

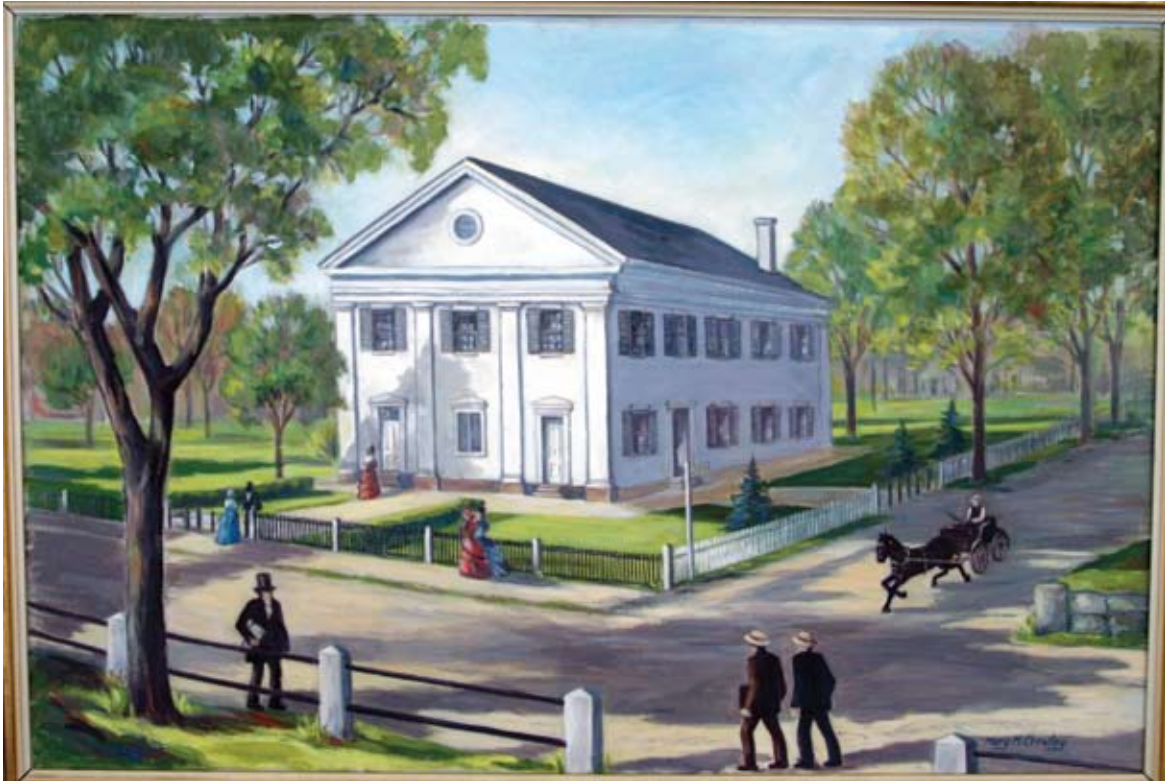
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Bridgewater Review



BRIDGEWATER STATE COLLEGE

The First Building at Bridgewater State College



painting by Mary Crowley

“The first building to be erected specifically for normal school work in America was built at Bridgewater in 1846. The years of experiment were successfully passed. A total of ten thousand dollars was raised, one half of that sum by public subscription, and the remainder from state funds. Col. Abram Washburn donated a lot of land one and one-quarter acres and George B. Emerson of Boston provided the furnace for heating the building. It was a small, wooden, two-story structure containing a large schoolroom, and two recitation rooms in the upper story, and a Model School room, a chemical room, and two anterooms on the lower floor.”

—Special Collections.

Bridgewater Review

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Editor's Notebook

Grandma and Grandpa

It is said that life is a series of stages, periods of change and transformation that direct and shape the human experience. My wife Carol and I are now entering one of those stages—grandparenthood. Our daughter Kathy and her husband Jim brought into the world Grace Irene Sabo on June 4th. Grace weighed 9 pounds and was 21 inches long. Grace has deep blue eyes and those classic Polish-American chubby cheeks. Mother and Father and Grace are all doing fine, except for the usual parental sleep deprivation. But it is the grandparents who are also doing fine, without the sleep deprivation.

Everyone that we talk to says pretty much the same thing—being a grandparent is the best stage of your life, with the accent on life, new life. There of course is a bit of ego involved as the baby represents part of you and continues the family line forward. But this matter of heritage is minor compared to the excitement and joy of holding a newborn right there on your shoulder with tiny fingers wrapped around your own and with that incomparable baby scent—pure, sweet and natural.

Grandmothers are perhaps the most outwardly excited about the new arrival as they shop for baby clothes, offer sage advice to the nervous mother and look forward to the opportunity to feed, bathe and yes, change the diapers of their grandchild. Grandfathers are less expressive about babies, but take it from me; there is an inner pride and quiet glow that melts the heart when that first smile appears through sleepy eyes.

Being a grandparent is all about watching a young life grow up right before your eyes without the tensions and second guessing that you experienced as a parent. As many of our fellow grandparents say, being a grandparent means all the happiness of seeing your offspring grow without the responsibilities of parenthood. It is basically a free ride full of joy minus the stress of the first fall, the first fever, the first trip to school, the first report card, and the first date.

Probably the most difficult part of grandparenthood is trying to recall how you did things as a new parent thirty years ago. Times have certainly changed as a whole industry has evolved to make sure that baby and

parents have everything covered. What that means is trying to get used to all the new fangled devices that are out there now to make life with baby easier – the baby monitor (now with camera, not just sound), the strollers that are ready for any road challenge, and all those car seats, jumping seats, eating seats and play time

seats. Parenthood was a lot less complicated back in the day.

What grandparenthood also does that warms the heart is bring you even closer to your children and their spouses. Sure they ask you to baby sit, so they can keep their sanity for an evening or a weekend.

But it is the holidays and birthdays that become special as the baby has the power to make the family more of a family; that little life becomes the glue that seals the bonds of family life. It doesn't get any better than that.

Now Carol and I are sure that being grandparents will also have its times of worry and distress. Besides the concern over our own kids that never seems to go away, grandparental concern will now spread to the new kid on the block. Yet whatever problem may arise, it is likely to be a minor one and will certainly be overshadowed by the unannounced hug or the little hand reaching out or my favorite, sitting on grandma's or grandpa's lap to read a book. Of all the stages in my life, this is the one that we have been waiting for.

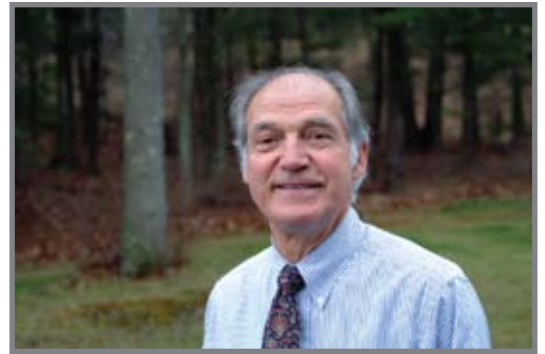
—Michael Kryzaneck, Editor, Bridgewater Review.



College Presidents and the Road to Success and Failure:

Getting What We Want and Need

Stephen J. Nelson



In May 2003, the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the two University of Michigan affirmative action cases. On the evening of the decision, PBS's "Lehrer News Hour" featured not just one, but four college and university presidents. They were there not simply for quick sound bites. For more than half the broadcast, the four probed the short- and long-term impacts of the Court's findings. The presidents pointed to a variety of implications the Court's decision might have for the future of higher education. The two cases, *Gratz v. Bollinger* and *Gutter v. Bollinger*, which named Dr. Lee Bollinger because he was the sitting president at Michigan when the suits were filed took the university to task for its quota systems and separate criteria for minorities in both undergraduate and law school admissions. The presidents argued viewpoints that were not in absolute harmony, but they agreed that the consequences indeed mattered. While the nature of their remarks was noteworthy, more poignant was the fact that they were there in the first place in such a highly visible public forum.

Such public prominence among college presidents is by no means frequent. However, this instance serves to counter a broad impression that Americans have had in recent decades, that the views of college presidents have become passé, receded into the tall grass; their voices no longer resonant in the public forum. Some have come to see college presidents are passive, too willing to hide out when clouds of controversy gather, and indict these leaders with heavy criticism for failure to assert themselves as pertinent "players" outside the gates of the academy.

On closer observation, however, the opposite is quite often true. College and university presidents comment regularly on all manner of social, political, educational concerns and on difficult public policy decisions. Many contribute op-ed pieces for major newspapers. Others maintain the longstanding tradition of serving on public commissions and as advisors to political figures. Many use their bully pulpits to weigh in persuasively on a variety of social concerns. They do not hide out in the tall grass. They are not figures outside the limelight. They are not so consumed with maintaining a pleasing

and non-threatening stature and politically acceptable bearing that all their energy and attention is invested solely in sustaining their presidencies and surviving in office. Presidents have to be regularly engaged in a range of problems and issues. Even if they wished otherwise, the realities of life inside the gates of their colleges and universities confront them as leaders with highly politicized, often divisive issues and "zero sum" decisions. In addition, public pressure outside the gates of the academy relentlessly forces college leaders to respond to the wider world.

For more than a decade and a half, I have had the opportunity to think and write about college presidency. Friends and family would probably describe me as addicted to my subjects and the tensions and challenges of the presidential office and its myriad duties. I have dedicated a fair bit of time to considerations about what the presidency is. Who are these individuals who aspire to or hold the presidential office? What traits and qualities must they have to have if they are to succeed in the high-stakes world of college and university leadership?

There is an often-told joke that says that the first quality that college presidents must possess is simple: the ability to walk on water. The reality may not be far off. If we are to value and honor [understand?] the office of college president, we must know as much as possible about the post. Though not exhaustive, a basic list of presidential duties and responsibilities reflects the fact that the presidents must have a diversity of talents and a mastery of the big picture. All college presidents perform these duties:

- manage the academic bureaucracy (that is, *lead* the faculty and its affairs).
- administer the operational, day-to-day affairs of the campus, this is a major responsibility, even with today's delegation to provosts, chief financial and business affairs executives and other senior administrators.
- define purpose and instill meaning into the lives of campus communities, and, especially, students.

- cater to alumni and their concerns.
- act as a CEO with trustee and governing board members.
- guarantee sound and fiscally responsible annual finances and operating budget.
- be *the* leader (and almost all presidents including those of community colleges, have to do this in one way or another) of annual fund drives, including soliciting contributions from key stakeholders and supporters, and of the now nearly constant rolling capital campaigns.
- present the college's or university's public face, including "town-gown" demands, and to diverse constituents in and outside the gates. At public colleges and universities this includes catering to citizens of states and local communities, and of course to governmental and political players and agencies.

The expectation is that all these duties will be done collaboratively, transparently and democratically, with great élan and without ruffling anyone's feathers. Walking on water, indeed.

Presidents continue to be high-profile figures capable of great and lasting impact. There are numerous examples of presidents who retreat from the limelight intent on avoiding controversies. Many presidents put their finger to the wind, readily acceding to the practical notions of others about how they should do their jobs. These are presidents who too readily permit the expectations placed on them and their office by others to go unchallenged. They take a path-of-least-resistance approach, concluding that the best path to success is simply to keep their noses to the grindstone and shoulders to the wheel. Some presidents become publicly visible because they appear successful and consistently on the winning side of issues and circumstances. Other presidents become noteworthy as lightning rods for criticism, often because they do not demonstrate the ability to control the circumstances they face. Without much serious argument, fairly or not, some presidents are judged clearly as "successes" and others clearly as "failures." For many the judgement is mixed; only closer scrutiny and the passage of time can alter views of them and their performance as presidents.

What makes for success and failure in a college or university presidency? How can we fairly assess presidents and their performance? Are there qualities that distinguish the capable from the inept, the excellent from the poor performers among college and university presidents? And can past and present examples of success and failure in that office help us select and appoint better presidents in the future?

First, it is essential that presidents—in times of crisis or tranquility—lead with their eyes on where their college

or university has been. They need to know how their institution has come to its present state and how this heritage shapes the future. Regardless of what presidents inherit, their success or failure is greatly determined by how they deal with the realities in front of them. Presidents must deftly juggle their aspirations for the future with where the institution's momentum and commitments logically lead.

Sound presidential leadership requires blending the enduring institutional "vision" with the specific proposals a president brings to the table. The necessity of a presidential "vision" for leaders has become a subject of recent controversy and debate, one fuelled by United States President George H.W. Bush who admitted that he wasn't particularly adept at the "vision thing." The reality for college presidents is that an early and consistent vision is as central to a successful presidency as a thoroughgoing knowledge of the institution's past. Good presidents integrate their vision with the long-standing institutional mission and the aspirations, hopes and dreams of the college.

Arrogant leaders do not "get" this. Boards of trustees who want to hire presidents to bring high impact lead-



DONALD KENNEDY, PRESIDENT,
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, 1980–1992

At the opening of the 1980s today's Stanford University was a modest regional university. Donald Kennedy walked onto this stage as Stanford's new president from the provost post. Kennedy possesses a delightful self-deprecating sense of irony and humor, traits that served him well in a tenure not without challenges and controversies. He comes across as an everyday guy, inhabiting now a modestly adorned office as he continues to teach and write. Reflecting about current presidents, including Larry Summers, at the time the besieged president of Harvard, Kennedy interestingly commented that we need "edgy people" in the college presidency. Kennedy's warning—not easy, but important advice: Avoid a cookie-cutter approach to who should be presidents and how they should lead.

ership and vision to a college without making sure there is a “fit” with its historical mission set up their presidents for failure. The foundations of a college are strong and reliable for a reason. Institutional underpinnings that have served well in the past will repeatedly be turned to for navigating the way forward. Wise presidents fully embrace the historical identities of their colleges and the legacies of their predecessors.

A second critical feature that determines success or failure for college presidents is their use, and sometimes, abuse of the bully pulpit. The bully pulpit is the weightiest possession of the college president. It is the coin of the realm. It is the platform from which presidents can make known in unambiguous ways their positions and beliefs on a variety of issues within and outside the academy. The bully pulpit must be used wisely and with considered judgment. Presidents use the pulpit to promote higher education and to define the meaning and value of the university. They also must use the pulpit selectively to address broader issues of social concern. Whenever presidents climb into the pulpit they must do so not with the intent to please (though from time to time they may use it to make peace), but to edify, persuade, judge, and admonish.

The bully pulpit has been seen to shape presidential authority, reflect discretion, and build reputation in positive and negative ways. The use of the bully pulpit connects directly to a third critical consideration that determines presidential success or failure: the ability to act as a public intellectual. The role of public intellectual is crucial for numerous reasons, but perhaps most important among these involves prominence. Astute presidents—like those discussing the affirmative action cases on PBS in 2003—can use their public appearances—in op-ed pieces, on television, on the internet—to temper scholarly controversy or to combat those who seek to regulate the university in ways that compromise its autonomy, independence or integrity.

College president as civic intellectual is an old model in America, but it is not one that has ever fully lost its relevance or presence in the academy, despite recent erosion in emphasis. Contrary to some critics’ claims, the public intellectual never really disappeared; that role was only obscured, perhaps, by the flurry of other concerns and duties that modern-day college presidents assume. Today, many college presidents privilege their roles as CEOs, fundraisers, and bureaucratic managers; for some, sustaining and advancing the “brick-and-mortar



AMY GUTMANN, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 2004–PRESENT

Amy Gutmann is a “public intellectual,” scholar, researcher and writer rising to the presidency at one of America’s most prestigious and long-standing—Ben Franklin its founder—universities. Though previously a senior leader at Princeton, Gutmann did not take the traditional, decades-long administrative trek designed to “prove” presidential timber. Her forceful intellect and bona fides as a noted public figure were what most suited Gutmann to Penn’s pulpit. Throughout her career, she hatched forceful ideas about ideology and ideological factions in and outside the gates of the academy. Such a voice is critical in the public square of an era when political correctness inhibits full debate and inquiry on college campuses as well as in society. Gutmann pushes back against these forces. This style and leadership at Penn is a bellwether of the presidents likely to be more and more in evidence during the opening decades of the twenty-first century.



JOHN SEXTON, PRESIDENT, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, 2001–PRESENT

In John Sexton’s presence one can only marvel at his persona as an exceedingly energetic and engaging university president. Greeting Sexton is to grasp his passion, imagination, and creativity, traits integral but often overlooked in the presidency. He writes--no speechwriter here--essays that put his leadership on the line, risking ideas to provoke thoughts in the NYU community and in the urban and larger world that surrounds the university. His simple purpose: Spark discourse and challenge the best of critical inquiry in the academy. Two or so Saturdays each month, Sexton takes time from the relentless demands of the presidency to meet with professors hearing out their issues and aspirations. Sexton is an absolute believer in the “university as sanctuary,” a long-standing creed, now a claim ever more critical in tempering political correctness and the corrosive effect of less than civil debate and discourse. His special brand of leadership guides the fortunes of NYU and even more the university writ large.

tar” university outweighs the need for them to be active, engaged stimulators of public discussion and debate. Still, the president as public intellectual remains a force in American political and social discourse. And the academy is at its strongest and most influential when its presidents are leaders with loud and critical voices in the public square.

One final comment captures what is most needed for college presidents to be successful: imagination. Both illusive and impractical, this quality is critical to any president’s success. John Kemeny led Dartmouth College as its president through the enormously tumultuous times from 1970 to the early 1980s. Late in his tenure, I was fortunate to be a member of Kemeny’s administration. Since that time I have found his presidency endlessly fascinating and firmly believe that Kemeny is exemplary of what a college president should be. Kemeny was a brilliant man who took over Dartmouth’s helm having “only” been chair of its Mathematics Department and a major innovator in the advent of the use of computers on college campuses. Commenting in an interview after Kemeny had left office, one of his senior administrators captured why Kemeny had been a successful president: “John had

style. He had imagination.” These few simple words convey the essence of who Kemeny was and how he led.

If we are to have the college presidents that we deserve and need, we must not allow the tail to wag the dog. If we get presidents fully able to embrace the ideals that are critical, they will always figure out ways to care for the tasks of fundraising, managerial competence and political leadership. We should seek and appoint as presidents those who will honor the traditions and legacies of their colleges and universities, embrace the marketplace of ideas, use the bully pulpit wisely and be adroit in crisis. Presidents cannot delegate these core values and responsibilities. They are leadership characteristics essential for the successful college president. And perhaps we need in our college presidents less surefooted experience and more style and imagination. This is an important but overlooked characteristic for college presidents to possess; it might also be a critical determinant of success. On these leadership traits rest the future of the college presidency and the character of higher education.

—Stephen J. Nelson is assistant professor of educational leadership at Bridgewater State College and Senior Scholar with the Leadership Alliance at Brown University. He is the author of *Leaders in the Labyrinth: College Presidents and the Battleground of Creeds and Convictions* (ACE/Praeger 2007). His next book: *Leaders in the Crossroads: Success and Failure in the College Presidency* will be released later this year.



permission Dartmouth College Library

JOHN KEMENY, PRESIDENT,
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 1970–1981

John Kemeny took the helm as Dartmouth’s president rising from his position as professor of mathematics and having established the college as a national leader in the advent of computers on campuses. Two months after Kemeny

assumed office that spring 1970 any honeymoon disastrously ended with shootings of students at Kent and Jackson State. Across the nation campuses were torn at the seams. Kemeny led forcefully, with intellectual heft. He demanded that campus protests be constructively turned into debate and discussion designed to inspire learning. No sooner had this passed than Kemeny turned to an even greater challenge: The admission of women to this all-male bastion of more than two hundred years. One administrative colleague noted that Kemeny succeeded because he had “style and imagination,” critical qualities of his leadership and traits arguably essential for any college president.

What Type of American Are You? Universal, Cultural, Civic, and Commercial Accounts of American Identity

Jordon B. Barkalow



The Constitution of the United States is characterized, to a considerable degree, by ambiguity. This is evident in the debate over the extent of the President's implied powers. Specifically, does the "take care clause" (Article II, Section 3) allow the President to circumvent the system of checks and balances and the Bill of Rights in the name of national security? While this question has garnered most of our attention in the aftermath of September 11th, it is only one of a number of important constitutional ambiguities.

One of the least considered and misunderstood ambiguities concerns the question of what it means to be an American citizen. Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution provides that one of the qualifications for being a member of the House is to be a citizen of the United States for seven years. Senators (Article I, Section 3) must be citizens for nine years and the President (Article II, Section 1) must be a natural-born citizen. While the Constitution is clear that the status of citizenship is a necessary requirement for holding national office, it says nothing about what it means to be an American citizen. Even when one considers the first formal statement of American citizenship in the Constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment only provides that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state where they reside." Beyond specifying the mechanisms by which one becomes a citizen, the Fourteenth Amendment does little to help provide an answer to the question

Republican Vice-Presidential candidate Sarah Palin offered her thoughts on what it means to be an American while speaking in Greensboro, North Carolina during the 2008 presidential election. According to Palin, states like North Carolina, which have historically voted Republican, constitute "the real America" because the people who live there are more patriotic and "pro-American" than those who live in other states. Leaving aside the obvious political implications of Palin's comments, the connection she makes between the principles and values of the Republican Party and Americanism reminds us that the political battles between Republicans and Democrats are more than just posturing for electoral purposes. Republicans and Democrats have different and competing under-

standings of what it means to be an American and these understandings shape their positions of key issues of public policy.

This is readily evident in the differing answers Republicans and Democrats give with regard to immigration. Democratic proponents argue that immigration: reinvigorates American institutions and values by returning Americans to their first principles; is a boon to the American economy; does not lower wages; and keeps prices down across the economy. Republican critics of immigration see it as a threat to the American economy and social order. Immigrants are perceived as taking jobs from American citizens because of their willingness to accept lower wages and below-standard working conditions. The courts, according to immigration critics, have rendered the distinction between citizen and alien meaningless by interpreting the equality and due process clauses of the U.S. Constitution too broadly.

As the example of immigration attitudes shows, how we define what it means to be an American has significant political implications. Employing the concept of nationalism, which is defined as the cultural, linguistic, economic, and political dimensions of identity that allow members of society to feel that they belong, this article provides an overview of the four competing understandings of what it means to be an American and the challenge to these interpretations. As shown below, universal nationalism emphasizes the universal quality of American political principles while cultural nationalism defines American-ness in terms of an Anglo-Protestant cultural heritage. Civic nationalism, on the other hand, finds meaning in the social and political practices that develop the civic capacities of American citizenship whereas commercial nationalism focuses on the productive capacities of Americans as the key to the development of a flourishing commercial empire. This article concludes with an overview of the primary challenge posed to the four accounts of American national identity.

UNIVERSAL NATIONALISM

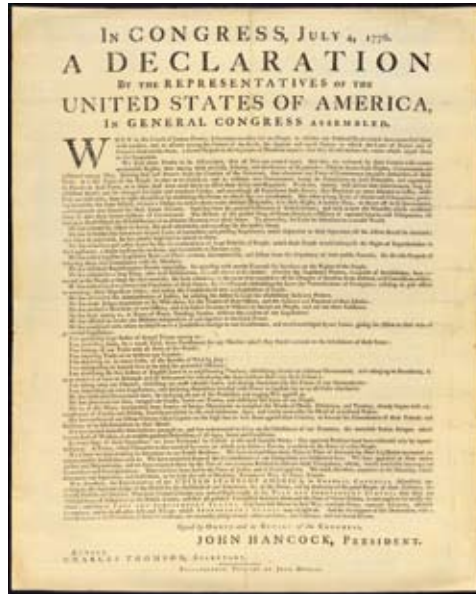
The universal understanding of American national identity sees America as a nation founded on a discreet

set of political principles. The universal principles are articulated in the form of a political tradition, the American Creed. Initially articulated in Alexis De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, the American Creed emphasizes universal principles that consist of rights and political structures that both secure and advance personal freedom and minority rights, and encourage civic involvement. The clearest expression of these principles is held to be the *Declaration of Independence* where it is written "that all men

are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." The Creed's emphasis on freedom, rights, and participation suggests that the Creed is inherently individualistic. The American Creed argument assumes the progressive elimination of group distinctions over time as individualism absorbs and displaces them. With group distinctions gone, America can move from an imperfect liberalism to one where the equal rights of all individuals prevail.

The connection between liberalism and universal nationalism is consistent with the idea that key liberal figures and texts are essential to any understanding of American political thinking. But even here, one is left asking how one is to understand liberalism. On one hand, the traditional view of liberalism focuses on avoiding the worst rather than realizing the best. Focusing on self-preservation and prosperity, the traditional account of liberalism is indifferent to the cultivation of character, hostile to human bonds that hold societies together and antagonistic to human excellence. On the other hand, some find in key texts and authors of the liberal tradition recognition that certain character traits are necessary for what they consider higher types of desires. Desires of this type would include self-denial, civility, liberality, justice, courage, endurance, humanity, curiosity, industry, truthfulness, vigilance, prudence and love of liberty. Arguments in favor of the revised liberalism reject the proposition that that the goal of protecting individual rights and achieving social solidarity are necessarily antagonistic. It is the revised understanding of liberalism that ultimately informs universal nationalism.

Critics of the universal account of American national identity make two primary arguments. First, they challenge the view of a gradual unfolding and expand-



ing of American citizenship. Instead, American citizenship can be understood in terms of the persistent restriction and denial of the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship. A second criticism takes issue with the focus on individualism. Analysis of citizenship status in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America shows that proponents of a universal understanding of American national identity underestimate the endurance of group-based distinctions in American nationalism.

Ultimately, critics maintain that attachment to abstract political principles cannot provide the requisite homogeneity required to have a meaningful sense of what it means to be an American.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Cultural nationalism affirms America's distinctively Anglo-Protestant cultural heritage. Of critical importance are the centrality of the common English language, Protestant Christianity and British political traditions. The cultural similarities found here are said to have three primary consequences. First, this understanding of American culture is central to American identity even when the salience of this identity varies over time. Second, elements of the common culture are believed to unify Americans. Consequences one and two are thought to have the effect of creating the cultural homogeneity necessary for the emotional political attachment to the nation that makes free government possible. Cultural nationalists do not believe, as do their universalist counterparts, that shared political principles can manage the conflict invited by a multi-ethnic society.

Instead, cultural nationalism argues that it is the necessary role of religious, familial, social, and governmental forces to manage conflict. Of central importance is the role of religion. Seeing America as a New Jerusalem, cultural nationalists equate good citizenship with being a good Christian. This means that all Americans ought to imitate the life of Christ by walking in the path of the Lord. According to Scripture, walking in the path of the Lord is a continuous process and a habitual lifestyle. Thus, progress is defined by cultural nationalism not in terms of commercial prosperity or increased enjoyment of private property, but in terms of the community's and individual's abilities to respond to the commands of Scripture.

A problem with the Anglo-Protestant cultural argument is that it subsumes several smaller, more controversial arguments. Critics challenge the proposition that a national culture in the ethno-linguistic and religious sense is necessary for the formation of a successful democratic polity. They also challenge the assumption that the Anglo-Protestant culture is uniquely normatively good. Finally, critics doubt that the religious portion is a genuinely positive force in American national life. Altogether, critics contend that closer inspection of these arguments and a more accurate reading of American history undermine the argument that American democracy owes its existence to its ethno-linguistic and religious traditions.

CIVIC NATIONALISM

Civic nationalism holds out an alternative means for transcending the ethnocultural and linguistic differences that characterize America's multicultural society. Advocates of civic nationalism argue that it is the capacity for change and self-criticism that helps to explain the longevity of the American republic.

In place of adherence to universal political principles or sharing in a distinctly European cultural and political heritage, civic nationalism maintains that the development of civic capacities allows Americans to engage and shape their national identity. The development of civic capacities is not an end in itself. Instead, civic nationalism requires Americans, through civic participation, to shape their own national identity. Requiring Americans to shape their own self-understanding ensures that Americans will defend what they collectively value against the cultural, political and economic forces thought to undermine these values.

The emphasis on civic participation or self-governance requires citizens to understand the political principles that make free government possible. In short, the civic nationalism requires civic virtue, which suggests a similarity between civic nationalism and classical republican political thought. Classical republicanism is characterized by the themes of mixed government and, more important for the question of national identity, active citizen participation by equal and independent citizens. Following Aristotle, proponents of the civic understanding of American national identity argue that it is only possible to fully develop as person through political participation. This leads proponents of this interpretation to find the fundamental meaning of what it means to be an American in a particular interpretation of the American Revolution. The Revolution, accordingly, is seen as an act of civic participation that kept the American colonies from being corrupted. Pointing backward to classical republicanism and its commitment to public liberty and virtue, civic national-

ism serves as the most politically robust understanding of American national identity.

COMMERCIAL NATIONALISM

It is an open question whether or not the American Founders were committed to the active theory of citizenship that fosters the development of civic virtue. The Founders did not refer to government created by the U.S. Constitution as a civic republic; they referred to it as a commercial republic. Proponents of civic nationalism, universal nationalism and cultural nationalism, do not give the commercial quality of the American republic the attention it deserves. For example, their analysis of the admission and incorporation of immigrants into the polity relegates commercial concerns to a relatively minor role when compared to larger political concerns. Thus, commercial considerations play almost no role in structuring America's national identity. If we take the commercial vision of America's future seriously, the argument for commercial nationalism concludes that American national identity, at its core, focuses on industry and the individual's capacity to contribute to the creation of a flourishing, commercial empire.

Instead of being connected by reasoned attachment to abstract political principles, a common cultural and religious heritage or civic activity, commercial nationalism holds that Americans are held together as a people by the spirit of commerce. Guided by a belief in the centrality of financial reward for one's toils, commercial nationalism maintains that it is the responsibility of government to pursue policies that multiply the range of economic opportunities available to Americans. Freed from the rigorous political responsibilities of civic nationalism and the social, cultural, and religious restrictions of cultural nationalism, commercial nationalism concludes that the defining characteristic of what it means to be an American is in the pursuit of gain.

CHALLENGE AND DISCUSSION

Despite their differences, the competing interpretations of what it means to be an American must respond to a common challenge—they lack coherence. Instead of a core set of American principles or a progressive logic to its development, American national identity may best be understood as emerging from a series of incoherent compromises. Thus, what it means to be an American is



Ellis Island.

a mixture of the universal, cultural, civic, and commercial understandings that are antagonistic to one another because of their differing assumptions about human nature, the good and the ends of government. This is, however, only part of the picture. In addition to this incoherent mixture are a set of ideas that attempt to justify inequality on characteristics that are said to be natural or ascribed, such as race, ethnicity, and gender. The denial of equal status on these bases has had recurring power in American history because they have been used by Americans to justify the belief that we are a unique people and part of a special political community ordained by God. To the extent that not every American is given equal legal, social or economic status in the four understandings of American national identity discussed above, it can be said that they all betray America's democratic legacy and democracy's moral requirement of equality.

This challenge is particularly poignant for women and African-Americans. Writing to her husband John Adams on the eve of American independence, Abigail Adams requests that those given the responsibility for making "the new code of laws...remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors." Critics of a single, coherent understanding of American national identity point out that the Revolution's universal principles failed to fulfill the promise of political and social equality. With regard to the former, women were not granted the promise of equality in terms of voting and holding office. More problematic is the fact that the Revolution's principles were not used to remove some of the social and legal practices used to deny women equal status.

One such example is coverture. Coverture is a common law tradition that interposes husbands between their wives and the political community. By placing husbands in this position, they were allowed to absorb the property of their wives into their control during the life of their marriage. Now void of any property, women were rendered dependent and without the requisite independence believed to be unfit for political participation. Justified, in part, by the belief that the extension of the husband's control over his wife's property was consistent with the great bond of family union, coverture masked the far more serious assumption that women needed to be protected from both the world and their husbands.

This is not to say that women had no political role. Of particular importance is the notion of republican motherhood. According to this doctrine, women served the American republic and their families by raising virtuous sons, disciplining their husbands to the standards of republican virtue and, in general, serving as guardians of civic virtue. In this sense, women were providing the necessary encouragement and education that made civic

nationalism possible. From the perspective of women, however, the notion of republican motherhood continued to marginalize status of women in America.

The denial of basic, fundamental rights to African Americans is both explicit and implicit in the U.S. Constitution as originally adopted. Explicitly, the three-fifths clause, the 1808 slave-trade provision, the electoral College (giving slave-holding states an advantage in presidential elections as a result of the increased electoral votes received from the three-fifths clause) and the fugitive slave clause are all alleged to have the effect of protecting slavery and giving the South the necessary political leverage in national politics to defeat anti-slavery legislation. Indirectly, certain provisions in the Constitution have the same effect. For example, clauses empowering Congress to suppress domestic insurrections could be used to suppress slave rebellions and the ban on federal taxation of exports prevents Congress from taxing products produced through slave labor. In the first case, the power of the national government was used to directly benefit slave holders and in the second, Congress was prevented from using its power to tax in an attempt to make slavery an unviable mode of economic organization. From this perspective, the Constitution could once be seen as a proslavery document that both explicitly and implicitly embodied the racist beliefs thought to characterize many of the American Founders.

The examples of women and African-Americans call one's attention to the possibility that the American founding and what it means to be an American is fundamentally different for the educated elite, whose writings inform the four competing visions of American national identity discussed above, and the average American or members of dispossessed groups. An objective of scholarship in this area is to expand the definition of the American Founders to include ordinary laborers, women, slaves, and Native Americans. Focusing on the arguments and axioms that informed the daily lives of Americans, the challenge to the overarching, coherent understandings of American national identity lies in the discovery of another set of intellectual traditions that constitute the popular, more democratic, political culture. Assuming, perhaps incorrectly, that America is a democratic society, critics of a single, coherent understanding of what it means to be an American posit that the term American is best seen as a mosaic.

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Corporal Punishment and the Case for Policy Action

Emily M. Douglas



Since the beginning of my academic career, I have been interested in whether changes in social attitudes and behaviors are created by public policy, or whether new public policies change social attitudes and behaviors. I ponder this regarding public attitudes and behaviors around the use of corporal punishment on children. According to my colleague and mentor, Murray A. Straus, corporal punishment is “the use of physical force with the intention of causing the child to experience pain, but not injury, for purposes of correction or control of the child’s behavior.” Corporal punishment is currently legal in every state of the U.S. and in most other nations. In practice, the difference between corporal punishment and physical abuse hinges on whether the child is injured seriously enough for the case to come to the attention of child protective services, regardless of the intent of the parent. The evidence concerning the potential ill effects of using corporal punishment against children is overwhelmingly consistent and yet, most of the U.S. and much of the world ignores this evidence. Public policy has been effectively used to shape or reinforce many attitudes and behaviors concerning social problems; there is no reason the same can’t be true for corporal punishment.

USES OF PUBLIC POLICY

In my doctoral dissertation, completed in 2002, I examined whether public policy could create behavioral change. The literature indicates that public policy that is used to promote specific behavior or social conditions generally comes in one of three forms. *Punishment* is applied to those who violate a policy, such as by having sex before the age of consent or driving while intoxicated. *Benefits* are sometimes offered to those who are less fortunate, such as by increasing the number of affordable housing vouchers or by providing tax breaks for those who adhere to a specific policy. *Information and guidelines* are offered to many to encourage adherence to a policy, such as education about the benefits of wearing a bicycle helmet or the harmful effects of shaking a baby. In my first book, *Mending Broken Families: Social Policies for Divorced Families—How Effective Are They?* I reviewed many forms of social policies that were intended to promote parental cooperation, increase parent-child contact, and diminish time in court. Most of

these family policies were effective in one form or another and did promote family and child well-being.

PUBLIC POLICY AND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

In 1979 Sweden passed the first national legislation banning corporal punishment by parents. (See the table accompanying this article.) This legislation is part of the civil, not the criminal code; thus, there is no criminal penalty for using corporal punishment. The purpose of the legislative ban was to set a national standard for the humane treatment of children, to provide funds for public education on this issue and to help parents use more positive methods of discipline. As of today, twenty-three countries have forbidden corporal punishment by parents. In June 2006, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child declared that it is “the obligation of all States parties to move quickly to prohibit and eliminate all corporal punishment and all other cruel or degrading forms of punishment of children.” The United States has not acted on this declaration.

In fact, the United States, as a whole, remains committed to the entitlement to use corporal punishment against children. Twelve states have statutory guidelines that grant authority to educators or school boards to use corporal punishment in educational settings. Most other states have banned corporal punishment in schools, and a few states remain without specific legislation regarding the use of corporal punishment in schools. This is where the bans against corporal punishment in the United States end, however. It is legal in every state in the union for a parent or guardian to use corporal punishment against their children. In some states it is even legal to use corporal punishment in institutional settings, foster homes, and the like.

“The evidence concerning the ill effects of using corporal punishment is overwhelmingly consistent and yet, most of the U.S. ignores this evidence.”

PUBLIC POLICY, CORPORAL PUNISHMENT,
AND MASSACHUSETTS

There is one minor exception to the lack of legislative action about corporal punishment in the United States. In 2005 Brookline, Massachusetts became the first and still the only municipality in the country to ban the use of corporal punishment against children. The ban is intended to be educational and is not punitive in nature against parents who use corporal punishment. The exact language reads: "Town Meeting [of Brookline] encourages parents and caregivers of children to refrain from the use of corporal punishment and to use alternative nonviolent methods of child discipline and management with an ultimate goal of mutual respect between parent and child." The effectiveness of, or outcomes of this ban remain unexamined.

Policy-makers in many other U.S. states have proposed legislation prohibiting the use of corporal punishment against children, but no such legislation has become law. In Massachusetts, Representative Jay Kaufman of Lexington, on behalf of resident Kathleen Wolf, proposed House Bill 3922 in 2007. This legislation, *An Act Prohibiting Corporal Punishment of Children*, was in keeping with the Brookline legislation in that the purpose of law would be educational in nature: "This [legislation] is intended to actively support nonviolent parenting. The provisions of this section are intended to eliminate the use of corporal punishment to discipline children, because of the emotional harm and risks of bodily harm associated with corporal punishment of children." No language specifies what would happen to caregivers who violate this law. There is also no language which describes how "nonviolent parenting" would be supported, such as through funds for publication education, but it is a first step toward using public policy to make a statement about what types of disciplinary behaviors are appropriate on the part of caregivers. House Bill 3922 was assigned to the Committee on Children, Families, and Persons with Disabilities, which studied the legislation, held public testimony, and was then referred for further study. As of January 2009, this bill appears to be stuck in committee.

ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN
INFORMING PUBLIC POLICY

Medical research has frequently led to new public policies. However, research from psychology, sociology, social work, and family studies (the disciplines most concerned with corporal punishment by parents) have seldom been the basis for new public policy. These disciplines have, nevertheless, made important contributions to public policy, such as in the forms of justifying, revising, consolidating, and sometimes correcting, policies that had been initiated in response to changes in social circumstances, including changes in cultural norms and values. A specific example is the effort by many feminists starting in the mid 1970's, to change police treatment of domestic violence. The change was happening, but slowly. The pace, however, quickened

dramatically after publication of the results of an experiment comparing three modes of police action: separating and calming down the parties, referral to services, and arrest of the offender. This particular study found that those arrested were less likely to reoffend. This experiment is unlikely to have been conducted, and the results are unlikely to have been the subject of a brief sent to all police departments in the US, were it not for changes already brought about by the women's movement. Child maltreatment is another age-old phenomenon that was addressed incrementally by legislation to protect children from abuse and neglect. That effort was galvanized by the 1962 publication of a paper by C. Henry Kempe on the "battered-child syndrome" which described the phenomenon and provided X-ray diagnostic criteria of the physical effects of child abuse. Social policies that target families of divorce were the result of a combination of factors. The public was concerned about the ethics of raising children without both parents actively involved, as well as the legal rights of both children and parents to have unfettered access to one another. Finally, some research showed that, in the absence of violence and extreme hostility, children suffered fewer consequences when they had continued contact with both of their parents. The result was legislation that promoted shared and cooperative parenting, such as mandatory mediation, divorce education programs, and parenting plans.

Policies to end corporal punishment in the armed services and in schools occurred because of a change in values and beliefs, not because of research evidence. Similarly, the Swedish no-spanking law of 1979 was enacted primarily on the basis of moral principles. The change in school legislation in the U.S. concerning corporal punishment began long before there was empirical research, and even now the quality of research showing harmful effects of corporal punishment in schools is minimal. In this instance, it appears that the policy followed, and reinforced, a social change that was already happening.

The sequence of events for policy on corporal punishment by parents in the U.S. has been somewhat different. There has been a large amount of research, much of it of high quality, showing that corporal punishment is a risk factor for many social and psychological problems. If past history is a guide, this research will be ignored until a "moral passage" brings about policy changes, and with it, receptivity to the empirical evidence to justify and improve the policy. However, if the research on corporal punishment is extensive, of high quality, and if it consistently shows harmful side effects, perhaps the increasing demand for "evidence-based" practices and policies will result in one of the few examples of research resulting in a new social policy. But is there sufficient evidence for public policies to end the legal use of corporal punishment?

THE RESEARCH EVIDENCE

There have been over a hundred studies, including both longitudinal studies and experiments, concerning the effects of corporal punishment on children and adults. The book that I am co-authoring with Murray A. Straus of the Family Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire and Rose Medeiros at the University of California-Los Angeles, *The Primordial Violence: Corporal Punishment by Parents, Cognitive Development, and Crime*, captures much of this research and provides evidence for the wisdom of ending the use of corporal punishment against children. *Primordial Violence* is based on studies using nationally representative samples of over seven thousand families, and is a book about ordinary parents and their children, not about parents who legally abuse and neglect their children. Some of the main discussion points of this book are that corporal punishment slows the cognitive development of toddlers, reduces the probability of college graduation and increases the probability of antisocial behavior and crime. It also highlights what is often called “developmental criminology,” which is primarily concerned with the development of deviant behavior and offending over time and on factors that pre-date or co-occur with the development of criminal behavior.

Elizabeth Thompson Gershoff conducted a meta analysis (which is a statistical synthesis of many previously conducted studies on a single topic of interest) on 88 studies concerning the effects of corporal punishment. She found that in 93% of studies, corporal punishment has harmful effects. The volume and the quality of the research continues to grow since that publication. Yet content analyses of child development text books published in 1980–85, 1990–1995, and 2000–2005 found that such texts devoted an average of only a half page to the subject of corporal punishment, and that none recommend that parents should *never* spank. We ask, how can so little space be given to a mode of parenting for which there is strong evidence of harmful side effects, and which is experienced by over 90% of preschool children and by at least a third of infants in our country? This is possibly because there has not yet been a moral passage about hitting children. The majority of the American public, and of professionals concerned with children, remain convinced that corporal punishment is “sometimes necessary.”

The meta-analysis of 88 studies by Gershoff found a degree of agreement between studies that may be unique. Twelve of the studies examined the relation of corporal punishment to mental health problems of children, such as anxiety and depression, and eight examined the relation of childhood corporal punishment to adult mental health problems. Without exception, these 20 studies found that corporal punishment was associated with an increased probability of mental health problems. Thirteen studies investigated delinquent behavior. It is widely believed that corporal pun-

ishment “teaches the child a lesson” and therefore reduces delinquency. Instead, in 12 of the 13 studies corporal punishment was found to be associated with a *higher* probability of delinquent and anti-social behavior. The same near unanimity (4 out of 5) was found for studies concerning the relation between corporal punishment as a child and adult criminal behavior. These findings were true even in the face of demographic controls and sometimes in the face of controls such as parental warmth.

Given these empirical results, why don’t most professionals concerned with children, including many who are in principle opposed to corporal punishment, take steps to advise parents to never spank, the same way that we advise parents to never shake a baby? Part of the explanation may be that most had experienced corporal punishment as a child and do not come to see it as having had any adverse effects on them. But that is the situation with almost all adverse life experiences. For example, a third of heavy smokers will die of a smoking related disease. This also means that two-thirds will not. These people can say at age 70 that they have smoked all their life and have not suffered any ill effects. That may be factually correct about their health, but the implication that smoking is therefore safe for everyone is false. The correct conclusion is that they are one of the lucky two-thirds. These smokers can only directly perceive the satisfaction from smoking. They have no way of perceiving future harmful effects. Similarly, those who were spanked, or who spank their own children, can only directly perceive that when spanked, the child

COUNTRIES BANNING CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AGAINST CHILDREN, BY YEAR BAN WAS PASSED

COUNTRY	YEAR BAN PASSED
Sweden	1979
Finland	1983
Norway	1987
Austria	1989
Cyprus	1994
Denmark	1997
Latvia	1998
Croatia	1999
Germany	2000
Israel	2000
Bulgaria	2000
Iceland	2003
Romania	2004
Ukraine	2004
Hungary	2005
Greece	2006
Spain	2007
Venezuela	2007
Uruguay	2007
Portugal	2007
New Zealand	2007
Netherlands	2007
Costa Rica	2008

*Source: *The Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment Against Children*, September 2008

**Italy: In 1996, the Supreme Court in Rome declared corporal punishment unlawful; this ruling has not been confirmed by legislation.

***Nepal: In 2005, the Supreme Court declared that the provision in the Child Act that permits parents, guardians, and teaching to administer a minor beating to children unlawful. The Child Act has not been amended to reflect that ruling.

stops the misbehavior at that instant. They have no way to directly perceive the harmful effects of spanking because they do not surface until later, and as in the case of smoking, show up in only a fraction of the cases.

From this one can infer a second explanation for the failure of many social service and mental health workers to advise parents to “never spank.” It is because, as the content analyses of textbooks shows, the academic community has failed to inform them of the research showing harmful side effects. Similarly, they have not been informed about the results of research which shows that, although spanking does correct misbehavior, it is not more effective than other methods of correction and control. Thus, they continue to believe the cultural myth that spanking works, when other methods do not. Given this belief, and given their concern for the well-being of children, it is not surprising that there is continued acceptance of the cultural myth that spanking may sometimes be necessary, and they therefore do not advise parents to “never spank.” With over 90% agreement in the research showing that corporal punishment is a risk factor for developmental problems, the evidence provides solid justification for a change in policy to one focused on ending corporal punishment.

ETHICS OF ADVISING PARENTS NEVER TO SPANK
Some defenders of corporal punishment argue that it is unethical to advise parents to “never spank” until there is absolutely conclusive evidence of the harm, and of the equal or greater effectiveness of other methods of correction and control. The evidence, although extremely strong, is not absolutely conclusive. Yet, that is also a frequent situation with prescription drugs. Nevertheless, standard public policy requires advising parents to stop using a drug, or withdrawing it from the market if there is evidence of harmful side effects, even though the evidence is not conclusive. This is especially the case if there is an equally effective drug without harmful side effects. Corporal punishment is like the drug with harmful side effects. Because there are alternatives that are equally, or even more effective, which do not have the side effects of corporal punishment, there is an ethical *requirement* to advise parents to “switch drugs,” i.e. to never spank. Furthermore, there are many instances when we do advise parents to refrain from certain behaviors, such as never shaking an infant, never abusing a child and never operating a motor vehicle unless a child is “buckled in.”

TYPES OF POLICY

Returning to the three forms of public policy to promote specific behaviors or societal conditions that I explored in my dissertation, my colleague and book co-authors, Murray A. Straus, Rose Medeiros and I believe that the policy to end corporal punishment should be non-punitive and should follow the successful Swedish example. This provides encouragement in the form of public education campaigns, information and advice, and benefits in the form of help to parents who

are having difficulty managing without spanking. For many fields, it means revising text books to reflect three key facts. First, over 90% of American parents spank pre-school children, at least on occasion. Second, a large amount of research, including longitudinal studies controlling for factors such as early instances of misbehavior and family and parenting characteristics, show that children who are not spanked are, on average, the best behaved and have the lowest rates of psychological problems. (This is probably the best-kept secret of American child psychology.) Third, there is no need to put a child at risk for the harmful side effects of corporal punishment since the research shows that spanking is not more effective than other methods.

We believe that many professional associations, organizations, and government agencies, such as the Society for Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association, the Society For Research On Child Development, the U.S. Children’s Bureau, and many others should adopt a policy of advising parents to never, under any circumstance, spank; that is, to never hit a child as a method of correction and control. In 1946 the pediatrician Benjamin Spock published his influential book *Baby and Child Care*. In it he advised that parents avoid spanking a child “if possible,” which approach was similarly taken by the American Academy of Pediatricians in 1998. It is important that parents be advised *never* to spank because, paradoxically, advice like Spock’s only ensures the perpetuation of spanking. The explanation of this paradox lies in the limited ability of toddlers to control their own behavior. It is almost inevitable that a toddler will repeatedly fail to do something she or he is supposed to do, or repeatedly do something she or he was told not to do. After the third or fourth repetition, parents of two year olds are likely to conclude that they can’t avoid spanking. So there needs to be an unequivocal *never* spank message. One of the few parenting education programs to do this is the Bavolek Nurturing Parent program. We conclude that public policy should be modeled on this type of parent education, and on shaken baby prevention campaigns, to provide education and support concerning the potentially negative impacts of spanking a child, and to state that hitting or spanking a child is *never* acceptable.

*This article was adapted from: Straus, M.A. & Douglas, E.M. (2008). Research on spanking by parents: Implications for public policy. *Family Psychologist* of the American Psychological Association, *Winter*.

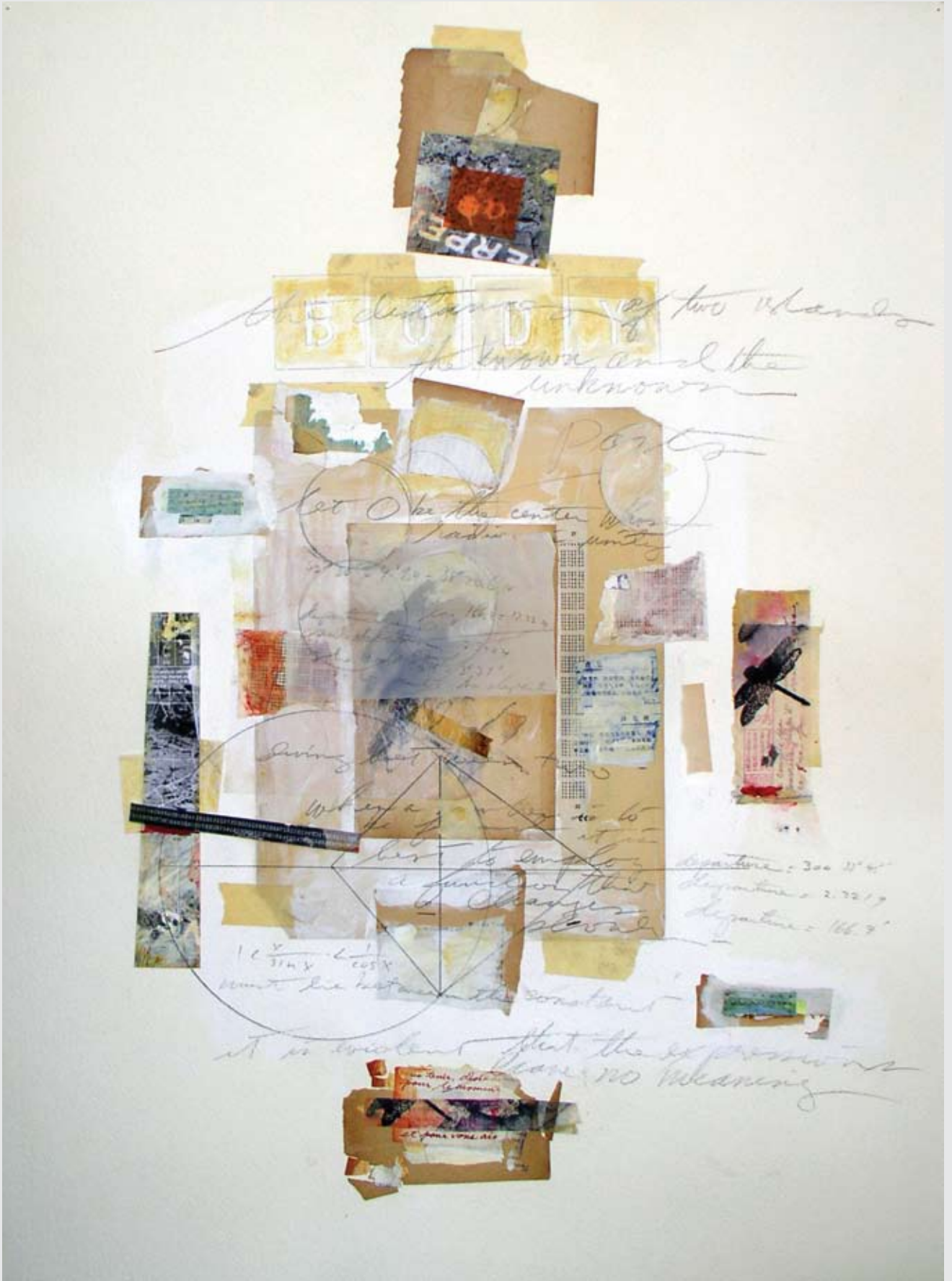
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RANDOM PREOCCUPATIONS

Mercedes Nuñez



SOME UNKNOWN VENUS, Vermillion Bird Suite, 2008, collage, oil on Arches paper.



VOUS, Dragonfly Suite, 2007, collage, acrylic on Arches paper.



RANDOM PREOCCUPATIONS, No. 1, 2008, collage, oil on Arches paper.



BELLE FOURCHE, *Sixieme*, Vermillion Bird Suite, 2008, collage, oil on steel.

The work featured here are selections from three separate suites: RANDOM PREOCCUPATIONS, 2007–present, DRAGONFLY SUITE, 2007–2008 and THE VERMILION BIRD SUITE, 2008–present. These visual suites integrate art and writing and explore an inner landscape that appears irrational and random. However, the suites are similar to how a musical composition comes together in a number of movements. Each suite focuses on the complexity of making decisions and the myriad forces that diverge and converge in order to do so. Beginning with the RANDOM PREOCCUPATIONS Suite, the original prose and art was used to emphasize the internalized thoughts and feelings and to describe the layered complexities visually—and sometimes in random, disconnected ways. The emergence of my creative writing is an essential component to the visual and conceptual purpose of the work. The structural language of the Symbolist poets and the richness

and complexities of Greek Mythology inspires the inclusion of text, mathematical expressions and astronomical configurations as a means of storytelling. The work expresses the influence of numbers and constellations over a person's decisions. DRAGONFLY SUITE deals specifically with the cycle of the dragonfly, which begins in the watery depths, then emerges past this surface; it is an emblem of balance, a metaphorical cycle of re-awakenings—both life and love—beneath the forces of the cosmos. The VERMILION BIRD SUITE is named after one of the Four symbols of the Chinese constellations. In the Taoist five-elemental system, the Vermilion Bird of the South is a mythological spirit creature representing the fire-element in the southern direction. The suite relates star patterns such as “chariot,” and “ghost” to life's own crusading rhythms.

America's Role in the World

Jason Edwards



As the United States transitions to the new Obama administration, American foreign policy has a serious debate that is occurring, albeit subtly, among pundits, politicians and policymakers: what should the role of the United States be within the world? In fact, this question has been a bone of contention through the history of American foreign policy, particularly during times of transition such as the end of the Spanish-American War, World War I and II. Today, we are also in a period of transition. America's image has been badly damaged by military missteps in Iraq and Afghanistan, and many write that the United States is on the decline and that it will eventually lose its might, as has every major power has since the beginning of recorded history. What America's role should be is the fundamental question that animates my current research and the subject of this account. In the following paragraphs, I provide a synopsis of that debate, how President Clinton dealt with this subject, and where it might go from here.

During the 1990s, I became fascinated by how the United States would enact its role as world leader without a Soviet enemy. I was particularly interested in how President Clinton managed this new era. I became interested in Clinton because he was a key transition figure as the United States moved from the Cold War to an age of globalization and because of the level of foreign policy activity that occurred during his administration. Yet Clinton would not be able to rely on the rhetorical conventions of the previous era. As a result, I asked how would Clinton rhetorically guide the United States without the luxury of the Cold War? Would the U.S. become more internationalist or retrench and become isolationist? When, where, and why would the United States use force? What would replace containment as America's grand strategy? These questions and others led me to write my recently released book: *Navigating the Post Cold War World: President Clinton's Foreign Policy Rhetoric*. In *Navigating*, I argue that Clinton was able to provide a vision for U.S. foreign policy by modifying and adapting America's foreign policy vocabulary—a set of underlying beliefs, assumptions, ideals, and conventions that all presidents draw upon in their foreign policy rhetoric. What makes each president unique are the specific modifications and contributions made to

this lexicon. These alterations tell us as much about the president as they do about the circumstances he faced in making foreign policy. The modifications made by a president create a rhetorical signature for his presidency and a symbolic legacy in foreign relations that influences future administrations. *Navigating the Post-Cold War World* is my analysis of the rhetorical signature that Clinton created, how he used his discourse to shape and manage this new era of globalization, and the symbolic legacy he left for future administrations.

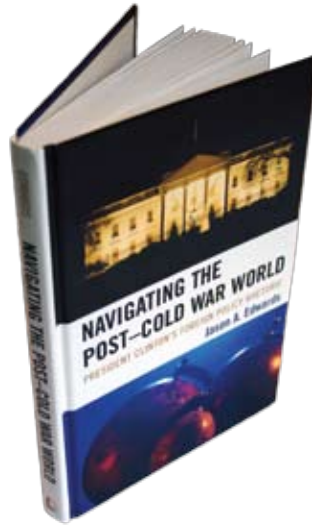
One specific area of analysis was America's role in the world. I dedicate an entire chapter to outlining the various rhetorical strategies that Clinton used to maintain and extend America's role as world leader. What is central to this article and the focus of my current research project is what influences the debate over the U.S. role in foreign relations. In writing *Navigating*, I found that this debate is premised by various strands of American exceptionalism.

American exceptionalism is the distinct belief that the United States is a unique, if not superior, nation that has a special role to play in human history. In his famous treatise, *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville was the first person to reference America as exceptional, but our exceptionalist roots can be traced much earlier to the colonial period. Puritan leader John Winthrop proclaimed that the Massachusetts Bay colony was going to be a "new Israel" that would be a "shining city upon a hill" for the world to emulate. Later, Thomas Paine, writing in *Common Sense*, pronounced that the American colonies had the "power to begin the world over again." This power led many to believe that through America's providential nature, it could escape the trappings of monarchy, a hereditary elite, and other ills that plagued Europe in the late eighteenth century. Eventually, this exceptionalist belief became engrained in American political culture. Today, most public figures find no fault with the idea that the U.S. is not only a unique nation, but larger superior to other states around the world.

Generally, three basic tenets make up Americans' belief that theirs is a chosen nation. First, the United States is a special nation with a special destiny. Second, the

United States is qualitatively different than other nations. Third, exceptionalists believe that the United States can escape the problems that eventually plague all states. Taken together, these exceptionalist tenets function to give Americans order to their vision of the world and their place within it. American exceptionalism largely defines how the United States sees itself within the international order. However, what the United States' specific role should be, how it is enacted, and what activities can be sanctioned to fulfill these exceptional qualities has been a matter of debate for decades. Two distinct traditions of *how* the U.S. fulfills its special destiny have been projected by American politicians. These two traditions are known as the mission of exemplar and the mission of intervention. According to exemplarists, America's role in the world is to stand apart from the rest of the world and serve as a model of social and political responsibility. In order for the United States to fulfill its exceptionalism, it should engage in activities that make itself a beacon for the world to emulate, such as increasing material prosperity, integrating diverse communities into one America and working for more civil rights. Yet exemplarists argue that being a model for the world is a full-time job. Engaging in other activities, such as intervening in the affairs of other states, puts an undue burden on the American people and could risk domestic gains that it has made at home. This basic credo was largely followed by early American political leaders. President George Washington warned the young republic in his Farewell Address to stay away from "permanent alliances" which may stunt its growth. In his first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson argued that America's foreign policy would be to "seek peace, commerce, and friendship with all, but entangling alliances with none." Secretary of State John Quincy Adams maintained that the United States does not go "abroad in search of monsters to destroy." Rather, it is the "well-wisher of freedom and independence to all." These examples yield the idea that this exemplarist foreign policy tradition has largely been a constraint upon American action, keeping it out of the political affairs of states during the nineteenth century.

On the other side of this debate are proponents of the mission of intervention. Interventionists maintain that America best demonstrates its exceptionalism by active engagement with the world on economic, political, social and cultural terms. These advocates claim that the U.S. cannot stay out of the affairs of other nations and organizations. The world is too integrated, too



interconnected. Rather, America, because of its providential heritage, has a duty and a responsibility to lead the world toward more democracy, more freedom, and more liberty, while defending those who subscribe or attempt to subscribe to similar ideals. Largely, the proponents of this mission have been twentieth-century politicians. In the debate over the fate of the Philippines, President William McKinley argued that America's purpose was to "civilize" the population and "rescue" them from their "savage" nature. On the eve of the U.S. entering World War I, President Wilson argued that the

United States must intervene to make the "world safe for democracy." During his Truman Doctrine address, President Truman stated that the "free peoples of the world look to the United States to help maintain their freedoms." In his inaugural address, President Kennedy promised that the United States "would bear any burden" and "oppose any foe to assure the success of liberty." Ultimately, these examples demonstrate that American politicians have come to argue that it is America's responsibility, as the "leader of the free world," to actively defend and promote the spread of democracy for its own interests and for the international community. America's exceptional heritage is fulfilled by engaging in this interventionist mission.

Over the past one hundred years, exemplarists and interventionists have often been at odds with each other. Each camp has a distinct vision of what the United States should do to best influence the affairs of the world. At times in American history, these visions come into direct conflict. Some of these examples include the imperialism debate during the Spanish American War in the late nineteenth century, the debate over America's inclusion in the League of Nations at the end of World War I, and the debate over whether the United States should actively be in the conflict during World War II. With the end of the Cold War, the debate over America's role in the world exploded again. Exemplarists launched an active media campaign that it was time for the United States to retrench. For example, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeanne Kirkpatrick, a staunch cold warrior, advocated that since the United States won the Cold War that it should return to its "normal" foreign policy of nineteenth century exemplarism. During the 1992 presidential campaign, Republican candidate Patrick Buchanan advocated that the United States should discontinue foreign aid, withdraw troops from South Korea and Europe, defund all international organizations, and return to its former policy of no entangling alliances. During that campaign, Buchanan's basic ideal of American retrench-

ment was shared by Democratic presidential candidates, Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder and Iowa Senator Tom Harkin. The views of Kirkpatrick, Buchanan, Wilder, and Harkin caused, according to presidential historian H.W. Brands, a *crisis* in thinking about America's place in the world.

Amidst this post-Cold War crisis, President Clinton articulated his position of what America's role would be. What was unique about Clinton, as I argue in *Navigating*, was that he bridged these diametrically opposed camps by fusing the exemplarist and interventionist narratives together. The president's argument went something like this: the United States must maintain its interventionist leadership role, but he predicated that leadership upon the renewal of its domestic example. By fusing the two narratives together he removed the inherent tension between the two camps and provided a logic for the United States to fulfill its exceptionalist destiny by being strong at home so that it could maintain its global role as world leader.

In fusing these narratives together, President Clinton made specific arguments about fulfilling each mission. For Clinton, fulfilling the mission of exemplar required the United States do three things. First, the president asserted the United States must change the way it thinks about the international environment. Clinton was one of the first political leaders to recognize, get out in front, and talk about the dramatic changes that globalization brought to the lives of people around the world. For Clinton, globalization was an inevitable reality. No country could escape it. The massive changes created both opportunities and challenges. The United States could make globalization its friend or its foe, but if America wanted to win it had to realize that it must adapt, manage, and direct this new era toward American interests. According to Clinton's logic, modifications to this era began with the United States re-establishing itself as an example for the rest of the world.

For Clinton, restoring America's exemplar heritage began with rebuilding its domestic economy. When Clinton entered office, the U.S. was just beginning to recover from the early 1990s recession. However, the president asserted throughout the 1992 presidential campaign and in the early days of his presidency that America's prior generation of political leaders (primarily Republican presidents) had done little to equip the United States to deal with the new realities of the global economy. America had not set out on an aggressive campaign of retooling industries to meet global demand, it had not expanded its trade agreements with other countries, and it had not reeducated its population to learn new skills that could be used in an era of

globalization. As a result, the United States was behind other nations and it was no longer the most dynamic, creative economy in the world. To remedy this situation, the president asserted that the U.S. must get its economic house in order. It must reeducate its population, it must expand its trade agreements, and it must retool the economy for more exports; all of which the administration accomplished in its eight year foreign policy stint.

Evidence of these accomplishments were constantly touted by Clinton: the negotiation of over 300 bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, the creation of 22 million jobs, the expansion of American exports, the general rise of American wages, and the growth in direct foreign investment, along with other economic accomplishments, were proof that the United States's status as an exemplar nation was redeemed. In turn, this evidence positioned to maintain its station of global leadership.

Additionally, President Clinton maintained the United States must improve the overall American community to reaffirm its exemplar status. One of the things that the president consistently highlighted was America's diversity, a diversity in which hundreds of different groups—racial, ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic—live in relative harmony. The ability of diverse populations to live in peace acted as grounds to warrant continued U.S. leadership. The United States acted as a model for other nations with diversity problems. That said, Clinton argued there was room for improvement. The president made racial reconciliation, with his second-term initiative of "One America," the centerpiece of his domestic agenda. He wanted Americans to converse on the subject of race and how it impeded their progress toward a "more perfect union." Although, the president did not succeed with many of his One America initiatives, he moved the debate on race further than had any president for thirty years. Clinton's attempt to deepen our appreciation for diversity positioned the United States as a leader in a multicultural world, renewed its exemplarist role.

While Clinton's discourse in the context of the exemplar mission provided rhetorical grounds to continue U.S. global leadership, he also stated that we would not retreat from our interventionist role as world leader. In



an age of globalism, America was the “indispensable nation” to provide leadership in shaping, managing and directing this new era. In fulfilling the mission of intervention, the president spent most of his time making the case why the U.S. should continue its station as the “indispensable nation.” The case for leadership was contained in two overarching and overlapping claims. The first involved our role as world leader and the legacy of transitional leadership that American generations had shown in the past. In particular, Clinton constantly compared and analogized the U.S. position in the 1990s with that of America in the 1940s. According to the president’s logic, the United States did not shrink from its leadership role in the great transition from World War II and under his leadership it would not shrink from leading the world in transitioning to an age of globalization. By maintaining and expanding its leadership role, the United States continued the legacy of leadership left by America’s “greatest generation.” In doing so, the “globalization generation”—and by extension Clinton—became models for future generations to emulate. By continuing the intervention mission the “globalization generation” had the potential to be as important as the “greatest generation.”

The second claim Clinton made was that U.S. leadership was needed to mold and direct this era toward its interests. Embedded within this argument was a sense of urgency and immediateness. For example, Clinton told a national audience in his 1993 Address to Congress that “if we do not act, the moment will pass and we will lose the best possibilities of our future. We face no imminent threat, but we do have an enemy. The enemy of our time is inaction.” The exigency of Clinton’s presidency demanded American leadership because without it the “moment will pass.” Here, the president implied that the United States would not be beaten by an external threat, but by an internal one: our own inaction and inability to evolve. By not leading, America could not progress. If it could not progress, then it could not fulfill its destiny to influence the affairs of the world. For Clinton, then, it became imperative for the United States to maintain, if not expand, its leadership station to remain the “indispensable nation.” If not, then the country’s exceptional nature was in danger. Maintaining the interventionist mission was imperative for the Clinton administration.

Since President Clinton left office a number of happenings have damaged America’s position as world leader. Military missteps in Iraq and Afghanistan, abuse at Abu Ghraib, detainees at Guantanamo Bay, the USA Patriot Act, wiretapping of American citizens and other problems have only fed the fire against America’s exceptionalist interventionism and its exceptionalism in general. Ever since President Bush decided to enter Iraq in March of 2003, left-leaning foreign policy critics, such as Noam

Chomsky and Chalmers Johnson, have argued that the United States is pursuing a drastic militaristic form of interventionism that has it dangerously close to becoming an empire. On top of that, there are a growing number of conservatives who excoriate this militaristic exceptionalism. Texas Representative Ron Paul, a 2008 candidate for president, advocates the United States abandon its role as an interventionist state and return to a “normal” foreign policy. Johns Hopkins University Professor, Francis Fukuyama, a prominent neo-conservative, one-time proponent of the Iraq War and devoted interventionist, asserts that the United States must return to using unobtrusive strategies such as free trade and commerce, à la Washington and Jefferson, to resuscitate its image and its leadership role. Boston University Professor Andrew Bacevich has long been a critic of our current U.S. interventionist role. In his new book, *The Limits of American Exceptionalism*, Bacevich maintains that our current international position is not sustainable. The missteps in Iraq and Afghanistan, the billions of dollars in trade deficits, and the constant promotion of Western-style democracy, has created a crisis in American life that may do irrevocable damage to its prestige and the power of its example. These criticisms point to a much larger foreign policy conversation that rages among America’s foreign policy intelligentsia.

It is here where I situate my current research interests. My current research project is to trace and analyze various enactments of this current debate. For example, in his inaugural address, President Obama committed the United States to maintaining and resuscitating its leadership position. He proclaimed that America is ready and has a responsibility to lead. At the same time, he indicated he wanted to usher in a new era of engagement with various regions of the globe, such as the Muslim world, based on mutual interests and mutual respect. How does this “new era” differ from previous administrations, such as Clinton? What adaptations will President Obama’s administration make in the current rhetoric regarding our role in the world, our exceptionalist heritage and America’s foreign policy vocabulary? What are the limits of America’s station in international affairs? How will others, such as Ron Paul, challenge these exceptionalist positions? At the moment, I don’t have answers to these questions. Ultimately, however, my book and my current research project aim to help others understand the roots of our current foreign policy debates, where they have taken us in the past, and where they will take us in the future. Understanding these positions and debates are absolutely essential for the health of U.S. foreign policy and American democracy.

—Jason Edwards is Assistant Professor of Communication Studies.

Our Wings: Aviation Science and College Learning

Andrew Holman

The news this Spring was hard to miss by anyone who spent much time on campus: Bridgewater State College opened its own, new Aviation Training Center in a neat, one-story building near the New Bedford airport. There, since January 2009, the College has offered Aviation Science majors classroom learning and uniform, rigorous flight training by its own instructors in one of nine leased QMA 11E aircraft recently repainted in BSC-Bear crimson and white. The change means that incoming aviation majors will no longer be sent out to several local airports for instruction; as President Mohler Faria noted in his address at the Center's opening ceremony, "We now have the ability to control and ensure the highest quality in our flight training."

On campus, the news was met with a curious mixed reaction of celebration and wonder. "I think the new facility is a *big* step in the College reaching out to students and other businesses in the community," second-year aviation science major Dennis Murphy said. One social scientist's reaction took a different tack: "Now we have our own airforce...and it's probably bigger than those of many countries in the world!" Beneath the light-hearted humor, the quip betrays a curiosity—perhaps even latent ambivalence—about aviation science and its fit in the College's mission. How does practical instruction in flight-instrument training or air carrier operations square with traditional learning in liberal arts and professional study—philosophy and mathematics, sociology and elementary education? What those in Harrington Hall (and the New

Bedford airport) know is what the rest of us should: aviation science has a firm place in the curriculum of American higher education. Like many American colleges that have diversified their offerings beyond the liberal arts, the fit has grown more comfortable over time.

AVIATION STUDIES AT BSC

Aviation science at BSC took flight thirty years ago, when Vice President Wallace Anderson helped engineer a course of study and flight training at Norwood Airport. The program began its life as part of the college's management science curriculum. Like so many recent initiatives in that school, management professor (and then department chair) Sylvia Keyes played an important role. "I hired our first aviation science faculty member in 1980–81," she recalls. Since then, the program has expanded steadily under the direction of a succession of leaders: Ken Howe (1983–1987), William Annesley (1987–92), Frank Sterrett (1992–95), Veronica Côté (1995–98). Under Professor Côté, the program was elevated to full department status and in January 1997, a part of the School of Management and Aviation Science. In 2000, the program hired Frank Sargent as Director of Aviation Planning and Operations, with the aim of stabilizing the school's flight-training component. When the School of Business was created in 2007, Aviation Science became again its own department (and Sargent the School's Associate Dean). The department's current chair, Michael Farley, has witnessed its development and challenges, both in his ten years as a faculty



member at BSC and as a graduate (in two ways, he is one of “our own”). With four full-time faculty members, a manager of aviation, three flight instructors and several staff members in Bridgewater and New Bedford, Aviation Science is among the college’s smaller departments, but off campus, one of its most visible.

Aviation Science majors at Bridgewater State concentrate in one of two streams: Flight Training or Aviation Management. Both streams seek to prepare graduates for careers in the air-transportation industry: the former largely in the air, as flight instructors and commercial or corporate airline pilots; the latter largely on the ground as airport, carrier or general aviation-operations managers. “A very high percentage of our majors enter the department in Flight Training,” Farley notes, “but almost half of them migrate to Aviation Management before graduation.” Both branches of the major are academically demanding (each claims more than half of a student’s required college credits) and all majors are required to do courses in flight training. Still, the flight training concentration is plainly more onerous, requiring students to gain their private and commercial licenses, instrument and flight instructor ratings and spend an extraordinary amount of time in the air. “At first, many students may not appreciate the commitment,” Sargent said.

The profile of the students in Aviation Science is not much different than it is for other majors at BSC. Most of the student body comes from eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island; but the special nature of the program also brings some students from places beyond the college’s traditional sources, including California, Pennsylvania, and even Japan. Though the College doesn’t recruit aviation majors in any unique way, the program’s place among the country’s relatively few four-year degree programs makes it more conspicuous to prospective students. And its comparatively inexpensive cost helps, too. Aviation science is a notoriously pricy major, particularly at the nation’s private schools. At BSC, New England-origin students pay half again as much in tuition and fees as their colleagues in other BSC majors. One AvSci major from Dorchester, Mass., estimated his first-year cost at \$22,000; after considering aviation programs at SUNY Farmingdale and a community college in Connecticut, he concluded that BSC was the best value for his money.

BEYOND BSC

There are about 60 baccalaureate programs in aviation science in the United States, AvSci department chair Farley notes, and about twice that many flight-training programs at the country’s community colleges. Aviation science is offered at small, private institutions

as well as several large, public schools. Like many scholarly disciplines, the field has its own tacitly ordered hierarchy, at the peak of which is Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, a multi-campus specialty school with an enrollment of 34,000 students. For decades, students have earned four-year aviation science degrees at large omnibus “multiversities” as well, such as the University of North Dakota, Arizona State, Ohio State, Western Michigan and the University of Dayton. Several smaller private schools, such as Florida Institute of Technology and Nashua’s Daniel Webster College, round out the choices that prospective aviation students entertain. Where do we fit in the big picture of aviation science? “We’re always compared to Daniel Webster—our most local competitor, and Embry-Riddle—the biggest school,” says Farley. “There are a lot of similarities and differences. They have good students and instructors, and so do we.”

As in any field, excellence is a rather slippery concept; it depends on how it is defined. As Farley said, “Students in big schools sometimes get lost. We can give our students more individual attention. And there seems to be many more students who are transferring into our program from other schools than there are those who transfer the other way.” All flight training is regulated by the Federal Aviation Administration and is, therefore, standard. The only difference there, Dean Sargent notes, is that some schools have been doing it longer than us. For Murphy, who has a friend at Embry-Riddle, BSC’s aviation science program “can hold its own... We’re small, but I feel that the education and training I’m getting here will make me competitive.”

Currently, the AvSci program has the Federal Aviation Administration approval it needs to operate its own flight school. Moreover, BSC’s program is affiliated with the University Aviation Association, a 60-year-old forum for aviation educators that sponsors an annual academic conference and publishes a scholarly journal, *Collegiate Aviation Review*. Still, BSC’s program is not yet approved by the discipline’s only accrediting body, the Aviation Accrediting Board International (established in 1988 as the Council on Aviation Administration). Uncertainty and concerns about unevenness in flight-school training and the slowness of governance has dissuaded program directors from seeking AABI sanction. “It’s not something that faculty have deemed critical yet,” Farley said. “And administration hasn’t made a real push for it, either,” though he expects that will change soon. “Our ten-year program evaluation begins this summer. A plan to seek accreditation may come out of that.”

FAREWELL COMAIR, HELLO ATC

If it does seek AABI accreditation, Bridgewater State’s program is poised to make a case much stronger than it

could have a year ago when its flight-training program experienced turbulence. In July 2008, the College received the unexpected news that Comair—the Delta Air Lines subsidiary and a company with whom BSC had contracted since 2003 to provide flight training for the College’s AvSci majors—had chosen to terminate the arrangement. Negotiated by Sargent in fall 2002, the BSC/Comair partnership consolidated flight training and obviated the need to send students to a variety of local airports to get their flying hours. When Comair withdrew, the program’s public image suffered and enrollment declined (once up to 230 majors, the program now has 160). Students returned to multiple flight schools. Ever positive, Farley recalls the gallows humor that emerged in the department. At one meeting, members joked that Comair’s departure was a *good* thing: “Now we can run our own flight school.”

What they didn’t know was that such a prospect was so close at hand. After considering the options, President Mohler Faria decided to create BSC’s own flight-training center, the first state school-operated facility of its kind in the northeastern U.S. The center has a \$1.4 million budget, which includes a \$2,800/month, two-year lease agreement for each aircraft, and a staff of twelve employees at the site, including flight instructors. “Our Chief Pilot and Assistant Chief Pilot are exceptional,” Sargent said. “They maintain very high standards.”

THE “FIT”

Some years ago, Farley was surprised by a member of the BSC Board of Trustees who asked him why the College has an aviation science program. The question was startling for an academic unaccustomed to justifying a field already established in other colleges and universities. “Often, we’re not looked upon as academics. We’re different. None of us have doctorates, though all of us have graduate degrees. Our expertise is technical.” The difference has previously confronted Farley, a long-time department chair and member of several campus-wide committees, including CART and Project Compass—a campus-diversity initiative. Dean Sargent states the case more bluntly: “There’s a lack of respect; it’s unfortunate.” Unfortunate perhaps, but not uncommon in other schools. For example, a minor fracas emerged in 2003 at Western Michigan when the university decided to offer tenure rights to its faculty “specialists,” such as those in its School of Aviation. About a third of WMU’s faculty voted against the move, arguing that faculty members whose fields do not require them to do research or have terminal degrees shouldn’t be eligible for “the academy’s brass ring.” The case underlined a resonance in higher education about credentials and a propensity among some long-established acade-

micians to “guard well the portals.” Happily, the Bridgewater State community has avoided that depth of division, perhaps because our roots in professional training are long. “The College has decided that the aviation science curriculum is worthy of a Bachelor of Science,” Farley said. “It’s part of our mission and I don’t really need to defend our place in it.” Indeed, BSC’s investment in aviation education mirrors a broader pattern afoot in the American higher-education market in the past thirty years. A pressure to attract new students and to better serve the communities that host American colleges and universities has meant that more professional and pre-professional programs—such as nursing, speech pathology and aviation science—are finding secure places in the academy.

There is a new optimism in aviation science at BSC and a sense that operating its own flight training center is a launch pad for even greater success. “Our goal is to have 300 majors,” Farley says. Sargent has additional goals: “I’d like to see us develop even more advanced flight training, like glider and aerobatic flight. As it stands now, we’re not far behind the country’s premier flight training programs, but with some work we can provide our students with an even better edge.” One of those students, Dennis Murphy, is already convinced: “Bridgewater State College has a special place in the aviation world. I hope it takes full advantage.” The sky is, after all, the limit.

—Andrew Holman is Professor of History and Associate Editor of the Bridgewater Review. *He does well on takeoffs, but still finds landings a little tough.*

My experience of seeing this list brings to mind my first visit to the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C. soon after it was completed in 1982. I went to find the name of Bobby Meeker, a high school buddy of mine who was killed in Binh Duong in 1969. Just as Maya Lin intended when she designed the memorial, I had to walk past thousands of names to find Bobby's, and soon I was dwarfed by the dark and ever taller wall. There were more than 58,000 Americans killed in Viet Nam, and Bobby's name was deep among them. How are we to sense both the scale and these losses and the intensely individual lives that comprise them? However difficult it is, we should try.

—William C. Levin is Professor of Sociology and Associate Editor of the Bridgewater Review.

A Contemporary Poetic Play

Stephen Levine



A

s anyone who has read Shakespeare knows, the print version of a poetic play is very different from a poem. I'm obviously no Shakespeare, but I have written a contemporary poetic play, and reading it requires the same kind of visual and auditory leap of imagination from page to stage as a four hundred year old masterpiece. In order to understand this simple dialogue, one must imagine it as an audience member close to an intimately small stage, with vibrant human actors speaking, singing and dancing, colorful flowing costumes, brilliant lighting, and a heart-felt musical underscore.

To aid this imagination, allow me to set the stage, so to speak, for the selection that will follow. The scene in question is next to last in *The Insect Comedy*, which I have written based on a ninety year old work by Czech brothers, Joseph and Karel Capek, (pronounced "chahpek"). The play begins with a prologue seen from a normal human perspective. In a meadow near woods, a drunken homeless Man is alone, pondering his existence, when he is interrupted by a biology Professor hunting butterflies to pin and exhibit for nature lovers. She notes that the butterflies are in mating season and attracted to the man because he smells putrified with sweat and dirt. He decides to watch the butterflies in their mating to amuse himself. He exits the stage, but his enormous face and booming voice occasionally comment on the insects he is observing. In the first full scene of the play, the butterflies enter, behaving like beautiful, young, love-struck, fickle and unfaithful individuals performed by normal-sized human actors in contemporary colorful dress subtly suggesting bodies and wings. The second scene features the Man observing insects closer to the earth, such as a trio of very wealthy tuxedoed and designer-dressed dung-beetles, who push and covet their treasure in the form of an enormous ball of dung, and perceive its loss as tragic.

They are constantly interrupted by a Chrysalis, who from her closed cocoon proclaims the entire world will change when she is born. There are also contemporarily dressed actors portraying an Ichneumon fly as a "working girl" and her adorable child Larvae (in a fleece pajama snuggly) whose hunger drives her single mom to capture a pair of crickets to feed to her baby. The Crickets are a musical pair who were imminently expecting their own large brood. The final character is a Parasite, depicted as a contemporary street beggar. The last full scene features innumerable Ants who convert from an endless line of paper pushing Workers to an endless line of Soldiers, waging war against ants of a different color. The Man ends the war, and then observes the scene printed below, wherein the Chrysalis emerges from her cocoon as a Mayfly to join the others of her kind who only fly and live one day. The word "Coda" is not spoken in performance, but is a musical term meaning a short ending piece after the main body of work. The Mayflies are in contemporary dancewear with sheer flowing silk scarves suggesting the movement of wings, and they revolve attracted to the brightest light from above. The musical underscore is a live, offstage solo voice singing the melody line from the haunting *Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5* by Heter Villalobos.

Please note that punctuation in a playscript is not for grammatical purposes at all, but rather a code to guide actors in performance, comparable to musical notation for a singer. In this case, the exclamation points indicate sequentially rising intensity of vocal inflection as well as gesture and facial expression, beyond what is natural in realistic conversation.

Coda

(Light slowly brightens. MAYFLIES enter from all corners of the stage, dancing with sheer scarves of silk toward the light above. The MAYFLY CHRYSALIS is in her cocoon above the audience.)

MAYFLY CHRYSALIS: (Bright spotlight, she begins to open her cocoon.) *I am ready to escape my prison! I will live forever! Now that I am chosen to be born!*

CHORUS: (ALL enter.) *The world loves us! Mayflies have the gift of life! A lifelong love!*

CHRYSALIS: (Spreading her wings.) *Who's singing out to me?*

CHORUS: *Come with us! Fly around the light of life! A gift of love!*

MAYFLY CHRYSALIS: *I am the one to be born now! I'm entering a world of hope!*
(She joins the other Mayflies dancing.)

CHORUS: *Come with us! Whirling, twirling, swirling, curling round eternal light!*

MAYFLY 1: *My wings are made of light! Fly with me! Reach up for life's essence! Fly! And dance forever! High above the earth! Up to the light! Until I die!* (She dies.)

CHORUS: *All that we have is life! Come with us! Whirling, twirling, swirling, curling round eternal light!*

MAYFLY 2: *Let me fly up! Let me become a lifelong fire above the cares of every day! So let me live with you! Let us live long as I can love!* (She dies.)

CHORUS: *All that we have is life! Come with us! Whirling, twirling, swirling, curling round eternal light!*

MAYFLY 3: *The world is blest to see life last forever! I will dance with you as long as I'm alive! Come sing with me as long as we're together!* (She dies.)

CHORUS: *Live! All that we have is life! Come with us! Whirling, twirling, swirling, curling round eternal light!*

MAYFLY 4: *Our wings are made to last one Mayfly day. If I can find love without end, then I can live forever! Stay, life, stay!* (He dies.)

CHORUS: *All that we have is life! Come with us! Whirling, twirling, swirling, curling round eternal light!* (They die.)

MAYFLY CHRYSALIS: (Dancing. The light becomes blindingly bright.) *The whole world comes alive in me! To be is to fly up into the light! And feel the ecstasy! Feel the eternal mystery! I can reveal the secret of life's meaning! Listen to me! Will you hear my voice before I die? Life is! Before I die!* (She dies. Sudden blackout as music swells.)

Seeking for a City

Gwen Ifill, *The Breakthrough: Politics and Race in the Age of Obama*.
Doubleday, 2009

Charles Angell

Gwen Ifill's *The Breakthrough* sparked controversy even before its publication when, last fall, some suggested that because Ifill was writing a book about Barack Obama, she could not moderate impartially the vice-presidential debate between Sarah Palin and Joseph Biden. (This canard proved unfounded as Ifill presided over a spirited and evenhanded debate.) More relevant, perhaps, to the issues Ifill broaches in *The Breakthrough* was her interview in October 2007 with eight of the nine African-American students who 50 years before had integrated Little Rock's Central High School. Ifill let these now middle-aged adults recall their experience, what they had learned about themselves, what the ordeal had brought home to them about race relations in the United States, but ultimately what their education had allowed them to achieve. As they spoke, one could see in Ifill's demeanor—always professional—her awareness that she in no small measure owed her position to the courage and fortitude of the Little Rock nine. Their breakthrough opened the passageway for much that followed.

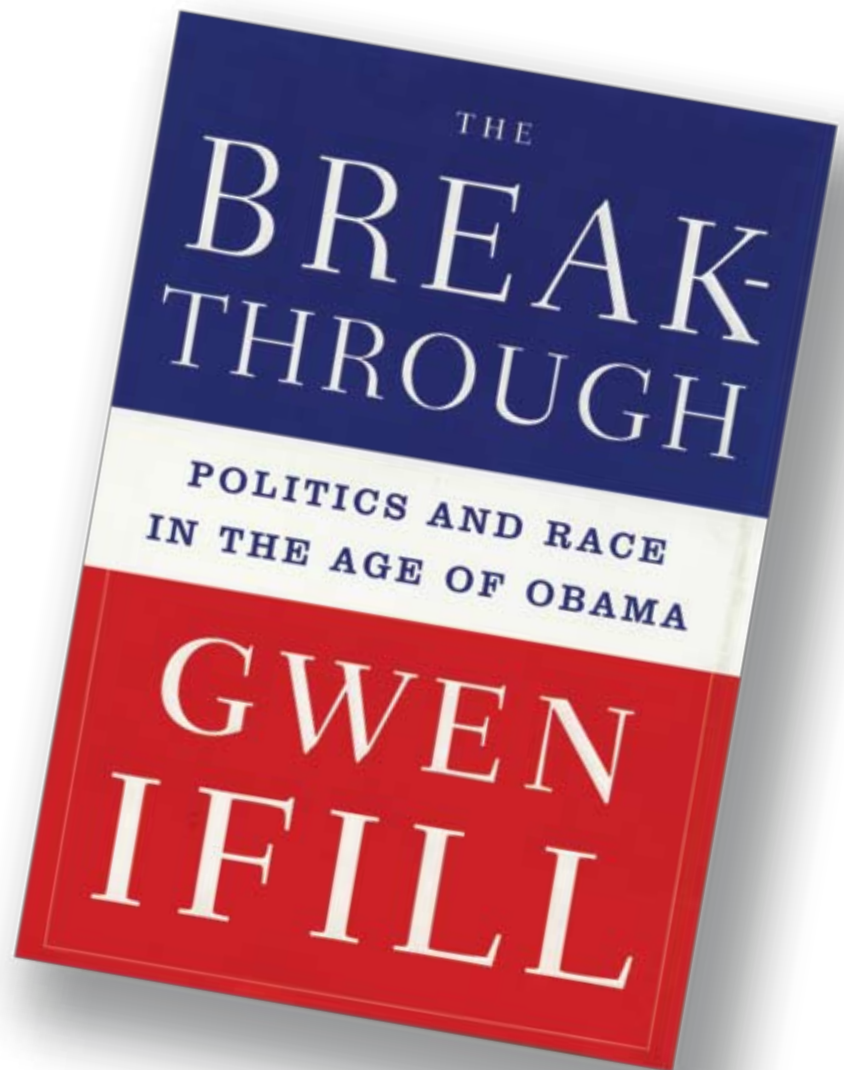
Ifill begins her account of the new generation of African-American politicians by noting that in her thirty years as a journalist, beginning with reporting on the attempts to integrate South Boston High School, nothing had "prepared [her] for 2008 and the astonishing rise of Barack Obama." She uses as her theme the tensions, sometimes conflicts, between the older generation of African American politicians, tested in the protests and marches of the Civil Rights movement, and the younger generation, the beneficiaries of the advances made by those who preceded. The contretemps between Reverend Jesse Jackson whose off-the-cuff disparaging remark about Barack Obama earned him a sharp rebuke from his son representative Jesse Jackson, Jr. neatly symbolizes the generational difference. Ifill views politics as a sandpapering process where groups with opposing interests rub against one another and create friction. For the earlier generation of African-American politicians and activists the friction resulted from racial conflict as black Americans asserted themselves against entrenched and entitled white political power. While many of these conflicts are by no means resolved, the younger generation with no direct experience of Selma

and Birmingham has moved away from an emphasis on racial issues to focus on issues that will garner widespread—i.e. white—support. "The rift," Ifill points out, "between African-American politicians born in the 1930s and 40s and those born in the 1960s and 70s is a deep one that is often papered over. The worldview of the older politicians... was defined by limitation.... They could not attend the schools they preferred or aspire to the jobs they believed they were qualified to hold.... Their children, who walked freely down the streets where their parents marched, were raised to believe they could do anything."

Candidate Obama addressed this issue in his 18 March 2008 speech on race delivered at Constitution Hall in Philadelphia. He said of his pastor Reverend Eugene Wright that his mistake was "not that he spoke about racism in our society. It's that he spoke as if our society was static; as if no progress has been made; as if this country... is still irrevocably bound to its tragic past." Reviewing Mr. Obama's speech in the 1 May 2008 *New York Review of Books*, Garry Wills paralleled Obama's problem with Reverend Wright to Lincoln's attempt to dissociate himself from abolitionist John Brown. Wills observes that "neither [Lincoln or Obama] denied the darker aspects of our history, yet they held out hope for what Lincoln called here the better 'lights of current experience' what he would later call the 'better angels of our nature.' Each looked for larger patterns under the surface bitterness of their day. Each forged a moral position that rose above the occasions for their speaking." Reading the text of candidate Obama's speech, one encounters not only his deep thoughtfulness and understanding of the role race has played in America's history but also his political awareness that Reverend Wright's inflammatory remarks had to be placed within a dynamic context that moved the discussion forward. In an interview with Ifill in the midst of the Wright controversy Mr. Obama said "we've got to remind ourselves that what we have in common is far more important than what's different." Throughout his campaign he stayed focused on this simple, reassuring, and clearly successful message.

Ifill chronicles the journeys to power of several young African-American politicians: Representative Artur Davis of Alabama, Mayor Cory Booker of Newark, and

(not surprisingly) Governor Deval Patrick. Each received his education from America's elite universities and law schools; each embraced politics and sought elected office often in the face of daunting obstacles. Davis, who hopes to run for Alabama's governorship in 2010, had to take on the entrenched African-American politicians in order to win election to the U.S. House over 15 years ago. His early support for Barack Obama antagonized the state's democratic establishment, most of whom supported Hillary Clinton. Of Booker, Ifill writes "he's a walking, talking, philosophy-spouting generational conflict. In his attempt to woo those who would spurn a city such as Newark and mollify those who are defensive about its past, success for Booker lies in forging a way forward. The trouble is, the path forward is littered with the debris brought on by the act of breaking through." Deval Patrick's candidacy for the Massachusetts' governorship perhaps faced the most intractable obstacles: he was virtually unknown; he would campaign in a state of predominantly white voters; he would have to grapple with a powerful, chauvinistic, and set in its ways Democratic organization. (Still, I remember seeing Emily Rooney's *Greater Boston* October 2005 interview with Patrick and thinking he might just pull the election off.) His opponent in the election, Kerry Healey said afterward that "Deval was able to build a successful grassroots candidacy and overcome all of those structural disadvantages in ways that were quite extraordinary for the Democratic Party." Patrick's performance as governor, as we all know, has not been trouble free. His inexperience has led him into blunders that a more seasoned politician might have known to avoid. The current recession has forced difficult and mostly unpleasant choices on state govern-



ment. (Though, again, I note that the Commonwealth appears to have learned from past fiscal crises and taken precautions to moderate the effects of economic downturns.) Now, in April 2009, Patrick confronts having to raise revenues (i.e. taxes) to ease the fiscal pressure on state government. Ifill offers a prescient paragraph when she writes "it remains an open question whether Patrick will be strong enough to seek a second term without drawing a significant challenge. 'People are making a mistake if they are presuming there is a trajectory here that is clear and defined,' Charlie Baker told me. 'I think it could go in either direction.'" This morning's *Boston Globe* (April 16th) reports that Baker, CEO of Harvard-Pilgrim Medical, may become the "significant challenge" in 2010. As Ifill asks early in *Breakthrough*, "can insiders

effect real change, or do they become change's worst enemy once they're inside. This is when the friction kicks in, that sandpaper place where change happens and the nerve endings of ambition become exposed and frayed." Challenge notwithstanding, Deval Patrick's efforts to change Massachusetts' political culture, should he succeed, will be a breakthrough.

Ifill also notes early in *Breakthrough* that she does not believe Barack Obama's election victory represents a "postracial" moment." Admitting her uncertainty over what the phrase means, Ifill suspects that the phrase is "code language that conveniently means different things to different people. For those interested in resisting any discussion of racial difference, it is an easy way to embrace the mythic notion of color blindness. For civil rights veterans, it is a term that sparks outrage" in its suggestion that "getting past" race is a good thing while just below the surface lurks the implication that race itself is a "bad thing." Near the end of the book, Ifill writes that "perhaps a wholesale shift in racial understanding was too much to hope for in a single electoral cycle. But then again, what did happen was no small thing. Americans were willing to place a widespread acceptance to African American culture, previously limited to arts, letters, sports, and entertainment, into a broad political context." As President Obama has inhabited his office and shown the same disciplined, unflappable temperament he displayed as a candidate, I think citizens have grown increasingly comfortable with him and his message that much more unites than divides us. He may never find his face engraved on a treasury note or his image sculpted on Mt. Rushmore. I have no doubt that the story of his presidency will figure prominently in the history of America's third century. We may not as yet have overcome, but we have broken through.

—Charles Angell is Professor of English and Book Review Editor of the *Bridgewater Review*.

In Memoriam

Henry Carter Shaffer (1952-2008) The Bridgewater Review remembers warmly the life and work of Henry Shaffer, a generous colleague, engaged mentor and vibrant member of the college community, who passed away in December 2008 at the young age of 56. A member of the faculty since 1995, Henry served as Chair of the Department of Theatre and Dance for the past three years. A graduate of Georgetown (BA 1979) and Carnegie-Mellon universities (MFA 1982), Henry developed a remarkable reputation off campus as a designer, director and producer in east coast theatre, film and opera in more than 30 years of work and dozens of productions. Henry's contributions to the Bridgewater State community are many and his loss is deeply felt.

Normal Hall, the First Normal School Dormitory



Constructed in 1869, Normal Hall the first Normal School dormitory was a wooden structure forty by eighty feet, situated above a basement that contained the cellar, boiler-room, storage room, and a laundry area divided into washing, ironing, drying and linen rooms. The first floor included the family rooms, a library, sitting room, bed room and bathroom, the parlor, dining room, and cooking room. The remaining floors were divided into twenty-nine student rooms, whose dimensions were ten by fifteen feet and rooms for employees who worked in the dormitory. Each room contained two closets and was supplied with furniture and heated by steam. Students were expected to provide their own bed linen and towels. The principal and his family also moved into the building and there was a wing for male students meaning that the original Normal Hall was co-ed, although mingling between the sexes was strictly forbidden. Women were charged \$3.75 for rent, fuel, light, washing and board. Men who lived in the hall paid \$4 a week while those who lived in town could eat in the dining room for \$2.87.

—Thomas Turner.

Bridgewater State College

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