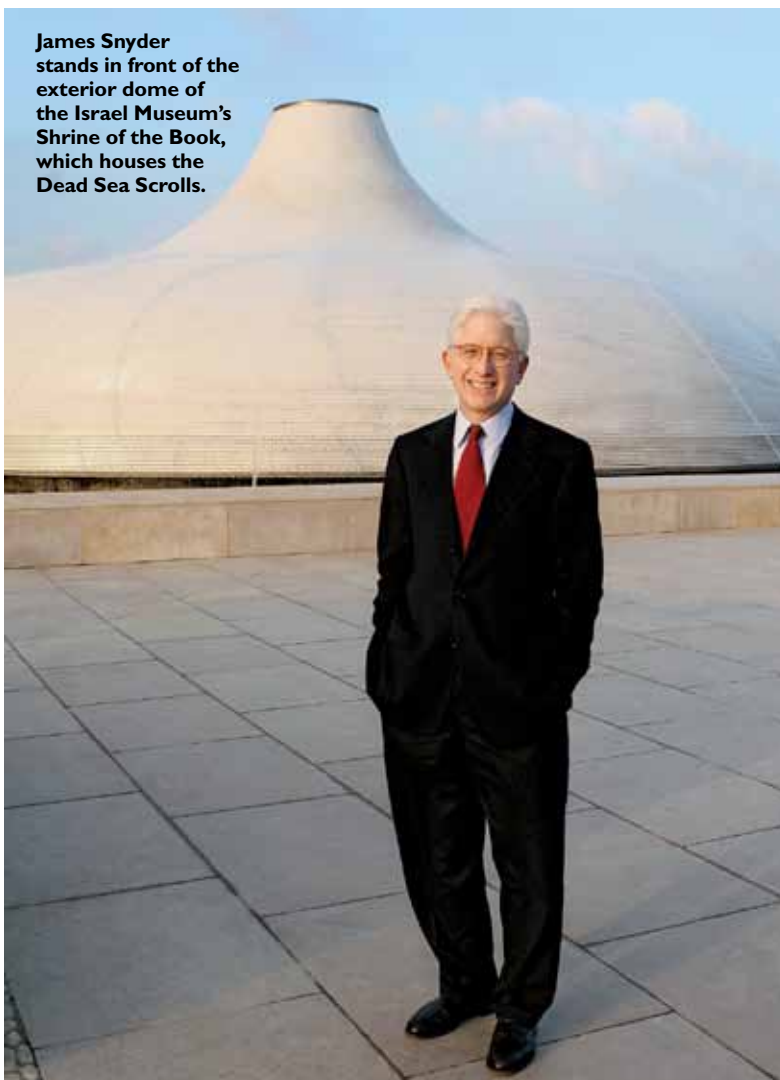
the surrounding natural landscape. “The vegetation has this amazing cool grey, green, and lavender palette, and it vibrates against the really warm light of Jerusalem,” he explains. “In the sun, the Jerusalem stone appears to be quite white, so the architecture and landscape set up a kind of reverberation that you see especially in the late afternoon, when the hot afternoon sun is setting.”

For the reopening, Snyder commissioned two new installations inspired by this landscape. London sculptor Anish Kapoor built a concave metallic structure that reflects and inverts the Jerusalem skyline, while Danish artist Olafur Eliasson painted more than 300 individual canvas strips, each depicting a separate color within the spectrum of light visible to the human eye. “We are really happy with these pieces,” Snyder says. “They heighten your senses to the special characteristics of this place.”

SNYDER’S EMOTIONAL connection to landscape comes, he guesses, from growing up in rural southwestern Pennsylvania. That region “wasn’t about museums and high culture,” he says, “but my parents encouraged me to do whatever I believed in as long as I was prepared to be serious and do it well.” He lived about 20 miles from Frank Lloyd Wright’s Fallingwater and fondly remembers trips to the iconic structure, intuitively understanding the way Wright married a modern house to boulders, a roaring stream and small waterfall, and surrounding woodlands. “I didn’t know about modernism” then, he says. “I just saw this place and...it feels like the architecture simply emerges from the landscape.”

At Harvard, Snyder’s aesthetic and cultural interests took shape as he studied late nineteenth-century art and literature,

James Snyder stands in front of the exterior dome of the Israel Museum’s Shrine of the Book, which houses the Dead Sea Scrolls.



with a focus on John Ruskin and Oscar Wilde. Intellectual mentors from the junior faculty, he says, “gave me the courage to go into the museum world.” Kingsley professor of fine arts (now emeritus) James Ackerman stimulated his passion for architecture. “I took his course on Palladio,” Snyder recalls. “That’s what everything is all about—the way Palladio’s Italian villas merge with their surroundings. It’s landscape-sensitive architecture.”

After graduation, Snyder took an internship at MoMA that turned into a 22-year career there. He oversaw its 1984 west-wing expansion and refurbishing of the famous sculpture garden. “Quite young,” he says, “I had this amazingly unusual and fortuitous experience of having a lot of museum-wide exposure and a lot of growth in the same institution.” He decided against graduate school because working in MoMA’s various departments was his advanced degree.

In his later years at MoMA, his role was

decidedly international; the complex network and negotiation of borrowing and lending artwork, for example, fell under his purview. He was a natural candidate when the Israel Museum needed a director with global credentials. “My whole life was focused on looking forward from 1850,” he says now. “But then, after being asked if could do this, I came to realize that if you look all the way back from today, you get this amazing epiphany about the unfolding of material culture.” That was “so overwhelmingly powerful that I decided to take this job and move our family to Israel.” (He and his wife of 28 years, Tina, a graphic designer, have two children in their twenties.)

When he arrived, Snyder explains, the museum “was formed and sitting on a mound of potential,” so “renewal became a theme of my tenure.” Long before the campus rede-

sign, he refurbished the education wing, then the European gallery, the auditorium, and the Shrine of the Book (which houses the Dead Sea Scrolls, the museum’s most popular exhibit). It wasn’t all about the buildings, however. Snyder also increased the number of lectures, events, school visits, and gallery tours, launched a series of museum publications, and expanded the institution’s online presence.

His life involves significant travel (of the 120 days a year he is on the road, about 90 are spent in the United States) and fundraising around the clock: waking to call museum supporters and consultants in California before tackling his Israeli work day, after which he attends to business in Europe before making calls to the American East Coast. Under his leadership, the museum has raised not only the \$100 million for the redesign and expansion, but also \$53 million in a separate endowment campaign. Among his significant acquisitions during his tenure are Nicolas

PHOTOGRAPHS ©TIM HURSBLEY/COURTESY OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM



New at the Israel Museum: The main entrance (left), flanked by ticket and retail pavilions; the main stairway (below) shows Anish Kapoor's *Turning the World Upside Down, Jerusalem*, installed at the top of the stairs; a view of the main gallery entrance from the north (below left), dominated by Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen's *Apple Core* (1992)



Poussin's *Destruction and Sack of the Temple of Jerusalem*, Rembrandt's *St. Peter in Prison*, and the Arturo Schwarz Collection of Dada and Surrealist Art.

Yet over the years, improvised additions to the museum structures had compromised Mansfeld's original concept of a series of concrete modules, clad in Jerusalem stone, that appear on the hillscape the way a Mediterranean village might have grown up organically—as a series of low-lying pavilions. The complex was a disorienting labyrinth of independent galleries commonly described as “many museums under one roof,” Snyder says, a series of “disconnected juxtapositions.”

Instead of razing Mansfeld's work or following the trend that has defined museum architecture for the last 15 years—commissioning a flamboyant, iconic structure such as Frank Gehry's Guggenheim, in Bilbao—Snyder took a more nuanced, yet ultimately striking, approach. He hired the New York City firm James Carpenter Design Associates Inc., which has mainly consulted to other architects in creating entrances and new circulation patterns for existing designs (notably the entry pavilion for Manhattan's Time Warner Center and the curtain wall for the

new 7 World Trade Center). “We needed architecture that would resonate with what is already here,” Snyder explains. “Jamie works with architects to design sequence and entry. That's exactly what we needed.”

The renovation project eventually entailed a 100,000-square-foot expansion and reengineering of existing space to help visitors circulate better through the exhibits. Carpenter moved the main entrance from the center of the campus to the periphery, marking it with new pavilions (for ticketing, and a gift shop and

restaurant). Two paths—one above grade, the other directly beneath it—then lead visitors up the hill to the newly commissioned works by Eliasson and Kapoor and the main exhibition spaces. A new, partially submerged, three-story structure acts as a hub for the Mansfeld galleries and provides an inherent organization previously lacking.

The summer's reopening drew more than 1,000 people, including the prime minister and president of Israel. Architecture and cultural critics have praised the renovation and attendance is up: half a million people typically visit the museum annually, but more than 140,000 have toured the renewed campus since July.

Snyder demurs when asked about his future plans. “I came committed to seven years, thinking it would take two years to figure out where anything was and five years to get anything done,” he says. Though he has picked up enough Hebrew to conduct basic conversations, he and the staff speak English at the museum. And though he is religious, he has never been inclined to become a permanent resident; his move to Jerusalem was clearly for work. “Most people come to make aliyah—they become Israeli,” he says. “I'm American. I wear ties. We are most definitely still an anomaly.” ~JOHN GENDALL

John Gendall, M.D.S. '06, an independent architecture critic based in New York, contributes to Metropolis, Architect, and Architectural Record, and is an author of The Phaidon World Atlas of 21st Century Architecture. He teaches at Parsons and Pratt.

HAA Award Winners

THE HARVARD ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (HAA) Awards were established in 1990 to recognize outstanding service to the University through alumni activities. This year's awards ceremony took place on October 14, during the HAA board of directors' fall meeting. Six alumni were honored.

Ignacio “Nash” D. Flores III, M.B.A. '67, of Dallas, has served for more than 25 years as co-chair of the schools and scholarships commit-



Ignacio “Nash” D. Flores

tee of the Harvard Club of Dallas, which interviews more than 450 applicants annually. A past president of both that club and the local Harvard Business School Club, Flores is a former HBS faculty member who has served on the HBS Executive Council and on his twentieth reunion's gift-steering committee. He has also been a member of the HAA's nominating committee and served as regional director for Texas from 2006 to 2009.

See-Yan Lin, M.P.A. '70, Ph.D. '77, of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, was HAA regional director for Asia for 12 years and was instrumental in strengthening the network of clubs there. He is the founding deputy president of the Association

of Harvard University Alumni Clubs of Asia (AHUACA), where he organized several important conferences. In 2002, he became president of the Harvard Club of Malaysia, where he had been deputy president since 1983. Lin has also been a leader within the Harvard Graduate School Alumni Council, serving as chair from 2002 to 2005, and was a member of the visiting committee for East Asian studies from 2003 to 2006.



See-Yan Lin

Barbara J. Lukaszewicz, M.P.A. '78, of Ottawa, has dedicated countless hours to the Harvard Club of Ottawa since becoming a member in 1978. She has served as president and treasurer, and worked on the local schools and scholarships committee. She spearheaded a strategic plan to redesign club events to better meet the intellectual and cultural needs of alumni, as well as their busy schedules, and in one year, membership soared from 50 to 125 members.



Barbara J. Lukaszewicz

In addition, Lukaszewicz served as HAA regional director for Canada from 1989 to 1992 and mentors executive members of Ottawa's Harvard University Club.

Regina T. Montoya, J.D. '79, of Dallas, has served the HAA in multiple roles: as vice president (1995-1998), as an elected director (1988-1991), and as a member of the nominating committee (1991-1994). She has also been active in the Harvard Law School Association as a member of its visiting committee, reunion gift committee, and Committee of Five.



Regina T. Montoya

Sanford J. Sacks, M.B.A. '66, of Scarsdale, New York, is a past co-chair of the HAA's University-wide alumni outreach committee and was an HAA appointed director for the Business School (HBS) from 2006 to 2009. Acclaimed as a "star volunteer" at HBS, he has served multiple terms as chair of reunion and annual giving for his class and set new



Sanford J. Sacks

participation records in every year but one for the past 13 years. A former member of the HBS Alumni Association board of directors, Sacks is also a member of the Harvard Club of New York City and the HBS Club of Greater New York.

Nancy-Beth Sheerr '71, of Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, was a principal architect of the Harvard-Radcliffe merger and the creation of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She chaired the Radcliffe College Board of Trustees from 1990 to 1999 and has been a member of the Dean's Advisory Board for the institute since 1999. A current member of the HAA awards committee, she was an HAA regional director for the Greater Delaware Valley from 2006 to 2010, an HAA-appointed director for Radcliffe from 1972 to 1974, a member of the HAA schools and scholarships committee, and former chair of the HAA's recent graduates committee. Sheerr is past president and current board member of the Harvard-Radcliffe Club of Philadelphia, an active class reunion committee member, and past class president.



Nancy-Beth Sheerr

Aloian Award Winners

Each May, the HAA selects two rising seniors to receive the David and Mimi Aloian Memorial Scholarships. The criteria require recipients to have shown solid leadership in contributing to the quality of life in the Houses, traits embodied by the Aloians, who served as masters of Quincy House from 1981 to 1986. David Aloian '49 was also executive director of the HAA.

Michael Baskin '11, of Dunster House, and Ryan Schell '11, of Pforzheimer House, were honored at the fall dinner of the HAA's board of directors in October.

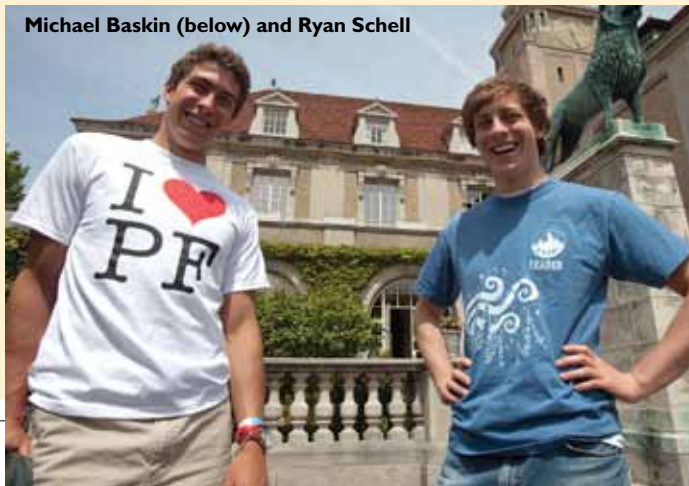
Baskin, of Boston, is known as "Eco-Mike." As Dunster's Sustainability Representative, he inspired fellow House members to a record 91 percent participation rate in Harvard's Sustainability Pledge that has yet to be broken; as social chair of the Dunster House committee, he planned events that were both fun and sustainable. As a First Year Outdoor Program trip leader and leader trainer, he helped plan and lead week-long wilderness orientation trips that promote the development of social support and self-awareness. Additionally, he co-facilitates discussion groups as part of the Freshman Dean's Office's 'Reflecting on Life' program. A dedicated member of the Dunster crew, Baskin created

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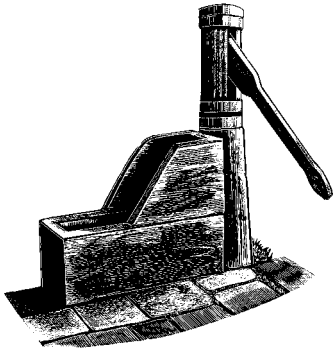
new cheers to motivate the Dunster House boats, helped design the team's website, and has never missed a practice.

Schell, of Troy, Michigan, is co-chair of the House committee, where he manages a \$25,000 budget and works with administrators and fellow students to address University-wide issues and plan campus events. He also devotes significant time to Habitat for Humanity and piloted the organization's first two-week-long international home-building project, which took place during last year's January intersession. Schell is the program coordinator for the Mission Hill After School Program (MHASP) and encourages other undergraduates to participate. Last year, to the delight of everyone in the House, he brought some MHASP children to Pforzheimer House for a sleepover.

Michael Baskin (below) and Ryan Schell



How to Have Flu



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

WHEN David Barry '63 was in college, he looked forward to flu season with some enthusiasm. He lived off campus and alone, and when he felt aches and shivers coming on, he checked into Stillman Infirmary in Holyoke Center.

“It was like going to a European spa,” Barry recalls in a letter to this magazine. “It was right in Harvard Square, and it was sumptuous. Living off campus, I didn’t eat particularly well—and the meals at the infirmary were not to be believed. A menu was sent to you in the morning asking your choices for lunch and dinner. There would always be at least two entrées, often three, with a full choice of side orders of vegetables. Frequently there would be an entrée I had never tasted or heard of before. The food was as good as that at any restaurant I had ever been to.”

Barry is now an award-winning investigative journalist and lives in Newtown, Pennsylvania. He continues his recollection of the delicious good old days: “I once ordered something that required being brought up to my room on a steam table because the chef wanted to be sure it was at the proper temperature when it arrived. It

was. It was staggeringly good. Then a query came up from the kitchen: Had that entrée been satisfactory? I sent back a note saying yes, it had been wonderful. I received back a polite note of thanks.

“The rumor back then,” Barry writes, “was that the chef (whom no patient ever saw, to my knowledge) had been the chef of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, who depended on him so much that he took him to Africa for his eponymous tank battle at El Alamein. The story was so good that I discounted it. In my experience, stories as good as that always turn out not to be true.”

But it *was* true. Germany drafted chef Bruno G. Fricker in 1939 to instruct mess sergeants in the culinary arts. He was taken prisoner in 1943 by the English but wound up in the custody of the Americans. They discovered his talents and put him in charge of the prisoners’ mess. An inspecting sergeant, testing the prisoners’ food one day, found that they were eating better than the American

troops and requisitioned Fricker for the GIs’ kitchen. A captain stopped by to test his soldiers’ fare and straightaway promoted the chef to the officers’ mess. Fricker later was sent to the United States and ran the kitchens at three prisoner-of-war camps in Missouri. At war’s end he returned to Germany, but three years later emigrated to the United States. He cooked in various venues and for a time dished up his *Rahmschnitzel*, vol-au-vents, and stroganoff for patients in Stillman. He died in Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1988. These days, Stillman patients are fed by Harvard University Hospitality and Dining Services.

In Africa, Fricker had indeed been Rommel’s chef. He told this magazine, for an article in the February 17, 1962, issue (Barry missed it; perhaps he was in the infirmary), that he had concocted a special stew for the Desert Fox, whom he addressed as “Pop.” “Real cooking is very important,” said Fricker. “One must cook with heart and love.”



MORE FOOD: Cooking has entered the General Education curriculum this fall with “Science and Cooking: From Haute Cuisine to Soft Matter Science.” Each week a world-class chef lectures on an aspect of gastronomy, motivating lectures by professors on the science of soft materials, of which all food is made. The chefs also give public talks. For coverage of the first one—by Ferran Adrià, master of culinary foams—other videos, and the schedule of lectures to come, see <http://seas.harvard.edu/cooking>. ~PRIMUS V

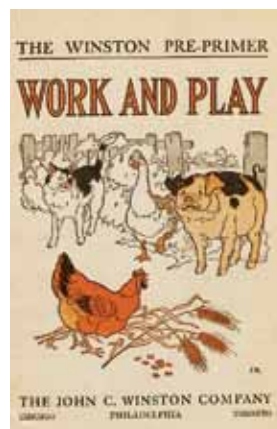
Y Is for “Yell”

A newly revealed collection about the magic of reading



to old pedagogical works explaining how reading should be taught.

The collection includes a large group of primers from the Graduate School of Education's Gutman Library. The *London Primer* (1818), featured here, is simply an illustrated alphabet. Below it, with engravings typical of the period and genre, is a page from *Little Annie's First Book, Chiefly in Words of Three Letters*, by Her Mother (1850). *The Winston Pre-primer Work and Play* (1923), for slower learners, by Ethel H. Maltby, features the Little Red Hen and a goose that hisses. The dancing children above are from *The Primer* (1908), by Laura Peckham Pardee and Carrie J. Smith. "Reading material," the authors advised, "must be conversational, dramatic, full of action and life...." The baby querying the speechless dog is from *First Days in Reading* (c. 1904), by Della Van Amburgh. That book is held by only four libraries in the United States, but is now open to the world online. ~C.R.



making of meaning, and therefore deserves study as a crucial element in all civilizations....," writes Pforzheimer University Professor Robert Darnton, director of the Harvard University Library, introducing a new digital gathering of material from Harvard's libraries that should help in such study. *Reading: Harvard Views of Readers, Readership, and Reading History*, at <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/reading>, is an exploration

HOW DO WE make sense of a row of typographic squiggles on a page? "The process of reading lies at the heart of our most intensely human activity, the

of reading as an acquired skill, as a social activity, and as an engaging private act. Here are 250,000 pages from 1,200 books and manuscripts, ranging from poet William Wordsworth's private library catalog



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