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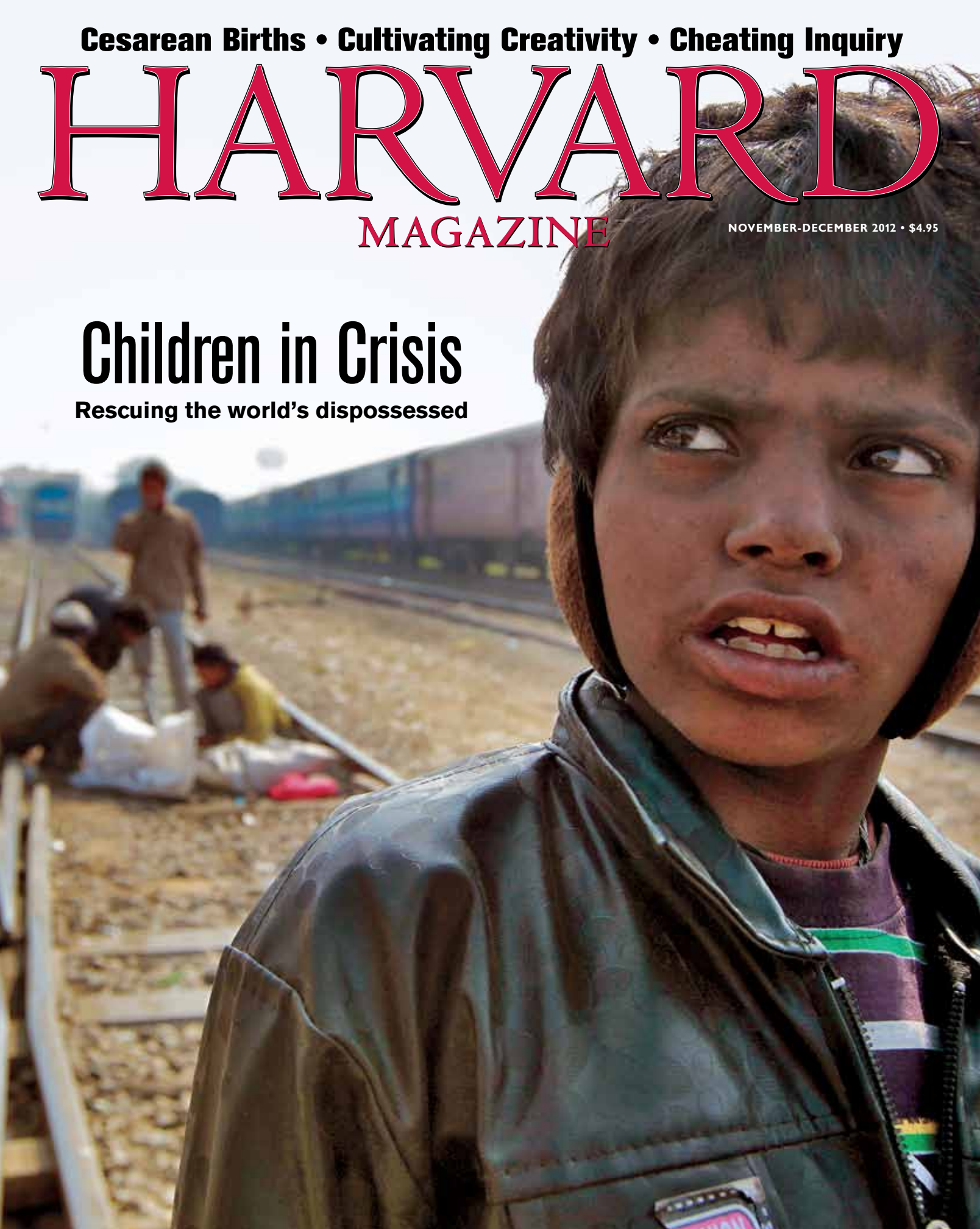
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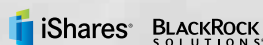
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STU POSNER

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Cambridge 02138

Free will, clients and competitions, climate change

AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS

FOUR KEY POINTS were made in "Can America Compete?" (September-October, page 26): First, we have "an incoherent, complex corporate tax code...." For instance, taxing "carried interest" as capital rather than as labor income should be reversed.

Second, labor savings of as much as 100 to 1 virtually mandated production outsourcing, but side-by-side engineering went along with it, leaving the U.S. inept in many of the very technologies it had invented. "Making things" requires preserving "innovative capability over time."

Third, the "evaluation and compensation of managers and investors" has been

given over to financial markets. False rewards encourage unethical behavior.

Fourth, as a society "we somehow tolerate persistent high unemployment, 30 years of stagnating wages and growing wage inequality, two decades of declining job satisfaction and loss of pension and retirement benefits...." The view of shareholder value as corporations' primary objective is dominant.

I suggest we also consider that the "Great Recession" was a financial debacle for which proper responsibility has not been assigned nor conditions ameliorated. Fundamental campaign finance restrictions can bring a virtual stop to political warfare where today any "loss" is childish taken as defeat. With

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EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE
7 Ware Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138-4037
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Very Vegan Holiday
page 17 | Learn how to create delicious vegan-friendly holiday party recipes from cookbook author John Schlimm.

Power Play
page 54 | Watch an original video in which Crimson basketball forward and 2012 Olympic athlete Temi Fagbenle '15 demonstrates an on-court move.

Betancourt Q&A
page 32 | Read a Q&A with Harvard School of Public Health's Theresa Betancourt on her work for child health and human rights, as well as on her own life, family, and career.

Images of Innovation
page 80 | See images of the Paul S. Russell, MD Museum of Medical History and Innovation, now the symbolic "front door" to Massachusetts General Hospital.

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LETTERS

the government's help, high unemployment and social discontent can be treated.

Finally, who but the business schools send their best and brightest into a finance industry that constitutes a largely uncreative 14 percent of our GNP and which currently views dollars as the be-all and end-all of life on this planet?

ALAN O. DANN '55
Brattleboro, Vt.

I SHOWED this compilation of interviews to friends from across the political spectrum, and most of them were enraged. That suggests your experts must be onto something. Only one quibble: in the interest of appearing objective, said experts dance around the question of why our politics are dysfunctional. This feeds the myth that blame for the current polarization is equally shared. Not so. "Politics as war" today is the fault of the right. I know, because I was excommunicated from local Republican party activities for repeatedly objecting to our increasing extremism. As all of your experts say or imply, a sustainable economy needs both planting and harvesting to work. The GOP has been taken over by those who only want to harvest, without any further thought to planting.

CHARLES HSU '79
Shanghai

I WONDER if the cover photo was chosen for some hidden meaning? Yes, of course, the first vehicle in line is a 1959 Ford Galaxie 500 four-door hardtop. But the second and third cars in line are 1959 Edsels!! Note the center bump on the raised hood and the grille texture of the second car through the first car's back window. Note the open passenger door on the third vehicle...it has an Edsel exterior bodyside molding.

Conspiracy theorists may have a fun time figuring out if you intended multiple meanings—and if so, what they are. Yes, I did work for Ford starting in 1963 and had a most enjoyable 31-year career there, including a two-year stint in Boston attending HBS.

WILLIAM L. (BILL) KATH, M.B.A. '69
Newmarket, N.H.

Editor's note: No multiple meanings intended, despite the unfortunate fate of the Edsel.

FREE WILL

THE CAPACITIES of human consciousness, of which will power is only one, are no longer the province of philosophy or

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even psychology but predominantly neuroscience. The article ("Two Steps to Free Will," September-October, page 9) doesn't even mention neuroscience or consider any of its findings from the past 20 years. This is probably a tendentious omission by the author to make his argument more persuasive. It actually makes it less so. The other sleight-of-hand sophistry here is a facile juxtaposition of Darwinian evolution and William James's understanding of its interaction with genetics. Quite misleading. James died in 1910; the modern synthesis of Darwinism and Mendelian genetics didn't take place until 1942.

MARK BELSON, A.M. '78
Overland Park, Kan.

THE EXPLANATION of William James's understanding of free will given in your article invokes a "first chance, then choice" explanation which does little to clarify the matter for me. I had heard a different account of James's thinking on this subject. A path I took in my days as a student through the Cambridge Common used to lead to the statue of Abraham Lincoln. It split into two paths going

around the statue, rejoining into a single path behind it. James apparently used to walk the same route, and is said to have remarked that the choice of whether to take the right or the left path around the statue was the only case of pure free will he was aware of. That suggests that he felt that determinism was operational in most cases, but that a totally inconsequential choice might be considered "free." The last time I was in Cambridge I was saddened to see that the path had been rerouted, and that now there was only one way to get around the statue. A marvelous historical site had been destroyed!

BARBARA R. (BERMAN) BERGMANN, PH.D. '58
Washington, D.C.

DESIGN COMPETITIONS, CLIENTS

HAD Craig Lambert done some research before writing about the shortcomings of architectural competitions ("Architecture in Concert," September-October, page 46), he would have learned that current competitions include interactions between the architect and client. Having led more than 60 competitions throughout the United States and abroad during the past 20 years, I can

verify that the process Lambert describes has been replaced with a more interactive one.

BILL LISKAMM, M. ARCH. '56
San Rafael, Calif.

CONSTRUCTION AND CLIMATE

WE WERE interested to see House renewal discussed ("Designating Dunster," September-October, page 65), but disappointed to see no reference to the impending risk of sea-level rise. Some Houses are only 9 or 10 feet above current mean sea level and are protected by a Charles River dam only 12.5 feet tall. Tides as high as 12 feet and storm surges of up to an additional five feet already place development along the Charles at occasional risk.

Endowed with scientists at the forefront in anticipating global sea rise and its effects upon Cambridge, Harvard should apply this insight to reduce risk to its facilities and operations. Upgrading should be accompanied by studies of rising water vulnerabilities and mitigation approaches. Harvard should implement smart designs in areas it controls,



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LETTERS

but some actions will require metro-wide cooperation that Harvard should spearhead. Responsible stewardship requires broadening this effort to all possibly endangered Harvard facilities, and Harvard should build major new developments only at locations safely removed from sea-level rise.

ARTHUR L. BORIGHT '61
Harstine Island, Wash.

CHARLES ALAN BORIGHT '68
Middlesex, Vt.

NATHAN SHENK-BORIGHT '03
Olympia, Wash.

CHEATING INVESTIGATION

I AM SHOCKED and saddened to read of cheating by a large number of students at Harvard (see page 40)! But after reading that it involved a class about Congress, I am less surprised. Perhaps the students are merely emulating their elected officials.

JOHN HUTCHINSON '69, M.D. '73
Seattle

I BLAME the professors who must have given an exam that could lead to cheating by their students. When I taught at the undergraduate

and graduate levels, I told my students they could bring anything they thought might help into the exam, but it wouldn't help. My exam would require them to *think*, not just regurgitate what I had told them in class. Of course, I proctored the exam myself. If anyone had copied, the similar exam papers would have revealed the lack of independent thought. In that case, expulsion at least for a year might be appropriate.

Also, I would have thought that a take-home exam should have encouraged cooperation and sharing of thoughts. If 125 more or less identical exam papers were turned in, then I would say the students are sending a message of disdain to their professors.

SPEAK UP, PLEASE

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"Cheating" it may be, but the professors should be ashamed of the situation.

RICHARD S. GREELEY, S.B. '49
St. Davids, Pa.

GLOBAL (HARVARD) LIMITS

FROM Drew Faust's "Toward a Global Strategy for Harvard" (September-October, page 75): which five countries don't have alumni?

VIVECA GARDINER '88
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Editor's note: As of 2010, says the president's office, Djibouti, East Timor, Gabon, Palau, and Tuvalu were the only five lacking an alum.

AMPLIFICATIONS

THE APPOINTMENT of Paul Guyer '69, Ph.D. '74, as the inaugural Nelson professor of humanities and philosophy at Brown, reported in *Brevia* (July-August, page 53), inadvertently omitted his Harvard degrees.

Book reviewer Andrea Louise Campbell '88 suffered a typographical error in her byline (September-October, page 22). She was identified correctly in the author note on page 24; our apologies.

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I Choose Harvard...

Asami Ishimaru '79, MBA '83

As a private equity investor, Asami Ishimaru '79, MBA '83 of New York City is always on the lookout for emerging companies that use innovative technology to solve problems. So after she heard Cherry A. Murray, dean of Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS), speak about the School's mission to promote innovation and instill technology literacy among students, she decided

to establish a Dean's Innovation Fund to bolster forward-thinking teaching and research at SEAS. "Dean Murray is building a world-class engineering school," notes Ishimaru, who concentrated in economics, lived in Currier House, and went on to Harvard Business School and a career in finance. "For SEAS to be relevant, it has to evolve continuously. That requires substantial resources and leadership."

To read more, please visit www.alumni.harvard.edu/stories/ishimaru



"To evolve continuously ... requires substantial resources and leadership."

ASAMI ISHIMARU '79, MBA '83



"Collaboration is about the mind, but space matters."

STEPHANIE (FORMICA)
CONNAUGHTON '87



Stephanie (Formica) Connaughton '87

Whether she's designing shaving products, yoga mats, or home interiors, Stephanie (Formica) Connaughton '87 loves the collaborative process. "Innovation involves bringing together different talents and perspectives to create new things," she says. "It's great to help build that at Harvard." To mark her recent 25th Reunion, she created the Stephanie F. Connaughton Innovation Fund to support design-related teaching and research in Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS). Her gift will

name Pierce Hall 301 (seen above) as the Connaughton Room, a new flexible classroom that promotes teamwork through multiple whiteboards and movable tables. "Collaboration is about the mind, but space matters," says Connaughton, a former economics concentrator from Eliot House who lives in Brookline, Mass., and has spent many years in consumer-product development. "Pierce 301 hit a chord because it reminded me of the team dynamic that I love."

To read more, please visit www.alumni.harvard.edu/stories/connaughton

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Right Now

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EFFLUVIUM UNLEASHED

An Arctic Mercury Meltdown

WHEN PEOPLE think of mercury, says Daniel Jacob, they tend to think of the element in its silvery, fluid state—the stuff to avoid if a thermometer breaks. “It’s a fascinating metal in that it is liquid at room temperature, but it is present in the atmosphere as an elemental gas,” says the Vasco McCoy Family professor of atmospheric chemistry and environmental engineering. “It’s really amazing.”

Amazing, but potentially very dangerous. At high levels, mercury is a toxin that can impair neurological development in children and affect the adult nervous system. Jacob has been studying the movement of atmospheric mercury for the last decade or so, and has been particularly interested in how and why it shows up at elevated levels in the Arctic—in both the atmosphere and the food cycle. Conventional wisdom, he says, was that emissions from coal combustion and mining in North America, Europe, and—increasingly—Asia were drifting over the Arctic and depositing the mercury via precipitation.

A few years ago, he began testing that theory using a complex 3-D computer model called the

Geos-CHEM, which measures atmospheric transportation. “What I was expecting was to find that atmospheric deposition was the dominant source of mercury to the Arctic,” says Jacob. With that finding,

he could then examine how that deposition was affected by changes in global emissions patterns—rising levels in Asia, falling levels in the United States and Europe—and by the melting of the Arctic sea ice, which receives and re-emits the mercury into the atmosphere, keeping it from further dissemination in the water. “But, as often occurs in science,” Jacob says, “serendipity took over.”

When he and research teams from the Harvard School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and Harvard School of Public Health started analyzing their data, they found something the emissions theory could not explain: mercury levels in the Arctic peaked in the summer, when the transportation of emissions pollution was low, but fell off during the winter, despite a concurrent annual emissions-pollution peak.

The hidden element? Their study, published in a recent issue of the journal *Nature Geoscience*, found that the major Arctic mercury source wasn’t the atmosphere, but the Arctic Ocean itself.

That body of water, Jacob says, receives 10 percent of all global river discharge, thanks in large part to three massive Siberian rivers: the Lena, the Yenisei, and the Ob. Jacob’s team theorizes that the rivers carry mercury to the Arctic Ocean from myriad sources, including Siberian mines and the erosion of other polluted land masses—and because the ocean is relatively shallow, the mercury-laden river waters



Illustration by Doug Rockman

have a greater influence on its smaller volume of water.

Climate change is another culprit. An unfrozen Arctic Ocean lashing at the coast and eroding mercury-rich land masses means more of the element entering the water, especially in summer. The effect of rising temperatures in Siberia eventually affects the Arctic, as well: "As the permafrost thaws, mercury in the soil gets released into the river system," Jacob explains. "From a policy standpoint," he adds, "the message is that the mercury accumu-

lation is not necessarily a recent phenomenon, and we can't really blame increasing pollution from China—which is what people wanted to do. It seems to be really old mercury, and it's coming from really old human activity"—such as mining—"that is a century old, maybe older."

When that mercury enters the marine ecosystem, it can accumulate in fish in concentrations as much as a million times higher than the element's oceanic or atmospheric levels—posing a serious risk to indigenous human populations in the Arc-

tic who rely on the fish as a food source. What's next, Jacob says, is to chart Arctic mercury's course. He and his team will use their study results to plot how the accumulation has changed during the past 30 years and use that data to predict what challenges Arctic inhabitants might face in a warmer future.

—DAN MORRELL

DANIEL JACOB E-MAIL:

djacob@fas.harvard.edu

DANIEL JACOB WEBSITE:

<http://acmg.seas.harvard.edu>

SOFT-DRINK STIR?

Soda and Violence

ALREADY IMPLICATED in the obesity and diabetes epidemics, soda may be linked to violence in young people, new research suggests. In a study of 1,878 students at Boston public high schools, heavy soda drinkers were much more prone to violent behavior than other teens.

That finding came about by accident. While seeking to document the incidence of violent behavior among the high-school students, professor of health policy David Hemenway, who directs the Harvard Injury Control Research Center at Harvard School of Public Health, agreed to incorporate unrelated (or so he thought) questions about nutrition at a colleague's request.

Analyzing the survey, he found surprising correlations. Heavy consumers of non-diet soft drinks—students who had drunk five or more cans in the week preceding the survey—were more likely to have behaved violently toward peers (57 percent, versus 39 percent of respondents who drank less soda); to have behaved violently toward another child in their own families (42 percent, versus 27 percent); to have behaved violently in a dating relationship (26 percent, versus 16 percent); and to have carried a gun or a knife during the past year (40 percent, versus 27 percent). The strength of the effect was on par with the correlation (well known among researchers) between these behaviors and alcohol and tobacco use; in some cases, the correlation with soda was stronger.

Even within the scientific community,

people found these results very surprising, Hemenway reports: "When you think about the causes of violence, soft drinks are not on the map of variables that you tend to look at."

His findings recall the 1979 "Twinkie defense" mounted in the trial that followed the murder of gay-rights activist Harvey Milk; the defense attorney persuaded the jury to render a verdict of voluntary manslaughter in part by arguing that his client's recent switch from a healthy diet to one high in junk food and soft drinks contributed to mental-health issues that led to the killing. The argument may have been prescient in its recognition that what people put into their mouths influences how they feel and, consequently, behave. But whether this is the case with soda is not yet clear.

The researchers have since tested the correlation, with similar results, in three other datasets: one surveying more than 5,000 adolescents in California, one of nearly 3,000 five-year-olds of low socioeconomic status born in major U.S. cities (the question about guns and knives was omitted in this case), and one of more than 16,000 students in public, private, and parochial high schools across the United States. (Hemenway has not investigated the relationship between soft drinks and violence in adults. Although violent crimes committed by adults tend to make headlines, he says, teenagers behave in physically aggressive ways far more often than adults do.)

Next, Hemenway and his colleague, Sara

Solnick '86, M.P.H. '90, now of the University of Vermont, plan to perform a similar analysis with objective sources such as police records and school-discipline records. Instead of relying on youths' self-reporting, such a study could examine whether youths who drink more soda are more likely to be suspended for fighting or arrested.

Other studies have linked soda consumption with depression and suicidal behavior, but Hemenway is not aware of anyone else studying the correlation with violent behavior. One further avenue for research is elucidating the underlying mechanism. It could be that a third variable, such as the quality of parenting, influences both soda consumption and



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aggressive behavior. (The researchers attempted to control for socioeconomic status and the quality of parenting; when they did, the correlation remained strong.) If there is a cause-effect relationship, the researchers speculate that excess caffeine and sugar (along with the subsequent blood-sugar crash) may leave soda drinkers irritable and prone to aggression; or

maybe those who drink soda in place of healthier food miss out on nutrients that promote a calmer demeanor.

One public-policy implication is apparent already: colleges may want to think twice about promoting soft drinks as a safe alternative to alcohol. Although soda doesn't share alcohol's acute, motor-skill-impairing effect, it may have emotional

effects that build over time—meaning it may be safer just to stick with water.

—ELIZABETH GUDRAIS

DAVID HEMENWAY E-MAIL:

hemenway@hsph.harvard.edu

HARVARD INJURY CONTROL RESEARCH CENTER
WEBSITE:

www.hsph.harvard.edu/research/hicrc

AMERICAN ATTITUDES

Mapping Cultural Change

THE U.S. CENSUS gathers a wealth of demographic data, providing a basic sketch of the American population. But since 1972, the General Social Survey (GSS) has been filling in the outlines of that sketch in living color.

The GSS asks about subjects the census cannot—such as religious affiliation

(barred due to concern over separation of church and state)—or simply does not: sexual behavior, racial stereotypes, and attitudes about issues, including gay marriage, immigration, and much more. It even includes a vocabulary test to track trends in Americans' verbal knowledge. Among the findings: while the rate of "permissive disposition toward premarital sex" has remained steady among Americans since 1980, support for gay marriage rose from 12 percent in 1988 to 47 percent in 2010.

With funding from the National Science Foundation, a survey team fans out across the United States every two years, gathering data from 3,000 Americans during face-to-face

interviews in their homes. (The project's home base is an opinion research center at the University of Chicago.) In its 40 years, the GSS has informed tens of thousands of research studies; its freely available data have been used by hundreds of thousands of students each year, and have become a crucial source of information on Americans' lifestyles and views. And

it has Harvard roots—it is the brainchild of professor of sociology emeritus James Davis, who was the principal investigator until 2009—and continuing connections: Geisinger professor of sociology Peter V. Marsden has been co-principal investigator since 1997.

In each successive wave, the survey confirms some popular reports of social currents (there are more women in the workforce, but they still earn less than men do) and contradicts others. For example, the GSS finds that reports of Americans' increasing isolation (such as offered in Malkin professor of public policy Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*) don't get it quite right: Americans do spend less time with their neighbors than they did 40 years ago, but the frequency with which they see friends and relatives has grown, and the overall frequency of social interaction has remained relatively steady.

The survey sometimes highlights a turning point when a trend begins to change course. One example: Americans' open-

mindfulness—measured by gauging their level of tolerance for free speech when they don't agree with the viewpoint of the speaker—has risen steadily for most of the survey term, but that trend may be reversing. (The survey tests views from across the political spectrum: it includes questions about whether atheists and homosexuals, as well as racists and militarists, should be allowed to

make speeches in public venues or college classrooms, or to express their views in books offered at the local library.) Americans' increasing educational attainment was responsible for a large part of the rise in tolerance, and now that educational gains are leveling off, tolerance may be following suit, Davis writes in *Social Trends in American Life*, a new volume (edited by



interviews in their homes. (The project's home base is an opinion research center at the University of Chicago.) In its 40 years, the GSS has informed tens of thousands of research studies; its freely available data have been used by hundreds of thousands of students each year, and have become a crucial source of information on Americans' lifestyles and views. And

Marsden) that anthologizes important GSS findings. Trust in institutions, on the other hand, may be rising. For almost every type—the media, the government, large corporations, and organized religion—the survey shows that Americans born in the 1960s or later are *more* trusting than their baby-boomer predecessors.

Another interesting change: cultural differences among Americans don't map along regional lines as closely as they once did. Instead, says Marsden, when seeking to predict sociodemographic factors, or opinions on issues such as immigration and gay marriage, "It matters a whole lot more whether you're in a city or a suburb than whether you're in the Midwest or the South."

The GSS chronicles change, but also produces sobering reminders of areas where change has come slowly. In the new book, Du Bois professor of the social sciences Lawrence Bobo and colleagues tally the progress made in Americans' attitudes about race: so few people felt that white people should have the "first chance" at a job opening, or that black children and white children should attend separate schools, that these questions were dropped from the survey (in 1973 and 1985, respectively). Even so, positive attitudes have been slower to develop, as measured by white respondents' perception of how intelligent or hardworking people of other races are, or by how commonly respondents report having friends of another race. "Very few whites embrace African Americans on an emotional level," the scholars conclude. This, they argue, is the new form of prejudice: subtle rather than institutional, but nevertheless holding the country back from becoming a truly "post-racial" society.

Despite its wide range, the GSS doesn't cover every facet of contemporary life. A panel of advisers suggests updates and new questions for each wave; Marsden sees attitudes about the environment as one possible area for expansion. But by and large, he says, the survey's greatest strength is its consistency: "We can look at attitude change over a 40-year period because we ask the exact same question about the same topic each time."

—ELIZABETH GUDRAIS

PETER MARSDEN E-MAIL:

pvm@wjh.harvard.edu

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Art, books, diverse creations



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homes. And film director Lauren Greenfield '87 was there to capture their financial downfall, from Jackie Siegel's \$1-million clothing-budget zenith to the family's stuck-in-coach-class nadir.

The drama of Greenfield's recent documentary, *The Queen of Versailles*, first gripped audiences at the 2012

Sundance Film Festival in January. Screened on the opening night, the

film won her an award for best director and has since become one of the most-watched documentaries of the year, prompting speculation that it could earn an Oscar nomination. (The DVD is to be released in mid November.) "It was the same [old] story about the American dream, but really about the flaws as much as the virtues of that dream, as well as about the mistakes that were made because of the economic crisis," Greenfield says. "Jackie and David's story, even though it was extreme, was kind of symbolic of the mistakes we all made on different levels."

In one scene, a nanny asks Jackie—a former beauty queen from a small town, who's 30 years David's junior—if one large, cavernous room in Versailles is a future

The Queen of Versailles

A documentary film turns a lens on the "1 percenters."

by LAURA LEVIS

IN CERTAIN WAYS, David and Jackie Siegel were just trying to live the American Dream: succeed at business, own a big house, enjoy the spoils of their labor. But after achieving those dreams, they found themselves wanting more—much, much more.

Their 26,000-square-foot house was simply not enough. Happiness could be found, the couple thought, only by building the largest house in all of America: a

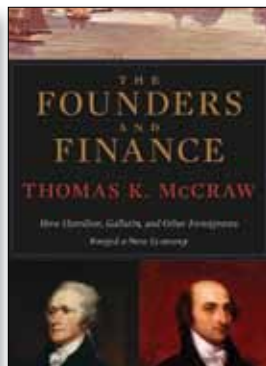
sprawling, 90,000-square-foot mansion in Orlando, Florida, modeled after the French palace of Versailles, complete with a bowling alley and roller-skating rink, a wing for the children, 10 kitchens, and \$5 million of marble.

But when the U.S. economic bubble burst, the Siegels, who were so wealthy they seemed untouchable, turned out to be no different from the tens of thousands of families who lost their far-humbler dream

Photograph courtesy of Magnolia Pictures/Lauren Greenfield



TRIUMPHS OF EXPERIENCE
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GEORGE E. VAILLANT



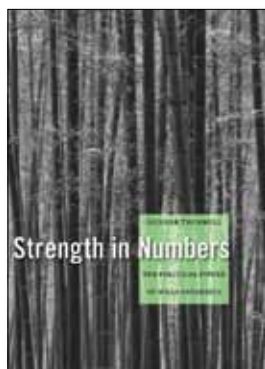
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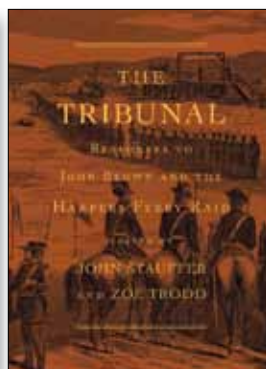
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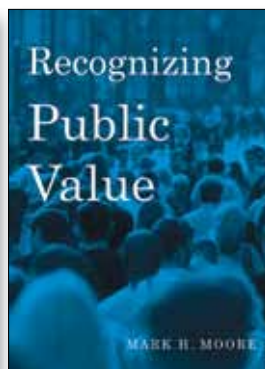
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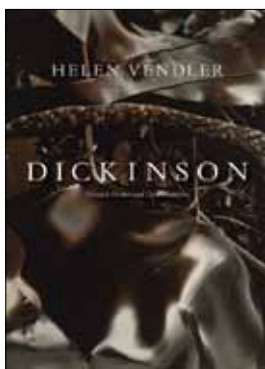


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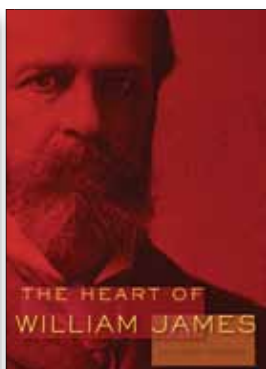


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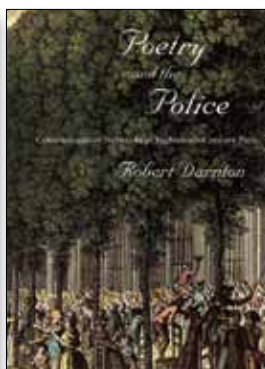
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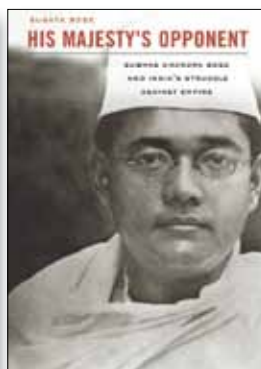
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O P E N B O O K

Bluffer-in-Chief

on the ultimate issue—the threat of nuclear war—Evan Thomas '73 finds in Ike tactical brilliance and, where needed, ruthless efficacy. From the introduction to his new book, *Ike's Bluff: President Eisenhower's Secret Battle to Save the World* (Little, Brown, \$29.99):

Eisenhower was an expert at bridge, an activity now associated in the American mind with middle-aged or elderly people sitting around a table staring at cards. For Eisenhower, who played as much as possible, the game was a relaxing way of doing what he did all day: reading minds, weighing options (his own and others), thinking ahead, and concealing his intentions. Eisenhower, who generally radiated warm sincerity and whose emotions were easy to read, was actually a great bluffer, and not just at cards.

Eisenhower's basic policy throughout his presidency was known as Massive Retaliation. It was, in essence, a threat to use nuclear weapons against Communist aggression wherever and whenever it might occur. Even in his most private councils, Eisenhower remained vague about what he might or might not do in crisis. His closest adviser, General Andrew Goodpastor, guessed Ike would never use nuclear weapons, but others weren't so sure, and Eisenhower wasn't about to tell them.

Indeed, Eisenhower sometimes sounded as if he regarded nuclear weapons as conventional weapons—"like bullets," he once said. Other times he seemed determined to rid the world of their scourge....Eisenhower's mission, which he achieved after he extricated America from the Korean War in 1953, was to avoid any war. As a general, Eisenhower

had commanded a conquering army in a world war ended only by the use of two atomic bombs. Though he posed as a poor farm boy, he was a scholar who had closely read Clausewitz's treatise *On War*, and took to heart its basic, if overlooked, message: that small wars



Ike, in a photo likely taken in the late 1940s when he was Army Chief of Staff, playing bridge with General Alfred Gruenther

can become big wars, and that a nation fighting for survival will stop at nothing. Eisenhower managed, by cleverness, indirection, subtlety, and downright deviousness—and by embracing the very weapon he could never use—to safeguard his country and possibly the rest of mankind from annihilation. As the United States and the Soviet Union created the power to end the world in the 1950s, the genial old soldier with a weakened heart contrived to keep the peace. He did so in his own distinctive way. He was honorable but occasionally opaque, outwardly amiable but inwardly seething.

bedroom. "No, that's my closet!" Jackie exclaims, her eyes wide, grinning as if she almost can't believe her good fortune. Later in the film, after the family arrives in an airport after having flown coach (a first for the children), Jackie walks up to a rental-car counter and asks the clerk earnestly, "What is my driver's name?" *New York Times* film critic A.O. Scott '87 wrote in his review, "Schadenfreude and disgust may be unavoidable, but to withhold all sympathy from the Siegels is to deny their humanity and shortchange your own. Marvel at the ornate frame, mock the vulgarity of the images if you want, but let's not kid ourselves. If this film is a portrait, it is also a mirror."

Greenfield became interested in the lives of the 1 percenters as an undergraduate, where she studied photography under Barbara Norfleet, Ph.D. '51, then a lecturer

and curator of still photography at the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, who had produced a book called *All the Right People*, about the WASPs of the Northeast. "Part of what drove her [Norfleet] to make that book was that in the archives there were very few photos of rich people," Greenfield says. "The photos that existed... were only commissioned portraits by the subjects themselves, or society pictures which didn't have any context because they

weren't natural moments. For me, when I started the *Queen of Versailles*, it was a little bit similar. We see so much of the life of the affluent as these packaged, manipulated reality-TV shows, or advertising. I wanted to do a real-life look at this family, particularly because Jackie and David had this other quality—a down-to-earth American quality. They came from humble origins and were a rags-to-riches story."

Greenfield met Jackie Siegel by chance at a Hollywood party and immediately fell for the couple's tale. (The filmmaker had asked if she could photograph Siegel's ostentatious metallic purse; the image eventually became one of *Time* magazine's "Photos of the Year," illustrating the "high life" and "gilded age" of America). But that was in 2007, when David Siegel's company—the largest privately owned time-share

company in the world—had netted him a billion dollars. When Greenfield began filming in 2009, she didn't expect her little movie (she and her husband, Frank Evers '87, financed the film, calling it "a labor of love") about the biggest McMansion ever built would even be seen in theaters. But as the Siegels' fortunes plummeted unexpectedly before her camera's lens, Greenfield knew her film would have a far wider appeal.

Greenfield—a photographer and filmmaker who has captured youth culture through projects like HBO's *THIN*, a documentary about an eating disorder center



Director Lauren Greenfield

in Coconut Creek, Florida, and has had her photographs published in *The New York Times*, *Vanity Fair*, *The New Yorker*, and *National Geographic*—got to know her subjects intimately, practically moving in with them as she filmed up to 12 hours a day. She and Jackie became friends. But Greenfield admits she was appalled by their inability to control their spending, even when everything pointed to impending disaster. The tipping point was David's refusal to sell his other obsession, a \$600-million, high-end time-share complex on the Las Vegas strip that he'd personally financed through loans. By 2010, the time-share market had dried up

Arts Imbalance

This past summer, a temporary art installation titled *Arts Imbalance* brightened the days of many in downtown Boston. On July 1, a dozen volunteers, working from a small boat on the water and a scissor lift on land, strung a 300-foot-long yellow tightrope across the city's Fort Point Channel, anchoring the ends to the Summer Street and Congress Street bridges. A pair of life-size, aluminum, sheet-metal figures—modeled on a classic wooden artist's manikin—counterbalanced each other above and below the rope. They were coated in refractive dichroic film, which transmits certain wavelengths of light but reflects others, treating observers to prismatic displays of reflected sunlight. Now and again the figures moved in reaction to the wind. The installation was the work of Peter Agoos '75, a multimedia artist who has trained in stage design, sculpture, graphic design, and film (<http://agoos.com>). "I've lived here for more than 30 years and walked over those bridges thousands of times," says Agoos, who lives only a couple of blocks from the installation. "I have just been wanting to do something in the air over that water."



JIM HARRISON



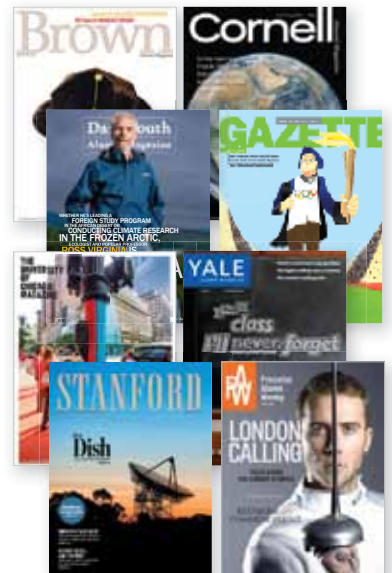
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Off the Shelf

Recent books with Harvard connections

Up on the Roof: New York's Hidden Skyline Spaces, by Alex MacLean '69, M.Arch. '73 (Princeton Architectural Press, \$50). The aerial photographer documents how the (literally) upper class lives, on green terraces, around pools, or simply through the equipment that keeps them cool and hydrated.

The Founders and Finance, by Thomas K. McCraw, Straus professor of business history emeritus (Harvard, \$35). During an election debate about America's economy, a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian revisits first principles, examining the Revolutionary War-era financial crises and the solutions crafted by Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, and others (immigrants all), in time to enable the Louisiana Purchase and to pay the costs of the War of 1812.

Open Access, by Peter Suber (MIT, \$12.95 paper). A succinct guide to digital dissemination of work free of charge and of copyright or licensing restrictions (more appealing for scholars publishing in journals than, say, for authors or filmmakers who earn a living through their creative work). By the director of the Harvard Open Access Project.

The Tale of the Heike, translated by Royall Tyler '57 (Viking, \$50). An immense translation of the twelfth-century Japanese epic about the tyranny of Taira no Kiyomori (1118-81) and the destruction of his extended family. A companion to Tyler's masterly translation of the earlier classic, *The Tale of Genji* (see his Vita, "Murasaki Shikibu: Brief life of a legendary novelist," May-June 2002, page 32).

From Slave Ship to Harvard, by James H. Johnston (Fordham University Press, \$29.95). A history of an African-American family, from Yarrow Mamout's enslaved arrival in North America in 1752, proceeding through Robert Turner Ford's debut at (residentially segregated) Harvard College

in 1923, and beyond. The family was remarkable from the outset: Mamout, freed, was painted by Charles Willson Peale.

Good Counsel: Meeting the Legal Needs of Nonprofits, by Lesley Rosenthal '86, J.D. '89 (Wiley, \$80). How big was the legal staff of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts when the author (now vice president and general counsel) joined it? "Oh, around five-foot-five," she says. Joking aside, this is a useful guide for nonprofits' leaders, board members, volunteers, and lawyers.

Always Looking: Essays on Art, by John Updike '54, Litt.D. '92 (Knopf, \$45). The third collection (sadly, posthumous) of the prolific author's exemplary critical essays and reviews, including his 2008 Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities: an overview of his take on the Americanness of American art.

Loaded Words, by Marjorie Garber, Keenan professor of English and of visual and environmental studies (Fordham University Press, \$26 paper). Essays on language—rich in surprises because they are not necessarily about the words you expect. As the author notes in the introduction, "Would you like to take a walk?" means different things if addressed to "(a) your dog, (b) a hothead in a bar, or (c) the person to whom you are about to propose marriage."

Triumphs of Experience, by George E. Vaillant, professor of psychiatry (Harvard, \$27.95). A seventy-fifth-year harvesting of the Harvard Grant Study, the longitudinal examination of a cohort of 268 College men. Growth, it happily turns out, is not arrested with age.

Building a Magnetic Culture, by Kevin A. Sheridan, M.B.A. '88 (McGraw-Hill, \$28). A human-resources consultant (and mountain

climber) offers lessons on attracting the right people and engaging them in your organization: how Google, for instance, goes about making sure it gets "Googley" employees.

The Guardian Poplar, by Chase N. Peterson '52, M.D. '56 (University of Utah Press, \$39.95). The past University of Utah president's memoir recalls his own journey from that state to Harvard, back home, and then again to Cambridge as director of undergraduate admissions and then vice president for alumni affairs and development in the late 1960s and early 1970s—an era of tumult, change, and reaching out to new constituencies.

Howard's Gift: Uncommon Wisdom to Inspire Your Life's Work, by Eric C. Sinoway, M.P.A. '05 (St. Martin's, \$24.99). The author puts into print lessons about planning and taking charge of your life from his cherished mentor, Sarofim-Rock professor of business administration emeritus Howard H. Stevenson, the guiding light of entrepreneurship studies at the Business School.

My Husband and My Wives: A Gay Man's Odyssey, by Charles Rowan Beye, Ph.D. '60 (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, \$26). A retired classics professor (Stanford, Boston University, City University of New York) recounts an erotic and emotional life that includes homosexual experiences as a youth, marriage to two women (producing four children), and a subsequent, late-life, same-sex marriage.

Citizen Soldier: A Life of Harry S. Truman, by Aida D. Donald, RI '74 (Basic Books, \$25.99). A brisk, psychologically informed portrait of the president who reshaped the postwar United States. Donald was editor in chief of Harvard University Press.

On high: The Alden, 225 Central Park West, in Manhattan, from Up on the Roof



ALEX MACLEAN

because so many buyers had overextended themselves on their unit mortgages. “I wasn’t rooting for David to keep the tower, because I think it was a valuable lesson learned, in terms of the overreach,” she says. “I think that’s the power [of the movie]. David speaks the morality tale at the



Visit harvardmag.com/ extras to watch a clip from the film.

end when he says, ‘We need to learn to live within our means, we need to get back to reality. I was using cheap

money to buy big buildings and I thought it would go on forever, and when they took away the money I was like, ‘Whoa.’

“In that sense there is a happy ending, because you see what’s really important to them,” Greenfield continues. “For us as viewers, it gives us a chance to think about what’s important, what our values are, and what is enough.”

Although David Siegel is now suing Greenfield for defamation (Greenfield insists the lawsuit is more about money than

ill will: at a recent premiere of the film in Tampa, David and Jackie rented out two theaters and showed up in a party bus to watch the movie with all of their friends), she still says she wouldn’t have changed anything. “I was extremely lucky because they opened their doors wide when things were great, but they kept those doors open equally wide when things got tough,” she explains. “Jackie would often say, ‘Our story is like so many other people’s, but on a bigger level and with bigger proportions.’”

Vegan Hedonism

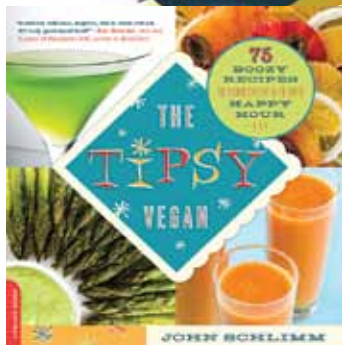
Plant-based pleasure with spirit and sizzle

by BETSY BLOCK

ONE SENTENCE—one word, really—in the book *Eating Animals* by Jonathan Safran Foer changed John Schlimm’s life. When Schlimm, Ed.M. ’02, read about “unloved” Thanksgiving turkeys, “something shifted,” he remembers. “I stopped, highlighted the word ‘unloved,’ underlined it, circled it. It was a light-bulb moment for me.”

His life, he says, “took on a whole new and wonderful direction.” Not as a cookbook author—he’d already written seven, including *The Ultimate Beer Lover’s Cookbook*. Not as a teacher—he’d already taught at a local university. Instead, that one word transformed him from the guy who had helped at his brother’s meat-processing business—skinning deer, cutting meat, and making sausage—into someone who wouldn’t eat or wear animal products. The son of a small-town Pennsylvania butcher, Schlimm, who grew up in hunting country, became a vegan. That moment also inspired him to write two vegan cookbooks, *The Tippy Vegan* (2011) and *Grilling Vegan Style* (2012); another, *The Cheesy Vegan*, is on the way.

How did someone who never went to culinary school or worked in a restaurant become a cookbook author? Schlimm explains that he’s the son of two fantastic cooks as well as a member of



unsurprisingly, includes some sort of alcohol in every recipe. He also has a team of people who help him develop and test recipes.

the Straub family, which runs one of the country’s oldest breweries. He wrote one of his first titles, *The Straub Beer Cookbook*, in partnership with the brewery, and *The Tippy Vegan*,

John Schlimm, his vegan cookbooks, and Presto Pesto No-Bake Lasagna

For Schlimm, food is all about flavor and enjoyment. Vegan hedonism? Isn’t that a contradiction? Not with Schlimm’s recipes, filled with spices, fruits, nuts, wines, and other alcoholic spirits. He calls his cookbooks “parties between covers.” Consider “Bruschetta on a Bender,” which combines fragrant fresh thyme and oregano with a couple of dashes of vermouth. “Baked & Loaded Acorn Squash” contains rich fall flavors like cinnamon and nutmeg, warmed up by a hit of Calvados. Mandarin oranges, water chestnuts, and ginger dot his “Wild Rice Under the Influence,” a



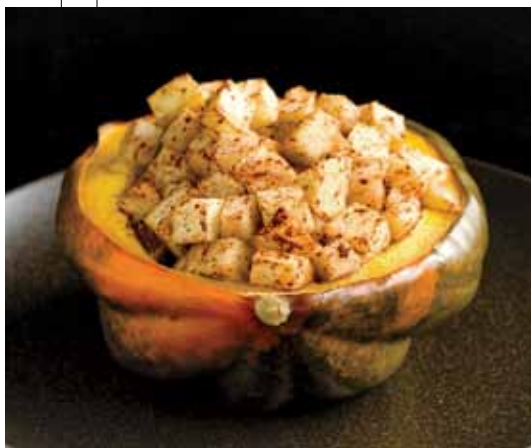
AMY BEADLE ROTH; AUTHOR PHOTOGRAPH: BARB SCHLIMM

MONTAGE

recipe kicked up in flavor by rum.

In *Grilling Vegan Style*, he offers a buffet of barbecue sauces for vegetables, tofu, seitan, and tempeh, including “King Wasabi” with ginger, soy sauce and rum and sweet and smoky “Pineapple Does the Teriyaki.” There’s a “Grilled Picnic Pizza,” a “Presto Pesto No-Bake Lasagna,” seven ways to grill potatoes, and 10 variations on tapas. Schlomm runs through burgers, kebabs, desserts, and happy-hour options. One

Baked & Loaded Acorn Squash



AMY BEADLE ROTH

chapter, “Supper Under the Stars,” collects 11 dinner-entrée recipes, such as his “Starry Night Tart with Grilled Eggplant, Zucchini, and Plum Tomatoes.”

“Taking out the meat and dairy is the most obvious part” of writing vegan recipes, Schlomm notes, but there’s much more:

“Common, refined sugar is not vegan, as it’s created using animal bone char, and some breads, mustards, chocolate, mayonnaise, broth, Worcestershire sauce, and other common products are not vegan.” He therefore includes “pantry sections” in his books to explain these fine details and point readers toward plant-based substitutes.

“I also strive to make my vegan cookbooks as small-town-friendly as possible,” he says, “meaning that my family, friends, and neighbors can go to our local grocery



AMY BEADLE ROTH

Bruschetta on a Bender

herbs, just as you would with meaty, dairy recipes. After all, when you think about it, meat alone and dairy alone don’t really have much flavor. It’s the other ingredients, like the spices and herbs, the fruits and vegetables—not to mention the shot of whiskey, tequila, or vodka—that add the real magic and pop to a dish!”

Still, aspiring to live a vegan life can be a challenge. Schlomm recalls a dinner party where his friend’s sister announced she had made a special meatless casserole

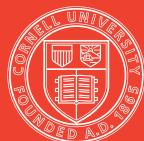
stores and, just like my big-city pals, find the majority of the ingredients needed for the recipes, making this an easy and accessible way of eating.”

For Schlomm, it’s easy to make food sing without meat, dairy, or eggs. “I use fresh ingredients and have a blast playing with spices and

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just for him. It contained lots of vegetables—and cheese. “It was a huge moment for me,” he says. “I knew I could say, ‘I’m vegan, I won’t eat that,’ or I could eat a little and then encourage everyone else to try some, too. So that’s what I did, and everyone there agreed that it was delicious even without the meat.” To Schlimm—who wants everyone to start “thinking a little vegan”—it was a victory because, until that night, most of the hunter types he was dining with had never tried a meatless meal.

Through a series of fortunate events, Schlimm once ended up sitting beside Jonathan Safran Foer on Ellen DeGeneres’s television talk show. By then, thanks to Foer and that “unloved” Thanksgiving turkey, Schlimm was a changed man. At one point, he looked into the camera and spoke what he believes will be the most perfect sentence of his life: “No living being, human or animal, should ever go through this life unloved.”



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for vegan holiday party recipes.

“Absolutely Beautiful”

The geometer-sculptor

MORTON C. BRADLEY JR. ’33, G ’40, had family ties, extending back to great-grandfather Theophilus Wylie, to Indiana University. But the campus community where he spent nearly all of his life was Cambridge, not Bloomington. The Harvard where he was educated had since the 1870s featured pioneering studies in experimental psychology and the physiology of perception (stemming from William James and Hugo Münsterberg) and the fine arts (Charles Eliot Norton), and in ensuing decades the flowering of logic in philosophy (in the persons of Josiah Royce and the towering figures, then still in the *other* Cambridge, of Alfred North Whitehead and

Bertrand Russell). The strands of formalist aesthetics, of the Bauhaus at Harvard, of music and mathematics and still other influ-



MICHAEL CAVANAGH AND KEVIN MONTAGUE

Firebird, 1971: Morton Bradley’s first successful sculpture



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MONTAGE

ences, are teased out in the essay, “Morton Bradley: An American Formalist,” by Lynn Gamwell, who is also responsible for the volume *Color and Form: The Geometric Sculptures of Morton C. Bradley Jr.* (Indiana University Art Museum/Indiana University Press, \$30).

Bradley (1912-2004) bequeathed his suspended geometric sculptures and associated studies to IU—hence the origins of this publication. He for years worked in the Fogg Art Museum’s conservation department, and published a manual for conservators, *The Treatment of Pictures* (1950), that is still in use. Bradley began making lithograph prints of geometric forms in 1948, and progressively developed his own system of colors. In the 1960s, he applied them to three-dimensional works, exacting in their geometry and use of color principles, initially in solid planes

Lochness, 1980



MICHAEL CAVANAGH AND KEVIN MONTAGUE

and then in open wire structures.

Gamwell places the work in the context of the Swiss Constructivists, French Optical art, and American algorithmic art developed by Ellsworth Kelly and Sol LeWitt. Bradley’s sculpture, she says, “embodies the mathematical structure of nature and the beauty of pure mathematics. As such, his work presents us with a classical ideal that is as appealing today as when Plato wrote in the fourth century B.C.: ‘I do not mean by beauty of form such beauty as that of animals or pictures...but

straight lines and circles, and the plain and solid figures that are formed out of them by turning lathes and rules and measures of angles; for these I affirm to be not only relatively beautiful like other things, but they are eternally and absolutely beautiful.’”

Or as Harvard’s Eric Heller, Lawrence professor of chemistry and professor of physics (see “Quantum Art,” January-February 2001, page 36), notes in a foreword, “Mathematicians ‘see’ patterns of numbers and geometric forms in the mind’s eye. One mathematical object is elegant and beautiful, while another might be an



MICHAEL CAVANAGH AND KEVIN MONTAGUE

Papillon, 2001

ugly, brute-force proof. Scientists like myself study mathematical patterns that are embodied in the natural world, and these structures also have aesthetic qualities, such as the symmetrical pattern of flowing electrons or the dynamism of an ocean wave.” Calling Bradley a “pioneer in visualizing mathematical patterns,” Heller writes, “This beautiful book is a tribute to an artist who made mathematical patterns visible, and, in looking at his colorful, symmetrical sculptures, we better appreciate abstract ideas.”



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to view additional images of Bradley’s sculpture.

Chapter & Verse

Correspondence on not-so-famous lost words

Jack Holt seeks the source of “The most difficult part of attaining perfection is finding something to do for an encore” (regularly credited online to “Author unknown”).

Arnold Rosenberg hopes for leads to the origin of the aphorism “You like because of; you love in spite of.” Pointers are welcome.

Programming day (September-October). A tip from E.J. Barnes led (courtesy of Google and Wikipedia) to the identifica-

tion of “Profession,” by Isaac Asimov. Published in the July 1957 issue of *Astounding Science Fiction*, it was subsequently reprinted in the author’s 1959 collection *Nine Tomorrows: Tales of the Near Future*. Barrie Greene was first to provide a link to one of the many online copies of the text.

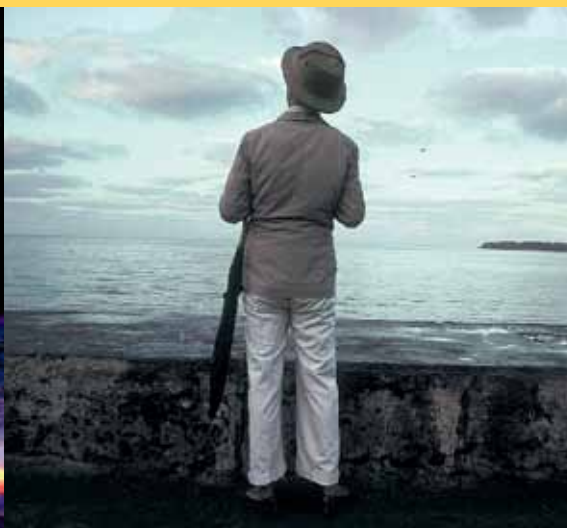
“red Coke can in the snow” (July-August). Dorrie Bell noted, from Ngaio Marsh’s *Clutch of Constables* (1969): “I remember that on a walk...I looked into a dell and saw, deep down, an astonishing spot of scarlet. I thought: ‘Ah! A su-

perb fungus secretly devouring the earth and the air?...I went down to look more closely at it and found that it was a discarded fish-tin with a red label. Was it the less beautiful for my discovery?” Bell added, “I therefore infer that the trope of the red beautiful-trash item was common in the period and not just to be found in the Beat poets of San Francisco.”

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

New England

REGIONAL SECTION



Extracurriculars

SEASONAL

The Game, #129

www.gocrimson.com/sports/fball/index

- November 17 at Harvard Stadium.

Harvard Glee Club

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

- November 16 at 8 P.M.

Harvard-Yale Football Concert at Sanders Theatre.

Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

- November 30 at 8 P.M.

- December 1 at 3 P.M.

"Christmas in Cambridge" concert. First Church in Cambridge, 11 Garden Street.

Harvard Ceramics Program

Holiday Show and Sale

<http://www.ofa.fas.harvard.edu/ceramics>

617-495-8680; 219 Western Avenue, Allston

- December 6, 3-8 P.M.

- December 7-9, 10 A.M.-7 P.M.

This annual event showcases works by dozens of Greater Boston artists, from beginners to professionals.

Harvard Square's Holiday Happenings

www.harvardsquare.com

617-491-3434

- November 1-30

The annual celebration offers concerts, historic tours, and exhibitions. See website for details.

- November 24, 5-6:30 P.M. The annual *Holiday Tree Lighting* at the Charles Hotel. Music, food, and a cameo by Santa Claus.

- December 8, 1-2 P.M. *Everybody Loves Latkes Party*. Free potato pancakes, along with holiday music and storytelling.

Brattle Square.

Memorial Church

Christmas Carol Services

www.memorialchurch.harvard.edu

617-495-5508

- December 16, 5 P.M.; December 17, 8 P.M.

Christmas Eve service at 11 P.M.

The Christmas Revels

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

www.revels.org/calendar/the-christmas-revels; 617-972-8300

- December 14-27

"An Irish Celebration of the Winter Solstice" tells the story of immigrants traveling to America in 1907. Sanders Theatre.

DANCE

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/dance>

617-495-8683

Harvard Dance Center, 60 Garden Street.

- November 29 - December 1 at 8 P.M.

Compositions by artist-in-residence John Jasperse, director of his own company in New York City.

THEATER

American Repertory Theater

www.americanrepertorytheater.org

617-547-8300 (box office)

617-495-2668 (general number)

Loeb Drama Center

64 Brattle Street

- December 5 through January 20 (2013)

Pippin. A novel staging of the 1972 musical that poses the question: live an ordinary life or aim for a flash of singular glory?

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www.cluboberon.com

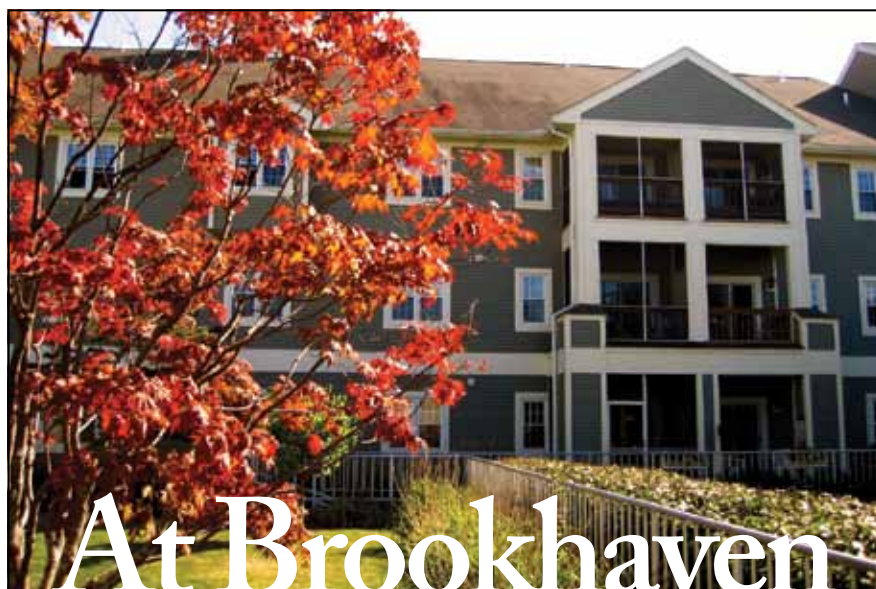
617-496-8004; 2 Arrow Street.

- November 4 at 1 P.M. and 4 P.M.

Boom Boom's Bow. An interactive jazz romp for the whole family. For ages 3 to 10 (and their adult caregivers).

Left to right: Art from the lecture "Strange Planetary Vistas from Kepler," at the Center for Astrophysics; *Man in the Sola Hat* (c. 1985), by Sooni Taraporevala '79, at the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts; actress Patina Miller in *Pippin*, at the American Repertory Theater.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: HARVARD CENTER FOR ASTROPHYSICS; CARPENTER CENTER FOR THE VISUAL ARTS; AND THE AMERICAN REPERTORY THEATER



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NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL SECTION



HARVARD CERAMICS PROGRAM

Platters, mugs, vases, and whimsical wall hangings—the annual Harvard Ceramics Program holiday sale has it all—and more.

- November 5

The Last Butch Standing features the comedienne Lea DeLaria's take on being "a bad ass dyke daddy in the post-Ellen" era. For those 18 years and older only.

- December 14 at 7 P.M. and 10 P.M.

Winterbloom. Four women singer-songwriters share their cultural traditions through stories and songs (in Hebrew, Tibetan, and German) with a holiday theme. Co-sponsored with Club Passim.

MUSIC

- November 2 at 8 P.M.

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>
 617-496-2222

"Harvard Jazz Heroes" honors Eric Jackson, Steve Schwartz, and Fred Taylor, with the *Harvard Jazz Bands*.

Lowell Hall.

- November 4 at 4 P.M.

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>
 617-496-2222.

"Bands of the Beanpot" features the *Harvard Wind Ensemble*, among other groups. Fenway Center, Northeastern University.

- November 9 at 8 P.M.

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>
 617-496-2222

The Chiara String Quartet performs works by Mozart, Dvořák, and Witold Lutosławski. Sponsored by the Harvard Music Department. John Knowles Paine



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NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL SECTION

Concert Hall (behind the Science Center in Harvard's North Yard)

• December 1 at 8 P.M.

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

"Music of German Composers" played by the *Harvard Wind Ensemble*.

Lowell Hall.

Sanders Theatre

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

• November 1-18

www.hrgsp.org; 617-938-9761

The *Harvard-Radcliffe Gilbert and Sullivan Players* offer *The Mikado*; or, *The Town of Titipu*.

• December 1 at 8 P.M.

The *Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra* presents Britten's *Four Sea Interludes*.

• December 8 at 8 P.M.

<http://ofa.fas.harvard.edu/boxoffice>

617-496-2222

Photojournalist Tim Laman talks at the Harvard Museum of Natural History about his successful mission to capture on film all 39 known species of birds of paradise in the wild.



TIM LAMAN/HARVARD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY



The *Harvard-Radcliffe Chorus* and the Pro Arte Chamber Orchestra perform Brahms's *Ein deutsches Requiem*.

NATURE AND SCIENCE

The Arnold Arboretum

www.arboretum.harvard.edu; 617-384-5209

• November 15, 6:30-8:30 P.M.

• November 17, 9-11 A.M.

Understanding Mosses. Curatorial fellow Stephanie Stuber examines the biological and anatomical wonders of nature's luxurious green carpeting.

• November 29, 7-8:30 P.M.

Audio Ecology: Acoustic Signals in Insects, with Harvard biology professor Brian D. Farrell.

The Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics

www.cfa.harvard.edu/events/mon.html

617-495-7461; 60 Garden Street

Observatory Night lectures at 7:30 P.M., followed by stargazing, if weather permits.

• November 15

"Strange Planetary Vistas from Kepler" with Hubble fellow Josh Carter.

• December 6

Special viewing event: "Winter Sky Wonders," hosted by CFA docent John Sheff.

FILM

The Harvard Film Archive

<http://hcl.harvard.edu/hfa>

617-495-4700

Visit the website for a complete listing of festivals and showtimes.

• November 16

The Photographic Memory of Ross McElwee. The Harvard professor filmed his

return to the Brittany coast, where he lived, worked, and loved in 1972, in an effort to better understand his twenty-something son, Adrian. Both McElwees will be on hand to discuss the project.

• December 7-10

Jafar Panahi. Showcases the work of the imprisoned Iranian filmmaker, including *This Is Not a Film*, which was smuggled out of that country in 2011.

• December 14-17

Jan Svankmajer. Screenings of works by this Czech sur-

realist filmmaker. The artist often uses exaggerated sounds, animates odd objects through clay animation techniques, and uses food in unusual ways.

EXHIBITIONS & EVENTS

Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts

www.ves.fas.harvard.edu; 617-495-3251

• Through December 20

Parsis: The Zoroastrians of India. Photographs by Sooni Taraporevala '79 offers a rare look at the Parsis, whose ancestors sailed from Iran to India in A.D. 936.

• November 1 through December 20.

• November 15 at 6 P.M., artist reception.

Christian Boltanski: 6 Septembres is a mélange of projected archival newscasts, headlines, and images from events that occurred on each of the artist's birthdays from 1944 through 2004.

Harvard Art Museums

www.harvardartmuseums.org

617-495-9400

• December 4 at 6-8 P.M.

ArtisTalk: Katharina Sieverding. The ground-breaking Czech-born German artist explores her own work with Lynette Roth, Daimler-Benz associate curator at the Busch-Reisinger Museum.

• December 5 at 3:30 P.M.

A discussion on "People Everyday: The Vantage of Kerry James Marshall" (see below), with Weyerhaeuser curator of prints Susan Dackerman and Marcyliena Morgan, professor of African and African American studies and executive director of Harvard's Hip-hop Archive.

• Through December 29

Recent Acquisitions, Part III: Kerry James Marshall highlights the artist's 12-panel, large-scale woodcut print, *Untitled* (1998/2007), which explores society's embedded legacy of racism.

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

www.peabody.harvard.edu; 617-496-1027

• November 28 at 6 P.M.

"Apocalypse Soon? How the World Ends (or Doesn't) in Religions of the World," with David Carrasco, Rudenstine professor for the study of Latin America.

Geological Lecture Hall, 24 Oxford Street
Harvard Museum of Natural History

www.hmn.harvard.edu

617-495-3045

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL SECTION



HARVARD ART MUSEUMS

Deutschland, by photographer Katharina Sieverding, who discusses her work at the Harvard Art Museums

- November 19 at 6 P.M.

"Birds of Paradise: Exploring a Wonder of the World," a lecture and book signing with National Geographic photojournalist Tim Laman, Ph.D. '94, the first person to photograph (during 18 expeditions across New Guinea) all 39 species of this diverse bird in the wild.

The Semitic Museum

www.fas.harvard.edu/~semitic

617-495-4631

- Continuing: *The Houses of Ancient Israel: Domestic, Royal, Divine* features a full-scale replica of an Iron Age (ca. 1200-586 B.C.E.) village abode.

LECTURES

Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University

www.radcliffe.edu; 617-496-8600

- December 3 at 5 P.M.

"Hormonally Active Pollutants: What Are They, What Can They Do, and How Do We Know They Are Out There?" by Joan Ruderman, Nelson professor of cell biology at Harvard Medical School.

Fay House, 10 Garden Street

- December 10 at 4:15 P.M.

Novelist Margot Livesey, RI '13, delivers the Julia S. Phelps Annual Lecture in Art and Humanities. Topic to be announced.

Radcliffe Gymnasium, 10 Garden Street

Schlesinger Library

www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library; 617-495-8647

10 Garden Street, Radcliffe Yard

- November 13

"Travelers in Hiding: Telling a Story of Central Americans in Mexico," by Alma Guillermoprieto, RI '07, looks at the 2010 murders of 72 migrants traveling to the northern border by bus, and at those ar-

ticles and writers who are honoring them.

- Continuing: "Siting Julia: Julia Child Centenary Exhibition" traces her prodigious life and career through the library's extensive collection of Child's papers and other items.

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

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The Best of Bestowing

The “gifts you can keep unwrapping” • by Nell Porter Brown



juvenating activities. “Christmas had become something to endure as much as it has become something to enjoy,” he wrote. “The people we were talking to wanted so much more out of Christmas: more music, more companionship, more contemplation, more time outdoors, more love. And they realized that to get it, they needed less of some other things: not so many gifts, not so many obligatory parties, not so much hustle.”

In the interest of understanding more about what gifts *are* actually meaningful, and why, we asked several professors a simple question: What is the best gift you have ever given? As Lewis Hyde, an associate of the Hu-

A LONG WITH festive food and family gatherings, the holidays bring the inevitable social rituals of gift-giving. Some enjoy the art of finding or making the perfect presents, and wrapping them with elaborate bright bows. But for many others, gifting is an onerous, thankless task, often involving purchases for people barely known. And even for close friends and family, the question arises: What is a suitable, meaningful gift? Quickly followed by: Is it affordable? Financial pressures only increase the anx-

xiety. Some people resent feeling obligated to participate in structured giving, dislike holiday celebrations, lack the time to shop, or are simply put off by the collective consumerist frenzy.

Bill McKibben '82 speaks to some of these concerns in his 1998 *Hundred Dollar Holiday*, which resonates all the more today. The book chronicles efforts by his local church to rediscover the true joys of Christmas (and any special occasion can be substituted here) by limiting spending and making room for other, more re-

manities Center, writes in *The Gift*, the focus here is not on those given “in spite or fear, nor those gifts we accept out of servility or obligation” but on “the gift we long for, the gift that, when it comes, speaks commandingly to the soul and irresistibly moves us.”

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR of philosophy Russell Jones does not particularly care about getting or giving presents or, in general, about celebrating birthdays, holidays, or anniversaries: “I just never got overly ex-



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“To feel the love of people whom we love is a fire that feeds our life.”

cited about this stuff.” The single exception came about a decade ago, when he bought a clear glass vase and some flowers for his girlfriend, Emily. “It wasn’t particularly extravagant, it cost maybe \$40 or \$60,” he recalls, “but I gave it to her with the promise that I would refill it.”

The couple are now married. The vase sits in a prominent place on a living-room table. “I asked her, and she didn’t quite remember, whether I had said I would fill it regularly, in which case I have not fulfilled my promise,” Russell says. “But if I said I would fill it often, then I have done that.” The flowers tend to come at times of accord, but not necessarily to make up for disagreements. Always he brings them home and hands them to her to put in the vase with some water. They are the gift that keeps on giving—“although imperfectly,” he says, smiling. A symbol of the couple’s continuing commitment. “They remind us that we are still here together, all these years later.”

Hyde, an essayist, poet, and translator, is a former director of undergraduate creative writing at Harvard and now teaches English at Kenyon College. The best modern gift exchanges are those that are of intrinsic value, he says, “where the gift somehow recognizes the recipient—it is a sign that ‘I know who you are and am thinking about you.’ It’s about actually seeing who the other person is.” One reason so many gifts are “irritating,” Hyde adds, is that most do not indicate that the giver “did any reflection around who you are.” The worst gifts are those that “seem to be a discharge of obligation: there is no intimacy involved.”

Hyde’s own best gift was handed over in a hotel room in 1966. That year the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda had been allowed to enter the United States for the International PEN conference. He also read at the 92nd Street Y, an event that Hyde, then only 21, traveled from the Midwest to hear. He had translated one of Neruda’s books, and, in an effort to get it published, Hyde’s

friends had helped arrange a meeting with the poet at the Algonquin Hotel.

“Neruda was a collector, collected several things,” Hyde begins. “The two I knew about were ship’s figureheads and seashells.” The day of their meeting, Neruda had been out walking in New York City and had found an antique shop where he bought a figurehead. “He had it there in the hotel, in his suite, where there was a living room with wingback chairs. The figure was sitting in one of these chairs and Pablo was in another and I was in a third,” Hyde recalls. “The figurehead had a bag over her head. I always imagined that the shop keeper had asked, ‘Would you like a bag?’ When we sat down, Pablo said, ‘We must take that off,’ and in some strange way that wooden woman joined our conversation.”

Hyde took a cloth bag out of his pocket that held his own gift to Neruda: a fossil seashell, a pyritized spiriferid brachiopod. His uncle had given it to him as a boy “because he knew it would intrigue me,” Hyde adds. “You can hold it in your fist and it is covered in fool’s gold. They are not particularly rare, but they are striking. I always thought it was so special.” Neruda imme-

diately recognized the shell and took out a book on the subject and showed his guest more specimens. “I think he was tickled,” Hyde says. “Then he gave me a phonograph recording of him reading some of his poems. There was an exchange.”

As an emerging poet and writer, Hyde felt grateful to artists who gave of themselves, of their creative, artistic gifts. “Neruda was one of the poets who had affected me in precisely this way. His powers to say things I had not been able to say myself led me to feel a sort of spiritual debt,” Hyde explains. “So this is a little, concrete gift but it was an expression of enormous gratitude.” The chain of

gifting the shell was also kept intact. The significance of the gift, Hyde continues, is also connected to a story Neruda tells in the essay “Childhood and Poetry” that is “related to his own mythology about what it is to be an artist.” (Hyde ends *The Gift* with Neruda’s tale.) In it, Neruda is a boy in rural Chile standing by a small hole in a fence when the hand of a boy appears, placing a small white toy sheep on the edge of the hole. The boy runs away before there is any contact, but the gesture prompts Neruda to run to his own house and pick out an adored treasure, a pinecone, and put it in the hole for the boy. “To feel the love of people whom we love is a fire that feeds our life,” Neruda writes. “But to feel the affection that comes from those whom we do not know, from those unknown to us, who are watching over our sleep and solitude, over our dangers and weaknesses—that is something still greater and more beautiful because it widens out the boundaries of our being, and unites all living things...Just as I once left the pinecone by the fence, I have since left my words on the door of so many people who were unknown to me, people in prison, or hunted, or alone.”

GIVING MONEY and things away, even to strangers, has the capacity to make us artists. But it also can make us feel *happier*, according to research by Michael Norton,

The worst gifts are those that “seem to be a discharge of obligation: there is no intimacy involved.”

associate professor of business administration at Harvard Business School. “You see this phrase a lot, ‘Money can’t buy happiness,’” Norton said in a 2011 TEDx lecture. “In fact, it is wrong.” Norton has a doctorate in psychology and studies consumer behavior. People who win the lottery tend to spend all the money and then go into debt, he reported, or their families and friends ask for money, which spoils their social relationships. Norton and his fellow researchers found that “People who spend money on other people [instead of themselves] were happier,” he told the TED audience. “The specific way you spend on other people isn’t nearly as important as the fact

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that you spend on other people...You can do small, trivial things and yet still get the benefit of doing this." Moreover, this was true across the nations studied, including the U.S., Canada, and Uganda: "Giving money away makes you happier than keeping it for yourself." (Norton and coauthor Elizabeth Dunn discuss the many ways people misunderstand how to wring joy from every dollar in their forthcoming *Happy Money: The Science of Spending*, due out this spring.)

Various members of the University community are finding creative ways to act on Norton's findings. "The best gifts I have ever given," says Nir Eyal, associate professor in global health and social medicine at Harvard Medical School, "are to people I do not know." He and his wife, English professor Leah Price, are part of the international group www.givingwhatwecan.org, whose members pledge to give 10 percent or more of their pretax income to cost-effective global health and poverty causes. "We give not in order to feel satisfied, although recent research suggests that giving can give you greater happiness," Eyal says. "But the gift is about the other person."

He serves on the steering committee of the campus-wide Program in Ethics and Health and is also the faculty adviser for a new undergraduate-run group called Harvard High Impact Philanthropy (<http://harvardhip.org>) that supports donations to global-health and poverty causes and also encourages the 10 percent pledge. Guest speakers at their events have included Kolokotronis University Professor Paul Farmer, of Partners In Health, Rachel Glennerster, of MIT's Poverty Action Lab, and Jeffrey Sachs, of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. "I think we do not realize how rich we are," Eyal asserts. "We compare ourselves to others like us and think we are relatively middle class or even poorer. You would be surprised if you looked at what you have even when you give away 10 percent. You would hardly miss it and you could save thousands from life-threatening diseases."

Realizing the dreams of one's nearest and dearest is also a profound gift. Professor of government and of African and African American studies Claudine Gay says her best gift was a surprise for her

husband after graduate school, when they were both working so hard that they rarely saw each other during the week. With his thirtieth birthday looming, she nixed a party in favor of an experience: as a third-generation Greek-American, he had always dreamed of visiting his grandparents' homeland. Recognizing his deep desire, but knowing that "he could not see how to make that possible," Gay secretly took on planning the logistics and soon presented him with a bag. Inside was a copy of Robert Fagles's translation of *The Odyssey*, a phrasebook to supplement her husband's school-level Greek vocabulary—and airplane tickets.

Throughout the trip, "he got out his phrasebook and tried conversations with people, and there were lots of stories

"Giving money away makes you happier than keeping it for yourself."

about his grandparents living in different places we visited," Gay says. "It was an experience that connected him on a visceral level with his cultural heritage, with who he is," she explains. "And for me, being a spectator and watching that happen, was terrific." They also ended up taking what turned into a strenuous trip on buses and ferries to obtain holy water that his mother (a breast-cancer survivor) had requested "from a particular rural church on a particular island off Athens," she adds, "and then traveling all the way back to Michigan to give it to her."

Gifts among generations are especially resonant, perhaps because they signal the reality that someday the gift, or its memory, will remain even though the people engaged in the exchange have gone. Stephanie Paulsell, Houghton professor of the practice of ministry studies at Harvard Divinity School, points as an example to the greatest, and most intangible, gift she ever received—appreciation for the power of books and reading "to unlock, enlarge, and open up the world, and your place in it"—which she is now attempting to pass on to her 15-year-old daughter.

"I grew up sitting next to my mother, having her read to me, and she taught me to read very early on by doing that," says

Paulsell. "She would take the stiff cardboard that came home from the cleaners in my dad's button-down shirts and write words on them and we used them like flashcards." Her father was a historian of Christianity and specialized in the monastic tradition, including prayerful reading. Paulsell often sat with him in the backyard reading psalms out loud: they discussed what they meant as he copied lines that struck him as important into a notebook, one of his lifelong practices.

At her first Christmas back from college, her mother gave her the first volume of Virginia Woolf's letters. "I remember unwrapping it and going upstairs into the bedroom and being under blankets the whole day reading," Paulsell says. She still reads, teaches—and writes—about Woolf;

her book on the author and religion is due to the publisher this spring. "My parents kind of gave me my life, which ended up being in school with a lot of reading and writing. It was a very great gift that I have tried to pass on to my daughter, who is a musician and has a lot of interests and a lot more choices than I did as a kid, in terms of technology and how to spend her time."

One book Paulsell recommended that her daughter fell in love with was Dorothy Day's autobiography, *The Long Loneliness*. "I would be so thrilled if my daughter felt that Day, an example of how you can take your life and do something radical with it, opened up all kinds of life questions for her, like the ones Day poses: How can we create a society in which it is easier for people to be good? What kind of difference can one person make?" Her daughter may not devour books the way her mother has, but she does appreciate them—and the spirit of delving into life's deeper questions. "I want to give her the richness, comfort, community, and conversation that go with a life drenched with books," Paulsell says. "There is something about encountering ideas about how to live life through reading that make it a lifelong gift you can keep unwrapping." ▽

Boston Hospitals

Curing disease, improving lives • by SCOTT P. EDWARDS

BOSTON IS A MECCA of medicine, home to some of the most prestigious hospitals and medical schools, physicians and medical scientists in the world. Since the momentous day in 1846 when William Morton, a local dentist, for the first time publicly demonstrated the use of inhaled ether as a surgical anesthetic in Massachusetts General Hospital's now-famous Ether Dome, the city has seen many medical firsts, including the first fertilization of an ovum in a test tube and the first successful human-organ transplant. Today it ranks as a preeminent center for healthcare and research. The city and its environs are home to top colleges and universities, and eastern Massachusetts, inside the Route 495

corridor, houses many leading biotechnology companies, providing both the brainpower and the cutting-edge research and product development necessary for quality care.

Boston proper is also home to more than 20 hospitals—from giants like Mass General, Boston Children's Hospital, and Brigham and Women's Hospital (BWH) to specialty institutions such as Arbour Hospital for psychiatric care and Jewish Memorial Hospital for long-term care. Dozens of smaller community and specialty hospitals lie within miles of the city's limits. In all, these hospitals produce billions of dollars in revenue each year, contributing to the local, state, and regional economies. In fact, 13 of Boston's 50 largest employers are

hospitals, according to the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

The clinical care provided by these institutions is widely recognized. For more than 20 years, *U.S. News & World Report* has published a list of the top hospitals in the United States, and Mass General and BWH regularly appear on its "honor roll." In its 2011 installment, Mass General was rated the number-two hospital in the country—its highest ranking ever—and ranked nationally in 16 adult and four pediatric specialties. BWH, eighth on the honor roll, was ranked nationally in 12 adult categories, while Children's was rated the best pediatric hospital in the country. The Dana-Farber Cancer Institute, Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center (BIDMC), Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, and Spaulding Rehabilitation Hospital also received top rankings in medical specialty categories.

But Boston hospitals derive their reputation as well from the quality of their



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scientific research, as is evident in one metric that determines research strength: National Institutes of Health (NIH) funding. Mass General (with \$343.8 million in NIH grants), BWH, Dana-Farber, BIDMC, and Children's were the top five recipients of NIH research dollars. That funding enables fruitful collaboration between basic scientists and clinical researchers that helps generate new ideas in basic research

and supports the necessary clinical trials for new therapies. Dana-Farber, for example, runs one of the largest cancer clinical trial programs in the country. Boston has become the place where many other scientists come to learn.

Among the luminaries of Boston research, two hospital-based scientists stand out. George Daley, professor of biological chemistry and molecular pharma-

cology and professor of pediatrics, directs the Stem Cell Transplantation Program at Children's. His contributions include two *Science Magazine* "Top Ten Breakthroughs" in stem-cell biology that have provided insight into improved therapies for many diseases (see "Stem-cell Science," July-August 2004, page 36). He is also an international advocate for responsible, ethical oversight of human stem-cell research. At BWH's Center for Neurologic Diseases, Coates professor of neurologic diseases Dennis Selkoe's work focuses on translating lab discoveries on the causes and mechanisms of Alzheimer's into therapeutic approaches (see "Diagnosing Dementia," May-June 2000, page 18). His contributions include identifying the neurofibrillary tangles that are hallmarks of Alzheimer's and their relationship to the tau protein, another key component of the disease.

The sheer physical presence of the city's hospitals, which continue to add beds and update their technology, underlines their clinical and scientific importance. At the heart of Mass General, for example, the new 530,000-square-foot Lunder Building provides 28 procedure and operating rooms, enhancing services in specialties such as neurology, neurosurgery, radiation oncology, and emergency medicine. Dana-Farber's Yawkey Center for Cancer Care houses adult treatment centers and an expanded clinical research center to support complex, early-stage clinical studies, among other facilities. BWH's 350,000-square-foot Shapiro Cardiovascular Center offers sophisticated imaging equipment, dedicated endovascular and electrophysiology procedure rooms, and 16 operating rooms that offer minimally invasive and image-guided technology, as well as robotic surgery. Children's has plans to expand its main building by enlarging the emergency department, increasing radiology capacity, and providing additional inpatient rooms to meet the future needs of specific subspecialties.

These and other, smaller, building projects offer further evidence that even as the healthcare landscape changes, Boston hospitals' commitment to quality medical care and research to improve patients' lives and cure disease remains firm. •



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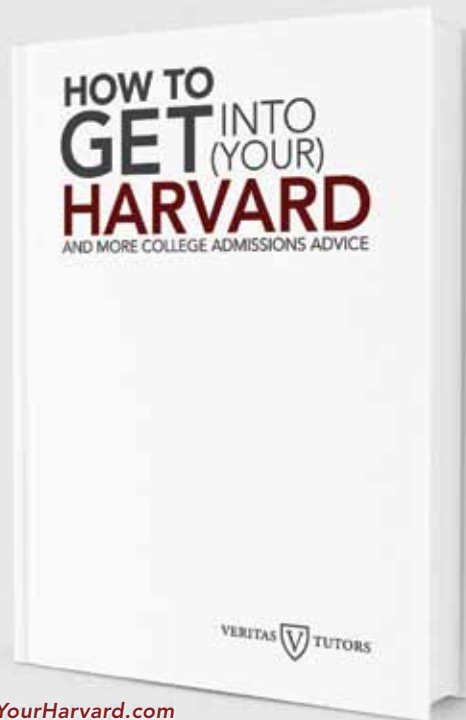
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Try to sit near the fireplace: it warms what can, despite the luminance and comfy upholstered chairs, feel like an impersonal space. Cream-colored walls prevail, accented by innocuous art and, in one spot, a

Ambient lighting and comfy chairs star in the second-floor dining room.

croque-monsieur (\$13), for example, and the not-to-be-missed French fries (more on those later). The full restaurant menu is also available at the bar after 5 P.M.

Upstairs, the delicious, fresh salad of marinated golden and red beets (tender bites) started off the night with balls of tangy Vermont goat cheese and frisée, all dressed in a light lemon vinaigrette (\$12). We spread the cheese on spongy white bread that came in a small bucket, along with foot-long rosemary-laced breadsticks. The crostini with Kalamata olive tapenade and artichoke dips (\$9) tasted good,

row of empty colored-glass vases. Nothing lends much character, although all is certainly handsomely “high end.” Perhaps the sense of restraint came more from the crowd the night we were there: nice enough,

but a bit buttoned-up. Some might have benefited from another glass of excellent wine chosen from the 26-page, hardbound list.

If a more lively, casual mood is desired post-shopping or matinées, eat at the bar or café on the first floor, once home to the Boston favorite Biba. The café is open all day with a very good menu of its own: the classic

as expected, but was nothing unusual. We did fall in love with the perfectly crispy thin French fries, however, spiced with nuanced Espelette pepper powder (from the Basque region) and accompanied by a yummy pimento aioli (\$7).

The fries, beet salad, and the duck *entrecôte* (\$31) were clear standouts. A generous portion of juicy seared duck breast came with soft triangles of house-made potato gnocchi and nicely salted sautéed spinach, all in a lavender-enhanced *jus* (just the right arid sweetness) with a sprinkling of toasted hazelnuts and pea tendrils on top. The tagliatelle (\$26) was served in a small, deep bowl that looked as if it were meant for a child well-enough behaved to land a fancy dinner with her parents. It had a handful of mussels in the shell, some calamari, and a small amount of chopped-up sea beans: green stalks with a briny flavor that looked like a cross between leggy seaweed and asparagus. The dish had too much fat (cream or butter), a dearth of seafood, and was not worth the price.

Here it must also be added that we found the waitress pushy. She pointedly asked if we'd like more side dishes after we'd already ordered two starters, two entrées, the fries, *and* the special Grand Marnier soufflé she had recommended. The check was also put on the table before we'd even started dessert, with a gratuitous, “But take your time.” (The many busmen, by contrast, were relaxed and friendly.)

The soufflé (\$10) was more like a custard than a cake, but expertly made, as was the citrusy sauce: both predictably delicious. Bistro du Midi is a fine dining spot, no doubt. It was our fault for anticipating something more *au courant*.

~ N.P.B.

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Labor, Interrupted

Cesareans, “cascading interventions,” and finding a balance of sensible care

by Nell Lake



IN MAY 2003 came the joyous birth of Prairie Cummings Resch, first child of Zoe Cummings Resch '92. All had gone according to plan: Resch lay down on a surgical table. An anesthesiologist inserted an analgesic into her spine, and she became impervious to pain below her waist. The obstetrician pressed a No. 10 blade into Resch's lower abdomen, and made a six-inch horizontal cut. The doctor divided the skin, stanching blood, and, reaching Resch's large abdominal muscle, parted it. He slipped his knife through the opening, and cut into the peritoneum, the thin membrane that lines the abdominal cavity. He sliced into Resch's uterus. A medical resident reached in and pulled Prairie out feet first; this baby was in breech position, upside down in the womb.

Resch felt “a lot of rough pushing and pulling,” a “painless suction sensation,” as if her body were “a tar pit the baby was wrested from.” She heard the doctor say to the resident: “Hold her up by the hips,” and Resch peered down. She saw her daughter for the first time, wet and squirming. Prairie wailed. Resch's husband held the baby next to Resch's cheek. Resch felt “overwhelmed by emotions”—“joy, awe, anxiety, relief, surprise.” She gave thanks for her healthy baby, and for modern obstetrical care.

In the next six years, Resch would have two more babies—each by C-section, despite uncomplicated pregnancies. She says she doesn't regret any of these surgeries: she has three healthy children and each surgery “went well.” But her story and those of a number of other women shed light on why one-third of American babies now enter the world via the knife, in operating rooms, ringed by technicians. In 1970, only 5 percent of American children were born this way.

Obstetrics in modern America is a contentious subject in general.

Birth and the actions surrounding it—medical and otherwise—evoke strong emotions. The discussion is often framed ideologically as a matter of nature versus technology and which side knows best, or in stark political and economic terms as a contest of power and money. The issue of C-sections, in particular, is much contested.

It's useful to see cesareans' ascendance as a result of the ways doctors, patients, and hospitals perceive and react to risk—and of how medicine has developed in this context. Understanding such interactive reasons, and responding thoughtfully to them, experts say, could help reduce the procedure's use.

IN 1985, amid increasing disparity among nations in the number of cesarean births, the World Health Organization (WHO) set out to determine an optimal rate. After reviewing the percentage of pregnancies with complications best resolved by C-section, WHO announced that a cesarean rate of 15 percent was ideal—about one-half the current U.S. rate. The 15 percent rate, WHO reasoned, would optimally prevent childbirth injuries and deaths, but many women and babies would avoid unnecessary and potentially harmful surgery. WHO has since modified this specific recommendation, stating in 2009 that “the optimum rate is unknown,” but that “both very low and very high rates of cesarean section can be dangerous.”

Most U.S. experts—whether high-risk obstetricians or home-birth midwives—agree that the U.S. rate is higher than medically necessary and acknowledge that many women are undergoing major surgery for avoidable reasons. Jeffrey Ecker, M.D. '88, professor of obstetrics, gynecology, and reproductive biology, is a high-risk obstetrician at Massachusetts General Hospital and director of his department's quality and safety program. A few years ago, working

with the Massachusetts Department of Public Health, he compared C-section rates among the commonwealth's hospitals. The study, like similar ones in other states, found great disparities: Massachusetts hospitals showed as much as a threefold variation in frequency of cesareans. These disparate rates, Ecker says, "can't all be optimal," and, he adds, it's "certainly very difficult to demonstrate that higher cesarean rates are associated with better outcomes."

Demographic changes and shifts in maternal health may have contributed to the rise in the use of C-sections in recent decades. Pregnant women, overall, have become older and heavier, and older, heavier women undergo more C-sections. But such factors don't account for all the differences shown in Ecker's study, which sought to control for them by looking only at pregnancies that had progressed well: in which fetuses had reached full term, were normal weights, and in which labor had begun spontaneously (i.e., doctors had found no reason to induce labor early). Even among *these* cases, hospitals varied significantly in the frequency of C-sections.

Such disparities matter because cesareans are expensive—on average, a cesarean costs about \$20,000, a vaginal birth about \$11,500—and also carry significant risks. When compared with vaginal birth, cesarean delivery increases low-risk women's chances of certain rare but potentially life-threatening problems, such as hemorrhage, blood clots, and bowel obstruction. More frequent risks include bladder damage, infection, and enduring pain. Women who've delivered by C-section face greater likelihood of future complications in pregnancy, including uterine rupture or conditions in which the placenta covers the opening to the cervix (placenta previa), adheres abnormally to the uterine wall (placenta accreta), or separates from it (placenta abruptio). These women are also less likely to breast-feed, and may be at greater risk for depression and post-traumatic stress.

Babies face risks, too: they may be cut, or asphyxiate if the medical team has difficulty pulling them out. Those born by cesarean are more likely to experience respiratory distress and, later, to have asthma; controlled studies have found increased rates of obesity among American babies born this way. The fetus of a mother who's already had one cesarean also seems to be at increased risk because it faces greater danger when growing in a uterus with a surgical scar.

Proponents of more-natural birth argue, too, that vaginal birth facilitates quicker, perhaps better, bonding with newborns. Babies born vaginally receive a coating of immune-boosting microbes, and their intestines are more likely to have early colonization with beneficial bacteria—protections that babies delivered surgically miss out on. A bacterial deficit in babies' guts, some scientists speculate, may even be the factor that accounts for the higher obesity rates among those born by cesarean.

A C-SECTION likely saved the life of Alexandra Houck '87, a family practitioner with Harvard University Health Services. Late in her first pregnancy, Houck developed vaginal bleeding. At first her obstetrician hoped the blood was a sign of early labor. But when the doctor saw the extent of the flow, she feared that Houck's placenta had separated from the uterine wall—a placental abruptio, which can cut blood flow to the baby, and cause hemorrhaging in the mother. The physician ordered an

One-third of American babies now enter the world via the knife, in operating rooms, ringed by technicians. In 1970, only 5 percent were born this way.

emergency C-section, which confirmed her fears: Houck did have placental abruptio. "Potentially," Houck says, "before we had modern medicine, somebody in my position would have died, and the baby would have died."

Many cesareans happen, though, for reasons more complex. During her first pregnancy, Zoe Resch had hoped and prepared for natural childbirth; with her husband, she had attended natural birthing classes, learned breathing exercises, practiced with a birthing ball—and written up a "birth plan" that included trying to go without pain relief and, generally, avoiding as many medical interventions as possible. She was low-risk: 32 years old, without diabetes, high blood pressure, or other medical problems that increase risks in pregnancy and labor. Then, toward the end of her uneventful pregnancy, her obstetrician discovered the baby's breech presentation. Several times in the next weeks, the physician attempted an "external version"—using her hands and pushing carefully on Resch's abdomen, she tried to turn Prairie head down. But Resch felt only her daughter's fierce kicks in response, and heard the baby's heart on a monitor, thumping faster. Prairie, Resch says, "was having none of it." The baby remained head up, hind end lodged in her mother's pelvis.

Though rare—about 3 percent of babies end up in breech position—upside-down birth complicates delivery. Breech babies are more likely to get stuck during birth and, Ecker says, there is a 1 percent to 3 percent chance of injury to the baby during a vaginal delivery with an experienced provider. Because there's a calculable risk, and C-sections are available, doctors have come to shy away from vaginal breech deliveries. The year before Prairie was born, the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) formally recommended scheduled cesareans for breeches. Resch remembers no discussion with her doctor about the possibility of a vaginal delivery for Prairie.

But in 2006, after Prairie's birth, ACOG revised its position, stating that a clinician with sufficient experience and support might appropriately assist in vaginal breech deliveries. Yet such experienced obstetricians are ever harder to find. In a dynamic that is repeated in other medical care, doctors perform cesareans, in part, because they aren't trained to favor or perform less-invasive techniques. With inadequate training and experience, liabilities and patients' risk increase. Thus, few hospitals even offer the option of vaginal breech delivery. "It's like all practice in medicine," Ecker says. "What you become used to becomes the standard. And what hasn't been done becomes more difficult to offer."

P ERCEPTIONS OF RISK—on the part of mothers, doctors, and hospital administrators—explain much of the dynamic that has raised the C-section rate, Ecker says. Risk perception and tolerance help determine professional standards of care, influence hospital protocols, mold the media's telling of stories, and even influence laws. All these forces interact in complex ways. Talking about the cesarean *rate*, therefore, is different from talking about, attending,

Zoe Resch with her children (clockwise from left) Prairie (9), Silas (7), and Calder (3) in their family vegetable garden in Vermont



or—in the case of the mother herself—living a particular pregnancy and labor. Saying that a certain percentage of C-sections are unnecessary is fairly simple. But weighing risks and knowing whether surgery is necessary in a particular case—or even whether a surgery was necessary in retrospect—is much more complex, and fraught with emotion. The obstetrician sees C-sections as generally safe, and if the outcome he or she wants to avoid is dire, even devastating—such as a baby's becoming stuck and deprived of oxygen, which could lead to cerebral palsy—why wait to find out what will happen, however unlikely that outcome may be?

The legal climate reinforces this dynamic. “No one gets sued for doing a C-section,” obstetricians famously say. They do get sued, Ecker says, for *not* intervening. Michelle Mello, professor of law and public health at Harvard's School of Public Health, studies malpractice law and medical injury. Her study of states with limitations on doctors' liability found that they have lower C-section rates. But the finding was not “huge,” she says. She believes that such studies “may not entirely capture the effect of liability pressure on C-section rates” because they “don't compare to a world where there is no liability fear.”

Doctors, Mello says, tend to overestimate their liability risk: “Regardless of whether, from a scholarly perspective, they're in a ‘low risk’ or ‘high risk’ environment, they all feel like they're at high risk.” Skewed perception of risk, she says, drives defensive decisions.

Obstetric patients, of course, also have trouble with risk perception. Again, the difficulty arises in part because the worst outcomes—like cerebral palsy and infants' deaths—although rare, are distressing and easily remembered, and so shape patients' decisions. Imagine the challenge of risk perception if, when pregnant

with your first child, you were researching adverse childbirth outcomes as part of your job. This was Mello's situation in 2008. Cesarean “wasn't what I was hoping for,” she says. But after 27 hours of labor, she says, her situation was one “that was very common in the catastrophic injury cases” she'd been studying: “prolonged second-stage labor [the “pushing” stage] and fetal distress.” She was not “about to start arguing” with her provider “about appropriate course of action.” She was wheeled to the operating room.

“No one gets sued for doing a C-section,” obstetricians famously say. They do get sued for *not* intervening.

For Mello's second pregnancy, her obstetrician “laid out all the risks,” and the researcher found herself weighing the dangers in typically human ways—by looking not just at data, but at “the anecdotes that weigh on you,” she recalls. “We know that people evaluate risk not just on their understanding of statistical information, but on ‘what happened to my friend,’ or ‘what happened to my sister,’” She and her husband “came in with a few of those [stories], too.” She chose a scheduled cesarean.

Ecker, the high-risk obstetrician, says that his patients, too, are influenced by tales—the tragedy on television, the co-worker's near-miss, the warning online. Patients often focus, Ecker says, on the numerator (the very rare cases) rather than the denominator (the great majority for whom everything goes well).

ACCORDING TO the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 85 percent of American pregnancies achieve full term without complications. That's a figure that many mid-

Jeffrey Ecker in a birthing room at Massachusetts General Hospital



wives—who in 2011 attended 11 percent of births, mostly as staff in hospitals—believe Americans often lose sight of. They say that simply seeing pregnancy and birth as normal, rather than *a priori* as a medical problem, would help lower the C-section rate. Cara Osborne, S.D. '07, a certified nurse midwife and professor at the Eleanor Mann School of Nursing at the University of Arkansas, believes that “an atmosphere of fear” surrounding childbirth drives C-sections. Midwives see birth, she says, as a well-evolved, physiologically sound process that, with the right support, usually turns out fine. (Otherwise, she says, the human species wouldn't have a population problem.) Of course childbirth is “an inherently risky endeavor,” she says. “But we've somehow gotten to a place where we've lost trust in physiology.”

Midwives' training, Osborne says, focuses on optimizing the chances of vaginal birth throughout prenatal care and labor. Midwives usually spend more time with laboring women than obstetricians do, and studies have shown that even passive, nonmedical support during labor leads to better birth outcomes. Midwives are also far more tolerant of slow labors, and are therefore less likely to determine “failure to progress” (when a provider decides that labor is proceeding too slowly to be safe) or “obstructed labor” (caused by a mismatch, of position or size, between the baby's head and mother's pelvis)—among the more commonly stated reasons for proceeding to cesareans, says Janet Singer '84. A midwife who teaches medical students and residents at Women & Infants Hospital of Rhode Island in Providence, Singer adds that “failure to progress” is perhaps the most-preventable reason for cesareans. In the twentieth century, diagnoses of failure to progress rose along with the C-section rate: from 3.8 percent in 1970 to 11.6 percent in 1989 to 16.1 percent by 1995, according to a 2000 study in *Obstetrics and Gynecology*.

Generally, Singer says, midwives are more “invested” in vaginal deliveries by virtue of training and mind-set—and because of

this investment, more likely to help women give birth vaginally.

In some parts of the world, of course, childbirth risks stem from causes that apply less in developed economies. In Haiti, for example, where women's underlying health and access to care is poor, the lifetime risk of dying in childbirth is one in 40. “That's totally unacceptable,” says Osborne, who trains Haitians as lay midwives. In Haiti and other poor countries, Osborne and other experts say, women need access to *more* interventions, including C-sections, but in the United States, she adds, “we are making the risk [of childbirth] higher than it needs to be by interfering with the physiologic process.” Generally, she says, “if we could let nature take its course, we would be in a much better position. But that's just not the prevailing culture.”

To illustrate the difference in midwives' point of view, Singer tells of meeting an anesthesiologist who had never collaborated with a midwife. He asked about her work. “In a nutshell,” Singer said to him, “we don't see birth as a disaster waiting to happen.” “But,” the anesthesiologist replied, “birth is a disaster waiting to happen.”

ECKER SAYS that his study of Massachusetts hospitals found that those with “midwives practicing at them seemed to have lower C-section rates.” But, he asks rhetorically, “is that because somehow midwives attract a population that's at lower risk? Or is it because midwives and their style of care permeate an institution?” It's difficult, he says, to tease out the answer.

What is clear is that initial cesareans drive subsequent ones. A woman who has had a cesarean has a 90 percent chance of giving birth by C-section again. Because the procedure increases a woman's statistical risk of complications in future pregnancies and labors, doctors are more inclined to schedule C-sections or arrange emergency surgery at the first sign of trouble. Zoe Resch decided, in her second pregnancy, to try for a “VBAC”—a vaginal birth after cesarean. But because she'd had a C-section, her doctor, “just

as a matter of routine,” she says, scheduled a cesarean for Resch’s due date, in case plans for vaginal birth went awry. Meanwhile, Resch had learned that she was carrying a large (statistically more difficult to deliver) baby. By the end of her pregnancy, she felt exhausted by pre-labor contractions,

even as she cared for her toddler at home. She hadn’t gone into active labor, but drove to the hospital on the day of her scheduled C-section. Once at the hospital, with no pressure from her doctor, Resch says, she opted to go ahead with the scheduled surgery.

“Trial of labor”—attempting a vaginal birth after a prior C-section—has become rare, and successful ones—VBACs—even rarer. “We know from studies that what increases your chances of having a VBAC are things like not having epidural anesthesia, and being up and moving about, and having continuous labor support,” Cara Osborne says. “But because, in many practitioners’ minds, the trial of labor is unlikely to work, they’re setting up for a surgical scenario.” Hospitals may encourage or even require a woman to use epidural anesthesia during labor, she explains, “because they want to have it on board if she has a C-section.” In addition, hospitals usually require continuous fetal monitoring in the form of wires attached to the laboring woman’s abdomen, which restricts mobility. As Osborne points out, “The things that would help someone have a successful VBAC are often things that are not offered to her, because the assumption is that this is liable to end in another C-section.”

Once Resch had had two C-sections, giving birth vaginally to her third baby was not an option at her hospital. Studies have shown that the risks of vaginal birth after two C-sections exceed

One clue may lie in “cascading interventions”—medical actions that lead to other medical actions that evolve into more invasive steps, including C-sections.

the risks of third cesareans—although some hospitals do allow trials of labor in certain cases.

BECAUSE subsequent C-sections are so common, Ecker and Others say that minimizing unnecessary first cesareans is crucial to reducing the rate overall. Massachusetts hospitals that have higher VBAC rates, Ecker says, also have lower rates of first C-sections. “So it argues,” he says, “that there’s something in the [hospital’s] culture or process of care that’s making a difference.” Again, “figuring out what that is,” he says, “is really difficult.”

One clue may lie in what some experts call “cascading interventions”—medical actions that lead to other medical actions that evolve into more invasive steps, including C-sections. Inducing labor, for example—in which a provider tries to stimulate a pregnant woman’s contractions through synthetic hormones or by stripping part of the membrane from her uterine wall—has been found to increase the likelihood of cesareans in first-time mothers.

Continuous electronic fetal monitoring (CFM), which tracks a baby’s heart rate throughout labor, is also associated with higher cesarean rates. “It was hypothesized,” Ecker explains, “that [CFM, developed in the late 1960s] would reduce rates of cerebral palsy.”



Cara Osborne, a certified midwife and professor, in a classroom (with medical training dummies) at the Eleanor Mann School of Nursing at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville

Based on this hypothesis, the technology became widely used. In the great majority of U.S. hospitals, CFM is standard care; a 2005 study found that 87 percent of laboring American women were attached to monitors most or all of the time. Meanwhile, Ecker adds, studies found that CFM had not reduced the incidence of cerebral palsy. But CFM did seem to increase C-section rates, he says: doctors were “seeing these wiggles and squiggles”—changes in fetal heart rate—“that they weren’t seeing before.” They would get nervous and conclude, “We’ve got to do something about it. Let’s do a C-section.”

Now that physicians are coming to understand the process, the solution is not, Ecker says, to avoid monitoring altogether. Listening intermittently with a handheld device catches problems without producing phantom ones. Nevertheless, he notes that “there are a bunch of reasons why [continuous monitoring] isn’t going away. It’s built into the structure of the care we provide.”

This “structure of care”—the patterned way in which obstetrics happens—builds in more common interventions that may lead to others. Professor of obstetrics, gynecology, and reproductive biology Ellice Lieberman led a crucial study in 2005 that showed that epidural use increased the likelihood of an abnormally positioned baby at the time of delivery. Doctors already knew that the anesthetic made fever in labor more likely and tended to prolong labors, and knew that women with babies in an abnormal position called “occiput posterior” were more likely to receive an epidural. Lieberman’s study showed that “it’s not that women are coming in and getting epidurals *because* their baby’s in an abnormal position,” she says. Rather, babies were in occiput posterior position, in some cases, because of the epidural (as yet, no one knows why). The study found the position four times as often in women who used epidurals as in those who didn’t—but *no* significant difference in frequency of abnormal position before the women had chosen the anesthesia. The treatment engendered the medical situation.

Abnormal position often leads to a diagnosis of “failure to progress,” which leads to some form of operative delivery—cesarean or the use of vacuum and/or forceps. As with breech deliveries, doctors usually choose C-section. Use of forceps or vacuum is less invasive, but has its own risks. And once again, obstetricians have become less familiar with using these procedures as C-sections have become the norm.

AFTER RISING STEADILY for years, in 2011 the U.S. C-section rate remained virtually unchanged from 2010. Perhaps it has stabilized, or is even about to head down. Such a dip happened once before: between 1990 and 1996, amid concern about unnecessary C-sections, cesarean surgeries in the United States declined by a few percentage points. Then the rate rose again.

In the early to mid twentieth century, doctors sought, and pregnant women demanded, more interventions in childbirth—to relieve pain and prevent injury and death. Partly as a result, by the 1960s women commonly labored alone, confined to hospital beds and under sedation. Forceps deliveries, labor inductions, and episiotomies (incisions of the tissue near the vagina)—although not C-sections—were standard.

With the new feminism of the 1970s, women began demanding more natural births, in which they felt they had more control and were treated with more respect. They wanted “empowering” and “empowered” experiences. In the late 1960s, Zoe Resch’s mother, Mimi Zoet Cummings ’63, had visited an obstetrician early in her

first pregnancy. Afterward the doctor had said, “You go home and take care of your knitting. I’ll take care of the baby.”

The pregnancy, it happens, miscarried. By 1970, for her pregnancy with Zoe, Cummings had found a new obstetrician who she felt would be more respectful. Having agency herself seemed “so much more sensible.” She insisted on giving birth without anesthesia. She wanted Zoe’s father allowed in the room with her, and was determined to breast-feed after delivery. She prevailed in all cases.

Meanwhile, the medical profession has increasingly sought to standardize care. Hospitals have come to require procedures that minimize the worst outcomes and can be easily regulated. Certain procedures, such as forceps deliveries, have waned because they are difficult to teach and perform. CFM has become established for overseeing and regulating care. And cesareans have increased because in some cases they were essential for preventing the worst outcomes, because they followed other interventions, were relatively easy to teach and perform, and were unlikely to provoke lawsuits.

“A balance needs to be reached,” says pediatrician Ana Langer, professor of the practice of public health and coordinator of the dean’s Special Initiative in Women and Health—“that will allow women to have normal deliveries with as little intervention as possible, and at the same time will be ready to address any unexpected emergencies.” She, Ecker, Osborne, Singer, Lieberman—all agree that reaching such a balance is in part a matter of public and professional education. Says Langer, “Doctors, women, and families should know that an unnecessary C-section does involve increased risk.”

Ecker believes that obstetrics needs to move ever closer to “evidence-based medicine”—the study of risks and benefits, and the application of this knowledge to medical decisions, professional standards, and training. Doctors and institutions should help patients understand risks and the tests, during pregnancy and labor, that measure them. Whenever appropriate, he says, physicians and patients should avoid interventions and prevent that “cascade.” For example, he says, doctors and hospitals should encourage trials of labor after cesareans.

He also declares his respect for midwifery: “If you have a low-risk population” of pregnant women, he says, a “great model” might be “to have midwives providing uncomplicated prenatal care and doing all the uncomplicated deliveries,” while a few doctors focus on problems and perform C-sections. Mount Auburn Hospital in Cambridge has elements of such a model: an active midwife practice attends 38 percent of labors and deliveries. The hospital’s overall cesarean rate in 2012 was 21 percent, the midwives’ 18 percent. In a small but growing program, its midwives also help teach Harvard Medical School students, who witness normal, uncomplicated births—a rare and valuable experience in an education that focuses on what could go wrong, says HMS lecturer Phyllis Gorman, co-director of Mount Auburn’s midwifery service.

In the broadest sense, attaining an optimal C-section rate may be a matter of finding a middle ground between two approaches to birth and risk—between vigilance toward the “disaster waiting to happen” and support for the “physiologically sound process.” That way, surgery happens when necessary, but is avoided in the many cases when it’s not. ▽

Nell Lake’s narrative nonfiction book about people caring for aging and ill family members is forthcoming from Scribner.

Writers and Artists at Harvard

How to welcome and nurture the poets and painters of the future

by Helen Vendler

ANYONE who has seen application folders knows the talents of our potential undergraduates, as well as the difficulties overcome by many of them. And anyone who teaches our undergraduates, as I have done for over 30 years, knows the delight of encountering them. Each of us has responded warmly to many sorts of undergraduates: I've encountered the top Eagle Scout in the country, a violinist who is now part of a young professional quartet, a student who backpacked solo through Tierra del Fuego, and other memorable writers, pre-meds, theater devotees, *Lampoon* contributors on their way to Hollywood, and more. They have come from both private and public schools and from foreign countries.

We hear from all sides about "leadership," "service," "scientific passion," and various other desirable qualities that bring about change in the world. The fields that receive the most media attention (economics, biology, technology, political theory, psychology) occupy the public mind more than fields—perhaps more influential in the long run—in the humanities: poetry, philosophy, foreign languages, drama. W.H. Auden famously said—after seeing the Spanish Civil War—that "poetry makes nothing happen." And it doesn't, when the "something" desired is the end of hostilities, a government coup, an airlift, or an election victory. But those "somethings" are narrowly conceived. The cultural resonance of the characters of Greek epic and tragedy—Achilles, Oedipus, An



tigone—and the crises of consciousness they embody—have been felt long after the culture that gave them birth has disappeared. Gandhi's philosophical conception of nonviolent resistance has penetrated far beyond his own country and beyond his own century. Music makes nothing happen, either, in the world of reportable events (which is the media world); but the permanence of Beethoven in revolutionary consciousness has not been shaken. We would know less of New England without Emily Dickinson's "seeing New Englandly," as she put it. Books are still consider-

ing Lincoln's speeches—the Gettysburg Address, the Second Inaugural—long after the events that prompted them vanished into the past. Nobody would remember the siege of Troy if Homer had not sung it, or *Guernica* if Picasso had not painted it. The Harlem Renaissance would not have occurred as it did without the stimulus of Alain Locke, Harvard's first black Rhodes Scholar. Modern philosophy of mind would not exist as it does without the rigors of Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations*, nor would our idea of women's rights have taken the shape it has without Woolf's claim for a room of her own.

We are eager to harbor the next Homer, the next Kant, or the next Dickinson. There is no reason why we shouldn't expect such a student to spend his or her university years with us. Emerson did; Wallace Stevens did; Robert Frost did; Frank O'Hara and John Ashbery and Fairfield Porter and Adrienne Rich did; and had universities harbored women in residence when Dickinson came of age, she might have been glad to be here. She and Woolf could be the writers they were because their fathers had extensive private libraries; women without such resources were deprived of

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Porter University Professor Helen Vendler, the preeminent poetry critic, has served on the faculty's undergraduate admissions committee. Given contemporary admissions processes and pressures, she recalls "wondering how well T.S. Eliot (who had to do a preparatory year at Milton Academy before he could risk admittance, and whose mother was in consultation with Harvard and Milton officials before deciding what to do with him after he finished high school in St. Louis) would have fared, or Wallace Stevens (admitted as a special student to do only three years' study), or E.E. Cummings (admittedly, a faculty child)." Accordingly, she proposed that alumni interviewers receive some guidance on how to understand, attract, and evaluate applicants whose creative talents might otherwise be overlooked, and wrote this essay, subsequently posted on the Office of Admissions website (here slightly revised and updated at the magazine's request).

Illustrations by Roland Sárkány



ADRIENNE RICH

the chance to be all they could be. Universities are the principal educators, now, of men and women alike, and they produce the makers of culture. Makers of culture last longer in public memory than members of Parliament, representatives, and senators; they modify the mind of their century more, in general, than elected officials. They make the reputation of a country. Michelangelo outlasts the Medici and the popes in our idea of Italy; and, as one French poet said, "*le buste/ Survit à la cité*": art outlives the cities that gave it birth.

In the future, will the United States be remembered with admiration? Will we be thanked for our stock market and its investors? For our wars and their consequences? For our depletion of natural resources? For our failure at criminal rehabilitation? Certainly not. Future cultures will be grateful to us for many aspects of scientific discovery, and for our progress (such as it has been) toward more humane laws. We can be proud of our graduates who have gone out in the world as devoted investigators of the natural world, or as just judges, or as ministers to the marginalized. But science, the law, and even ethics are fields in motion, constantly surpassing themselves. To future generations our medicine will seem primitive, our laws backward, even our ethical convictions narrow.

"I tried each thing; only some were immortal and free," wrote our graduate John Ashbery. He decided on the immortal and free things, art and thought, and became a writer who revolutionized the transcription of consciousness in contemporary poetry. Most art, past or present, does not have the stamina to endure; but many of our graduates, like the ones mentioned above, have produced a level of art above the transient. The critical question for us is not whether we are admitting a large number of future doctors and scientists and lawyers and businessmen (even future philanthropists): we are. The question is whether we can attract as many as possible of the future Emersons and Dickinsons. How would we identify them? What should we ask them in interviews? How would we make them want to come to us?

The truth is that many future poets, novelists, and screenwriters are not likely to be straight-A students, either in high school or in college. The arts through

which they will discover themselves prize creativity, originality, and intensity above academic performance; they value introspection above extroversion, insight above rote learning. Such unusual students may be, in the long run, the graduates of whom we will be most proud. Do we have room for the reflective introvert as well as for the future leader? Will we enjoy the student who manages to do respectably but not brilliantly in all her subjects but one—but at that one surpasses all her companions? Will we welcome eagerly the person who has in high school been completely uninterested in public service or sports—but who may be the next Wallace Stevens? Can we preach the doctrine of excellence in an art; the doctrine of intellectual absorption in a single field of study; even the doctrine of unsociability; even the doctrine of indifference to money? (Wittgenstein, who was rich, gave all his money away as a distraction; Emily Dickinson, who was rich, appears not to have spent money, personally, on anything except for an occasional dress, and paper and ink.) Can frugality seem as desirable to our undergraduates as affluence—provided it is a frugality that nonetheless allows them enough leisure to think and write? Can we preach a doctrine of vocation in lieu of the doctrine of competitiveness and worldly achievement?

These are crucial questions for Harvard. But there are also other questions we need to ask ourselves: Do we value mostly students who resemble us in talent and personality and choice of interests? Do we remind ourselves to ask, before conversing with a student with artistic or creative interests, what sort of questions will reveal the next T.S. Eliot? (Do we ever ask, "Who is the poet you have most enjoyed reading?" Eliot would have had an interesting answer to that.) Do we ask students who have done well in English which aspects of the English language or a foreign language they have enjoyed learning about, or what books they have read that most touched them? Do we ask students who have won prizes in art whether they ever go to museums? Do we ask in which medium they have felt themselves freest? Do we inquire whether students have artists (writers, composers, sculptors) in their families? Do we ask an

introverted student what issues most occupy his mind, or suggest something (justice and injustice in her high school) for her to discuss?

Will we believe a recommendation saying, "This student is the most gifted writer I have ever taught," when the student exhibits, on his transcript, Cs in chemistry and mathematics, and has absolutely no high-school record of group activity? Can we see ourselves admitting such a student (which may entail not admitting someone else, who may have been a valedictorian)?



WALLACE STEVENS

President Drew Faust's new initiative in the arts [released in late 2008] will make Harvard an immensely attractive place to students with artistic talent of any sort. It remains for us to identify them when they apply—to make sure they can do well enough to gain a degree, yes, but not to expect them to be well-rounded, or to become leaders. Some people in the arts do of course become leaders (they conduct as well as sing, or establish public-service organizations to increase literacy, or work for the reinstatement of the arts in schools). But one can't quite picture Baudelaire pursuing public service, or Mozart spending time perfecting

his mathematics. We need to be deeply attracted to the one-sided as well as the many-sided. Some day the world will be glad we were hospitable to future artists. Of course most of them will not end up as Yo-Yo Ma or Adrienne Rich; but they will be the people who keep the arts alive in our culture. "To have great poets," as Whitman said, "there must be great audiences too." The matrix of culture will become impoverished if there are not enough gifted artists and thinkers produced: and since universities are the main nurseries for all the professions, they cannot neglect the professions of art and reflection.

And four years at Harvard can certainly nurture an artist as a more narrowly conceived conservatory education cannot. Great writers and artists have often been deeply (if eccentrically) learned: they have been bilingual or trilingual, or have had a consuming interest in another art (as Whitman loved vocal music, as Michelangelo wrote sonnets). At Harvard, young writers and artists will encounter not only the riches of the course catalog but also numerous others like themselves; such encounters are a prerequisite for the creation of self-confidence in an art. It is no accident that many of our writers have come out of our literary magazines—the *Advocate*, *Persephone*, the *Gamut*, the *Harvard Book Review*—places where they could find a collective home. Student drama productions, choruses, and orchestras offer comparable homes for the talented. We need such activities and the reflective students who will enable them.

Once we have admitted our potential philosophers, writers, and composers, how will we prepare them for their passage into the wider society? Our excellent students are intensely recruited by business and finance in the fall of their senior year—sometimes even earlier than that. Humanities organizations (foundations, schools, government bureaus) do not have the resources to fly students around the world, or even around the United States, for interviews, nor do their budgets allow for recruiters and their travel



expenses. Perhaps money could be found to pay for recruiting trips in the early fall for representatives of humanities organizations. Perhaps we can find a way to convey to our juniors that there are places to go other than Wall Street, and great satisfaction to be found when they follow their own passions, rather than a passion for a high salary. But if we are to be believed when we inform them of such opportunities, we need, I think, to mute our praise for achievement and leadership at least to the extent that we utter equal praise for inner happiness, reflectiveness, and creativity; and we need to invent ways in which our humanities students are actively recruited for jobs suited to their talents and desires.

With a larger supply of the sort of creativity that yields books and arts, fellow-students whose creativity leans toward scientific experimentation or mathematical speculation will benefit not only from seeing an alternative style of life and thought but also from the sort of intellectual conversation na-

tive to writers, composers, painters. America will, in the end, be grateful to us for giving her original philosophers, critics, and artists; and we can let the world see that just as we prize physicians and scientists and lawyers and judges and economists, we also are proud of our future novelists, poets, composers, and critics, who, although they must follow a rather lonely and highly individual path, are indispensable contributors to our nation's history and reputation. ▽

Helen Vendler is the author, most recently, of Last Looks, Last Books: Stevens, Plath, Lowell, Bishop, Merrill and Dickinson: Selected Poems and Commentaries.



Alexandre Dumas

Brief life of the soldier who inspired The Count of Monte Cristo: 1762-1806

by TOM REISS

HE WAS the son of a black slave and a renegade French aristocrat, born in Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) when the island was the center of the world sugar trade. The boy's uncle was a rich, hard-working planter who dealt sugar and slaves out of a little cove on the north coast called Monte Cristo—but his father, Antoine, neither rich nor hard-working, was the eldest son. In 1775, Antoine sailed to France to claim the family inheritance, pawning his black son into slavery to buy passage. Only after securing his title and inheritance did he send for the boy, who arrived on French soil late in 1776, listed in the ship's records as “slave Alexandre.”

At 16, he moved with his father, now a marquis, to Paris, where he was educated in classical philosophy, equestrianism, and swordsmanship. But at 24, he decided to set off on his own: joining the dragoons at the lowest rank, he was stationed in a remote garrison town where he specialized in fighting duels. The year was 1786. When the French Revolution erupted three years later, the cause of liberty, equality, and fraternity gave him his chance. As a German-Austrian army marched on Paris in 1792 to reimpose the monarchy, he made a name for himself by capturing a large enemy patrol without firing a shot. He got his first officer's commission at the head of a band of fellow black swordsmen, revolutionaries called the Legion of Americans, or simply *la Légion Noire*. In the meantime, he had met his true love, an innkeeper's daughter, while riding in to rescue her town from brigands.

If all this sounds a bit like the plot of a nineteenth-century novel, that's because the life of Thomas-Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie—who took his slave mother's surname when he enlisted, becoming simply “Alexandre (Alex) Dumas”—inspired some of the most popular novels ever written. His son, the Dumas we all know, echoed the dizzying rise and tragic downfall of his own father in *The Three Musketeers* and *The Count of Monte Cristo*. Known for acts of reckless daring in and out of battle, Alex Dumas was every bit as gallant and extraordinary as D'Artagnan and his comrades rolled into one. But it was his betrayal and imprisonment in a dungeon on the coast of Naples, poisoned to the point of death by faceless enemies, that inspired his son's most powerful story.

The true story of Alex Dumas was itself ruthlessly suppressed by his greatest enemy—and remained buried for 200 years. In fact, Dumas became not merely a great soldier of the French Revolution but also the highest-ranking black leader in a modern white society before our own time—by the age of 32 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the French army in the Alps, the equivalent of a four-star general. The young general from the tropics led 53,000 men in fierce glacier fighting against the best alpine troops in the world and captured the mountain range for France. (Not content with

overthrowing their own rulers, the French revolutionaries had declared a “war of liberation” on all their neighbors.) And though the Austrians nicknamed him *der schwarze Teufel*—“the Black Devil”—he was an angel to victims of oppression, no matter their side: in the midst of the Revolution's bloody chaos, he pushed back against those committing terror, earning the mocking nickname “Mr. Humanity” and narrowly escaping the guillotine himself.

Dumas's incredible ascendancy as a black man through the white ranks of the French army reflected a key turning point in the history of slavery and race relations as forgotten as Dumas himself: a single decade when revolutionary France ended slavery and initiated the integration of its army, its government, and even its schools. General Dumas was “a living emblem of the new equality,” wrote a nineteenth-century French historian—but his career's tragic unraveling reflected the unraveling of that progress as well.

The agent of destruction for both was his fellow general, Napoleon, who at first praised Dumas as a Roman hero for his battlefield feats but came to loathe him for his independence and revolutionary values. The two men clashed in 1798, during the invasion of Egypt—where the Egyptians mistook the towering Dumas for the leader of the French forces. Then, while Dumas languished for two years in an enemy dungeon, Napoleon made himself dictator and dismantled France's postracial experiment, imposing cruel race laws in France, reinstituting slavery in the colonies, and sending an invasion force to Saint-Domingue with orders to kill or capture any black who wore an officer's uniform. He went to equally extraordinary lengths to bury the memory of Alex Dumas, thundering, “I forbid you to ever speak to me of that man!” when former comrades tried to intervene on behalf of the general and his family, who were living in near-destitution. Barely five years after his return to France, Dumas died at 43 of stomach cancer, likely an aftereffect of his poisoning while imprisoned.

Dumas's son, the future novelist, would take a marvelous sort of revenge, infusing his father's life and spirit into fictional characters who have been embraced the world over. Yet while every generation has heaped glory on the name Alexandre Dumas, the great general has remained forgotten. The only statue of him—in a country awash in marble generals—was erected in Paris more than a hundred years after his death, and then destroyed by the Nazis. ▢

Tom Reiss '86 is the author of a new biography of General Dumas, The Black Count: Glory, Revolution, Betrayal, and the Real Count of Monte Cristo (Crown). His biographical pieces have also appeared in The New Yorker, The New York Times, and other publications.



Visit harvardmag.com/ extras to view other images of General Dumas.

ATTRIBUÉ À LOUIS GAUFFIER / PORTRAIT D'UN CHASSEUR DANS UN PAYSAGE DIT PORTRAIT D'ALEXANDRE DUMAS PÈRE / ON 34 / HUILE SUR PAPIER MARQUÉ / 32,5 X 25 CM / (C) BAYONNE, MUSÉE BONNAT-HELLEU / CLOÛÉ A. VAQUERO





Reclaiming Childhood

Theresa Betancourt studies the world's most neglected and traumatized youths.

Reprinted from Harvard Magazine. For more information, contact Harvard Magazine, Inc. at 617-495-5746



by Elizabeth Gudrais

AT THE TRAIN STATION in Jaipur, India, a ragtag group of boys and men squat on the tracks, hunched over piles of empty water bottles. A load of these bottles, picked up after they are discarded on train cars, might earn a collector 100 rupees (\$2) at day's end when they are traded in for recycling—or, more likely, refilling by a street vendor who will claim they are factory-sealed.

During downtime between trains, the boys and men pass around a rag soaked in Liquid Paper, getting high on the fumes. When a train rumbles into the station, they start to move.

The smallest of them, Badal, is also the fastest. He runs alongside the train, keeping pace so that before it has fully come to a halt, he has grabbed a handrail and hoisted himself into the car. As passengers gather belongings and make their way to the exits, he dodges and weaves among them, scooping bottles from the floor and dropping them into the plastic bag slung over his back.

Badal is eight years old. Worldliness lines his face, in stark contrast to his young features. He collects bottles not because he would rather do this than go to school, but because it buys food for his family. At the end of the day, he will sleep on the sidewalk under a railroad bridge with his mother and siblings.

It is easy to see Badal as a pitiful and needy figure—but Theresa Betancourt, S.D. '03, associate professor of child health and human rights at the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH), suggests that a different viewpoint would lead to more effective strategies for helping disadvantaged children. Betancourt seeks a wholesale shift in the language used by aid organizations and the philanthropic community, so that Badal might be seen as a *resourceful* figure, acting in ways that are understandable given his family's limited prospects for economic success and education, and his own emotional and developmental needs. Collecting bottles, hanging out with older men, taking drugs to blunt emotional pain: viewing these as survival strategies acknowledges that all humans have the same needs. Instead of merely bandaging poverty's symptoms ("These people act in ways we can't understand, therefore we'll never change their behavior"), Betancourt focuses on poverty's causes ("These people are just like you and me, and will make healthier choices if presented with a better set of alternatives").

As the director of the Program on Children and Global Adversity at Harvard's François-Xavier Bagnoud (FXB) Center for Health and Human Rights, Betancourt studies the effectiveness of interventions that aim to help children from Asia and Africa to Boston. She works with former child soldiers, AIDS orphans, refugees, and children growing up on construction sites, as well as those in the Jaipur train station. The common thread is documenting survival strategies: studying how some children and families manage to channel their resourcefulness in a positive direction, and considering how to open up those salubrious paths to more people.

Her work takes aim at some of the biggest structural problems in international aid. Some nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) do great work, but can't scale it up for wider impact; others continue programs that haven't been proven to work. Some major donors demand evidence of efficacy, but that evidence doesn't yet exist; others fund programs without it. International aid follows a crisis but dries up soon after, ignoring the enduring fallout, or focuses chiefly on infrastructure projects (roads and bridges) or physiological needs (alleviating hunger and preventing malaria) when mental-health and social services might be just as important in en-

Photographs of India by Peter Pereira

abling a country's next generation to succeed economically.

Betancourt operates one country at a time, one community at a time, and ultimately, one person at a time: one of her guiding principles is tailoring therapies by identifying the specific needs of her study populations, and of smaller groups within them. But through her research, her scholarly articles, and the relationships she builds, she seeks to demonstrate models for governments, NGOs, funding organizations, and communities to work together in coordinated ways that ultimately improve children's lives.

ISHWAR CAN'T SAY exactly how old he is—he thinks about 18. He's also not sure how old he was when he ran away from home—10 or 12, he says. His mother died when he was one and a half. She was cooking lunch one day and her sari caught fire; she burned to death before his eyes.

Ishwar's father remarried. The boy and his stepmother often bickered. Eventually, Ishwar's father told him, "Since you can't get along, it's better that you go."

The boy hopped a train not knowing where it was going, and ended up living on the station platform in Jaipur, selling soap and performing menial tasks for a bit of money. He became addicted to correction fluid, headache balm, and eventually heroin.

He became a regular at the drop-in center run by FXB Interna-

tional, Betancourt's partner organization in Jaipur. The center's director, Lata Singh, noticed that Ishwar was among the more responsible of the children, looking out for the younger ones. She saw that he was intelligent and sensitive, and that he yearned for a different life, so she gave him a job making daily runs to pick up meals donated by a nearby hotel and performing other tasks around the center.

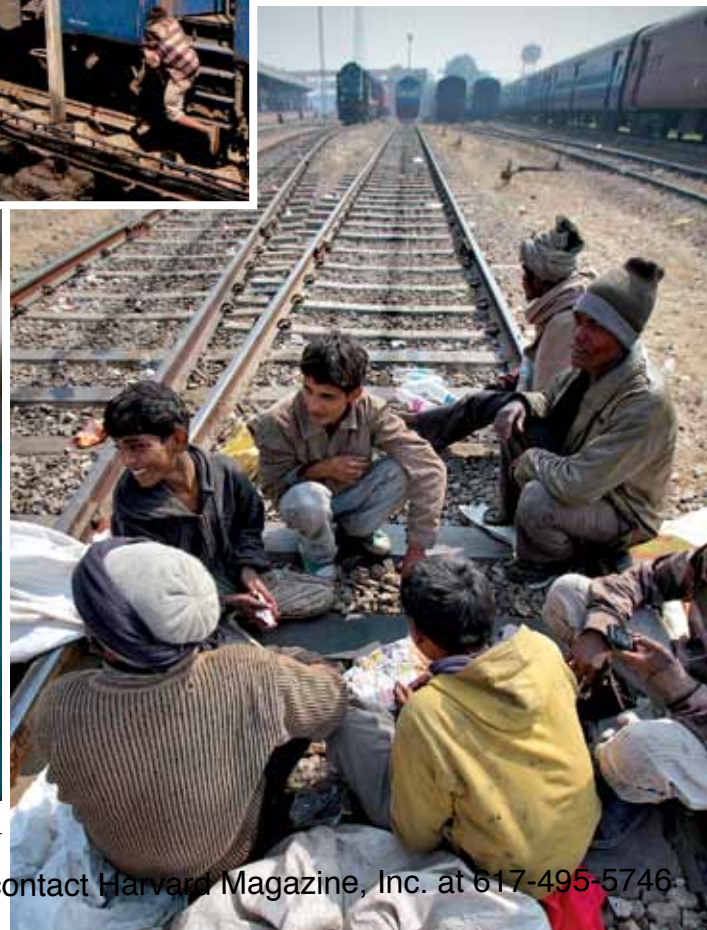
Ishwar got clean and even went home briefly, but was soon back in Jaipur, living with the other runaways who had become his family. Singh hopes to help him get a job driving an auto-rickshaw or working at a Hindi-language call center, but first he will need treatment for medical and psychological problems caused by his drug use.

By some measures, Ishwar's is a success story—but it also indicates how fragile that success can be, and how difficult to make the transition to a different life after years on the street. Most of the children who come to the drop-in center spend their days begging, selling soap, or collecting bottles, like Ishwar and Badal. Singh has learned that escorting the truant children to school, or even pressuring them to go, doesn't work. They just end up not coming back to the center, and thus not benefiting from its services: food, clothing, tutoring, and attention from caring adults.

The center's collaboration with Betancourt is new—the parties are just beginning to discuss how they might work together—but

they hope their work might help reveal what factors helped Ishwar fare better than his peers, in that he holds down a steady job and still has a sense of hope for the future. Ultimately, the findings would be used to identify effective ways

Previous spread: Housing for workers at a construction site in Gurgaon, near Delhi. These pages: At the train station in Jaipur, collecting empty water bottles fetches about 100 rupees (\$2) a day. At right, young bottle collectors board a train as it enters the station; below, eight-year-old Badal inside a train car; below right, the collectors bide their time between trains. Opposite, families make their homes on a sidewalk adjacent to the train station, and survive by begging. Far right, Ishwar ministers to other runaway youths at a drop-in center in Jaipur, as his own future hangs in the balance.



to help younger children like Badal move toward productive, happy, and healthy lives, against dire odds.

ONE OF Betancourt's earliest research projects was in Sierra Leone, working with youths who served as child soldiers in the country's decade-long civil war. These children were taken from their homes by rebel groups and ordered to commit violent acts. Some were forced to take drugs to deaden their inhibition to killing; some were forced to kill or maim their own relatives.

After the war ended in 2002, they went home, aided by NGOs that provided counseling and helped them get back to their families. Reintegration was not easy: neighbors, and sometimes even their own families, distrusted them. People wondered whether they were irreparably damaged and condemned to a violent future.

Betancourt began studying a group of more than 500 former child soldiers and other war-affected youth (such as those who suffered deaths in the family) just after the war's end. Here, as in Jaipur, she wanted to understand why some children have reintegrated successfully while others have had a harder time. "In our sample," she notes, "we have a young man who's in jail because he killed his girlfriend in a fit of rage, and we have a young woman who's finished medical school." Part of the explanation, of course, lies in personal

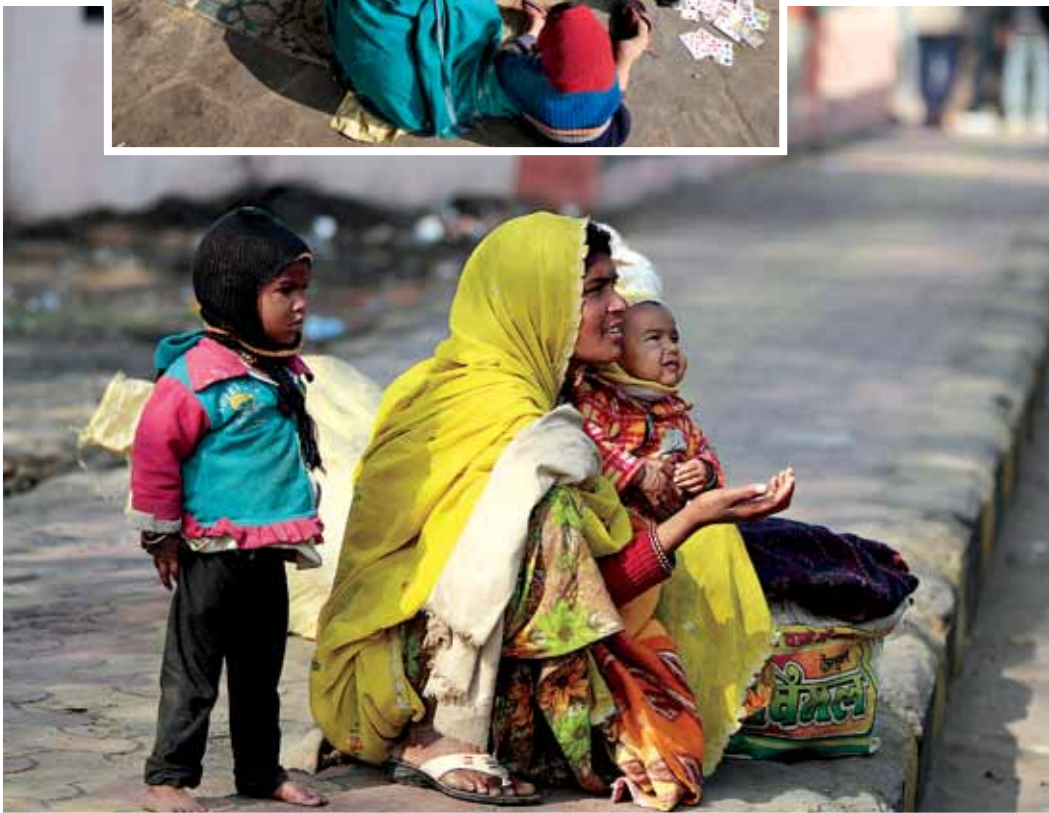
qualities: intelligence, determination. But external factors—family and community, differing wartime experiences—also influence their trajectories. Betancourt has sought to clarify the various factors to determine how best to help youths recover from the trauma of war.

In her quest to bring greater awareness to children's needs, Betancourt recognized the power of a straightforward construct that is easily summed up and remembered. She looked to the success of the GOBI model, developed by UNICEF in the early 1980s for improving maternal and child health: *growth monitoring* (to identify malnourished children and supplement their diet), *oral rehydration* (a cheap, simple way to balance the electrolytes of a child suffering from diarrhea in order to prevent death—developed by senior lecturer on international health Richard Cash and colleagues), *breastfeeding* (to help strengthen children's immune systems); and *immunization*. The campaign led to significant declines in infant and child mortality in many places, but as Betancourt and colleagues wrote in a journal article, "Promoting the health and development of children requires more than just keeping them alive."

Betancourt devised her own model, SAFE, to reflect the notion that children have rights beyond mere survival: *safety* and freedom from harm; *access* to basic physiological needs such as food, shelter, and medical care; *family* or connection to other attachment figures; and *education* and economic security. This framework has already been used by other researchers in Haiti and Lesotho, as well as in her own projects in India, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, northern Uganda, and with a Somali Bantu refugee population in Boston (see "Far from Home," page 38).

SAFE isn't just a scorecard, Betancourt specifies: "It's about interrelatedness." Insecurity in any of these four domains threatens security in the others. "Kids need attachment figures," she says. "If they're not finding it from their immediate family, they're going to find it somewhere"—as with the Jaipur runaways who act as each other's family. Children without solid attachment figures are at risk of being recruited into child labor or sex work, or conscripted as child soldiers, so strong is their need for an adult who takes an interest in them; but should they take one of these paths, they're missing out on education, and their very safety is at risk.

Betancourt notes that in many plac-



es where governments fall short and international aid has dried up—such as Sierra Leone—NGOs pick up the slack, but are not as effective as they could be. “They see one need and they work to meet that need,” she says. “They see that kids are hungry, and they offer food. They see that kids need healthcare, so they open a free clinic. But nobody pays attention to how these different needs are *interrelated* or how organizations with different types of expertise might work together to bring the same child greater benefit.”

In each setting, SAFE becomes a lens for understanding children’s needs and moving toward meeting them. In Sierra Leone, for instance, Betancourt’s team interviewed children and families about wartime *and* postwar experiences: How supportive were family members after children returned home? Did domestic factors (abuse in the home, death of a parent) hamper recovery? How supportive was the community? The researchers documented cases of mental-health problems such as depression and anxiety. They evaluated youths’ confidence, their facility with “prosocial behavior” such as making friends and helping others, and their levels of aggression and hostility.

By revealing different groups’ specific needs, these analytical methods provide data for customized interventions. For instance, youths who demonstrate anger problems and continued deficits in prosocial behavior might receive something beyond the routine package of reintegration services. In villages where stigma lingers, NGOs might hold community workshops designed to probe and unseat this stigma, which compounds mental-health challenges

and inhibits healing. Betancourt’s team is currently testing the “Youth Readiness Intervention,” a group therapy they designed for the most persistently troubled war-affected youth in post-conflict Sierra Leone. The therapy aims to improve these youths’ skills at relating to others, understanding how their experiences might affect their relationships, managing their anger, and coping with difficult emotions.

With local adaptation, Betancourt’s methods can be applied worldwide. One recent survey estimates that 300,000 children are currently serving in government forces or armed rebel or militia groups. Just since 2001, child soldiers have been conscripted for conflicts in Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Liberia, Somalia, and northern Uganda, as well as Sierra Leone and Rwanda.

SINCE RWANDA’S 1994 genocide (in which up to one million people died, compared to 50,000 in Sierra Leone’s civil war), the country has emphasized communal healing. But the HIV epidemic, combined with an already-high number of orphans from the genocide, has led to an extraordinary number of child-headed households. Here, Betancourt works with children affected by HIV—not necessarily *infected*, but with a family member who is HIV-positive or has died of AIDS.

Broadly speaking, HIV-affected children in Rwanda face many of the same issues as former child soldiers in Sierra Leone: anxiety, depression, conduct problems in school. If they are siblings’ caretakers, their future prospects are often diminished because they have left school to work. Their health may be in danger, too: adolescent girls might engage in sex for money and run the risk of contracting HIV themselves. The genocide’s aftermath—the loss of a parent or other family member, witnessing violence,



At left, Betancourt with young friends Binta and Christopher in Koidu Town, Kono District, Sierra Leone. Below, she engages Sierra Leonean children in a counting game. At right, a war-affected girl in Rwanda cares for her younger sibling. Far right, Betancourt with graduates of an FXB International program in Rwanda that has helped families reach economic self-sufficiency by starting businesses.



Photographs courtesy of Teresa Betancourt

Like former child soldiers in Sierra Leone, HIV-affected Rwandan children face anxiety, depression, endangered health, and diminished prospects.

or lingering bitterness among neighbors—can compound HIV’s emotional strain on families.

Betancourt’s work in Rwanda exemplifies the “mixed-methods” research in which she specializes, blending the qualitative and quantitative. In an initial round of interviews with adults in the communities chosen for the study, the researchers kept their questions open-ended, simply asking what problems children faced. Analyzing the themes that emerged, they settled on five broad phenomena that capture the emotional impact of coping with HIV in the family. In the next round of interviews, they asked what qualities help children and families cope; in a third round, they sought more detail about each quality.

Naturally, these concepts did not map neatly to Western conceptions of mental health, or even to English translations of Kinyarwanda terms. Children said to have *kwihangana* (perseverance) played with others instead of isolating themselves and engaged in prayer, in addition to working hard in spite of personal problems and resisting becoming discouraged. *Kurera neza* (good parenting) included the concept of parenting “for the country.”

These painstaking research practices are necessary, Betancourt says, if findings are to be culturally sensitive: “We need to know how people *here* think about child mental-health problems. If we show up in Rwanda, interested in child mental health, and we try to start with Western words and concepts—if we go with the interpreter to a village and say, ‘Tell me about child mental-health problems’—there’s a good chance the interpreter is going to say, ‘She’s interested in learning about madness in children.’” So taboo is that

topic, she says, “you might as well be finished right there.”

In Rwanda, as elsewhere, Betancourt didn’t stop at documenting the problem: results from several rounds of interviews informed a response. Rather than start from scratch, her team adapted a well-tested, effective therapy that she believed could translate readily for use in Rwanda. Developed at Harvard by Monks professor of child psychiatry William Beardslee, the “Family Talk” intervention is designed to mitigate the effect of a parent’s depression on a child. With HIV, as with depression, the child might not understand the parent’s illness; parents want to know what they can do to minimize the illness’s impact on their children; and families might need help learning how to communicate openly about the illness.

Betancourt’s “Family Strengthening Intervention” incorporates education about HIV (addressing common misconceptions) and training in parenting skills tailored to Rwandan culture and views. Recognizing the limited capacity of the country’s medical and public-health sectors, the intervention trains families to rely on their own resources, rather than depend on sessions with a counselor. Facilitators lead families in discussing the future and in identifying family strengths, to help them move beyond a negative focus defined solely by HIV. This intervention is currently being tested with 20 families; if the mental-health outcomes are favorable, it will be tested with 80 more.

By the time this wider study produces results next year, it will have been six years since the Rwanda project began. These endeavors require patience: without evaluation, an intervention’s impact will never be known—nor does it follow that because a therapy works in one setting, it will have the same effects everywhere. “The big development funders spend large quantities of money on programs that may not have a strong evidence base,” Betancourt says, “and then you have the National Institutes of Health very carefully, systematically building an evidence base—but the two of them are not communicating.” With the right evidence, these two groups might begin to speak a common language.

BETANCOURT BECAME INTERESTED in public health after receiving her bachelor’s degree in psychology (with a minor in international studies) from Linfield College in McMinnville, Oregon.



Far From Home

BANTU TRIBAL PEOPLE were brought to Somalia from other African countries as slaves in the nineteenth century. After emancipation, with few options for formal employment, this minority group adopted a subsistence lifestyle, settling in remote river valleys without schools or access to healthcare. The group, which constituted at least 5 percent (and by some estimates, much more) of Somalia's population, didn't have even one representative in the national government. When the civil war began in 1991, Somali Bantu communities were defenseless as armed groups from both sides of the conflict started coming to their communities, raping, pillaging, and killing under the pretense that the villagers had helped the other side.

Tens of thousands of Somali Bantus ended up in refugee camps in Kenya. Returning to Somalia, where they suffered from discrimination and where outbreaks of violence persisted (and still do), was not a good option. By the time the United States agreed to accept 13,000 Somali Bantu refugees for resettlement, most of them had been living in the camps for more than a decade.

In 2006, Theresa Betancourt and colleagues at the Boston Medical Center (BMC) received a request for help from the public schools in Lynn, Massachusetts, home to a Somali Bantu refugee

community. The refugee children were having behavioral problems, and the school system was having trouble communicating with their parents. They sought out the BMC team, who were known for their expertise

in working with African populations and war refugees.

Betancourt and her colleagues engaged teachers and administrators in Lynn to help them understand not only the cultural differences involved (refugee parents weren't accustomed, for example, to speaking directly to teachers about their children's education) but also the challenges specific to the Somali Bantu experience (such as parents' lack of literacy, and mental-health issues stemming from exposure to violence, being uprooted, and then living in camps for years). The goal was collaborative, rather than antagonistic, relationships with the parents.

Later, Betancourt saw an opportunity to try locally an intervention similar to those she'd developed for use in Sierra Leone and Rwanda. Aweis Hussein, a Somali Bantu teacher's aide and interpreter whom Betancourt knew from her work in the Lynn public schools, had helped found Shanbaro, an organization for the Boston-area Somali Bantu refugee community. Working with Hussein and other community leaders, Betancourt conducted interviews to assess both children's needs and any factors that seemed to mitigate the effects of the adversity they experienced as refugees; she hopes to design and test a family-strengthening intervention adapted to the Somali Bantu culture and needs. In the meantime, graduate student Stephanie Loo has already won funding to lead a Somali Bantu girls' empowerment group and Betancourt's interviews have resulted in a community needs assessment that can be used to apply for further grant aid. Rita Falzarano, development coordinator for the nonprofit Chelsea Collaborative, an umbrella organization that includes Shanbaro, notes another benefit: Hussein and four other Somali Bantu community members worked side by side with Harvard researchers, receiving training in social-science research methods to help carry out the study.

With most so-called research partnerships, says Falzarano, researchers gather the data they need "and that is the last you hear from them." The partnership with Betancourt "is a *true* partnership," she says: "It benefits the community as well as the researcher."



Zahara Haji (foreground) and Amina Abdullahi, research assistants in Betancourt's project with the Somali Bantu refugee community in Boston, during a presentation at Chelsea City Hall

Working as a school mental-health specialist in Oregon, she became determined to get to the root of her young clients' troubles. "It's a public-health adage," she says. "You see people drowning in a river and you're pulling them out and saving them, but then eventually you say—wait a minute, let's go upstream and find out why they're falling in."

But the seeds were planted earlier, during her childhood in Bethel, Alaska, then a city of 3,000 accessible only by air and water, with a majority-Yup'ik population. There were no paved roads. Betancourt's home had no plumbing; the family showered at the high school or the fire station (her father was the fire chief). Stray dogs roamed the streets. Still, she says, "I thought it was great. We were outside all the time, playing with our friends and building things out of snow, ice skating, playing hockey."

She believes this early experience instilled respect for other cultures—and prepared her to work in the developing world: "When I work in Africa, and there's no plumbing, and there are

no paved roads, and there are stray dogs in the streets, it feels like home to me."

As a girl, she observed the problems that resulted when a people accustomed to living off the land rapidly adopted a different way of life: high crime rates, rampant alcoholism, child neglect. Even then, she recalls, "the question of resilience always came back to me. These kids weren't just on a deterministic path. If people in the community stepped in, or if kids got an opportunity, even a child from a terrible background managed to make it out OK."

In 1998, Betancourt entered a doctoral program at HSPH; an interest in refugee issues also led her to spend time abroad working for the United Nations (in 1999) and consulting for the International Rescue Committee (from 2002 to the present). Again she observed resilience among children—in Albania, Russia, and Ethiopia, where she helped design edu- (please turn to page 78)



Visit harvardmag.com/extras for a Q&A with Betancourt, and learn more about her family, career, and work.

JOHN HARVARD'S JOURNAL

Studying the Stele

ON A CAMPUS with few public works of art, the monumental Chinese stele—17 feet tall, weighing in at 27 tons—would seem hard to miss. Yet it has been sadly neglected in the shadows along the western flank of the massive Widener Library. Its identifying sign is missing, its black paint is long gone, and even its inscription is in danger of disappearing as the marble corrodes. (Although covered in winter, the stone is deteriorating.)

At risk is a significant history—Chinese and Harvardian. The stele itself, dating to c. 1820, stood in the Yuan Ming Yuan (the

The Peabody Museum's Alexandre A. Tokovinine, a lecturer on anthropology and research associate, is shown at work within a protective tent during the scanning of the Chinese stele—conducted at night for optimal results.

Old Summer Palace), in northwestern Beijing, until the complex was destroyed in 1860, during the Second Opium War. It came to Harvard in 1936, a Tercentenary gift from Chinese alumni, who had a new inscription carved, expressing their admiration for the University and appreciation for their education. By then, there were nearly 1,000 Chinese alumni, the text notes; according to a contemporary translation, its donors expressed the “fervent hope” that “in the coming centuries the sons of Harvard will continue to lead their communities and that through the merging of the civilization[s]

of our countries, intellectual progress and attainments may be further enhanced.” But there were interruptions: China was about to suffer a catastrophic invasion by Japan, internal collapse, and the endgame of the brutal civil war that resulted in the victory of the Communist Party. (Times continue to change; today, China sends more international students to the University than any other country.)

In past decades, a Straus Center conservator, faculty members, and even a graduate student have sought a better fate for the monument. In their wake, Jeffrey R. Wil-

liams '78, M.B.A. '82, the executive director of the Harvard Center Shanghai, began championing the cause some years ago, when he was president of the Harvard Club of the Republic of China. As a first step, this September, the center and the Harvard China Fund—in concert with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology—arranged for the stele to be documented in virtual form via high-definition, three-dimensional scanning—the project shown under way here.



Visit harvardmag.com/ extras to view scans and additional images of the stele.

Investigating Academic Misconduct

ON AUGUST 30—just before fall classes began on September 4—Harvard College announced that it was investigating allegations that “nearly half the students” in a spring 2012 course “may have inappropriately collaborated on answers, or plagiarized their classmates’ responses, on the final exam....” Given the potentially serious violation of academic norms on an unprecedented scale, the statement was accompanied by e-mailed messages from Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) dean Michael D. Smith to the faculty, and from dean of undergraduate education Jay M. Harris to the student body. (Read their letters at <http://harvardmag.com/misconduct-12>.)

According to the announcement, an initial investigation by the College’s Administrative Board (the committee that interprets and applies FAS rules to undergraduates, and so serves as FAS’s chief disciplinary organization) “touched off a comprehensive review” of the more than 250 take-home final exams submitted. That review resulted in cases before the Ad Board “involving nearly half the students in the class.” (Dean Smith and President Drew Faust are ex officio members.) In a

briefing, Harris explained that a teaching fellow observed problematic material while grading exams and raised the issue with the course professor; the professor then reviewed the exams and brought the issue to the attention of the board in May, prompting a comprehensive investigation. According to the section on “academic dishonesty” in the *Harvard College Handbook for Students*, “Students must...comply with the policy on collaboration established for each course, as set forth in the course syllabus or on the course website....Collaboration in the completion of examinations is always prohibited.” Punishment for violations, if any are determined by the board, may be as severe as the requirement that a student withdraw from the College for up to a year.

Harris noted that the examination explicitly prohibited collaboration among students. Many College classes encourage students to work together on assignments and problem sets (the Office of Undergraduate Education sets out how faculty members may specify that sort of collaboration in a course syllabus), but Harris said this course did “not to my knowledge” permit such efforts on earlier student work.

He observed that board investigations



Jay Harris

ROSE LINCOLN/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE

proceed individually, student by student, and that none had been adjudicated as of the announcement. The evidence, he said, includes “answers that look quite alike to answers that appear to have been lifted in their entirety”; the pattern appears to show “clusters of students who seem to have collaborated,” not any single, unified effort. Given the seriousness and scope of the issue, he said, the College would, at the end of the board’s proceedings (which he characterized as “tak[ing] the time it takes” to investigate, given the numbers), disclose their outcome in the aggregate.

The College declined to identify the course or professor. Student identities are protected legally, but Harris said undergraduates from all four class years were involved, —meaning some had graduated.

The timing of the disclosure appeared to reflect several factors. First, Harris said, a “critical value” was at stake. In the

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College statement, Dean Smith said academic integrity “goes to the heart of our educational mission. Academic dishonesty cannot and will not be tolerated at Harvard.” President Faust stated, “These allegations, if proven, represent totally unacceptable behavior that betrays the trust upon which intellectual inquiry at Harvard depends....[T]he scope of the allegations suggests that there is work to be done to ensure that every student at Harvard understands and embraces the values that are fundamental to its community of scholars.”

Second, it came at the beginning of the academic year, when standards and expectations were being communicated, and practical steps could be taken. In his e-mail, Smith asked faculty members to review each syllabus “right now” to ensure that the policy on student collaboration was clearly stated; to discuss it with each class; and to convene with peers and departmental directors of undergraduate studies on measures to “foster a culture of honesty and integrity in our classes and learning assessments.” Harris said he was at pains to “start a conversation on this” within the community at large, building on work concerning academic integrity begun by his office two years ago (see below).

Finally, with so many students facing investigation, the news would have spread anyway.

THE DISCLOSURE sparked news coverage worldwide—much of it informed by the *Crimson's* thorough, enterprising legwork. Later that day, the paper reported that the course was Government 1310, “Introduction to Congress,” taught by assistant professor of government Matthew B. Platt. Its article was accompanied by a reproduction of the April 26, 2012, instructions for the take-home final examination, with a highlighted passage explicitly stating that “students may not discuss the exam with others.”

As the confidential Ad Board reviews proceeded, several strands of discussion emerged.

- Some students said they were not surprised by the allegations, and rumors circulated that the undergraduates involved included members of varsity athletic teams, or various social organizations, allegedly attracted by the course’s undemanding reputation, structure (four take-

HARVARD PORTRAIT



Meg Rithmire

Assistant professor of business administration Meg Rithmire, Ph.D. '11, spent the morning of October 5 shepherding Chinese scholars around campus. That afternoon, she got married. “I’ve never envisioned having a wedding,” she says of her civil ceremony. “I can’t imagine caring about wearing a white dress.” Dinner at a Chinese restaurant with her new husband, John David Hampton '00, and their families, followed. “My life is about research and teaching that encourages people here to think about China in a dynamic way,” she says. “It’s still a foreign place. I don’t want people to be afraid of China.” In high school, she read Ha Jin’s *Waiting*, a bleak book about a man seeking a divorce amid the Cultural Revolution. The Atlanta teenager was captured by “the couple’s inefficacy and the impact a culture has on individuals.” She went on to earn dual degrees in Chinese and international studies at Emory University, along with a master’s and a doctorate in political science. Now at the Business School, she is writing a book on the commodification of land in China and helps teach a spring favorite: “Business, Government, and the International Economy,” crafting the section on the “success” of the planned city of Chongquin. “Is it real growth? Debt-financed? Or a propaganda bid on behalf of political leaders?” she asks. The school wants more intrepid thinkers—and Asian experts. “You can’t be a wallflower here,” she says. “I have M.B.A.s who are basically my age [30]. They think I’m a big China nerd.” Happily, she says, the HBS culture “is not as stodgy as people think.” Professors must teach in full suits. But on a Friday, Rithmire sports grasshopper-green silk pants and an Egyptian-style gold necklace. “I do own pearls,” she admits. “But it’s just not me.”

home exams), and relatively easy grading. The *Crimson* reported that athletes who were subject to investigation might voluntarily withdraw from the College before their sports began, to preserve a year of eligibility. Several reports identified at least three varsity athletes who may have done so. Head football coach Tim Murphy spent part of his first postgame news conference of the season addressing the issue (see "Powering Through," page 52).

- Another theme was the nature of collaboration and student understanding of the rules of academic conduct. The Gov 1310 exam, while prohibiting discussion with others, also explicitly said it was "open book, open note, open Internet, etc." Students regularly form study groups and, as the handbook language suggests, are often *encouraged* to collaborate in various ways (excluding examinations). Teaching fellows hold common question-and-answer sessions. Meanwhile, professors circulate and post more lecture notes and videos online, giving students identical sources on which to draw. More generally, the rise of Internet-assisted research has made it easier to make honest mistakes of attribution—or plagiarize. The Ad Board thus faces the exacting task of sorting out cases of outright copying or plagiarism and *impermissible* collaboration

(if any are proven) from *permissible* joint work, casual conversations, or reliance on common sources (complicated by the timing issues—before versus during the eight-day period for the take-home exam—and likely less than definitive evidence).

When he announced the investigation, Harris said that about two years before, given "a feeling that the landscape had shifted," especially as technological tools had altered "how people think of intellectual property," he had begun studying attitudes and behaviors on campus. The College Committee on Academic Integrity, which he chairs—including faculty members, undergraduates, resident deans, and administrators—engaged the International Center for Academic Integrity to create an assessment of academic integrity like those it has conducted elsewhere. Student, teaching-fellow, and faculty surveys were disseminated in February 2011. But that October, the *Crimson* reported that Harris disclosed that the response rate was too low to yield meaningful responses: 27 percent among students, and heavily weighted toward freshmen, who had spent only one semester in the College at the time.

- Most broadly, the investigation prompted questions about undergraduate teaching. What expectations about their courses do professor signal? How was it

even possible for *half* the students in a large class to come under suspicion? For scheduling reasons, the FAS in 2010 instituted a procedure reversing the historic default that courses conclude with sit-down, in-class final exams—was that educationally warranted, and are the terms and conditions of take-home finals regulated clearly and applied consistently?

Fundamental questions like these—about the educational value of collaborative learning, proper pedagogy, and the nature of academic assessment—lie far outside the Administrative Board proceedings.

In his August 30 briefing, before these broader speculations unspooled, Dean Harris said of the formal misconduct investigation, "It's a teaching opportunity. One we'd rather not have."

NEAR TERM, that teaching opportunity has seemingly been circumscribed by the Administrative Board process: the requirement that more than 100 time-consuming, individual cases be handled confidentially.

Harvard College dean Evelyn Hammonds, who chairs the board, decided against teaching a planned course this semester, in part because of the investigation. President Faust omitted any mention of the issue in two of her formal beginning-of-term communications: the first Morning Prayers in Memorial Church, on September 4 (she focused on the newly appointed Pusey Minister, Jonathan L. Walton); and her customary annual message to the community at the outset of a new academic year (see <http://harvardmag.com/message-12>). On the afternoon of September 4, at the celebratory Freshman Convocation—before an audience obviously not involved in whatever may have gone awry last spring—she touched on the stakes, quoting a sentence from Dean Harris's e-mail ("Without integrity, there can be no genuine achievement") and adding her own gloss ("That is what each of us owes to Harvard, but, far more importantly, it is what each of us owes to ourselves").

The *Crimson* apart, formal community conversation was strikingly absent. Neither administrators nor faculty members convened public discussions of academic integrity with students—and students don't appear to have organized such sessions, either. The latter point matters, because last academic year the academic-

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Aung San Suu Kyi Speaks at the Kennedy School

The Burmese activist discusses the basics of a democratic practice.

harvardmag.com/san-suu-kyi-12

Chetty and Warf Win MacArthur Grants

The Harvard economist and neurosurgeon are among 23 new fellows. harvardmag.com/macarthur-12



The Gospel of Jesus's Wife

A papyrus fragment interpreted by Hollis professor of divinity Karen L. King quotes Jesus speaking of "my wife."

harvardmag.com/gospel-12

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integrity committee focused on “studying honor codes and other mechanisms” to “reinforce the culture of academic integrity,” Harris said. Effective honor codes have historically emanated from students themselves—and must, if they are to succeed.

Now, his committee’s work will obviously proceed in a heightened context, as it aims to make concrete recommendations for FAS deliberation and action this year. According to the College announcement, the committee has been “assessing the practices of peer institutions on a range of actions, from the adoption of new ethics policies to the introduction of an honor code.” Princeton and Stanford have student-focused and -administered honor codes and enforcement mechanisms. The Stanford Honor Code, for example, “is an undertaking of the students, individually and collectively: that they will not give or receive aid in examinations; that they will not give or receive unpermitted aid in class work, in the preparation of reports, or in any other work that is to be used by the instructor as the basis of grading; that they will do their share and take an active part in seeing to it that others as well as themselves uphold the spirit and letter of the Honor Code.”

Harris noted that honor codes work by “suffusing the culture of the place,” and that educational and other efforts might ensure academic integrity even absent a formal code and process for administering it. (A *Crimson* editorial endorsed an examination honor code in February 2011, during the academic-integrity survey.) To that end, he said, his committee was examining what more might be done to emphasize academic integrity during freshman orientation, in teaching students about proper citations, and so on. “Integrity training has been lacking,” he said.

Formal steps toward making academic integrity an overriding priority have now begun with the College announcement, Smith’s letter to faculty members, and Harris’s own letter to students. Among other actions taken:

- An Ad Board staff member has been “tasked with building awareness among faculty and students about Harvard’s academic-integrity policies.”
- Harvard will engage the International Center for Academic Integrity and other outside experts as the College initiates a

The Corporation, Complete

The announcement on September 23 that Jessica Tuchman Mathews ’67 and Theodore V. Wells Jr., J.D.-M.B.A. ’76, have been elected members of the University’s senior governing board, effective January 1, is an important milestone in effecting the changes in Harvard governance unveiled in late 2010 (see “The Corporation’s 360-Year Tune-Up,” January-February 2011, page 43). Their election completes the Corporation’s planned expansion from seven fellows to 13—intended to broaden the senior board’s expertise; enable it to establish permanent committees focused on its most important fiduciary duties (including governance, finances, capital planning and budgeting, and alumni affairs and development); and make it possible for the fellows to focus on matters of greatest strategic importance to Harvard.

Tuchman, who earned a Ph.D. in molecular biology at California Institute of Technology, was a Radcliffe College trustee from 1992 to 1996. Since 1997, she has served as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; earlier, she worked at the National Security Council, the U.S. Department of State, and the Council on Foreign Relations. She said, “I’m thrilled to be coming home to Harvard. The world of education is globalizing, with consequences as profound as those for government and business. Having spent more than a decade building a global think tank, I look forward to helping think through this great University’s international role and contributing all I can to the full range of the Corporation’s work.”

Wells, a graduate and former trustee of the College of the Holy Cross, is partner and co-chair of the litigation department at Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison LLP. He is widely known for high-stakes white-collar criminal-defense cases and corporate practice. He served as national treasurer for Senator Bill Bradley’s 2000 presidential campaign and is co-chairman emeritus of the board of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Wells said, “Education opens minds and expands opportunities, and nothing matters more to me. I greatly look forward to serving a university that has helped shape my own outlook and aspirations, and to supporting the work of people across Harvard whose ideas and efforts do so much to better the world.”

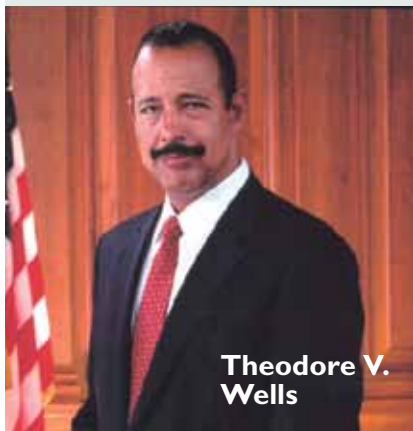
Welcoming these new colleagues, Senior Fellow Robert D. Reischauer ’63 and President Drew Faust said in a statement:

“Jessica Mathews is a widely admired figure in the international-affairs domain, with a career that has combined excellence in non-profit leadership with experience in government, policy, science, environmental affairs, and journalism. Ted Wells is an extraordinarily accomplished lawyer renowned for his wise counsel, his powers of analysis and persuasion, and his devotion to education and the public interest. Harvard will be fortunate to have the benefit of their service.”

For a full report, see <http://harvard-mag.com/board-12>.



**Jessica
Tuchman
Mathews**



**Theodore V.
Wells**

"campuswide discussion about this issue."

- College officials will engage House masters and resident deans to convene onversations on academic integrity—apparently after the Ad Board acts.

- Harris met with directors of undergraduate studies to promote clear language in each course syllabus and in course assignments regarding collaboration and other issues of academic integrity. University-wide responses remain unspecified at press time.

Faust, Smith, and Harris put these steps in context at the first FAS meeting of the year, on October 2. Faust outlined general principles of academic conduct, and urged caution in commenting while the Ad Board deliberates. Smith reviewed the board's pedagogical role, and outlined a broader

agenda for FAS to consider teaching practices and communications about expectations and academic values; he then turned the floor over to Harris, who is the point person on the whole cluster of issues, for a more detailed outline of research and potential FAS actions during the year. For a full report on their remarks, see <http://harvardmag.com/cheating-12>.

In his August letter to students, Harris said that, beyond familiarizing themselves with Harvard's pertinent rules (and the respective measures Smith has asked faculty members to take in clarifying their own course practices), "More is necessary.... We must all work together to build a community that fully embraces the ethos of integrity that is the foundation of all learning and discovery."

The Endowment Eases

Harvard's endowment was valued at \$30.7 billion last June 30, the end of fiscal year 2012—a decline of \$1.3 billion (4.1 percent) from the prior year. That result, released September 26 in Harvard Management Company's (HMC) annual report, reflects an investment return of -0.05 percent on endowment and related assets, following the robust return of 21.4 percent in fiscal 2011. The decline in the endowment's value reflects the investment return (essentially nil); *minus* distribution of endowment funds to support University operations and for other purposes (perhaps \$1.5 billion; the exact sum will be reported in late October); *plus* gifts received. Endowment distributions account for about one-third of Harvard's annual revenues.

Domestic equities yielded a return of 9.65 percent, but international stocks declined sharply, producing an overall return of -6.66 percent for public equities—about one-third of the invested assets. Private equities and absolute-return assets (principally hedge funds)—together, about 30 percent of assets—yielded slightly positive returns. Fixed-income holdings (about 10 percent of the total) yielded 7.95 percent. Real assets were mixed, with strong gains in real estate, positive returns in natural resources (timber- and farmland), and significant losses in the commodities portfolio.

Peer institutions' results demonstrated the important interplay of endowment investment returns, spending, and gifts from capital campaigns. At Yale, a 4.7 percent investment return for fiscal 2012 nearly offset distributions of about \$1 billion, so the endowment declined only marginally during the year, from \$19.4 billion to \$19.3 billion. Stanford's investments earned only 1 percent, but the endowment rose 3.2 percent in value, to \$17 billion, as a surge of campaign gifts apparently more than offset nearly \$900 million in spending.

HMC president and CEO Jane L. Mendillo cautioned that "at a time of unusual turbulence with significant macroeconomic issues facing regions around the world... future returns may be uncertain," but expressed confidence in a strategy of focusing on highly diversified investments and "long-term value creation."

For a detailed report on Harvard's endowment performance, see <http://harvardmag.com/endowment-12>.

Classroom in the Cloud

EVEN AS David J. Malan enjoyed the news that Computer Science 50, "Introduction to Computer Science," was the second-largest College course this fall, with 691 undergraduates, he was contemplating a "classroom" much vaster than Sanders Theatre. By mid September, well before the October 15 launch of CS50x, the all-online version (cs50.net/x), some 53,000 students had enrolled worldwide. The nonprofit Harvard-MIT learning venture edX, created last May (see "Harvard, Extended," July-August, page 46), has begun by offering seven free, open-access, noncredit "massive open online courses"—MOOCs as they are known—in its first fall.

It is not a traditional semester. Much as edX courses relocate the learning location to wherever student and computer may be, set class hours dissolve as well. Two advanced computer courses offered by Berkeley (a third edX partner, announced in late July) run from late September to late October and mid November, respectively. And those tens of thousands of students learning with senior lecturer on computer science Malan have until next April 15 to complete their work.

More than most of his peers, Malan is already skilled in extending his teaching virtually—with online lecture videos, sections, PDFs of handouts, discussion sets and quizzes, and a Google discussion group. Comp Sci 50 existed in an online version before edX, for whoever wished to follow along (see cs50.tv) and for far-flung Extension School audiences, so the transition to the edX platform did not require a wholly new approach to pedagogy. That

Harvard Management Company 2012 Investment Performance

Asset Class	HMC Return	Benchmark Return	Difference
Public equities	(6.66)%	(9.05)%	2.39%
Private equity	1.99	4.04	(2.05)
Absolute return*	0.81	(1.15)	1.96
Real assets**	3.23	1.55	1.68
Fixed income	7.95	7.85	0.10
Total endowment	(0.05)	(1.03)	0.98

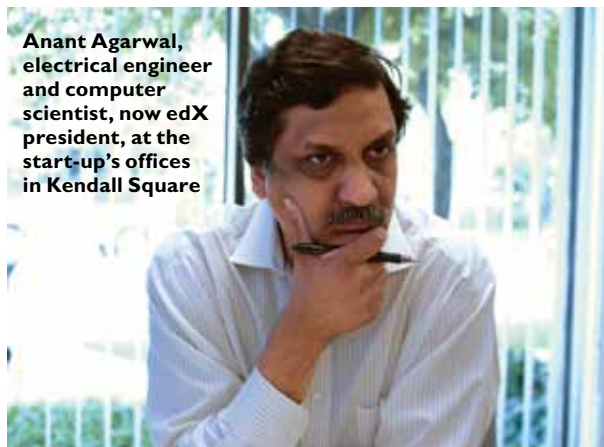
*Includes high-yield bonds

**Includes real estate, commodities, and natural resources

seems true for the other initial offerings, too—all are quantitative or scientific in nature, including the MIT circuitry course that served as the prototype last year.

But edX's aspirations span the breadth of learning, and it aims to take technologically distributed education well beyond where Malan and other computer-literate teachers have already arrived. Its offices, in fact, are not on MIT's campus (the president, Anant Agarwal, is professor of electrical engineering and computer science there), but in a Kendall Square office building, surrounded by technology enterprises and budding new ventures. Although a nonprofit, edX is much more start-up than academic department or faculty meeting. From its inception, the staff had grown to about 35 by mid September—"zero to 60 in six months," Agarwal said—including an engineering team for the technological platform; a content team to edit course videos (with content-expert fellows to assist faculty members); a chief scientist; a director of university partnerships (more are in the offing, he suggested); and with recruiting under way for marketing and communications personnel. Computers are set up at simple tables and chairs in open spaces that can be rapidly reconfigured, khakis and open shirts are in fashion, and a rainbow of Post-its counts down days-to-live for each course.

All this reflects fundamental differences between online and classroom education. The three-dozen edX staff, and participating faculty members, could potentially reach hundreds of thousands of students this fall. Course delivery is relatively cheap (*The New York Times* reported that edX uses Amazon's cloud computing services to deliver content to enrollees), and marketing to students is essentially free, via social media.



Anant Agarwal, electrical engineer and computer scientist, now edX president, at the start-up's offices in Kendall Square



David J. Malan in Sanders Theatre, teaching the wildly popular Computer Science 50

Having taught the prototype MITx course, Agarwal has already learned that online teaching is "quite a bit different" from the classroom and adapting a course "is a lot of work." He outlined dividing lectures into "sequences" of five- to 10-minute videos, interleaved with exercises so students can demonstrate their understanding. (In a talk preceding the installation of MIT's new president on September 21, Agarwal spoke about "gamifying learning" by providing instant feedback and offering "karma points" for helping others in the course.) Tutorials become sidebar videos by teaching fellows. His course had a "virtual lab," with students manipulating electrical components on an online "bench" and testing the result with virtual tools. Computer-generated homework was machine-graded. ("Essays and free-form answers are not a solved problem" yet, he said—posing challenges for humanities courses, and prompting searches for peer-grading and other solutions.)

Students resonated to "tablet handwriting" in the videos, Agarwal said—a more personal feel than viewing typeset text. For CS50x, Malan has prepared tutorials (a teaching fellow talking about binary numbers, for instance) in which the instructor writes on a tablet; the strokes, captured wirelessly, appear

as scrolling script directly in front of the viewer. Agarwal also found that deadlines "mattered a lot": like their peers in classrooms, students did assignments just before they were due. Discussions and peer interactions "scaled nicely" online; as students asked questions and others weighed in, they could electronically "upvote" problems to be addressed. (The extent to which students helped each other learn was "absolutely astounding," he said.) In the evolving edX platform, such tools now can be deployed beside each unit of the curriculum and can link to an overall course discussion forum; Malan is using this technology in CS50x, and, in a similar way, matching College students with Comp Sci 50 teaching fellows who can help them with specific queries.

These online developments, Agarwal said, all support a learning experience with the "same as on-campus" rigor. In fact, of the 155,000 students enrolled in the first iteration of his circuits course online, less than 5 percent completed all the work. Many lacked the necessary background.

edX aims to maintain that level of rigor. It is rolling out courses relatively deliberately; the for-profit Coursera, in contrast, has repeatedly announced new partnerships, now with 33 institutions, and has posted some 200 courses. Stanford, a Coursera participant, is also deploying two other online platforms, a multipath approach overseen by a new vice-provostial office for online learning.

Agarwal said edX's focus is on "high-

quality learning” on two levels: “dramatically increasing access to learning to students worldwide, while reinventing campus learning” simultaneously—a blended model for improvements in virtual *and* real classes. The Harvard personnel overseeing that hybrid mission as edX

board members are a mix of scholars and administrators: deans Michael D. Smith (Faculty of Arts and Sciences) and Kathleen McCartney (Graduate School of Education), provost Alan Garber, and executive vice president Katie Lapp.

As Malan put it, Harvardx courses

will “debut when ready”; there is no rush to “port existing courses on to the Web,” a different goal from improving teaching and learning across the board. Cross-fertilization is already evident in the two versions of Malan’s introductory course. CS50x, he said, will “enable as many people as possible online to feel a part of this shared experience”—it even encourages virtual students to meet to share their programming projects, much as Comp Sci 50 students do in the popular programming-and-pizza “hackathon” events and term-end fair on campus. Yet significant differences will remain. Online students’ programs can be machine-evaluated for correctness (whether their code is “buggy”) and style (what Malan called “aesthetics”), but not subjectively for their design (a qualitative evaluation requiring human judgment). And staffing is at a different level entirely: the campus teaching cohort for Comp Sci 50 this semester numbers 108, including teaching fellows and course assistants—larger, Malan noted, than many *class* enrollments. The real and virtual courses, he said, will be “similar but not identical experiences.”

As for Agarwal, his new post was sufficiently “exciting” to lure him away from running MIT’s largest laboratory. He has been involved in five previous start-ups, but edX, he said, is “the first one that can really change the world.”

A Victory—and a Campaign

DEAN MICHAEL D. SMITH’S annual report for fiscal year 2012—previewed with Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) colleagues at their October 2 meeting and published two days later—declares victory and outlines a future campaign.

The retrospective victory note concerns the faculty’s finances: after projecting large deficits in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and sharp decline in the value of the endowment, FAS, as planned, achieved a balanced budget in its “unrestricted Core operations”: the faculty, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS), and the College. But *unplanned* activities—prominently, launching edX (see page 44) and beginning construction for the House

Revitalizing Tozzer

The Tozzer Library building on Divinity Avenue adjacent to the Peabody Museum will undergo a major reconstruction during the next year and a half as part of a \$20-million Faculty of Arts and Sciences project to consolidate the anthropology department. Most social anthropologists are now housed at the far end of the street in William James Hall (the towering home of the psychology and sociology departments as well). The renovation will unite the archaeologists in the Peabody with the anthropologists, who will relocate to an enlarged and revitalized Tozzer in the spring of 2014. The idea, championed by both former dean of the social sciences Stephen Kosslyn and current dean Peter Marsden, is to strengthen the sub-disciplines within the department by bringing them together.

In accord with larger discussions about the changing role of academic libraries, the project reconceives the library as a series of collaborative spaces, rather than primarily as book storage. In preparation, 155,000 books were moved from Tozzer, one of the world’s largest anthropology research libraries. Some 28,000 volumes were relocated to the first floor of Wil-

liam James Hall, which will be Tozzer’s temporary home during the construction, expected to begin with site preparation in December and January. Most of the remaining books were moved to the Harvard Depository, where they are readily accessible for recall through the online HOLLIS catalog. Once the new library space is complete, about 54,000 volumes will be held on two floors. Librarians anticipate that having the anthropology faculty housed on the three floors above will revitalize the library.

FAS project manager John Hollister says the existing building will be stripped back to its structural steel and rebuilt to a LEED gold standard, with sustainable heating and cooling systems; 10,000 square feet will be added to the existing 24,800. (The building was originally designed to accommodate an additional story.) The design by Kennedy and Violich Architects includes a façade of brick and copper designed to echo the neighboring Peabody Museum; adds an entrance onto the rear courtyard; and incorporates an atrium that extends to the fourth story, with shared pedagogical and social gathering space on the second floor.



Tozzer Library, today

HARVARD MAGAZINE/UC

renewal program—resulted in a \$9.7-million deficit on the same basis. For all FAS activities—including athletics, the library and museums, School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, etc.—the unrestricted deficit was \$34.9 million; the consolidated result, including all funds, was \$20.5 million of red ink, covered by the use of reserve funds. (All figures are on an FAS management-reporting basis, not in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles.)

Having largely slain the financial dragon, Smith looks toward the *next* campaign: the University's forthcoming fundraising drive. Although the report says little about the campaign or FAS's substantive goals, it suggests two priorities.

Smith emphasizes House renewal (as does Dean Evelyn Hammonds in the Harvard College section). In her October 2 presentation, Leslie Kirwan, dean for administration and finance, made clear what financing that multiyear project, forecast to cost at least \$1 billion, will require; she cited endowment funds, philanthropy, FAS reserves, cash from operations, and long-term debt, both "incremental and nonincremental." The latter has not been invoked since the University became much more cautious about debt in the wake of its 2008 problems, when it had to borrow \$2.5 billion.

There is also a section devoted to edX—an element in FAS's plans to invest in teaching and in applying technology to education, both in the classroom and for on-line, distance learners.

Other highlights:

- *Ebbing humanities and social sciences, rising sciences.* During the past decade, the number of undergraduate arts and humanities concentrators peaked at 1,104 in 2003-2004, and has declined steadily, to 823 last year—down 25 percent. The social sciences are down, too—off 16 percent since peaking at 2,695

Yesterday's News

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

1912 Noting that the \$50,000 maintenance fund necessary for a new music building to replace Holden Chapel is \$15,000 short, the editors remind readers that "a healthy and useful university is forever uncovering new needs...."

1927 Economics surpasses English as a concentration choice for the first time, with more than 400 freshmen entering the field.

1937 Courtesy of NBC and the BBC, the Harvard Club of London hosts a live broadcast of *The Game*, including Harvard and Yale cheers transmitted back to the teams in the Harvard stadium. (Harvard won, 13-6.)

1947 Professors attempting to separate "the sheep from the goats" (as the editors remark)—by locking classroom doors at exactly seven minutes past the hour—run afoul of the Cambridge fire department, which notifies lecturers that obstructing emergency exits is illegal.

1952 In a straw poll of undergraduates, loser Adlai Stevenson nevertheless gets the largest slice of "Harvard's nor-

mally Republican majority" since Woodrow Wilson beat a split G.O.P. in 1912. The faculty members who are polled go for Eisenhower, 379-298.

1967 The Program for Science in Harvard College gets under way; one goal is a \$14-million science center north of the Yard.

1982 MIT pranksters disrupt *The Game* with a balloon that erupts from the earth and inflates in front of the Crimson bench—but Harvard wins 45-7.

1992 Harvard has "locked the doors and [thrown] away the keys" for the Yard dorms, the editors report. The installation of card-reading devices there will likely be extended to the Houses to crack down on crime, despite occasional glitches—a door held open too long for a good-night kiss summons a University police car to investigate.



Illustration by Mark Steele

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in 2005-2006. In contrast, the sciences have attracted 29 percent more undergraduates since a low point of 989 in 2002-2003, and concentrators in the rejuvenated School of Engineering and Applied Sciences have nearly *doubled* in number since 2004-2005, to last year's 563. That reflects a rebound from depressed computer-sciences enrollment after the dot-com bust at the beginning of last decade, followed by renewed excitement about social media, and emerging fields such as bioengineering. (Elsewhere, the report notes student enthusiasm for summer research programs with faculty members in the sciences, social sciences, and business-related topics; there is no analogous arts and humanities program.)

• *GSAS diversity.* Continued emphasis on recruiting resulted in applications from 676 candidates from underrepresented minority groups (among 12,397 applica-

tions in total), and a 19 percent increase in offers of admission. Underrepresented minorities made up 7 percent of the entering class, the highest figure in GSAS history.

• *Alcohol policy.* Rakesh Khurana, master of Cabot House, led a review of campus alcohol policy. Recommendations will come to the faculty at its next meeting.

• *The PDF Ph.D.* As of March 2012, all dissertations have been submitted electronically, as PDFs, for degree completion, binding, and archiving.

• *An aging faculty.* Following more internal promotions to tenure and restraint on faculty growth since 2008-2009, the average age of the tenured faculty *increased* from 55 to 57 during the past decade. This shift occurred despite successful initiation of retirement incentives (retirements increased from an average of 6 annually to 15 last year), and the prior period of rapid expansion in the faculty ranks overall.

• *Sustainability.* For buildings that existed in fiscal 2006, greenhouse-gas emissions declined by 27 percent through last year. Energy use declined by 21 percent, and water use by 31 percent. Calculated at current utility rates, those savings represent avoided utility costs of \$6.6 million annually. For all FAS facilities, including new spaces, the reduction was 10 percent through the end of fiscal 2012.

• *Continued financial caution.* Kirwan's report emphasized the relatively restrained prospects for the endowment (see page 44), distributions from which make up 48 percent of FAS operating revenues, and the rising risks to federally sponsored research funding. The latter now accounts for 18 percent of revenues, and has been a bright financial spot for FAS in recent years. On to the campaign.

Read more about the FAS annual report at <http://harvardmag.com/fas-report-12>.

THE UNDERGRADUATE

Unsettled Arrivals

by KATHRYN C. REED

“I DON'T NEED MUSIC, KIT. I need the sound of silence,” Dad says. He says “silence” in a way that I can't write. The “i” is long, the end is fast, sharp. The word is crisp, but it is not italic. “Silence, Kit,” Dad says, is what he wants. Yet it is his unwritable words that fill our drive to Boston Logan.

It is June and I am returning to Tanzania to work with a nongovernmental organization called Support for International Change. Again, I will live in a rural village, run an awareness campaign for HIV and AIDS. It is my second visit to a country that no longer feels foreign, my first return to a place with all of the discomforts I do not find at home.

A year ago, at the outset of my first trip, five other Harvard students met me at the gate, where visions of African game land filled my head. As we lay across chairs meant for sitting—for nine hours in Istanbul, waiting for our flight—we talked of playing with the children and seeing the elephants; ed-

ucation about HIV may have also been a thought. Someone produced a travel book and we passed around 200 pages of Eastern Africa, searching for the 50 that held all Tanzania had to tell. Inevitably, it was the photos that consumed us longest, no matter the country they were from.

Some of my companions raised concerns—none of us understood the process of arrival, really; not one had a Tanzanian phone; had anyone looked up the exchange rate for dollars and shillings before, at home? There was too much unknown to be worried and so I stuck to thoughts of animals, children, heat, African sun. I was excited for the going; the fears of fellow students seemed to dispel my own.

It is now June again and I am returning to Tanzania as dad drops me at terminal E. This summer, I am a coordinator for the volunteer program, Tanzanian shillings already in my bag. A hug, a kiss on the cheek—“Sorry, Kit. I don't think I'm supposed to park here long.” His truck heads back toward western

Massachusetts and I turn inside the airport, where no one waits for me to arrive. Still, I am not unhappy to be traveling alone.

As I wait in line at the check-in counter, my shoulders are weighted by the bags I must check; my mind leads me to the mountains of home. I realize I shouldn't expect this going to feel the same, though I face the same uncertainties as before. Even now I am tempted to return to Western Mass., did not pack my bag until hours ago. Do I enjoy this, the being out of my comfort zone? Or do I enjoy the looking back, the return, the sensation of “I did that”?

I board a plane to Zurich, where I sleep on the floor for six hours, waking only to make sure my flight's gate is still closed. In Ethiopia, 12 fill a plane meant for 100 and, though there are two stops before we reach our destination, no one new gets on board. Ethiopians must not believe in canceling flights, I think, or balancing weight. I sleep, thankful for the open seat I have chosen from first class.

At 2 A.M., our plane lands in Arusha, Tanzania. (“Straight down,” Noah, my taxi driver will tell me. “It was as if you fell from the sky.”) And my first thought on the tarmac is that I had forgotten the smell. Food, dirt, body odor, smoke—all are there the moment I step out. Not quite the village, but not at all dissimilar. I imagine my fellow passengers—the Brits, the Germans, the uninitiated—covering their

"Research Misconduct"

The Office of Research Integrity in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has concluded that former professor of psychology Marc Hauser "engaged in research misconduct." The agency's finding, based on its investigation and a prior one by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, comes after FAS in 2010 found him "solely responsible" for "eight instances of scientific misconduct." Hauser resigned in 2011. The federal findings include fabrication of data, falsified coding of research, and false descriptions of methodology, among other issues. According to the federal report, Hauser "neither admits nor denies committing research misconduct" but "accepts" that the investigatory agency "has found evidence of research

misconduct." He has entered into a voluntary settlement governing any federally funded research he may undertake during the next three years. For a full report, and the text of the federal findings, see <http://harvardmag.com/hauser-12>.



Marc Hauser

Primate Research Reforms

In the wake of violations of federal rules for care of animals used in research—including several monkey deaths (see "Animal Research Reforms," May-June, page 45)—Harvard Medical School dean Jeffrey S. Flier has accepted and is implementing an outside review panel's recommendations for changes in staffing, procedures, and policies at the New England Primate Research Center and elsewhere across HMS operations. The actions include appointment of an attending veterinarian and biosafety officer at NEPRC; staff training and career development; and staffing to bring NEPRC needs and issues to the attention of senior HMS management. In mid-September, the *Boston Globe* reported that HMS

Brevia



GRADUATE SCHOOL DEAN: Jones professor of statistics **Xiao-Li Meng, Ph.D. '90**—a member of the faculty since 2001 and chair of his department since 2004—has been appointed dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. He succeeds **Allan M. Brandt**, who relinquished the position last February to address health issues. Meng has been recognized as a faculty champion for improving teaching and learning, a priority of rising importance for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and Harvard generally. A graduate of Fudan University, in Shanghai, he is also engaged in, and a potent symbol of, the University's global reach. For a full report, see <http://harvardmag.com/meng-12>.

and the primate center had been put on probation in June by the Association for Assessment and Accreditation of Laboratory Animal Care International, the principal accrediting organization for animal-research institutions.

Longhorn Legal Brief

In mid August, the University, joined by several other institutions, filed an amicus brief in *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*, the latest legal case concerning consideration of race in higher-education admissions; oral argument before the U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled for October

10. The institutions cited the "profound importance of assembling a diverse student body—including racial diversity—for their educational missions." For a detailed account of litigation over these issues, a report on the current brief, and texts of briefs, see <http://harvardmag.com/amicus-12>.

On Other Campuses

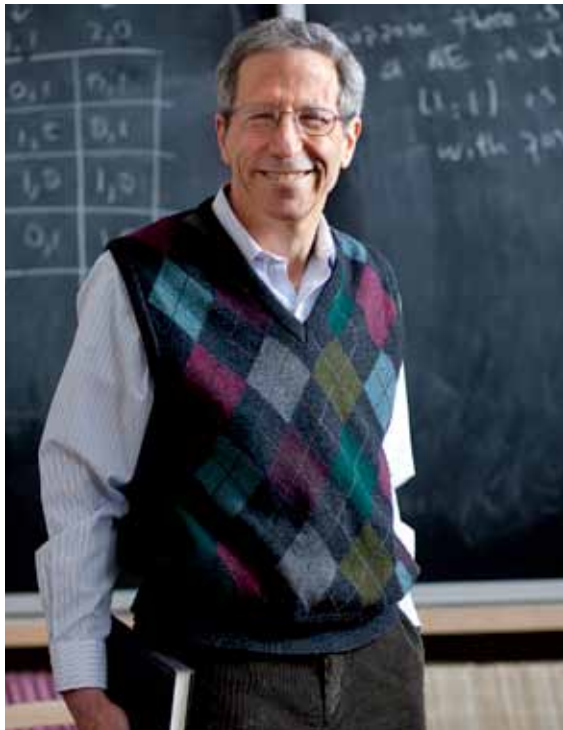
Yale president Rick Levin announced on August 30 that he would step down at the end of the academic year, bringing to a close a 20-year run—the longest among current Ivy League presidents and among leaders of the member institutions of the Association of American Universities....Shirley Tilghman, president of Princeton since 2001, announced in September that she, too, would step down next

June....Cornell and MIT have modified their financial-aid policies. Cornell now restricts "no-loan" aid packages to families whose income is \$60,000 or less; previously, the ceiling was \$75,000; between those levels, aid offerings now include a \$2,500 annual loan component, scaling up to \$5,000 (previously \$3,000) for families with incomes from \$75,000 to \$120,000. MIT moved to a uniform "self-help" level of \$6,000 for aid packages at all incomes, to be met through work-study assignments, outside scholarships, or loans; previously, the obligation for families with incomes under \$75,000 was slightly less than \$3,000.

Nota Bene

ROTC'S RETURN. Now that Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs are formally recognized by Harvard (navy and army offices opened last academic year), Army ROTC cadets began calisthenics training at University facilities on September 10—the first time such activity was sanctioned on campus in 41 years. An introductory military-science class began later that week.

TIPS LITIGATION. The Harvard Club of Boston reached a \$4-million settlement



UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR: Applied mathematician and theoretical economist **Eric S. Maskin '72, Ph.D. '76**, who shared the Nobel Prize in 2007 (with Leonid Hurwicz and Roger B. Myerson, Ph.D. '76), has been named **Adams University Professor**, Harvard's highest faculty rank. He succeeds **Christoph Wolff**, a musicologist and scholar of Bach and Mozart, who has retired. Maskin taught at MIT and at Harvard (from 1985 to 2000) before relocating to the Institute for Advanced Study, in Princeton, New Jersey. He returned to the faculty this past January. The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences conferred its Centennial Medal on Maskin in 2010.

pointed Harvard's vice provost for research, effective October 15. He oversees interdisciplinary research, research administration and policy, and research funding. McCullough, a materials scientist, succeeds



Richard McCullough

professor of pathology **David Korn**, who led efforts to overhaul University financial conflict-of-interest policies.

EXTENSION EXECUTIVE. Michael Shinagel is stepping down as dean of the Division of Continuing Education (Harvard



Michael Shinagel

Extension School, Harvard Summer School, the Institute for Learning in Retirement, and other operations) at the end of the academic year. He has led the organization since 1975, and was also master of Quincy House.

The Faculty of Arts and Sciences will conduct a national search for a successor.

POLITICAL PRINCIPALS. Several Harvard-affiliated people played prominent roles in the national political news this summer—alongside President Barack H. Obama, J.D. '91, and Republican challenger Mitt Romney, M.B.A. '74, J.D. '75. Thomas Stemberg '71, M.B.A. '73, a founder of the Staples office-supplies retail chain and now a venture capitalist, spoke at the Republican convention in Tampa on Romney's behalf. Rafael Ed-ward ("Ted") Cruz, J.D. '95, former solic-

itor general of Texas, a Tea Party-backed challenger, secured the Republican nomination, and all but certain election, to a U.S. Senate seat from that state. And a front-page *New York Times* story on July 15 described the role of former Overseer Penny Pritzker '81 as a leading Obama fundraiser in 2008 and her lessened involvement in this campaign.

MISCELLANY. Behavioral economist Alvin E. Roth, and economics professors Susan C. Athey and Guido W. Imbens (the latter are husband and wife) all relocated from Harvard to Stanford during the summer. Also on the road: number theorist Sophie Morel, the only woman full professor in the mathematics department, who came to Harvard from the Institute for Advanced Study, is now at Princeton....Cecilia Rouse '86, Ph.D. '92, a professor of the economics of education at Princeton, has been appointed dean of that university's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. She served on President Barack Obama's Council of Economic Advisers from 2009 to 2011....



Cecilia Rouse

MIT's past president, Susan Hockfield, is serving as a visiting professor at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Also at the Kennedy School: Michael Ignatieff. He was Carr professor of human rights policy from 2000 to 2006 before returning to his native Canada, where he was elected to parliament and led the Liberal Party. He is now a half-time professor of practice....Paul Andrew, formerly of the Weber Shandwick public relations firm, has been appointed Harvard's assistant vice president for communications, effective October 1. His previous clients included Harvard Business School and edX, the Harvard-MIT online-education enterprise launched last spring....Caesars Entertainment is pursuing a license for a Boston-area casino development with Suffolk Downs, the racetrack on the East Boston-Revere line; Harvard Corporation member Joseph J. O'Donnell '67, M.B.A. '71, is a Suffolk Downs principal owner.

with waitstaff over tips collected as part of a surcharge on food and beverage bills, the *Boston Globe* reported in September; the funds collected had not been disbursed to employees, as required by Massachusetts law. The employees were represented by Shannon Liss-Riordan '90, J.D. '96. On September 20, she filed a class-action lawsuit against the Harvard Faculty Club, maintaining that staff there had also been illegally deprived of funds that club patrons paid, expecting them to be disbursed to servers as tips.

RUGBY RISES. The athletics department has announced that women's rugby, a club sport since 1982, will become a varsity sport in the 2013-2014 academic year—bringing to 42 the number of varsity programs for men and women (21 each). The National Collegiate Athletics Association has identified women's rugby as an emerging sport, signaling its potential as a recognized intercollegiate program. Harvard's will be the first Ivy League varsity program. For more on the program's history at Harvard, see <http://harvardmag.com/rugby-12>.

RESEARCH LEADER. Richard McCullough, vice president for research at Carnegie Mellon—where he formerly chaired the chemistry department—has been ap-

noses, not yet knowing that there is a sweetness to the sweat and the burn. For the first time, the going feels like a return.

THIS PAST AUGUST, I was returning to Cambridge. There were two and a half days at home, in Western Massachusetts (one, unpacking; another, packing again), two and a half days with the place I felt I could not leave before. Harvard was not where I wanted to be going, despite what I may have said. My mind remained in Tanzanian villages, with the sound of the maize grinders at 6 P.M. and the feeling of dust in my hair. I sang Bongo Flava (Tanzanian pop music) downloaded for the drive back to school—and this time my mother was the one asking for silence from the first floor.

I didn't check my e-mail before I left for school, waited until the cheap gas station in Williamsburg before I even looked. My phone had vibrated every five minutes along the way and finally I decided to turn it off. But out of guilt, or habit, I opened the browser and lingered in the parking lot, waiting 10 minutes for small-town Internet to load. Three hundred forty-nine messages on the screen, 90 or so that required reply. During the semester, I knew, such was a manage-

able—daily, even—task. Still, I pressed the power button and hid the device in my bag, thought of the single-function Nokia that, for the past three months, had been my own. With a capacity of 100 messages, the phone's greatest demand had been the inbox's perpetual tendency to fill. It vibrated just as often, but with greetings rather than tasks to be done.

I pulled out of the gas-station parking lot, appreciated the 25 mph section of road. Although I have never seen a police car in Williamsburg, it has never struck me as odd that the inhabitants obey a speed limit like that.

THERE IS A MOMENT on the Mass. Pike—near Sturbridge—where two lanes become four. The mountains no longer rise up around you; vehicles are forced into the depository of two significant arteries, a tempo that seems faster than before. Cars from I-84 pass on the right, those from I-90 accelerate on the left; eventually, a form of settling occurs. It is in this openness that I feel most claustrophobic, where the trees have given way to rest areas and poles. The lost views of elevation, though, are inconsequential—at this pace, your eyes must be constantly on the road. Forcing my hands to loosen on the

steering wheel—at 70 mph, remembering how to drive—I thought of Windsor, Massachusetts, population 875—rural, home.

Reaching Sturbridge, driving back to Cambridge, I crossed right, over two lanes: five minutes of anxiety just to slow down. Cars accelerated around me, with greater urgency than I about arriving where they needed to go. I increased the volume of my Bongo Flava, sang louder to words I did not know. I was still in tune with the rhythm of the country I had left, not ready for the pulse of the music the radio promised to play. I knew Harvard would soon feel familiar, that I would adjust to the pace of before. But though this consolation relieved uncertainties, I nonetheless wanted to maintain the travel, neither arriving nor letting go.

It is a two-and-a-half-hour trip to Cambridge from Windsor, depending on the state of construction and desired number of back roads. My hometown is 98.86 percent white, or so the last census has shown. The open spaces of country lyrics actually hold meaning and running into neighbors will leave you talking for 20 minutes, despite having places to go. It never takes longer than three hours to drive to Cambridge from Windsor, yet the

bass of the pop music emanating from the tollbooth to Boston left me feeling that the distance between home and Tanzania is much less significant than the 131 miles between Harvard and home.

ONE NIGHT, in my final week in Tanzania, I return late from visiting another village. We have walked eight hours today to deliver flipcharts, markers, tape to a group, and check on progress while we are there. Shaba, age eight—one of the six children who live in the house next to ours—is cooking dinner beside the goats, sheep, chickens that settle by the door. The pot on the



Illustration by Josée Bisailon

fire holds ugali, a thick cornmeal that requires nearly constant stirring as it is prepared. Shaba places his wooden spoon on the ground (beside the goats, sheep, chickens) anyway, and runs to give me a hug before remembering to greet me as an elder.

Hatujacheza leo. “We haven’t played today,” he says to me in Swahili.

Najua lakini leo nilitembea sana. Sasa, nimechoka lakini tunaweza kuongea kidogo. “I know, but today I walked a lot. Now I am tired, but we can talk a bit.”

Shaba sits, wiping the spoon on dusty pants. I ask if he knows why I enjoy being outside at night. He does not. It is 70 degrees—winter, cold—and Shaba would rather be inside with the warmth.

Kwa sababu napenda kuangalia nyota hapa. “Because,” I explain, “here, I love to look at the stars.”

Shaba looks up; the pot boils over. I ask if he knows that a man has been to the moon. He does not.

Tumeenda pale? “We have gone there?” I take the spoon and stir. By the fire, Shaba cannot stop staring at the moon.

Tumeenda pale. Ungeweza, ungeenda? “We have. If you could, would you?”

Shaba nods.

Shaba, unaweza kuona nini hapa? “What can you see here?” I ask. The food is almost done.

Vitu hivi, tu. “Only these things.” He gestures with his hands.

Na ukienda mwezini, utaona nini? “And if you go to the moon?”

Kila kitu. “Every thing.”

I smile, returning the spoon to his hands. Tomorrow, we will play in the dust of the village, sit in the shade when the winter sun grows hot. Tonight, I am tired and dinner waits, inside. I enter our home next door, through the gate that we keep locked. Shaba and his siblings rarely visit us there; we have only windows through which we can see them play.

There aren’t any mountains to climb up, to see from in Bwawani, the village where we stay. “Hot, dusty, bad roads, no water,” is how a motorcycle driver in town will describe it as I sit behind him, en route to the office one day. It’s difficult to see farther than the closest farm in Bwawani, though people don’t tend to move much beyond that, anyway.

But I have been beyond the farms outside our windows, know what lies there even if it

cannot be seen. I eat meat in the village, take a bucket shower with heated water, change into clothing washed by the mama hired to do our chores. White, female, American, I face the discomfort of someone who will never wholly quite belong, especially when entering my privileged life within our gated walls next door. Even within a place, I think, perspective is transitory; there is a coming and going, a process of becoming removed.

And I will forget this unease when I return to Harvard, where I will balance the notion of being tangential once more—the feeling of being deposited—until a form of settling occurs. I’ve realized that I can’t think of who I truly am at either place, really; perspective on one from the other has always seemed impossible to discern. It’s only when grounded in home and the mountains, or the air between here and there—that’s when I think of Tanzania and Harvard, these places that I love, to which I am always anxious to return. ▢

Berta Greenwald Ledecy Undergraduate Fellow Kathryn C. Reed ’13 has yet to learn the words to the Bongo Flava songs she sings, perhaps louder than her roommate prefers.

SPORTS

Powering Through

Bite down. Grind it out. And score profusely.

THE BUZZ at the first postgame press conference wasn’t about the 66-yard breakaway that had locked up the football team’s 28-13 win over the University of San Diego, or about the 99-yard kick return that was nullified by a penalty, or about Harvard’s chances of repeating as Ivy League champions. With writers from *The New York Times* and The Associated Press on hand for a game they wouldn’t otherwise have covered, the College’s investigation of “academic misconduct” (see page 40) was Topic A.

“I know the question everyone wants to ask,” said head coach Tim Murphy. He spoke guardedly, citing privacy regulations, but did state that all of his offensive and defensive starters were in good stand-

ing. “We are not able to talk about the kids who aren’t here,” said Murphy, tacitly confirming that some members of his 119-man squad hadn’t dressed for the game.

“I’ll say this,” Murphy added. “Harvard kids aren’t good kids, they’re great kids—but they don’t walk on water. And I think it’s important, as parents and educators, that we reinforce that crucial life lesson, that inappropriate behavior won’t be tolerated. Because down the road, later in life, those consequences can be terminal. They can cost you a marriage. They can cost you a career. But I’ve never seen greater character kids than we have here. Amazing kids.”

The *Times* headline read, *Harvard Wins Opener, But Scandal Spoils Mood.* Yet the players who spoke at the press conference

seemed upbeat and resolute. “Any adversity that comes your way, you put your head down, you bite down, and you grind through it,” said senior tailback Treavor Scales. “We’ve had that mentality as a team. It’s something you train for in the off-season. Distractions, adversity, whatever you want to call it, we power through it, and I’m proud of that.”

Scales had just rushed for 173 yards, a career high, in a season-opening game that was hard-fought, tense, and in its way historic. The Crimson had not faced a West Coast squad since a 44-0 mismatch at Stanford in 1949, and no team from the western half of the country had ever set foot in Harvard Stadium.

The Crimson offense took three quarters to get untracked, but erupted for 21 fourth-quarter points in a show of strength reminiscent of last year’s Ivy League championship team, which scored a school-record 37.4 points per game. San Diego took a 13-7 lead late in the third period, but Harvard got a jolt of fresh energy when Seitou Smith II ’15 returned a USD kickoff for a 99-yard touchdown. His run was called back because of an illegal block,

but the offense then mounted a 94-yard drive—sustained by the running of Scales and senior quarterback Colton Chapple—to take a 14-13 lead.

After that came two bonus touchdowns by Scales, whom Murphy praised as “a complete running back, arguably the best in the league.” The first was a one-yard slant, completing an 82-yard drive. The second was a 66-yard burst that caught San Diego’s defenders off guard with less than a minute and a half to play. “Colton came into the huddle,” Scales explained afterward, “and said, ‘Guys, one first down and we got the game.’ I said, ‘No, we’re scoring a touchdown.’ And sure enough, the offensive line did a great job—[a hole] opened up like the Red Sea, and I had no choice, I was obligated to get to that end zone.”

Scales got to the end zone no fewer than four times at Brown the next weekend, as Harvard outslugged the Bears, 45-31, in a televised evening game. Again the Crimson offense scored 21 fourth-quarter points, pulling away from a resilient Brown squad that had matched Harvard drive-for-drive for much of the game. Displaying a balanced attack, Harvard ran the ball 37 times and used 40 pass plays. Scales picked up 136 yards rushing, including breakaway touchdown runs of 41 and 20 yards in the final quarter, and Chapple excelled, completing 30 of 40 passes for 351 yards and a touchdown. His most striking throws were a 30-yard scoring pass to Seitu Smith, who made a dazzling over-the-shoulder grab at the goal line, and a 35-yarder to wide receiver Andrew Berg ’14, whose leaping catch set up a six-yard touchdown carry by Chapple himself.

Chapple had thrown two scoring passes against San Diego, missing out on a third when a 15-yard attempt was picked off in the end zone. He continued to raise his game in the season’s third contest, passing for four touchdowns and running for another in a 52-3 rout of Holy Cross. In a rain-drenched night game at the Stadium, Chapple saw only two quarters of action, but completed 13 of 18 passes for 260 yards.

As a junior, Chapple stepped in for the injured Collier Winters ’11 (’12) and threw for two touchdowns in last year’s 24-7 vic-

tory over Brown. He went on to establish himself as the most prolific backup quarterback in Crimson annals, passing for 12 touchdowns in 13 quarters of play and becoming the first Harvard passer to throw for at least four touchdowns in consecutive games. But Winters returned at mid-season, and his understudy went back to taking snaps for the place-kicking team. Now Chapple’s the boss. Three games into the current season, his won-lost record as a starter was 9-1.

Preseason polls made a Harvard a heavy favorite to retain the Ivy trophy. With an upwardly mobile quarterback, a clutch of nimble receivers, a hefty and experienced line, and an all-Ivy tailback to power through it, the Crimson offense may hold the key to another championship season.

TIDBITS: “They’re as good a team as we play, very tough, extremely well-coached, and nothing came easy,” said coach Murphy after the San Diego opener. The Toreros, who had already played two games, are the defending co-champions of the Pioneer Football League, a 10-team conference with constituents in California, the Midwest, and the East. The PFL and the Ivy League are the only NCAA Division I conferences whose members do not grant athletic scholarships....Harvard is slated to open the 2013 season at San Diego’s Torero Stadium, but USD then goes off the schedule.

Hot hand: Torero quarterback Mason Mills, a strong-armed passer and agile scrambler, threw for 354 yards and a touch-

down, setting USD records for pass attempts (63) and completions (38). Not since the 2003 season had an opposing passer enjoyed a 350-yard day against Harvard, but Mills’s outing was made less enjoyable by a Crimson defense that registered 14 pass breakups, seven quarterback sacks, and an interception.

Best foot forward: Harvard hasn’t lost an opening game at the Stadium since the 2000 season, and has won 12 of its last 14 Ivy openers.

Twilight zone: The Brown game’s unusual 4:30 P.M. starting time was dictated by TV scheduling. NBC Sports Network telecast the game nationally, but only after airing the Cornell-Yale contest. The first half was played in sunlight, though four temporary lighting banks were switched on before the kickoff....Treavor Scales’s four touchdowns at Brown were the most for a Harvard back since 2003, when Clifton Dawson ’07 had four against Lafayette. The all-time Harvard record for rushing touchdowns is five, set by fullback Tom Ossman ’52 in the 1951 Brown game.

Front-loading: Harvard scored 49 of its 52 points in the Holy Cross game before halftime, setting a new school record for first-half scoring. The previous record of 41 was set at Columbia in 2005....Reserves played the second half against Holy Cross.



Visit <http://harvardmag.com/about/email> to sign up for weekly post-game reports in your inbox.



Tailback Treavor Scales scored four touchdowns in a 45-31 slugfest at Brown. His offensive line, said Scales, opened holes “as wide as an 18-wheeler.”

On a roll: The Holy Cross victory gave Harvard a 12-game winning streak, the longest of any NCAA Football Championship Subdivision team. Crimson teams hadn't met defeat since the opening game of the 2011 season—a 30-22 loss at Holy Cross.

In case you missed it: Yale's football program is, let's say, in a state of flux. A month after last November's 45-7 blow-

out at Yale Bowl—Harvard's tenth victory in 11 meetings with the Blue—third-year coach Tom Williams resigned, admitting to misstatements in his résumé. Yale then raided the enemy camp and hired Tony Reno, Harvard's special teams coordinator, to succeed Williams, whereupon Reno lured three more assistant coaches from Cambridge to New Haven. A further turn

of events came last summer, when the Eli captain-elect had to vacate his post after allegedly punching another student. So the Blue is captainless in its 140th season of football—"and maybe that is fitting," opined a *Yale Daily News* editorial, since "each and every player shares the burden of reminding Yale what a noble thing football can be." ~"CLEAT"

Dunking from Olympian Heights

Basketball's Temi Fagbenle—from London to Lavietes

THERE ARE NOT many basketball courts in London, nor do English schools compete in the sport. There were just a few outdoor courts on London playgrounds, and even fewer indoor venues, when Temi Fagbenle '15 was growing up. But having found the game at the advanced age of 14, Fagbenle made her way to the Haringey Angels, one of a score of basketball clubs in the city. The Angels are the powerhouse of that lot, perennial national champions in the under-14, -16, and -18 girls' categories.

Fagbenle ranks high in that host of Angels; she made the 2012 British Olympic team and played in all five of its contests at this summer's London Games. This season, as a Harvard sophomore, she will play for the first time in the Ivy League, making her only the second Ivy Leaguer to have played Olympic women's basketball. (Brown's Martina Jerant played for Canada at the 1996 Atlanta Games.)

A six-foot, four-inch forward, Fagbenle brought her skills stateside to Blair Academy in New Jersey a few years ago. Head basketball coach Kathy Delaney-Smith, now beginning her thirty-first year at Harvard, ranks her among the top players she has coached—including players like Allison

Feaster '98, who led the nation in scoring as a senior and had a long WNBA career. "Temi has that kind of potential," Delaney-Smith says, "and maybe more."

Because Fagbenle took her British O-level exams (at age 15) before coming to Blair, the National Collegiate Athletic Association determined that she was the equivalent of a high-school graduate and so had played three "postgraduate" years at Blair. The NCAA therefore ruled that she had to sit out a season before playing college games.

Harvard appealed the ruling multiple times to no avail. (In Great Britain, it's actually the A-level exams, taken around

the age of 18 or 19, that approximate an American high-school diploma: they're normally followed by three years of college and a bachelor's degree). When it became clear that Fagbenle wouldn't be allowed to play intercollegiate games, and she wanted to try out for the British national team instead, Delaney-Smith switched her to a program to prepare for an Olympic run. Nevertheless, Fagbenle practiced as a freshman with the Crimson ("I showed them no mercy in practice," she says), though she didn't travel with the team. "Practicing with her makes you work harder," Delaney-Smith says. "Yet there's a limit to that because she dominates so much—

there is no one comparable to Temi in the Ivy League."

Fagbenle is one of the most athletic women ever to play for Harvard, and her versatility is impressive. "She's fast in the open court, has great back-to-the-basket moves, and a beautiful finishing touch," Delaney-Smith says. "Usually people of her size don't have speed or perimeter skills, but she is good away from the hoop, and has been working on her three-point shot. She's a great shot blocker and is smart defensively." For her part, Fagbenle says, "I love defense—it's what gives me joy. When you have a total team effort on defense, it feels so different from anything else. Everyone communicating, moving, working hard, each player on the same page. Then when that ball is denied—maybe a block or a steal—that's the best feeling ever. Those spe-

Olympian and Harvard sophomore Temi Fagbenle at Lavietes Pavilion, where women's basketball Ivy championship banners hang in profusion



cial moments are rare, but totally worth it.”

The rising star comes from a Nigerian family; father Tunde is a newspaper journalist and mother Buki is earning an herbal medicine degree. Fagbenle has 11 sibs and half-sibs—nine brothers and two sisters, ranging from five to 43 years of age. She is the ninth child in her “sporty” family, and third tallest, after her six-foot-nine and six-foot-seven brothers. (Her parents, at six-feet, two inches and five feet, eight, are not formidably tall.) Born in Baltimore, she grew up mostly in London and has dual citizenship.

Tennis was Fagbenle’s first love (she still plays) and she dreamed of playing professionally, but by age 13, “it wasn’t flowing,” she says. She switched to basketball at 14, and wears uniform number 14 to commemorate that. It was awkward. “You’re rubbish when you first start a sport,” she notes. “I was like a baby deer on the court. I had poor balance and my shots weren’t dropping.” Yet at six feet, three inches, she had already been dubbed the “tallest 13-year-old girl in London.” She also benefited from top-notch coaching at Haringey and helped the club to national titles.

Her coaches had some contacts at American prep schools; Fagbenle chose Blair because “it had the prettiest pictures.” She thought high school in the States would “be a breeze—I got that idea from movies.” Instead, she experienced heavy culture shock and “crashed and burned the first year.” But she soon adapted and began to love school while excelling at basketball: as a senior

At the London Olympics, Fagbenle attempts a steal from French player Elodie Godin.

she led Blair to the Mid-Atlantic Prep League and state prep-school championships, and was named a McDonald’s All-American. In the spring she found time to win state championships in the high jump, javelin, shot put, and discus. She also performed in two musicals and “enjoyed them thoroughly,” Fagbenle declares.

Culture shock is now a thing of the past; Fagbenle’s current problems involve more practical matters like finding a pair of jeans to fit her frame. (She does have one pair, bought years ago.) She prefers skirts and dresses, but even there, length is a problem, as a dress for a five-foot, two-inch woman, she says, “is a shirt for me! Shopping is a nightmare!”

This year’s Olympic experience is unlikely to be her last. The popularity of women’s basketball has only begun to grow in the United Kingdom; unlike France, Australia, or Russia, England has not yet become a women’s-hoops power. Though the English national team had a solid pre-Olympic run, besting highly rated teams from France and the Czech Republic, they may have peaked too early; they lost all five of their London contests.



CHARLES KRUPA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nonetheless, “We did our country proud,” Fagbenle says. “We played with guts in every game and played hard till the buzzer.”

The Crimson hope that her considerable skills will help them break out of a rut of second-place Ivy finishes: Harvard’s last title, shared with Cornell and Dartmouth, came in 2007–’08, and for the last three seasons the Crimson have come in second to Princeton; the Tigers

have dropped only one of 42 Ivy games since the 2009–10 season. But Harvard returns several strong players to complement their Olympian, including high-scoring, six-foot forward Victoria Lippert ’13. If Fagbenle can bolster the Crimson’s results the way Allison Feaster did, the competition had best brace itself: beginning with Feaster’s sophomore year, Harvard ran off three straight Ivy League titles.



Visit harvardmag.com/ extras for a video of Temi Fagbenle ’15 demonstrating one of her on-court moves.

~CRAIG LAMBERT

ALUMNI

“The Busiest Man in Poker”

Bernard Lee calls, raises, deals, and explains the booming card game.

IN 2003, when a complete amateur named Chris Moneymaker won the \$2.5-million first prize at the World Series of Poker (WSOP), the game’s highest-profile event, Bernard Lee ’92 had already been playing poker with buddies in his hometown of Wayland, Massachusetts, for a long time. Moneymaker had earned his WSOP seat by playing online

at PokerStars—and Lee and thousands of other nonprofessional players had the same thought: “If he can do it, I can do it!” The poker boom was born.

Lee got his own chance to compete at WSOP in 2005, qualifying on a night when he returned from tennis practice and played online from 11 P.M. until 5:00 A.M. Having read books and worked hard to improve his

skills for more than a year, he wept with joy. That summer, when his wife, family physician Kathryn (Higashi) Lee ’92, drove him to the airport to attend the WSOP’s Main Event in Las Vegas, she asked, “If you cash [win prize money], do you want me to throw a party?” Lee’s reply: “If I win six figures, then we party.” Kathryn relaxed; with 5,619 entrants who had each bought \$10,000

in chips to enter, the chance of such a large payout was highly unlikely.

Or so she thought. Lee began the tourney with one of his best first days ever, and by day two was one of the top hundred players (in chips amassed) of the 2,000 remaining entrants; nearly two-thirds of those who'd entered had gone broke after their first day of play. Lee had made \$35,000 by day three, and the following day he was among the 58 survivors all assured of at least \$145,000 in prize money. "You might want to get that party list ready," he told his wife. He also called his boss at Boston Scientific, where he was a senior marketing manager. ("I didn't expect to get this deep in the tournament, so I didn't take enough days off from work," he explains.) "Every single person here is following you online," came the reply. "We can't get any work done."

Lee's father, brother, college roommate Doojin Kim '92, two co-workers, and some poker pals flew to Las Vegas to see him finish thirteenth overall, winning \$400,000. (The top prize, won by Joe Hachem, was \$7.5 million.) If not for a 1-in-10 chance of a dealt card that didn't fall Lee's way, he would have gone even further. But the event changed his life.

The PokerStars online card room, which now has nearly 50 million registered players worldwide, invited Lee to write a blog about his experience; he responded with 25 single-spaced pages that ran as a 10-part series on the website. ESPN produced and aired two profiles of him. *The Boston Herald* asked him to write a Sunday poker column, which he did and has continued since 2005, alongside columns for ESPN.com and *CardPlayer Magazine*. Since 2009, he has co-hosted *ESPN Inside Deal*, a weekly online poker show; he has also hosted *The Bernard Lee Poker Show* on AM radio for the last five years and was

the official spokesperson for the Foxwoods Resort Casino's Poker Room from 2010 to 2011. And he teaches poker at the WSOP Academy. In other words, Lee embodies his epithet: "the busiest man in poker."

NOW RANKED 235th of the 300 players on the Global Poker Index, a weekly rating of the game's top players worldwide, Lee divides his time about equally between his various media commitments and playing in tournaments. "I have a pretty competitive personality," he says. "Everything I've done has led to this moment." In his youth he played soccer, basketball, and tennis, and now competes in an adult tennis league and golfs; in college he may have played in the most intramural poker contests ever, helped by three post-collegiate years as a resident

assistant to then-Quincy House master Michael Shinagel. (All House affiliates may participate in intramurals.)

It was at Harvard that Lee cut his teeth as a poker player in a weekly Quincy House game with one- and five-dollar chips where "winning \$500 was a really good night." His friend Abe Wickelgren '91, J.D. '94, Ph.D. '99, the game's organizer and one of the best players, became a mentor. "I'm a very observant person," Lee says. He watched Wickelgren and eventually they took a road trip to Foxwoods for Lee's first casino action. "Bernie had great discipline," Wickelgren recalls. "Not having it is the downfall of a lot of poker players: there's a tendency to want to be involved too much, to want to always be involved in the hand. Bernie had the discipline to fold a hand and sit on the sidelines. He also could think about things analytically and not let his emotions get involved. He was very interested in improving—Bernie read poker books and got better when he was not actually playing."

A "picture memory" helps Lee remember cards that have been played; he's also aware of a vast range of odds of cards being dealt. "When you start out, all you do is worry about getting good cards," he explains. "The better you get, the more it's situational—you're playing the player as much as playing the cards. This game is very psychological." For example, though there's no obligation to show one's cards after a hand, sometimes Lee will show what he held after winning a bluff to "destabilize" an opponent. "The best time to get information about another player is when you're not in the hand," he says. "After I've folded a hand, I'll intently watch how the other players bet, notice their patterns, see if there are any



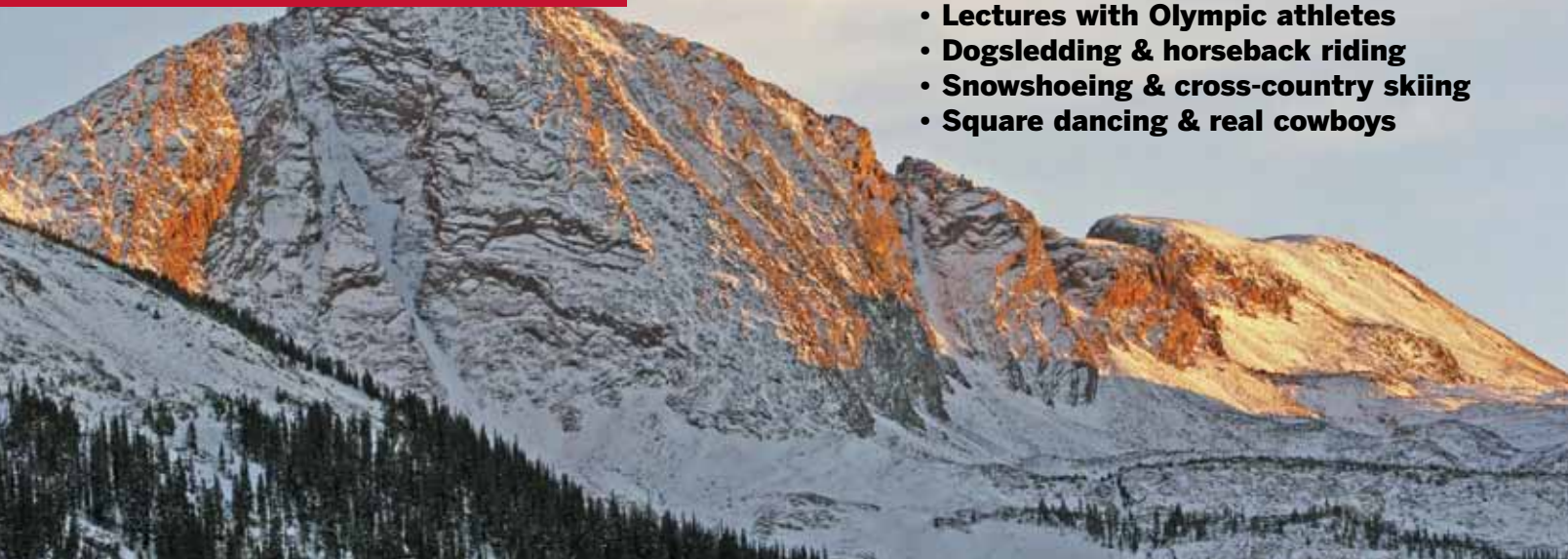
Bernard Lee at the card table, with a picture of his children beside him, as usual

See if there are any

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'tells' that give them away. The next time I go up against that player, I'll know more. You can tell players aren't really serious if they check out of the game once they've folded their own hand." Big winnings come, of course, from opponents who stay in the game until losing out at the end. "You need someone who has a good enough hand to be second best," Lee says.

He's come a long way since his father scolded him as a boy for declaring a full house when he actually had four of a kind (thanks to a wild card)—as his dad vociferously declared. (In serious poker, there are no wild cards, which vastly change probabilities.) Lee often sat at the top of the stairs and listened when his dad played poker with friends and family members at

Thanksgiving and Christmas. "I'd watch them arguing with each other—'How could you make that play?' " he recalls. "I thought that was being a man. I learned early on that it was not about luck."

Lee grew up in a Korean family in Westchester County, north of New York City, attended the Horace Mann School in Riverdale, New York, and studied classical piano at Juilliard on Saturday mornings, eventually winning a piano contest. He entered Brown on an eight-year college/medical-school program, but eventually transferred to Harvard, where he concentrated in biology. After college, he found that he loved business and took an M.B.A. at Babson; he worked at Boston Scientific, a medical-device company, until 2007.

After Lee's great run at the WSOP in 2005, he was well positioned to take part in the poker boom then in progress. Online play had taken off, and ESPN began broadcasting games using a "hole cam" that allowed spectators to see the players' cards. *The World Poker Tour* became the most-watched show on the Travel Channel. (Some of the poker explosion, says Lee, began with the 1998 film *Rounders*, about the underground world of high-stakes poker, which starred his classmate Matt Damon '92.)

"It's ridiculous that I can do this for a living," he says. "I think about this game all the time and I love it. I was a fan of the world's top poker stars and now they are my friends." He launched his Full House Charity Program in 2011, donating \$500 to it each time he draws a full house, with a minimum \$20,000 annual commitment; Vermont's Cabot Cheese is the primary sponsor. Last year the charity supported work on autism and provided Christmas packages for children whose families were devastated by storms in Hartford, Connecticut, and Springfield, Massachusetts.

And though his kids don't yet know how to play poker (they do play Uno, a Crazy Eights-type game, and sometimes even beat their father at it), Lee is known as a family man on the circuit. He places a photo of his children on the table and kisses it before each session of play. "If I'm nervous, I can look down at my son and daughter," he says. "It reminds me that if I'm knocked out, I go home to them—how bad can this be?"

—CRAIG LAMBERT



From left:
Abiola Laniyonu,
Laura Hinton,
Meghan Smith, and
Matthew Chuchul

Aloian Award Winners

In honor of the David and Mimi Aloian Memorial Scholarships' twenty-fifth anniversary, the Harvard Alumni Association (HAA) has chosen four undergraduates to receive the award this year (instead of the usual two). Recipients have demonstrated solid leadership in contributing to the quality of life in the Houses, traits embodied by the Aloians, who led Quincy House from 1981 to 1986. David Aloian '49 was also executive director of the HAA. This year's scholars, **Matthew Chuchul** '13, of Pforzheimer House, **Laura Hinton** '13, of Cabot House, **Abiola Laniyonu** '13, of Lowell House, and **Meghan Joy Smith** '13, of Leverett House, were honored on September 27.

Chuchul, of New Hyde Park, New York, co-chairs his House committee. Last year, noting a void in "Pfoho's" history, he teamed up with the Harvard College Women's Center to launch the "Radcliffe Revolution"—a photographic retrospective and evening of alumnae recollections of the transition to gender-mixed housing—which drew more than 100 people.

Hinton, of Alameda, California, co-chairs her House committee and is a founding team member of the Cabot Café, which serves hundreds of students, tutors, and faculty members a week, fostering a dynamic atmosphere of intellectual and social conversation.

Laniyonu, of Derwood, Maryland, helped modernize the Lowell House library by creating custom software to analyze its more than 10,000 volumes so users may cross-reference their books against other Harvard holdings. A former secretary of the House Committee, he now serves the community through an at-large leadership position created specifically for him.

Smith, of Campbell River, British Columbia, has helped raise awareness of mental-health issues and helped change student culture by normalizing asking for help with them. She has worked closely with student mental-health liaisons and is a drug and alcohol peer adviser. In addition, she is the captain of Leverett's intramural crew women's B boat.

Slow Dancing

LAST SPRING, in the midst of Harvard's 375th birthday and 20th annual ARTS FIRST celebration, my office sponsored *Slow Dancing*, an extraordinary video installation by David Michalek that transformed the façade of Widener Library into a moving work of art projected onto three large screens. Using a high speed, high definition camera, the artist created portraits of dancers in action, their five-second flashes of choreography each slowed to span ten minutes. For ten nights in late April, hundreds of spectators gathered in chairs, on the grass, under the trees of Tercentenary Theatre to watch the triptych for minutes or hours as every motion and every muscle of the 43 dancers was made visible. Movements I had watched in performances over many years now appeared completely new, as if I was seeing each gesture and each leap for the first time. The change of speed meant altered vision and transformed understanding. Even the dancers themselves were surprised to see what their movements actually involved.

Such a shift of perception and meaning is, of course, fundamental to great art. But, as I watched busy passersby making their way through the heart of our campus slow to a stop, I found myself thinking about the lessons of *Slow Dancing* in a broader context. They became, for me, a kind of metaphor for an important dimension of what we do at Harvard, and for universities more generally, for their commitments and their purposes: we see anew when we slow down to look, to observe, and to reflect.

This is no simple task in a world that regards speed as an almost unalloyed good—faster results, faster communication, faster trades, faster travel, faster time to market, faster time to degree. Much of this drive is legitimate. Time is indeed a resource that we must not waste. But sometimes not wasting time entails making better and fuller use of it. *Slow Dancing* reminds us of what we lose when we fail to take time and make time. There is so much we can miss, so much we cannot see, so much we fail to understand if we don't regard time itself as an opportunity.



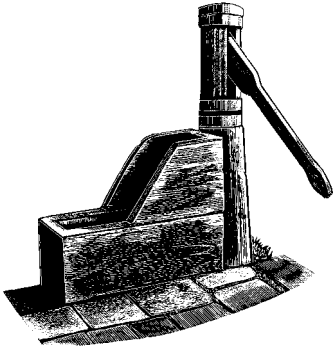
I think of universities as institutions with a distinctive, perhaps unique mission in relation to the resource of time. We are charged with thinking about the long term, with reaching beyond the stranglehold of the present—both to grapple with how we are shaped by the past and to anticipate a future beyond the next quarter or the next election. Knowledge and speed are often inversely correlated. If, as has been so often remarked, journalism is “the first rough draft of history,” scholarship digs deeper, to learn more, to understand more completely and more accurately, to take time for drafts two, three, and beyond in an attempt to approach what we might call Veritas, rather than simply to meet a deadline. Realizing the promise of stem cells, the possibilities of genomics, or the potential of renewable energy will require more than a year or two of research. Eureka moments in these and other fields build on foundations, precedents, and contexts that extend far beyond the moment. Learning, too, happens over time; it is cumulative, incremental. A student in the College enters, as is inscribed over Dexter Gate, “to grow in wisdom” over a four year experience, not to accumulate as many facts as possible in the shortest period of time.

In a season of gratitude and with a New Year fast approaching, let us celebrate what *Slow Dancing* represents as a valued pathway to insight, as a context for reflection. Let us make time to consider the course and the meaning of our lives as members of the University community. And let us think of Harvard as a place that continually enables us to see differently and see afresh as we commit ourselves to taking the time to look.

Sincerely,



Ipso Facto!



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

PEER THROUGH RAILINGS on Memorial Drive at Leverett House's McKinlock Hall and you will see between two arched windows a bell hanging in a small timber bell-frame about 15 feet above ground. Insinuate yourself into the Leverett courtyard, and you will discover that it is a bell of rather modest size, about a foot across at bottom. It has no ropes with which to ring it, no doubt a frustration to the undergraduates in the House. Across the front of the mount, "Pennoyer" is carved into the wood in script. What is this all about? you ask yourself.

Roger Thompson, professor of American history at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, Norfolk, England, answers your question in a dispatch to this magazine. The bell was given to Harvard in 1945 by the village of Pulham St. Mary, near Diss, Norfolk, where it had hung in the tower of their school since 1790 but had recently been removed because the belfry had rotted. Unlike the case of certain Russian bells, no one will be asking for this bell back because the school was closed in 1988.

What links Harvard and Pulham St. Mary is that name, Pennoyer. "William Pennoyer (1603-1671) was a London merchant who grew rich during and after the English Civil War (1642-1646)," Thompson writes. "He traded all over the known world, to India, Madagascar, The Levant, Barbados, Virginia,

Massachusetts, Guinea, Italy, Germany, and Holland. His half-brother came to Massachusetts in 1635, but soon moved on to New Netherland and Connecticut. When William came to make his will, his five children had all died. After generous legacies to his half-brother and to other relations, he made a series of philanthropic bequests. One of these was to support two scholarships and two fellowships at Harvard, with preference for any descendants of his half-brother. Another was for a free school in Pulham St. Mary. Both legacies were funded by rents from farms he owned in the village. Though Harvard sold its farm in 1903, Pennoyer scholarships are still awarded."

Thompson learned how the bell came to Harvard from a letter written by a former Pennoyer scholar, Grant Palmer Pennoyer, A.B. 1915, M.D. '19. His eldest daughter, Virginia, who was working for the State Department in London in 1945, visited the Pennoyer school in Pulham St. Mary and revealed her identity. They made a big fuss over her, her father wrote, but when they offered her a bell, she only smiled. She *did* tell her father about it, and he wrote the head of the school to say that he would be delighted to accept the bell. He thought the most suitable place for it would be Harvard and suggested it go to Leverett House because John Leverett, A.B. 1680, S.T.B. '92, president from 1708 to 1724, had been an early Pennoyer beneficiary. As a young fel-

low and tutor of the College, he had received £20 from the Pennoyer bequest in 1694. And so it came to pass.



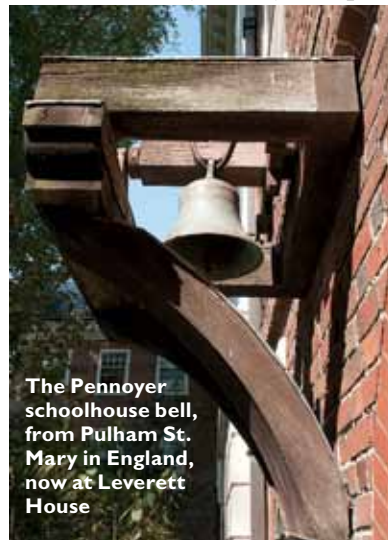
ILLEGITIMUM non carborundum. Oceanographer Allan R. Robinson '54, Ph.D. '59, had a profound understanding of the Gulf Stream, which earned him respect in learned circles worldwide, according to an account of his career written last year by colleagues for the minutes of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences after the death of the McKay professor of geophysical fluid dynamics emeritus. Members of the Harvard Band came to his memorial service and burst into song.

As an undergraduate, Robinson played baritone horn with the Band. "During Commencement week in 1953," wrote his colleagues, "Allan and his friends Edward Upton ['53, G '55] and Charles Lipson ['54, M.D. '58] decided to write a set of nonsense Latin verses for 'Ten Thousand Men of Harvard.'" They incorporated in their text the Band's motto, "Illegitimum non carborundum," loosely translated as "Don't let the bastards grind you down." At Robinson's service the Band belted out:

Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum;
Domine salvum fac.
Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum;
Domine salvum fac.
Gaudeamus igitur!
Veritas non sequitur?
Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum—ipso facto!

Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum;
Domine salvum fac.
Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum;
Domine salvum fac.
Gaudeamus igitur!
Veritas non sequitur?
Illegitimum non carbo-
rundum—ipso facto!

~PRIMUS V



Photograph by Jim Harrison

RECLAIMING CHILDHOOD

(continued from page 38)

cation programs for use in refugee camps. Her eventual dissertation explored the role social support played in the mental health of youths displaced by the conflict in Chechnya.

She cites the influence on her work of two Harvard Medical School researchers: Margarita Alegria, who has questioned the cultural validity of applying commonly used mental-health assessment and services models to minority populations, and Felton Earls, whose long-term study of Chicago youths examined the consequences of violence, tracking a broad range of measures: physical health, social connection, educational and vocational achievement. Remembering these lessons, Betancourt has resisted the temptations to apply Western models elsewhere without adapting them and to stop at the sort of cross-sectional study (one-time data collection, with no follow-up) that dominates research in the developing world. In countries that lack basic infrastructure and government data collection, the challenge of keeping track of study subjects year after year becomes even harder. But, she says, "How can we ever look at resilience if we keep looking at a single snapshot in time?" She has now been following the same children from Sierra Leone for more than a decade; a newly obtained grant will allow her to follow them as they start their own families—the first

multigenerational study of the impact of war in Africa.

Betancourt believes her "long-term relationships" in the countries where she works help her navigate foreign cultures as people begin to trust her and her team members. Ties with partner organizations, such as FXB in Jaipur and Partners In Health in Rwanda, are also crucial. Though her India projects are new, she intends them to be equally enduring. "Once I commit to a place," she says, "I tend to stay committed for a long time."

OFFICE BUILDINGS and residential towers under construction are a hallmark of Indian cities today. In fact, these sites are homes already: next to each unfinished skyscraper, low-ceilinged, ramshackle lean-tos of corrugated tin make up a workers' village. India has an estimated 40 million migrant construction workers; most of them have families in tow.

Children who live on construction sites typically do not attend school. They may not speak the local language of instruction, and may also be several years behind because of frequent moves or a lack of schooling in their native villages. Families do not usually stay on one construction site more than a few months: when laborers who specialize in pouring foundations are finished, they move to a new project, replaced by those who will erect the building, then by stone masons—and so on. What's more, enrolling children in school means taking time away from work. Even locating the nearest school in an unfamiliar area can be daunting.

Mobile Crèches, a Delhi-based NGO with which Betancourt is collaborating, assists parents with enrollment and daily transportation to school for their children. It operates daycare centers on construction sites, offering tutoring, meals, clothing, and medical care, and even negotiating breastfeeding breaks for female construction workers.

At a site in Gurgaon, half a dozen 20-story buildings rise into the fog. Here, in the birthplace of the overseas call center and the first hub of customer-service outsourcing to India, Mobile Crèches operates a center serving 60 children—only a fraction of those living here. (Multiple construction companies commonly work on the same site; understandably, the companies that pay for crèches allow only their

At a childcare center on a construction site in Gurgaon, near Delhi, children of construction workers receive more than just supervision: the center, operated by the NGO Mobile Crèches, provides education, food, and healthcare.



own employees' children to attend.) The other children spend their days cooking, procuring water, or caring for younger siblings. They play unsupervised amid heavy machinery and piles of rusty rebar, with background noise of clanking metal and buzzing generators.

The crèche, tucked away in a metal-fenced courtyard, is a cheerful oasis in this landscape of gray and brown. In an open-air classroom on the terrace, the older children are at work on an assignment to write an illustrated story using the Hindi words for *clouds*, *stars*, and *fair*. Inside, the three-to-five-year-olds sing along with a boombox, eagerly miming the motions to a song about hygiene: combing hair, brushing teeth, washing hands. A schedule for the under-three group, posted on the wall, includes time blocks for playing with toys, tickling, and hugs.

More broadly than the concrete services it offers—food, education, healthcare—Mobile Crèches aims to provide “a place where children reclaim their childhood.” This focus on child development *beyond* physiological needs drew Betancourt’s interest. A student (Ashkon Shaahinfar, M.P.H. ’11, now a clinical fellow in pediatrics at Massachusetts General Hospital) proposed using the SAFE framework to examine the NGO’s work as his thesis project; he and Betancourt wrote the first articles explaining how SAFE applies here and conducted interviews with government officials, NGO workers, academics, and parents to study the impact of growing up on a construction site.

Betancourt’s team is working to create a “SAFE Child Impact Assessment,” modeled after environmental impact assessments—a sort of “report card” that might be used to tally just how child-friendly a company is. She says she has had “very interesting conversations” with India’s Ministry of Women and Children about drafting legislation to require such assessments before new projects break ground. She wonders, “Under the rubric of corporate social responsibility, could we make this like going green, so it’s a good thing, an exciting thing, to be child-friendly?”

Beyond operating 36 childcare centers, Mobile Crèches is an advocacy organization. Betancourt is equally excited to be engaged on this front: the need is so vast that it would be virtually impos-

Despite the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Betancourt says, “Time and again, we fail to do just the very basic things.”

sible for one organization to serve the entire target population. A construction worker might earn 150 rupees (\$3) a day—not much more than Badal makes collecting bottles in the Jaipur train station. Minimum-wage laws exist, but “the law is flouted everywhere,” says Mobile Crèches executive director Mridula Bajaj. Any construction site with a certain number of female workers of reproductive age is required by law to have a crèche, but few do.

Mobile Crèches pressures the government to enforce laws and raises awareness about unenforced laws that affect families and children. “They don’t know that they can advocate for their children to have the right to education,” says Betancourt. “They don’t know that India has an integrated child-development scheme where their zero-to-three-year-olds should be able to go to an early childhood center. They don’t know that India has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and all that it stipulates.”

That convention, which she calls “the gold standard,” entitles children to healthcare, education, security in food and housing, and protection from all forms of violence and exploitation—yet in many of the countries that have signed and ratified the convention, the majority of children lack at least one of these. “Time and time again,” says Betancourt, “we fail to do just the very basic things.”

She would like to see a world where children not only survive, but thrive. In India, she wants children’s rights to be part of the conversation. In Sierra Leone and Rwanda, she seeks to make the case that children still need help long after crisis aid has dried up. Such measures, she points out, affect not just individual children, but entire nations, as they could mean the difference between a generation that finds gainful employment and one mired in psychological problems. “We have lovely laws on the books,” she says. “But to just sign them and not uphold them is a very crass exercise.”



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to view additional images of Betancourt’s work.



Former associate editor Elizabeth Gudrais ’01 now lives in Madison, Wisconsin. Her reporting in India was supported by an anonymous donation for international news coverage.

Copper-clad Hello

Putting a warm face on an intimidating proposition



ing's chief designer was Jane Weinzapfel of the Boston architectural firm Leers Weinzapfel.

Ascend through the second-floor portrait gallery and meeting space to the roof garden, designed by James A. Heroux of Brown Sardina. It is completely charming and—would you believe?—serene. Museum director Peter K. Johnson, M.Arch. '76, helps tend the garden.

Perhaps best of all about this gem of a building is the copper cladding. Brought in in sheets and cut and fitted by workers, it has the look of handcraft. Gleaming at first, it will slowly attain a green patina, in dialogue with rooftops on Beacon Hill.

In 1811 Boston had doctors who made house calls, but had no hospital.

Founding fathers James Jackson, A.B. 1796, M.D. 1809, LL.D. '54, and John Collins Warren, A.B. 1797, M.D. 1819, persuaded a group of local citizens to fund construction of a hospital especially for care of the poor. A group of today's donors, to celebrate MGH's bicentennial, raised the money for this museum to mark past landmarks in patient care and to point to what may be coming, a museum of past and future. ~C.R.

MASSACHUSETTS General Hospital is a conglomeration of towering, mostly gray structures with its main entrance off busy Cambridge Street in Boston at the foot of Beacon Hill. "Its numerous buildings look as if they're jammed together around some invisible center," writes Robert Campbell '58, M.Arch. '67, architecture critic for *The Boston Globe*, "like the members of a football team in a huddle with their backsides to the rest of the world." But now there's a welcoming building at the very front of the hospital campus. It is a treasure of a new museum, open to the public free of charge.

Pedestrians hurrying by the Paul S. Russell, MD Museum of Medical History and Innovation can scarcely avoid looking in the windows of the all-glass first floor at exhibits ranging from alarming antique surgical instruments, to the equipment used at MGH to



first demonstrate publicly the blessings of ether, to a serviceable incubator fashioned out of old Toyota parts by a team from the hospital working in a poverty-stricken part of the world. This clever glass frontage coaxes one inside the tiny building. There one finds interactive panels exploring the frontiers of surgery or neuroscience and videos of caregivers speaking of patients they have treated—and sometimes lost. The build-



Visit harvardmag.com/extras to see more images of the museum and the rooftop garden.