During the Civil War, Bridgewater Normal School was a thriving institution of higher learning despite the human tragedies associated with the conflict between North and South. The catalogue of the college presented here is from 1864 and highlights admission procedures, the course of study, fee schedules and financial aid.

As can be seen in this pamphlet, the tradition of providing access to a rigorous liberal arts education has roots that stretch back over one hundred years.
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I must confess a deep dark secret: I went gambling at Foxwoods, and even worse, I lost. Normally, I am not someone who plays games of chance, except an occasional Lottery Quik Pic when the pot of gold is in the gazillions. But there I was grasping that dixie cup filled with loose change, and rubbing elbows with about ten guys from Revere named Vinnie.

As fate would have it my wife and my brother-in-law won a free schooner trip along the Mystic River. Because boats, water and wind are not my cup of tea, there I was with my sister-in-law (who shares my fears) on the highway to Ledyard, Connecticut, while our respective spouses enjoyed a grand day with a free lobster supper. Boy did we make the wrong choice.

As we were driving through the beautiful farmland of Connecticut, we turned the corner and there it was, the Emerald City, the "largest casino in the western hemisphere," Foxwoods, the place of dreams and dreamers. After standing outside with our mouths half open staring at this gambling city, we walked through the doors to try our luck. Not knowing how to count cards at blackjack or how to play the "baseball" brand of poker or whether to take the Patriots and the points, we walked over to the slot machines. The slots are the no-brainers of gambling - just stick a coin in the machine, pull the lever, watch the fruit go by and hope that hundreds of coins drop into your lap.

I quickly became bored from exercising my forearm and began turning my attention to my fellow gamblers. If Disney World is the happiest place on earth, then the slot machine parlor at Foxwoods must the "unhappiest" place on earth. When the oranges and grapes fell my way and seven dollars in quarters dropped into my lap, I almost did a dance of joy, but when the woman next to me hit for 50 dollars, you would think she had lost a loved one.

It didn't take long to lose $25, especially when you don't know what you are doing, so we left the slots and started walking around Foxwoods. The bingo hall is bigger than an airplane hanger, the food courts can feed an army and the tour bus parking lot would put the New York Port Authority Terminal to shame. But perhaps the most lasting impression of Foxwoods is the children, yes children - babies, toddlers, kindergartners running around as mom and dad try to double the rent money. Because there is no tilt-a-whirl at Foxwoods or cartoon characters for entertainment, these kids are not happy campers, which makes their parents even more miserable as they lose money and their patience.

My sister-in-law and I were happy to leave and get back to the beauty of Mystic, but as we left there were more and more new arrivals with new dreams and sad faces. I guess I understand the allure of gambling - the risk-taking, the get rich quick motive, the excitement of winning. But for two hours we were in a noisy, crowded, smoke-filled palace of false hopes, while my wife and her brother were breathing in the salty air, riding the waves and eating like royalty. If only those sad faces at Foxwoods could see that happiness does not come from beating the odds, but from enjoying the beauty around us.

As we left the Emerald City my sister-in-law and I agreed that gambling was not for us. We learned a little bit about the society we live in and what too many of us see as fun. We agreed that Foxwoods offered us nothing but memories of spinning fruit, stale air and sad faces.

Michael Kryzanek is Editor of the Bridgewater Review
LIFE IN THE SLOW LANE:  
The Old Order Amish Cultural Landscape of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

Glenn Miller

AMISH ORIGINS

The Old Order Amish are a religious sect that grew out of the Mennonite Church which originated in Germany in 1525, in the early years of the Protestant Reformation. Due to religious persecution by the Prussians, the Amish migrated from Germany's Rhineland to settle in William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania in the early 1700s. The Amish people are often called "Dutch," which is a corruption of the German word Deutsch. The Amish, therefore, are of German descent, and not from the Netherlands. But despite the occasional problem in identifying the ethnic background of the Amish, they nevertheless have become part of America's pluralistic society.

The Amish closely intermarry and usually live in tight-knit communities to offer each other support and to minimize acculturation from the modern world. Because of the close intermarriage, they have only a few surnames, with Stoltzfus, King, Fisher, Glick, Esh, Lapp, and Beiler being the most common. The first names are almost all drawn from The Bible: Moses, John, Abraham, Aaron, Isaac, Peter, Ruth, Rebecca, Sarah, and Rachel.

Basically, the Amish today live similar to the way their ancestors did almost three hundred years ago. They use horse-drawn transportation and do not hook up to electricity. They live a fairly simple life, and are sometimes referred to as "the Plain People." There are about 100,000 Amish in the world today. Their largest settlement is in Holmes County, Ohio, in the east central part of the state. The second largest Amish settlement is the oldest and best known, that of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Other Amish settlements are found in over twenty U.S. states, Canada, and several countries in Central America and South America. The author was raised in Lancaster County, and its Amish community and landscape are the primary focus of this essay.

AMISH BELIEFS

The separation between the Amish Church and the Mennonite Church took place in 1693. Although their actions are referred to as a "breakaway," it might be equally correct to say that the Amish Church began as a result of a strong conviction to continue some practices which the Mennonites dropped. At the time of their schism the Amish and Mennonites appeared identical, and held to the same Biblical faith. The Amish practice of shunning those excommunicated from the Church created the main point of contention. Other minor issues also contributed to a decision to part ways with the Mennonites.

Most of the Amish beliefs are taken from literal interpretations of The Bible. In particular, from the book of Leviticus, God tells his people: "be ye separate." And so, the Amish are separate: in their language, dress, transportation, and many other aspects of their culture. They do live a lifestyle that is distinctively different from their non-Amish neighbors who live in the same region. Most Amish are extremely devout individuals. The Amish attempt to follow New Testament standards for living. They teach the entire Bible and believe that the New Testament is the fulfillment of the Old Testament. The Amish religion is similar to the Jewish religion in that it can be broken down into Ultra Orthodox, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reformed subgroups. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, the focus of this essay, represent the ultra orthodox, or the strictest way of life.

The Amish live in geographically delineated church districts, with about thirty-five families per district. There are no separate church structures, as they gather every two weeks in the home of a district member. The service starts around 8:00 AM and continues until about noon-time. Men and women sit separately on backless benches arranged in rows. The
Amish believe in clearly defined gender roles, in all aspects of life.

The service begins with the singing of hymns from an old German hymnbook, the Ausbund. There are no musical scores, and the congregation sings in unison, unaccompanied, which resembles a Gregorian chant. Following the singing there is a short sermon, silent prayer, and Scripture readings in High German. The main sermon follows which lasts about an hour, and is given in Pennsylvania Dutch, which is more correctly defined as Pennsylvania German, which is a combination of Palatinate German and English. After the main sermon other ordained men give their own comments and the service ends with a lengthy prayer from an Amish prayer book. The service rarely varies from this format. Amish ministers are chosen by lot from the adult male members, and Acts 1:15-26 is the basis for this practice. No special education is thought necessary for the ministry.

The Amish believe in taking care of their own. While paying taxes, Amish farmers secure an exemption from paying social security if they are self-employed. Grown children take care of their elderly parents in their homes, as it is extremely rare for an Amish person to reside in a convalescent home. They seldom receive Social Security benefits or Medicare. Amish do not take out insurance, except for farm liability, in case one of their animals causes an accident. They believe that when a tragedy occurs it is an act of God. However, when tragedy does strike an Amish family, for example in the form of fire or long-term medical disability, the Amish community will help with the necessary labor and share the costs through the Amish Aid Society. The Amish people will often come to the aid of non-Amish, too, when a disaster strikes, even beyond the borders of Lancaster County and the State of Pennsylvania.

THE AMISH LIFESTYLE & CULTURE

Being farmers in the early 1900s meant that Amish families in rural Lancaster County usually sent their children to public one-room school houses, along with non-Amish, or “English” children. As school size increased in the post-World War II era, the Amish felt that too much acculturation took place between them and the non-Amish. Therefore, in 1972, the Amish pulled their children from the public schools. Some of the previously abandoned one-room school houses were re-opened, and several new ones were built. Amish education basically means emphasizing “the three R’s,” which are reading, writing, and arithmetic. Children only complete eight years of education, which the parents feel quite adequately prepares them for life as they know it. As a result of a Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision which allows them to “dropout” early, the Amish meet the requirements of compulsory education until the age of sixteen by receiving agricultural and domestic training at home. They also attend a three-hour Saturday morning session of vocational school in their one-room school houses. Teachers are usually young women, often with only an eighth-grade education themselves. Students may spend all eight years in the same single school room, with the same teacher. The older students often help the teacher instruct the younger pupils, many of whom are their siblings and cousins.

The Old Order Amish have retained the strict way of life, which includes wearing a plain garb. Women wear long dresses of solid-colored material, black hose and shoes, a prayer veiling of white organdy material, and a black bonnet over the veiling when outer protection is appropriate. The men wear solid-colored shirts, dark button-down fly trousers, and black felt or straw broad-brimmed hats, depending on the season. Hooks and eyes replace buttons on Amish suiteoats and vests to commemorate their persecution by the Prussians in the 16200s, who were then noted for their brass buttons on their military uniforms.

The children dress much the same as the adults. Most Amish clothing is designed and sewn by Amish women. Dress becomes a visible symbol which strengthens group loyalty. One can never forget his or her Amish identity while wearing the distinctive clothing.

Historically, the Amish have been an agricultural people. They still attach great importance to working the soil and remaining close to nature. The average Amish farm size in Lancaster County is a relatively small 60 acres. In spite of what may seem to outsiders as archaic methods, the Amish are generally quite successful commercial farmers, and usually find it more economical to specialize in their production. Lancaster County is the leading non-irrigated agricultural county in the United States, in terms of the dollar.
value of the produce, and is nicknamed "the Garden Spot." The main crops grown in Lancaster County include corn (for livestock feed), wheat, tobacco, alfalfa, clover, barley, rye, soybeans, and various grasses for grazing. It should be noted that Amish men may smoke cigars, yet cigarettes are avoided totally. The growing of cigarette tobacco as a commercial crop by the Amish farmers, while not being users of the product, remains a paradox.

In recent years, economics, large family size, and a lack of available farmland have pushed many of the Amish into other occupations. Today, they frequently work as carpenters, painters, and masons. Many also work for lumber companies and feed mills, or operate "cottage industries" out of their homes. The growth of employment in non-farming occupations has brought the Amish into greater contact than ever before with the non-Amish population. This is of great concern to many Amish elders, as they worry about continued acculturation.

The Amish tend to get married at an early age, often in their late teens and early twenties. Amish weddings are all-day celebrations, held on Tuesdays and Thursdays in October and November. The reasons for these specific times have to do with their traditional agricultural lifestyle. Weddings involve their extended family members and most of the Amish in their local community. Therefore, weddings have to be held after the harvest season, and before the holy Christmas season. Since many of the Amish earned their living by taking their produce to the local farmers' markets, certain days of the week were set aside for weddings at times when the farmers' markets were closed.

Weddings are all-day occasions, and up to 300 guests may arrive at the bride's home around 8:30 AM on the wedding day. As with their church services, the men and women sit separately on backless benches. The wedding ceremony consists of hymn singing, Scripture readings, short sermons, the main sermon, and the wedding vows. A huge noon meal follows the ceremony. In the afternoon the people sit around tables and sing. Guests stay and have another large meal at supper, and continue to visit and sing until after 11:00 PM. Guests do not take gifts to the wedding, but give them to the couple when the newlyweds visit in their homes in the weeks following the wedding. Gifts are always simple and practical items. Marriage vows are taken very seriously by the Amish. Divorce is extremely rare among the Amish, and would result in the excommunication of the member.

IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON THE AMISH IN LANCASTER COUNTY

For the first half of the Twentieth Century the Amish basically kept to themselves, and no one seemed to bother them. However, a 1950s Broadway play entitled "Plain and Fancy" that depicted Amish life triggered a major tourist boom in Lancaster County. Since then, Lancaster County has become one of the leading tourist attractions in the United States, with over 3,000,000 visitors per year. The Amish themselves do not operate any of the tourist attractions, yet they sometimes benefit financially from tourism by selling produce and handicrafts at stalls outside their homes to tourists passing by. When the movie "Witness" was released in the early 1980s, featuring the box office star Harrison Ford, many of the Amish feared a second wave of tourism would strike the region. Tourism was up significantly the following year, but some of the increase was probably due to an increase in terrorist acts in Europe. Tourism in the "Amish Country" has continued unabated.

The Amish often turn their backs to a tourist's camera. They take no pictures themselves and usually do not appreciate anyone photographing them. As with many of their practices, they base their objection to photographs on biblical Scripture. Specifically, the Second Commandment handed down from God to Moses states:

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." (Exodus 20:4)

The Amish's reaction to tourism varies, as do the tourists' reaction to the Amish. Many tourists respect the Amish and do not intentionally cause offense. Most who are fortunate enough to become acquainted with Amish people genuinely like them and find them to be, indeed, "real people." Not surprisingly, the Amish appear to discipline themselves and obviously take the tourism better than many
non-Amish residents of the region. Most learn to ignore or endure the insults and the stares, unlike the scene from Witness in which Harrison Ford, dressed as an Amishman, attacked his tormentors.

Non-Amish who live in the Lancaster County tourist region are often frustrated when driving because of the long lines of slow-moving, mostly out-of-state cars. Many locals empathize with their Amish neighbors and feel that tourism often unfairly exploits them. However, another faction of the local population welcomes the tourist dollars with open arms while operating the various tourist attractions, motels, and restaurants.

THE FUTURE OF THE AMISH

Will the Amish people and their culture survive the impacts of tourism and modern-day society? Some feel that tourism will "kill the goose that laid the golden egg." Unlike Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, which is a restoration, and Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, which is a reproduction, the Lancaster County Amish live in an authentic landscape which transports us all into the living past in modern times. Although it has been found that tourism does not directly force the Amish out of the region, the tourism industry has driven up the cost of farmland which has indirectly caused many of the Amish to seek cheaper farmland elsewhere, away from the areas easily accessed by tourists.

Another great fear is that increased exposure to local non-Amish residents and tourists that come from many states and countries will have a negative influence on the Amish lifestyle and threaten the continuance of their strict religious beliefs, especially among their young. In spite of the relatively strict lifestyle in which they are raised, Amish youth usually choose to remain in the Amish faith. A small percentage will leave to join less "plain" churches. However, a strong and stable family unit and church loyalty will keep most Amish members within the fold, probably for generations to come.

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Earth Sciences and Geography
The Historical Context of Democratic Transitions in Africa

The unfolding process of democratic transition in Africa is part of what Harvard political scientist Samuel P. Huntington has termed the “third wave” of democratization in the modern world. In the first wave between 1828-1926, modern democracy expanded from its intellectual roots in the American and the French Revolutions to Western Europe and parts of Latin America, before being reversed by the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany. The second wave between 1942-62 witnessed the advent of democracy in Germany, Italy and Japan, in most of Latin America, and in the Asian and African countries gaining independence from European colonial rule. The years 1962-1973 witnessed a reversal of the second wave as authoritarian governments replaced most of the fledgling democracies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The third wave began on April 25, 1974, with the overthrow of Portugal’s 48-year-old authoritarian government in a peaceful military coup and the installation a year later of one of the world’s most successful democracies. From this ironic beginning, the third wave spread rapidly to Spain and Greece, across the Atlantic to Latin America, and then to Asia. In 1989, as communism and the Berlin Wall fell, it engulfed Eastern Europe, Russia and most of the former Soviet Republics, and simultaneously swept across Africa.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the third wave fostered a supportive international environment for the incipient but uneven movements toward democracy in Africa. Democracy has always been an integral, albeit a problematic, component of African political development for over three decades. Most African countries gained independence in the 1960s with democratic governments elected in the waning days of European colonial rule. While most of them subsequently turned toward authoritarian rule, Botswana and Mauritius remained, and continue to remain, uninterrupted democracies. Gambia’s 27 year-old democracy was overthrown by a military coup in 1994, but the country elected a new democratic government a year later. In the 1970s, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Sudan elected short-lived democratic governments. More controversially, apartheid South Africa and Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) held regular competitive elections, but with franchise restricted to the minority European population. Even in some single-party regimes, notably in Cote d’Ivoire, Kenya, Malawi, Senegal, and Zambia, tightly-controlled candidate nominations and electoral competition among aspiring local candidates served as important mechanisms for pork-barrel servicing of local communities with valuable national resources, for recruiting new leaders with strong local ties, and for legitimizing authoritarian governments.

The 1980s witnessed intermittent but discernible movements toward democracy on the continent. In Zimbabwe (1980) and Namibia (1989), negotiated settlements to protracted civil wars facilitated the establishment of democratic governments through multiparty elections. In 1983, Senegal elected its first government through multiparty elections after 20 years of single-party rule. At the time, it had one of Africa’s most stable authoritarian regimes and also one of the continent’s most successful economies. Its turn toward democracy was symptomatic of the growing pressure on African authoritarian rulers for political and economic liberalization. The source of this pressure was the severe economic crises caused by the combination of a global recession in the early 1980s and misguided domestic policies of market controls, trade restrictions, deficit spending, and inflated currencies. African authoritarian rulers responded to these pressures with a combination of political concessions aimed at assuaging the most politically important segments of the society and political repression aimed at controlling the pace and extent of liberalization. Thus, the Nigerian military rulers aborted their self-proclaimed plans for democratic transition by imprisoning the business tycoon who had defeated their hand-picked candidate in the freest and the fairest elections ever held in the country. In Ghana, on the other hand, the military government, forced to implement harsh structural adjustment policies as a condition for receiving Western financial aid, promised and eventually held non-partisan local elections in 1988 that presaged a successful transition to full democracy four years later. Elsewhere, for example in Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire, and Zambia, authoritarian incumbents used co-optation, exile and imprisonment to silence the weak and fragmented pro-democracy forces until concerted international and domestic pressures sparked by the third wave compelled them democratize.

Indicators of Democratic Transitions in Africa

As in Latin America and Eastern Europe, democratic transitions in Africa did not always produce the desired democratic outcomes, due to a combination of politically astute authoritarian rulers and politically inept pro-democracy forces. Even so, the impact of the third wave on the continent was, by all measures, dramatic. First, it unleashed a wave of mass, often violent, protests (86 in 1991 alone) that directly precipitated political liberalization in 28 countries and indirectly launched preemptive political liberalization in 10 others. In most cases, political liberalization reformed au-
Authoritarian regimes with the introduction of explicit constitutional guarantees of fundamental civil liberties and political rights. Second, these initial political openings sparked an unprecedented efflorescence of civic associations, private media outlets (mostly print and radio), unfettered political debate, and vigorous criticisms of governments. Third, and more significantly, political liberalization led to competitive legislative elections in all 38 countries, with opposition parties winning seats in national legislatures for the first time since independence in 35. In addition, 29 countries held "founding elections" in which the chief executive was directly elected by the people in a competitive election. Finally, these founding elections produced peaceful leadership turnover for the first time since independence, as 13 former authoritarian incumbents who ran for election were defeated, while 15 were re-elected. In a novel political development for Africa, former authoritarian rulers who were defeated in the founding elections were returned to office in the second round of democratic elections in Benin and Madagascar.

Measures of levels of political participation and electoral competition in founding elections also confirm the dramatic nature of Africa's third wave democratic transitions. Measuring the level of political participation by voter turnout as percentage of registered voters indicates an overall average turnout of 64 percent across the 29 countries holding founding elections. This figure is not high by global standards, but is impressive nevertheless, especially if we recall that most of these countries were governed for over two decades by authoritarian regimes which either proscribed or tightly controlled political participation. Measuring electoral competition by the winner's share of votes as a percentage of total votes cast indicates an average winner's share of 63 percent for the 29 countries holding founding elections. This equally impressive figure indicates that, after an extended period of authoritarian rule with limited political opportunities, large numbers of candidates will enter the untested waters of electoral competition. This conclusion is validated by the fact that an average of 5 candidates ran for the top office in the 29 founding elections.

The Politics of Democratic Transitions in Africa

These quantitative indicators of the wide scope of Africa's third wave democratic transitions challenge conventional wisdom about the economic and cultural preconditions for the origin of modern democracies. They point instead to a political logic. An understanding of this logic requires clarifying the meaning of democratic transition. A democratic transition consists of two closely related processes: (1) a process of liberalization in which constitutional guarantees of civil liberties and political rights and limits on the exercise of power by the government and the people replace personal and arbitrary rule as the basic institutional framework of governance; and (2) a process of democratization in which rules regulating electoral competition and specifying governmental powers and responsibilities are crafted. African political actors, influenced by strong international norms, have generally agreed on the basic provisions of constitutional guarantees of civil liberties and political rights. However, they have differed sharply on the rules of electoral competition and restraints on governmental power, because these rules determine opportunities for political representation, for shaping public policies, and for affecting the resulting distribution of burdens and benefits in society. It is, therefore, useful to think of liberalization and democratization as separate processes, even though they are interconnected in practice.

Liberalization is necessary for democratization, but may not automatically lead to it. It can produce political chaos, as, for example, in Rwanda and Zaire. It can engender a prolonged period of uncertainty, especially when authoritarian rulers (usually the military) feel threatened by the pace and extent of political liberalization and block further reform, as, for example, in Nigeria and Togo. It can produce fragile democracies susceptible to military coups, as, for example, in Niger. It can lead to flawed democratization in which authoritarian incumbents with sufficient political leverage against fragmented pro-democracy forces successfully manipulate democratic elections in their favor, as, for example, in Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, and Kenya.

Most importantly, thinking about liberalization and democratization as separate processes helps us to recognize the complexity of democratic transitions and the uncertainty of transition outcomes. Democratic transitions are complex processes because they require the simultaneous destruction of an existing authoritarian regime and the construction of a new democratic order. Democratic transitions are successful to the extent that these two contradictory imperatives are adequately managed, even if not entirely resolved. Democratic transitions outcomes are always uncertain.
because the construction of a new democratic order requires crafting new rules of governance whose potential costs and benefits reside obscurely in the future. Since authoritarian incumbents and pro-democracy elites who craft democracies can only anticipate without fully knowing these future costs and benefits, they will prefer rules that will favor their particular interests in the new democratic order. With their current power relations defining their conflicting interests, they struggle to design the rules of the new democratic order. This struggle animates the politics of democratic transitions. All new democracies, whether in the first, second or third wave, thus emerge as improvised, negotiated and often unintended second-best solutions to this quintessential political struggle.

The nature of this struggle and the types of democracies emerging from it in Africa today is best illustrated by examining the politics surrounding the choice of electoral systems. The choice of an electoral system—the sets of rules that regulate competitive elections and determine their outcomes—is one of the most important political decisions made in emerging democracies, because competitive elections are the principal—but not the only—institutional means for securing political representation and access to valued state resources in all modern democracies. Particularly critical in new democracies is the choice of an electoral formula for translating votes into seats. Plurality (or majority) formulas, traditionally used in Britain and the United States (and France), require political parties to win a relative (or absolute) majority of votes in order to win legislative seats, and usually discriminate against smaller parties. Proportional representation (PR) formulas, widely used in Western Europe, allocate legislative seats in proportion to the votes won by political parties, and usually favor smaller parties.

The two formulas embody different visions of democratic politics that define different types of democracy. Plurality formulas embody a majoritarian vision of democratic politics that clearly defines the locus of political authority and accountability, whereby incumbent and opposition parties present voters with clear policy choices, voters elect the party closest to their policy preferences, and the winning party governs until the next election. PR formulas embody a consensus vision of democratic politics that contains a more inclusive definition of democratic governance, whereby a variety of parties present socially diverse voters a wide range of policy choices, parties and voters are proportionally represented, and a coalition government is formed by bargains among winning parties, virtually all or most of which are represented at one time or another in shifting governing coalitions.

In Africa’s third wave democratic transitions, the choice of electoral systems with corresponding visions of democratic politics reflects the outcome of three distinct political dynamics, each distinguished by the relative balance of political power between authoritarian incumbents and the pro-democracy forces (see Table 1). First, plurality (or majority) electoral systems were generally chosen in those countries in which the balance of political power favored the authoritarian incumbents. They were also chosen in a small number of countries in which the authoritarian rulers departed before the onset of democratization, and the politics animating the choice of electoral systems was dominated by a small number of large pro-democracy groups either with a national support base (e.g. Mali) or a regionally-concentrated support base (e.g. Malawi). In all these countries, the relative power balance enabled the favored groups to virtually dictate the choice of new electoral systems, with their known support base and local dominance offering protection against opposition in competitive elections.

Second, PR electoral systems were chosen in countries in which the balance of political power favored the pro-democracy forces, because of the following political logic. In all these countries, pro-democracy forces were multiparty coalitions with the potential of splitting during and after the elections. On the one hand, therefore, opposition leaders wished to reinforce future electoral opportunities for themselves as a block vis-à-vis the authoritarian incumbents. On the other, they wished to protect future opportunities for their individual parties that provisionally comprised the present coalition against the authoritarian incumbents. The choice of PR systems was a strategically rational response to these twin political logics.

Finally, PR electoral systems were chosen in deeply-divided countries which experienced recent civil wars or near-civil war conditions (e.g. South Africa). In all these countries, protracted violent conflicts eventually produced what political scientist and negotiation expert I. William Zartman has characterized as a situation of “mutually hurting stalemate.” This is a situation beyond which further conflict is recognized by all combatants to be mutually destructive. In the ensuing negotiated settlements to these conflicts, the choice of PR electoral systems offered the most strategically rational option to protect the future political interests of all parties in the new democratic order.

The South African solution, of course, attracted the most press coverage in the United States, but that coverage failed to report that the fatally flawed apartheid system and its debilitating legacies prevented both Nelson Mandela and De Klerk initially from accepting and articulating a consensus vision of democratic politics. Neither leader, as a result, preferred a PR electoral system as his first choice. The PR system that guided South Africa’s historic democratic transition was adopted after two years of vigorous national debate and intense political negotiations. In the other six coun-

![Table 1. The Political Dynamics of Electoral Systems Choice in Africa's Third Wave Democratic Transitions](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balance of Political Power</th>
<th>Plurality (Majority) Electoral Systems</th>
<th>Proportional Representation Electoral Systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favorable to Authoritarian Incumbents</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Benin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or to Small Numbers of Large Groups</td>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>Burundi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gabon (1996)</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Niger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Sao Tome &amp; Principe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>Zimbabwe (1980)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Equally Divided Between Incumbents and Opponents Engaged in Civil War | Angola | Mozambique |
| | Liberia | Namibia |
| | Mozambique | Sierra Leone |
| | Namibia | South Africa |
| | Sierra Leone | Zimbabwe (1980) |
tries listed in Table 1 under this pattern of electoral systems choice, there never was any discussion of plurality (or majority) systems, even though Liberia and Sierra Leone had employed plurality systems in their failed experiments with democracy in the 1970s, and Zimbabwe eventually returned to a plurality system in 1985. In negotiating democratic transitions as settlements to protracted conflicts, the choice of PR systems represents a critical confidence-building strategy aimed at encouraging violent political enemies to become peaceful political adversaries. That such systems are chosen in countries which have no previous experience with them suggest, more broadly, that democracies are neither historically determined nor culturally prescribed, but are crafted by strategically rational actors tempered by political calculations in changing contexts.

The Prospects for Sustaining Democracy in Africa

What are the prospects for sustaining Africa’s third wave democracies? Definitive answers would be premature, since not enough time has elapsed to accumulate systematic data on the performance of these democracies. Several possibilities suggest themselves, however. First, the prospects for sustaining new democracies in Africa are likely to increase with the ability of new democratic institutions to manage political conflicts peacefully. Political conflicts are the inevitable concomitants of routine decisions about the allocation of scarce societal resources, and the distinguishing hallmark of all democracies is the provision of institutional opportunities for their organized expression and peaceful management (contra authoritarian regimes, which deal with political conflicts by attempting to eliminate them altogether). Particularly important are provisions for power-sharing among major political groups. Such provisions were instrumental in the success of South Africa’s democratic transition, among others; their absence or ambiguous language contributed to the failure of democratic transition in Angola and the brutal tragedy in Rwanda. In the absence of formal provisions, informal power-sharing strategies can also be pursued. For example, in Guinea, Malawi, and Senegal, among others, political parties winning the transitional elections have invited the leaders of major losing parties to join national coalition governments as a means of legitimizing the new democratic order.

Second, and related to the first, the new democratic institutions must provide for adequate opportunities for both present and future political representation. A crucial weakness of African authoritarian regimes was their arbitrary exclusion and inclusion of targeted groups from political power, which increased unpredictability, aggravated fears of permanent exclusion (or worse), and destroyed any prospects of securing long-term allegiance to the regimes. To the extent that democratic sustainability requires a long-term horizon, political actors require incentives to play by the rules, especially when they lose. One key source of this incentive is the recognition that today’s loser will have the opportunity to become tomorrow’s winner. The institutional design of electoral systems is especially important in this respect. Thus, PR formulas have fostered political inclusiveness in such deeply-divided societies as Benin, Namibia, and Sierra Leone. However, plurality systems have also produced similar outcomes when voters (usually from the same ethnic group) are regionally concentrated and vote as a block, as, for example, in Malawi.

Third, improved prospects for democratic sustainability require institutional flexibility. Once crafted, institutions (sets of rules) tend to stick, promoting peace and stability. But they are unlikely to do so effectively if they foster socially undesirable outcomes. Institutional reform is then best achieved when rules are new and political actors are just beginning to learn their costs and benefits. As the experience of several East European third wave democracies show, reform of newly-introduced electoral systems is particularly instrumental in stabilizing otherwise fragile democracies. The survival of Africa’s fragile third wave democracies will also depend on their ability to address this dilemma. Countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali have already successfully reformed their new electoral systems via an inclusive process of political negotiations involving government, opposition, and key civil society actors. Similar debates are underway in Kenya, where the present plurality system heavily favors the incumbent, and in Namibia and South Africa, where the present PR systems, despite their initial success, give too much power to political party leaders over the rank-and-file members in selecting political candidates.

Fourth, widely accepted rules, even when they have undesirable consequences, promote political stability, and political stability is an essential condition for economic development. Even as they have challenged the conventional wisdom that economic growth is necessary for democratic transition, the experiences of third wave democracies in Latin America and Southern and Eastern Europe suggest that economic growth is necessary for the survival of new democracies after they are born and that political stability grounded in widely-accepted rules of the game is a strong foundation for economic growth. Perhaps more crucially, even when such growth has occurred through harsh and unpopular structural adjustment policies that have lowered living standards, the recognized fairness of democratic rules have substituted as much-needed “political capital” for the survival of democratic governments in otherwise fledging third wave democracies. Whether Africa’s fledging third wave democracies have developed such political capital, or are likely to do so in the future, is unclear. But, as the well-known West African proverb says: “No condition is permanent!”

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THE MULTIVISIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Edward James

As the story goes, the Lone Ranger was surrounded by hostile Indians and said, "Well Tonto, we're in a fix!"—to which Tonto replied, "Who's the 'we' kemo sabe?" This question, "Who's the we?" is the core question of multiculturalism—and that we cannot easily answer it is the sting of multiculturalism. To properly define the we, it is essential to address questions of inclusion: Who and what is to be taught?—questions of criteria: On what grounds, if any, can "we" make appraisals of "other cultures"?—questions of self-identity: Who are we?—questions of the meaning of multiculturalism: What is it? What is its purpose?

This discussion will thus seek to provide a framework (i) that allows us to begin a discussion that might answer such questions, (ii) that illuminates why it is that such a modest aim is the most we can hope for at this time, and (iii) that provides an understanding of what we can do in a multicultural world in order to illuminate what we should do. Let's begin by examining some of the approaches to understanding multiculturalism.

1. Muscular multiculturalism: One immediate response by many in the USA to such questions is an appeal to the ideal of tolerance—an ideal that Sir Isaiah Berlin, perhaps more than any thinker in our time, has argued for and articulated.

Berlin's central argument for toleration is that belief in the one true view has repeatedly led to disaster. In his celebrated "Two Concepts of Liberty" Berlin writes:

"One belief, more than any other, is responsible for the slaughter of individuals on the altars of the great historical ideals . . . . This is the belief that somewhere, in the past or in the future, in divine revelation or the mind of the individual thinker, in the pronouncements of history or science, or in the simple heart of an uncorrupted good man, there is a final solution." The belief in the One Truth, and that we have it, is in Berlin's mind the theoretical basis of the Holocaust and ethnic cleansings of our awful century. A second argument that Berlin offers for toleration is that we have no right to insist that all be educated in our way, unless we know that we are pure and good—precisely what we do not and cannot know. In his essay "Tolstoy and Enlightenment" Berlin analyzes Tolstoy's "Who Should Teach Whom to Write: We the Peasant Children or the Peasant Children Us?" where Tolstoy argued that the history of education is a history of tyranny, where each new school "struck off one yoke only to put another in its place." The scholastics pushed Greek, the language of Aristotle; Luther advocated Hebrew, the language of God; Bacon insisted on science, the language of nature. "But about one thing they were all agreed: that one must liberate the young from the blind despotism of the old; and each immediately substituted its own fanatical, enslaving dogma in its place." Further, Tolstoy sees no way out of this tyranny. While he believes that "only the pure can rescue us . . . who, he reasonably asks, will educate the educators?" For us to be educated, we need to recognize the pure among us as our teachers. But to recognize the pure among us is already to be pure, is it not? So to become pure and educated we need already to be pure and educated—an impossibility. "Yet he believed that a final solution to the problem of how to apply the principles of Jesus must exist"—a belief that Berlin was not able to accept. For to insist that all conform to such a faith is precisely what we must avoid, insofar as such a belief leads to terrible oppression—to none other than Dostoevski's Grand Inquisitor, the one who crucifies Christ in the name of Christ. So, Berlin, unlike Tolstoy, is left with a pessimism of necessary value conflict. As he put it in his "Two Concepts of Liberty": "The world that we encounter in ordinary experience is one in which we are faced with choices between ends equally ultimate and claims equally absolute, the realization of some of which must inevitably involve the sacrifice of others." Thus, Berlin concludes with a third argument for toleration, that it is precisely because of the lack of any universally held overarching view that we "place such immense value upon the freedom to choose," for we are willing to let no one else decide for us how we are to choose among the competing views.

Berlin presents us with a muscular multiculturalism of toleration. But the muscles Berlin flexes in the name of toleration are themselves bound by the hard hit of Tolstoy, that tolerance and its espousal of choice itself becomes just one other oppressive ideal among others. For starters, consider toleration's paradox of condescension. The ideal of toleration requires us only to "put up with" those who have different views from our own. So "we in our wisdom" allow those who are benighted enough to differ from us to express their views. But such an attitude of superiority itself soon slides into intolerance; for our sense of superiority allows us to ridicule and disdain those who would disagree with us. Berlin was willing to accept this paradox. Others are not.

2. Maximal multiculturalism: In order to avoid what Kant warned of as the "arrogant title of tolerance," others argue that multiculturalism should go beyond toleration and advocate, say, a respect for other views and cultures—or even a celebration of other views and cultures. Such views I will speak of as forms of maximal multiculturalism—the view that multiculturalism is a good and not a mere necessary evil.

Such a maximal multiculturalism can be seen in John Milton's "Areopagitica." Milton argued that to be good one had to be good knowingly, aware of the amazing convolutions of human life. First, one had to be good knowingly: A "heretic in the truth," says Milton, includes one who believes things only because his pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason." Such a belief, even if true, is not "within" a person but is without, unstable or "movable." Second, to know one must know the amazing convolutions of human life. Truth itself is not to be simply had just because truth is not
simple. As Osiris was cut up into a thousand pieces, so Truth has been "scattered . . . to the four winds." Thus Milton dares us to answer why it is "impossible that [Truth] may have more shapes than one." The truth is that given the marvelous multifariousness of truth and the deep urge to understand that is so much a part of us, "there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making." As a result, those who prevent others from speaking "are the trouble's, they are the dividers of unity," who "permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth." Consequently, diversity of views is not a matter to lament but rather a matter "to rejoice at, to praise this pious forwardness" among fellow inquirers. For "Truth is strong, next to the Almighty," and will emerge victorious through freedom of inquiry.

3. Three hard paradoxes: However, any ideal concerning multiculturalism carries the heavy baggage of three hard intertwined paradoxes—paradoxes that many see as straight-out inconsistencies.

First, there is the paradox of commitment. Are we to tolerate, respect or celebrate all ways of life?—say, the intolerant, the disrespectful and the non-celebrators of other views? And if we follow Berlin and are not tolerant of the intolerant, then are we not simply espousing our own views of what should and should not be accepted and thus adopting a stance that is anti-multicultural?

Second, there is the paradox of justification. That and of what we should be tolerant, respectful, or celebratory are not self-evident and so must be justified. But any justification will be in terms of certain ideals. Consequently, will it not be the case that the ideal appealed to will be anti-multicultural insofar as it insists that its brand of multiculturalism be adopted?

Finally, there is the paradox of teaching. For we in our wisdom aim to teach our students, say, to tolerate, respect, or celebrate those who differ from us. But most societies and sub-cultures do not accept tolerance, respect, or the celebration of other cultures as an ideal. So are teachers to insist that their students conform to their ideal when their students have another ideal in mind? Is such an insistence multicultural?

4. All of us have the One True View: What implicitly follows from such paradoxes is that matter what we say, we will do so from the perspective of the one true view. All of us, inescapably, as a matter both of logic and also of the way we live our lives, have the one true view. For instance, to insist on our fallibilism is to betray how our fallibilism is the view in terms of which one evaluates and justifies all other views. While we may look at our fallibilism critically, we do so not by asking how to radically reconstruct it but by asking how to improve it—a question not foreign to any fundamentalism. Hence our fallibilism is practically speaking infalliblistic, the one true view, just because we cannot radically question it.

Thus, it turns out, we look into the mirror and behold: They are us. We, all of us, are fundamentalists in the multicultural world.

5. Minimal multiculturalism: So where do we go from here? I believe that we can return to my initial points—that it is a given that we live in a multicultural world, that we find ourselves addressing people of other cultures and vastly different perspectives, that we lack a consensus on how to address this world, and, then add: that the "we" I refer to here are those who grant these givens. Not to grant them is to be deservedly dismissed from the discussion. And an agreement on them is what I will speak of as minimal multiculturalism—what we can legitimately expect and thus demand from any other.

"But that says very little!" And indeed it does—although it took a while to see why we must say so little, why we cannot initially presume to say more. Minimal multiculturalism is the hard recognition of our small but disagreeable world. To expect more is to overlook that there is no world culture that we can appeal to in order to argue for some more benevolent form of multiculturalism. The world contains its Maos as well as its Gandhis. While we may be working toward or groping for a world culture, what that culture looks like is only a glimmer in our eyes. World multiculturalism is minimal multiculturalism.

Hence, if we are to say more and go beyond minimal multiculturalism, we must assume a more specific context than "the contemporary world." So let us narrow the context and see if we can say more by considering what it means to live in a society like that of the USA today, as found, say, in a public college.

6. Mitigated multiculturalism: For starters, as a public place in the USA, the college is composed of many many sorts of people—people who do not look alike, think alike, dress alike, eat alike. . . . More, as a public college, it is engaged in a type of inquiry, which itself sets up standards of evidence, standards which lead us to the recognition that we do not always agree on what inquiry is about or even on how it is to be conducted. In a paradox, we in such a public place cannot expect us to be a we. Rather, we are an uneasy we. We are not the world: we do live in one society or nation state, a nation state with a heritage of rights and "way of doing business." But we rest uneasily in this, in that we do not agree, and never have agreed, on what "all of this" is and means.

This lack of agreement on what the we means paradoxically leads to an agreement that goes beyond minimal multiculturalism, what I will speak of as mitigated multiculturalism. The uneasy we in the USA can expect that (i) we cannot publicly assume a maximal multiculturalism, for not all of us with Milton see pluralism as a great good—as, I confess, I do; (ii) no view will be publicly regarded as sacred or closed to.
radical challenge, (iii) all views will be publicly challenged, and (iv) critics and defenders of the various views do no violence to each other—they in some way or another put up with or tolerate each other.

Why we can expect (i)-(iii) of mitigated multiculturalism to be given follows from the observation of the vast variety of people and perspectives in the USA. But why we can expect the tolerance of (iv) takes a longer story.

7. No ideal can justify mitigated multiculturalism: Crucially, we cannot justify such tolerance by any specific appeal to some ideal—a vision of how human life should be. For all ideals are in question.

Nor can we justify tolerance in terms of a heritage like the Bill of Rights, emphasizing freedom of speech, religion, and inquiry. To do so is only to beg the question. For this heritage was sharply challenged when it was first instituted, both as to what it meant and covered and also as to whether it was a good idea at all, and it is sharply challenged today.

Consider, for instance, the story that underlying the Bill of Rights was the Augustinian-Puritan ideal of the individual standing alone before God. This ideal required that all support the community’s church. For the Puritans the primary right was not the right of the individual but the right of the community to worship and question as it saw fit. For such rights John Winthrop left England and Roger Williams fled Massachusetts—to form a new Republic that would worship as it, the New Republic, saw fit. Thus the Bill of Right’s idea of rights as the defining core of individual as opposed to communal choice could only be seen by the purists of the Puritan tradition then and today as abominations.

And add to this story all of the other stories that inform the USA, and what results is both a reaffirmation of (i)-(iii) of mitigated multiculturalism, an appreciation of the USA as a mini-world, and also a requestioning of the tolerance of (iv) in mitigated multiculturalism. Why, to repeat, the toleration of mitigated multiculturalism?

8. Fear justifies mitigated multiculturalism: The justification of mitigated multiculturalism rests on the given that no group of the uneasy us can expect any other group to respect or welcome its Primary Truths or to remain silent about their Primary Truths. We cannot expect a Bob Jones University or, following Pope John Paul II and the USA philosopher Alasdair Macintyre, a Roman Catholic college or university, to tolerate, let alone welcome, all views. But the uneasy we can expect that in the public arena we tolerate each other, that we put up with each other, in order to give each other a vent and thereby avoid universal war. Come what may, we, whoever we may be, will make ourselves heard. If we are prevented from making ourselves heard, what will result is a kind of war, a willingness to do each other harm—which the uneasy we agrees must be avoided. Thus we all must be persuaded that at least this is available to us, to each and every one of us, that we can act and speak out in public arenas—provided that our acting and speaking are not violent. Such toleration is the minimum that we can expect and the maximum that we can demand in a public arena in the USA.

9. Positive and negative toleration: Mitigated multiculturalism thus distinguishes two types of toleration—positive and negative. On the one hand, positive toleration is built on some ideal or vision of how human life should be lived—e.g., Berlin’s centrality of individual choice, or John Stuart Mill’s idea of unrestricted inquiry. On the other hand, negative toleration is built on no such affirmation of human possibility, but on a fear of others and the horrible consequences that will result if they are denied their say.

Negative toleration is hardly a positive ideal, one that each party celebrates, but is unwelcome in at least four ways. First, it is unwelcome in that it is justified by fear of others and what bad things they can and will do to us if they are prevented from expressing themselves. Second, it is unwelcome in that it has force only when the other has power and is willing to use it. It thus charges us all to be on our guard against those who would deny it to us and warns that we must rely on ourselves to protect our core ideals. Third, it is unwelcome in that it represents a failure—either our failure to make the other see our One Truth, or, more likely to be said, the other’s failure to accept our One Truth. And finally, it is unwelcome in that it is not an end in itself, some ideal or vision to embrace, but a mere means to an end. It allows us to live, not together as one, but side by side yet apart, as we seek to find ways of getting the other to see. It allows us to carry on war by other means.

10. Negative toleration sidesteps the paradoxes of positive toleration: The negative toleration of mitigated multiculturalism avoids the four paradoxes that plagued positive toleration—by not allowing them to arise. It does not allow them to arise just because it does not view itself as something good in itself.

First, it sidesteps the paradox of condescension by not deigning to tolerate the other out of any superior ideal but by being forced to tolerate the other out of fear—a kind of respect. It slides by the paradox of commitment by not being committed to toleration as an ideal, but by being committed to one’s own self-expression. It dodges the paradox of justification by rejecting the notion that the justification of toleration must be in terms of certain ideals—ideals which it inflicts on others. Fear of the other is no ideal to be attained but is brute reality to be addressed. And finally, it fines the paradox of teaching by claiming that negative toleration is no superior view to be taught but rather an inferior position to be endured.
11. The paradox of mitigated multiculturalism: Nonetheless, from these considerations follows mitigated multiculturalism’s own paradox: it is what we can all agree on and what no one wants. No one wants it, moreover, not only because it is unwelcome in the four above-mentioned ways, but also because of its resemblance to that stark Hobbesian understanding of human motivation and of government—where all of us seek to advance our own self-interest merely because it is our own self-interest, so that we will advance our own self-interest in whatever way we can. Hence, if we have the might we have the right, the reason of self-interest, to do whatever we will—whether that be lying, cheating, maiming, or brutalizing others—to advance our interests. Consequently, almost all of us, even those of us who are in power, take great pains to persuade others that they are not working just out of self-interest alone, but rather have other reasons or ideals to restrain and guide them.

But what these other reasons or ideals are, why we are not to run rampant over the interests of others when it is in our self-interest to do so and we can “get away with it,” and what these reasons themselves entail remain much in question. The sheer number and force of the reasons as to why most reject Hobbes as the last word reinforces the necessity of mitigated multiculturalism’s negative tolerance. Just because most cannot agree on why Hobbes is to be rejected, and just because each competing reason as to why Hobbes is to be rejected carries with it profound social consequences, we need a Hobbesian grounding to society with respect to free speech and human expression to protect ourselves from those who would surpass Hobbes. Such a grounding satisfies no one.

12. A more complete and hopeful mitigated multiculturalism: If we are all agreed that Hobbes is unsatisfactory and must be surpassed, might this offer us further guidance?

Well, as a start, this agreement that we want to go beyond the negative tolerance of mitigated multiculturalism entails a further agreement to seek out and explore ways to go beyond it—even by the uneasy us. For if we are committed to the idea that Hobbesian negative tolerance must be surpassed and that we cannot surpass Hobbes by forcing our views on others—for that would only reinforce the grim Hobbesian world—then what follows is the necessity of us, the uneasy us, engaging in the hard discussion of how we can surpass Hobbes. And this question in turn leads us to ask how the uneasy we can become a less uneasy we.

Such an exploration of how we can become less uneasy with each other will involve seeking new ways of putting up with each other that are not out of fear. One tack I believe it will take is that of questioning the idea of power. For Hobbes’s observation that we are moved to the spirit of accommodation by a respect for the power of the other remains central. The question to ask is whether power is merely the capacity to control, to hurt, and to harm, as we see it in Hobbes. We can ask whether power might also be the capacity to persuade, to gain empathy and sympathy, to move by compassion, to reach out to others with one’s humanity, to illuminate the reasons that lead one to adopt with passion the views one has, to force others to listen by the logic of one’s language, ... . Power, in other words, itself is a much contested notion—a notion that the uneasy we can perhaps agree is much in need of redefinition in our multicultural world, on pain of being reduced to Hobbes’ world of mutual and universal distrust.

What follows, then, is a more complete definition of mitigated multiculturalism—(i) that we cannot publicly assume a maximal multiculturalism; that we can expect that (ii) no view will be publicly regarded as sacred or closed to fundamental questioning, (iii) that all views will be publicly scrutinized and challenged, (iv) that critics and defenders of the various views do no violence to each other—that they in some way or another put up with or tolerate each other out of fear of each other; and, finally, (v) that (a) this negative toleration is unwelcome to all and (b) we all seek ways of surpassing it—perhaps by imagining notions of power that go beyond brute force and even touch on sympathy, respect, compassion, human solidarity.

Such a multiculturalism, mitigated as it is, may allow us the intellectual framework to build the new world the uneasy we say we seek. But it will have to be constructed context by context, culture by culture, country by country. For I suspect that French Egalitarianism, German Volk and Blut, English nobility and commoner, Indian secularism and sects, ... , will all draw strikingly different slants than the stories of multiculturalism made in the USA.

Further, if and when the world gets smaller, if and when it becomes more and more clear that we live in the world as we live in our country, then minimal multiculturalism might be reconceived as mitigated. But how to get us, all of us, to live in the world as we live in our country is currently beyond our reach. For while we all may agree that toleration out of fear is not enough, we do not agree that the world is our country. We in the world still do not have to tolerate each other in the way that we in the USA must tolerate each other. Perhaps as the world becomes more and more polluted and the resources of the world more and more depleted, so that the powerful of the world can no longer escape the hardships that most face on a day to day basis, ... But all of this is another story.

In any case, ideally the public college uniquely stands as a safe haven and crucible, a sustained experiment in critically and imaginatively understanding and expressing power, where many cultures and visions may interact without doctrinaire restraint or violence. In this it sets a standard for all the world to see: it ideally is the guaranteed arena of unrestricted self-reflective non-violent inquiry. It is an exciting place to be. And I am glad to be a part of it.

Edward James is Professor of Philosophy
An interest in seeing various lands and peoples is concomitant with studying history. The photographs published on the cover and on these pages were all taken in Europe, a continent that offers an intriguing array of sights and traditions. People, in varying degrees, are part of the subject matter/composition of the photos. In a rather compact area—Europe is the smallest of all the continents and it is only a little bit larger than the United States of America—there is considerable heterogeneity.

VENICE, ITALY. The photograph of the gondolier was taken during a Bridgewater State College Study Tour of Italy led by Professors John Heller (Art Department) and Lee Padula (Foreign Languages Department).
PRAGUE,
CZECH REPUBLIC.

Under Communist rule
the guards at
Prague Castle sported
somber faces
and drab uniforms.
The spiffy new uniform
is, I hope, emblematic
of a grand future
for the Czech Republic.
WARSAW, POLAND. A lively festival—quite memorable for those who witnessed it—was held in 1996 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the transfer of the Polish capital to Warsaw.
ENKHUIZEN, NETHERLANDS.

The Dutch have established a museum to re-create life in the Zuider Zee region a century ago, and the children of museum staff members cheerfully help replicate Holland's past.

Dutch imperialism has brought about an observable ethnic mix in the country.
FACULTY
PROFILE
Maureen
Connelly

Many colleges and universities in the United States are paying increased attention to the study of particular ethnic and racial groups. The focus of these studies is to gain an understanding and appreciation of the contributions of these groups to our history and culture. In the case of Professor Maureen Connelly of the English Department, it is the Irish Americans who have become the center of her teaching, research and community service.

Professor Connelly has a distinguished record of commitment to advancing knowledge about the Irish-American experience in the United States. A faculty member at Bridgewater since 1983 (after a career at Boston State College), Professor Connelly has taught the Irish literature course at the college for many years. Her excitement about Ireland and the Irish tradition in America is ever present. Her office is filled with memorabilia of Irish poets and novelists from the 1995 Nobel laureate Seamus Heaney to Professor Connelly's favorite 19th Century female writer, Maria Edgeworth.

The passion that Professor Connelly brings to Irish studies carries over to her work in the greater Boston Irish community. Professor Connelly is a regular contributor to the Irish Echo, a national newspaper of Irish-American culture. Her column, "Celtic Clippings" is an eclectic look at the Irish-American scene in New England with columns ranging from an analysis of Irish President Mary Robinson to a discussion of an Irish-American dermatologists' convention in Dublin. Professor Connelly is also past president of the Eire Society, which is dedicated to advancing Irish culture in America. Her most recent work is with the Irish Famine Memorial Committee which is seeking to raise $3 million to erect a statue in Boston to commemorate the Irish famine of the 1840's and to establish a living memorial to help famine victims around the world.

Professor Connelly is encouraged by the renewed interest in Irish studies at Bridgewater. In part because of what she calls the "Riverdance phenomena", the popularity of the rock group U-2, and the present peace talks in Northern Ireland, Professor Connelly finds her students seeking to explore their heritage. Professor Connelly is more than happy to assist students who want to expand their Irish-American horizons. Whenever she can Professor Connelly does not hesitate to put in a plug for expanded Irish studies offerings at the college. With Irish-Americans the largest of the hyphenated ethnic groups in Massachusetts, Professor Connelly is convinced that establishing a program of Irish studies would be a clear winner.

Because of her interest in Irish poets and writers Professor Connelly is anxious to expand her research on Irish female writers. She believes that for too long Irish women of letters like Maria Edgeworth, and Somerville and Ross have been ignored and not given the critical acclaim they deserve. Professor Connelly intends to travel to Ireland in 1998 to delve more deeply into the work of these writers and develop a new focus to her course on Irish literature.

When not involved in Irish literature, Professor Connelly is also the journalism instructor on campus. She regularly teaches the journalism course and advises students on how they can hone their writing skills to prepare for careers with a newspaper or the electronic media. Professor Connelly has worked in the Freshman skills program which is designed to strengthen the writing ability of incoming students. It is this interaction with students in the classroom and in specialized programs that energizes Professor Connelly.

But there is always Ireland and the Irish in America for Professor Connelly to come back to. Her love of her Irish heritage serves as a kind of academic catalyst that has made her a vital part of the Bridgewater faculty and an invaluable resource for people of Irish descent in Massachusetts.
Multidisciplinary programs have grown rapidly at Bridgewater during the past 15 years, and none more rapidly than Women's Studies. The first "Introduction to Women's Studies" course was taught on campus in 1983. Since then, the Program has expanded to include a wide array of courses drawing from nearly every liberal arts discipline: English, Philosophy, History, Art, Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Social Work and Movement Arts. The Program currently offers an average of eight courses a semester, for a combined annual enrollment of more than two hundred fifty students. In 1988, Women's Studies was officially approved as a minor. This development of Women's Studies at Bridgewater mirrors the growth of the field on the national level, from 17 programs in 1970 to over 500 at the present time. Most major colleges in the U.S. currently offer a Women's Studies Program.

For many members of the Bridgewater Women's Studies faculty, the growth of the field has paralleled their own intellectual and political development. Sandra Faiman-Silva, a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology who is currently serving a three-year term as Coordinator of the Program, recalls that her interest in feminist issues originated in personal experiences of the "gender divide." Raising her own three sons led Prof. Faiman-Silva to think seriously about the ways in which gender is constructed in society. At the same time, gender issues were being raised in her own academic discipline, Anthropology, where men had traditionally done most of the research, writing and teaching, and women had generally been excluded from the discussion.

Prof. Kim MacInnis, who also teaches in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, traces her early interest in feminist issues to her childhood years in a traditional fishing village in Nova Scotia. "From a very young age," Prof. MacInnis reports, "I was uncomfortable with the way women were and are treated." Philosophy professor Francine Quaglio's interest in feminist issues developed during her student years: "the political and cultural climate of the years of my undergraduate and graduate study," she observes, "shaped questions for me, evoked insights about many things, including the issue of gender." Prof. Quaglio began to read widely in feminist literature and "my thought and my commitments were transformed in the process."

English professors Evelyn Pazzulich and Lois Poule also became interested in Women's Studies as a result of their experiences as students. Their college and graduate school faculties included very few women, and very few female authors were deemed worthy of serious study. "Doing my graduate work at Indiana in the '60s," Prof. Poule recalls, "the only women writers I studied were Anne Bradstreet and Mary Rowlandson." For Prof. Poule, a transforming moment occurred in 1972, her third year of teaching at Bridgewater. At the end of an American literature class, a student approached her, asking "How come you don't have any women writers on your syllabus?" What seemed at the time an irritating question stimulated Prof. Poule to discover and teach the work of many neglected women writers: the question led to "great summers in libraries" reading the fifty books of Edith Wharton and exploring the writings of Willa Cather, Gertrude Stein, Carson McCullers, Margaret Atwood, Toni Morrison and many others. Prof. Poule recollects her sense, in the early years of teaching Women's Studies, that these classes were filling an important gap in her students' academic experience. Women students, she notes, "felt repressed in other classes," due to the relative scarcity of female teachers and the lack of female representation in the subject matter. During the early years, one young woman reported that the only one of her courses in which women were included in a major way was Abnormal Psychology.

Prof. Pezzulich used a sabbatical leave to "re-educate myself in the field of women's literature" and to gather material for the course she is currently teaching, Women Writers to 1900. She observes that the field of Women's Studies has changed a good deal since the "consciousness-raising" days of the 1970's. For one thing, in the early years Women's Studies focused heavily on white middle class women with very little awareness of the exclusion of minority women. In addition, Prof. Pezzulich notes, the issues have become more complex over time. "The dream of work and family has proved to be a nightmare for many women with uninteresting jobs. Even for women who love their work, there is conflict and guilt over how to juggle roles and, recently, serious concern about what is happening to children in this country."

"Introduction to Women's Studies," which is currently taught by Prof. Quaglio, exposes students to a wide variety of feminist ideas and writings. The texts range from the classic work of feminist pioneers like the French existentialist Simone de Beauvoir, whose influential book The Second Sex appeared in 1949, to articles and essays published in the 1990's. An excerpt from Susan Faludi's book Backlash documents recent attacks on the feminist movement and discusses instances of negative propaganda and misinformation. Legal scholar Patricia Williams writes about the persistence of prejudice against women and minorities. Ruth Hubbard, one of a number of feminist biologists who have continued to question Freud's influential statement that "Biological destiny," examines the social and political assumptions of biology and genetics in particular. Hubbard criticizes the exaggerated emphasis that modern genetics places on the gene as a determinant of traits and argues that equal attention must be paid to the contexts in which genes operate. Another of Prof. Quaglio's selections, Katha Pollitt's essay "Marooned on Gilligan's Island," tackles the age-old question of whether or not women are essentially different from men. Pollitt lays out the terms of the modern debate between proponents of "difference feminism" and "equality feminism." The idea that women are more nurturing, compassionate, intuitive and relational whereas men are more ambitious, as-
assertive and interested in power has a long history, as Pollitt points out, and "is perpetually being rediscovered, dressed in fashionable clothes and presented, despite its antiquity, as a radical new idea." Educational psychologist Carol Gilligan endorses this distinction, having concluded from her research that men and women use different criteria for making moral decisions: women employ an "ethic of care," men an "ethic of rights." Pollitt, however, claims that gender differences are not universal features of males and females but rather a matter of culture, a result of the economic and social positions men and woman hold.

Outsiders sometimes accuse Women's Studies of being anti-male, but this is a misconception. "We are not doing male-bashing," says Prof. Faiman-Silva. "We are not blaming individuals. Our focus is on analyzing and de-mystifying a system which works to privilege some people and oppress others. Our goal is to help students understand how our culture constructs femininity and masculinity and to show how deeply embedded those constructions are." Prof. Faiman-Silva cites the phrase 'the personal is political,' one of the early feminist slogans. "We want to show students that their personal lives reflect political and social realities."

Prof. MacInnis, who is currently teaching the Feminist Theory course, agrees. "Males need to be enlightened about how gender roles control most of our behaviors," she says. "I make a point of discussing male society, or patriarchy, at large, to explain injustices." In addition, MacInnis notes, men can be feminists; in fact, she often assigns books and articles by male theorists in her Women's Studies classes.

In addition to classroom activities, the Program maintains connections with other Women's Studies programs in southeastern Massachusetts. Women's Studies faculty and coordinators of Women's Centers from neighboring campuses including U Mass Boston, U Mass Dartmouth and Wheaton College were invited to a fall, 1996 workshop, which formulated plans to develop a regional Women's Studies network. Another fall, 1996 project was sponsorship of a workshop which featured representatives of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the oldest women's organization continuously in existence. Each spring, the Women's Studies Program hosts a distinguished lecture series. Speakers have included sociologist Dessima Williams of Brandeis University, biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling of Brown University, and political scientist Martha Ackelsberg of Smith College. In addition, the Program has recently sponsored presentations by Bridgewater poet Faye George and African-American male feminist Bill Brown.

Looking to the future, the Women's Studies faculty are in the process of reviewing the courses currently included in the minor. Some would like to see a major in Women's Studies. Others propose to broaden the Program to include Gender Studies. On a more practical level, the Program has no permanent office space. Professor Faiman-Silva would like to see an office that would provide a home base for Women's Studies students and support personnel. She is also lobbying for a new, full-time faculty position.

Several graduates of the Women's Studies Program have gone on to advanced academic work in the field. Maureen Lagasse, who received her Bridgewater degree in the spring of 1996, is a graduate student in Women's Studies and English at the University of Virginia; she also works as a Writing Center tutor. Darlene Chase, a 1992 graduate, has completed Master's degrees in both English and Women's Studies at Eastern Michigan University.

Other Women's Studies graduates have chosen careers outside academia which enable them to act on their feminist beliefs. After graduating from Bridgewater in 1992, Anne Marie Fitzgerald was hired by The Feminist Majority, a grass-roots organization which supports feminist projects. She was subsequently employed as a fund-raiser for other women's organizations, including Planned Parenthood and the National Breast Cancer Coalition. Ms. Fitzgerald is currently Director of Development for Dance Umbrella, a non-profit organization which brings modern and culturally diverse dance groups, which include many progressive women artists, to Boston from all over the world. Evaluating her college experience, Ms. Fitzgerald recently observed that her Women's Studies courses were the most important part of her education at Bridgewater. "Women's Studies," she explained, "gave me a whole new lens for seeing the world and the role I play in it."
Epidemics in America: The Good, the Bad, and the Immigrant

Patricia Fanning

In his work No Star Is Lost, James T. Farrell creates a telling episode of epidemic disease in Chicago in the early 20th century. The children of the O’Neill family all have come down with diphtheria, the public health officials have been called and the children are taken away to the Municipal Contagious Disease Hospital. As Jim O’Neill, the father of the children, arrives home, he is disturbed by two things. First, his children are transported to the hospital in a police wagon and, second, a large quarantine sign is nailed to his door. He feels shame and guilt.

Jim looked at the red sign tacked to his front door, and read the large black lettering: DIPHTHERIA They were quarantined as if they were lepers. The whole world was told by that red sign to stay away from them. (624)

Jim’s eldest son, Bill, delirious from fever, tries to run away, fearing that he will be punished although, as he puts it, “I ain’t done nothing” (623).

With these passages, Farrell captures the social construction of epidemic disease in America, characterized as it is by a curious combination of illness, blame, and guilt. As early as 1794 Dr. Benjamin Rush observed, “Loathsome and dangerous diseases have been considered by all nations as of foreign extraction.” Certainly this was the case in America where, by the late 18th century, colonists had internalized the notion that the American continent was a virgin territory, free of corruption and disease.

Thus, when illness struck, people looked elsewhere for a cause and found it in the immigrant populations. Historian Alan Kraut, in his work, Silent Travelers, confirms that, in the United States, “There is a fear of contamination from the foreign-born” (3). This fear is heightened in the instance of epidemic disease when such medicalized nativism can result in the stigmatization of entire ethnic groups. Haitian, French, German, Asian, Italian, and Irish immigrants have each in their turn been blamed for outbreaks of deadly epidemics, ranging from yellow fever to cholera, bubonic plague, polio, diphtheria, influenza, and AIDS.

An epidemic is, after all, not merely a medical occurrence; it is a truly frightful experience, which challenges people’s sense of well-being. The essential arbitrariness of an epidemic forces people to explain the occurrence in order to quell their panic. Consequently, outbreaks of epidemic disease are usually characterized first, by denial, an unwillingness to recognize the disease, and second, by assigning blame. Blame makes the disease appear less random and its victims more identifiable and culpable. People, for one reason or another, “deserve” the disease: they have done something wrong; they have brought it on themselves; they are being punished by God.

By the time the cholera epidemic of 1832 swept across the United States, inhabitants had no difficulty in pointing out that the Irish, who were the primary sufferers, deserved their fate. Alan Kraut explains, “Living in run-down shanties and tenements, Irish Immigrants felled during the 1832 cholera epidemics were believed by many of the native-born to have died of individual vices typical of their group, a divinely determined punishment ...” (33)

The vices, in this particular instance, were intemperance, lack of cleanliness, and Catholicism. Even those who did not adhere to the direct association of vice with disease, often felt that the lifestyle of the Irish was an inadvertent violation of natural law and, hence, punishable by God.

Charles Rosenberg, in his study, The Cholera Years, agrees. The link between cholera and the Irish was an immediate and immutable one. It became the subject of church sermons, newspaper diatribes, and public sentiment. Anti-Irish biases hardened amid cries for immigration restrictions and quarantine. Such local, state, and federal actions complete the pattern of social reaction to epidemics. A society’s response to an epidemic usually is itself characterized by moral and social prejudice and often results in regulations aimed at increased surveillance and control of the “offending” victims. These “other” people, who are, after all, “contagious,” are thus dehumanized and segregated further from the larger community.

The Irish were not the only immigrant group labeled as carriers of epidemic disease, however. Beginning in the 1870s the Chinese population in California was blamed for the presence of various diseases culminating in 1900 when Chinese immigrants were considered the cause of an outbreak of bubonic plague. Later, in 1916, Italian immigrants in New York and other east coast cities were identified as the source of a polio epidemic. As was the case with the Irish, societal reaction was harsh. This time they included exclusion laws, a Naturalization Act which made Chinese immigrants ineligible for citizenship, and calls for far more restrictive immigration laws and deportations of Italians and other Eastern Europeans. Clearly, Americans had come to equate disease with foreigners and, in an
attempt to eradicate the first, they sought to blame, restrict, and exclude the second. But, as historian Alan Kraut argues, “formalizing exclusion and restriction served as a self-fulfilling prophecy, codifying the connection between migrant and illness” (30).

As studies have indicated, the lower the socioeconomic status of a group within a community, the higher their morbidity and mortality rates. Marginal groups work and live in more hazardous environments than mainstream communities; they are less knowledgeable about disease, and have less access to medical care. In addition, the higher the degree of ethnic exclusivity, the greater the distrust of outside medical authority. In essence, as researcher Edward Suchman put it, “social isolation seems to breed medical isolation” (330).

This pattern was confirmed by my own dissertation study of the 1918 influenza epidemic in the town of Norwood, Massachusetts. I chose this subject because my paternal grandmother died in the epidemic, at the age of 38, leaving a husband and five children. It was a piece of family history, in fact, the only family story ever told about her. As I began my research, I found that the 1918 pandemic was the worst epidemic in modern history, killing between 20 and 30 million worldwide within a year. Yet there was no extensive literature on this epidemic, no memorial to its scope and size, although conservative estimates place the number of deaths in the United States between 500 and 600 thousand. Here, for example, is a characteristic description of the pandemic:

“Despite being the largest epidemic in history, it had little long-term effect, because... the influenza epidemic was relatively short-lived and the population losses were rapidly replaced.” (Swenson 1988:186)

Surely there was more to the story: mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, children, and spouses are never “rapidly replaced.” I was puzzled by this characterization until I continued my research and found that the populations within American society which were most severely affected during the 1918 pandemic were young adult, lower-class, and foreign-born; those groups most ostracized and isolated from the social mainstream.

Norwood’s victims correlated perfectly with these general statistics: the vast majority were between 20 and 40 years of age, almost all were lower-class, and 75% were foreign born (This in a town where only 30% of the population was foreign born).

Further study indicated that once it became apparent it was Norwood’s immigrant laborers who were dying, the official response was quick and sharp. The Committee on Public Safety, a group formed months earlier to monitor the activities of presumed political subversives, was placed in charge of the town’s relief efforts. Such a step immediately equated illness with undesirable political activity. And, the response itself was far more military than medical.

Immigrant neighborhoods, and only immigrant neighborhoods, were canvassed and searched. The sick were transported, sometimes against their will, to an emergency hospital where they were denied visitors. As a consequence, uncertainty and fear increased. Undoubtedly expecting official sanctions or retribution, many failed to report illness and even deaths. Newspaper reports suggested that unsanitary living conditions, personal hygiene, and lack of assimilation were the causes of the epidemic. New public health regulations and public assembly restrictions aimed at the immigrant populations were instituted. Even in death, the immigrants were ostracized, buried on the perimeter of the cemetery, often in unmarked graves. Under this onslaught, immigrants could only keep their silence and hope to remain invisible.

Seventy-five years later, however, some still remembered the sting of prejudice. One resident recollected her neighbor repeatedly tearing a quarantine sign off of his door until he was threatened with arrest. Another, a child at the time, recalled:

“I remember [they] came up to the house with a great big white sign and on the sign it said INFLUENZA in red letters. And they nailed it to the door. I’ll never forget it... It was as if, I don’t know, we’d done something wrong. We’d done something wrong and we were being punished.”

Following the epidemic, political mistrust, ethnic prejudice, and the fear of disease combined to produce a xenophobic panic. Strong feelings led to the establishment of more encompassing public health guidelines and, in Norwood and across the United States, instigated calls for immediate assimilation or deportation. In effect, the medical epidemic helped to justify a political climate which culminated in the infamous Palmer Raids of January, 1920.

It is time to admit that pre-existing prejudice and inequality are far more important to the trajectory of epidemic disease than previously acknowledged. For groups that are already marginalized, the stigma of disease guarantees their continued ostracism from the cultural mainstream. “Different” becomes synonymous with “dangerous” and “diseased.” These implications of blame did not go unheeded in the immigrant community of Norwood or in Farrell’s Chicago. Illness was hidden, something to be ashamed of. And shame is central to sociologist Erving Goffman’s concept of stigma. Victims of stigmatization often internalize the notion of “a spoiled identity.” Such was the case with immigrants who came to recognize themselves as the “contagious other.”

In this context, illness, and epidemic disease in particular, foster guilt and shame on the part of the victims. They, too, come to blame themselves for their disease.

Finally, then, the combination of disease, blame, guilt and shame results in a scenario much like the one Farrell depicts. Social institutions of public health become judgemental and callous as sick children are carted off in a police wagon, equating illness with crime. And, within the immigrant family, blame is internalized as guilt, causing small boys to cry out in fear of punishment and grown men to feel shame when they read a quarantine sign.

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en Franklin loved Paris for its intellectual excitement and sophistication. Thomas Jefferson admired the city's architecture, painting and music, but was shocked by the Parisians' sexual behavior. Mark Twain, a century later, found Paris "enchanted." Henry James liked the sense of freedom, the fact that "here one can arrange one's life exactly as one pleases." For Ernest Hemingway, Paris was "a movable feast" and a city where you could live well no matter how poor you were. For two centuries, Americans have been discovering that Paris is charming, stimulating, liberating, shocking — very different from home.

I first visited Paris as a college student in the 1960's, with many of these ideas and associations in mind. My friend and I found a hotel in the Latin Quarter which featured a long climb up creaky stairs and lights that always switched off handy for washing our drip-dry clothes. The toilet was down the hall, and the hotel had only one bathtub, which had to be reserved a few days in advance and, of course, cost extra. All of this we found charming. Baguettes and croissants were then a delicious novelty, unknown in the U.S., and French cheeses were a revelation to girls who had been raised on Velveeta. We always carried the popular 1960's student guidebook, Europe on Five Dollars A Day, which then represented an achievable goal.

Our expectations of Paris were colored by its legendary association with art, sophistication and romance. We had studied Paris in the 1920's, when writers like Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound and James Joyce, attracted by the atmosphere of freedom and artistic excitement, abandoned their English-speaking homelands. At the same time, leading European painters and composers such as Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso and Stravinsky came to live in Paris. Gertrude Stein, an American expatriate whose Paris apartment became a meeting place for artists and writers, explained rather condescendingly that Americans "came to Paris a great many of them to paint pictures and naturally they could not do that at home, or write...they could be dentists at home." Nor could their writings be published at home: during the 1920's, English-language magazines in Paris published experimental fiction which was banned in England and the U.S. on the grounds of obscenity. Joyce's novel Ulysses, published in Paris in 1922, could not appear in print in the U.S. until 1934. Novels by Henry Miller and D. H. Lawrence, banned in the U.S. until the 1960's, were also printed in Paris. In fact, a few years before our trip, college friends travelling abroad had smuggled copies of Tropic of Cancer and Lady Chatterley's Lover past U.S. Customs in plain brown wrappers.

American films of the 1950's helped to form our idea of Paris. An American in Paris (1951) starred Gene Kelly as an aspiring painter who lives in a garret (which fortunately has a splendid view over the rooftops of the city), drinks wine in picturesque cafes, displays his paintings in the streets of Montmartre — and falls in love. Several years later, Gigi (1958) evoked a different milieu, that of Belle Epoque Paris. Instead of starving artists, the characters in Gigi are aristocrats who wear elegant clothes, drink champagne, dine at Maxim's, ride through the Bois de Boulogne — and fall in love. As recent a film as Woody Allen's Everyone Says I Love You (1996) playfully adapts this tradition. The Julia Roberts character finds Woody's romantic Paris apartment, which appears to be situated across the street from the Sacre Coeur Basilica, a fulfillment of her dream fantasy. In the closing scene of the film, Allen and Goldie Hawn dance Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers-style along the banks of the Seine — the busy modern highway above hidden from view.

But, for today's tourists, the busy modern highway is a significant presence and the real Paris is far removed from the Paris of legend. I have returned several times over the past 30 years, most recently during the summer of 1997, and with each visit the artistic and romantic Paris seems less evident and the modern one more so. Congested roads, high-rise office buildings, crowded sidewalks — today's Paris is a lot like every other big, modern city. Last fall, for the first time, air pollution levels got so dangerously high that authorities were forced to order half the cars — those with even-numbered plates — off the road for a day and to recommend that children and elderly people stay indoors.

Visiting Paris in the 1990's means being in the company of millions of other people who are also visiting Paris. The population of France doubles during the tourist season; which explains why almost everybody seems to be carrying a map and a camera. Swarms of tourists descend daily from tour buses to see and photograph Notre Dame Cathedral and the Chateau of Versailles. They mingle with thousands of young people equipped with backpacks and water bottles and having the slightly unkempt look that suggests nights spent in youth hostels.

Paradoxically, just as more Americans are visiting and living in Paris than ever before, Paris itself has become more like America. Early predictions that the sophisticated French would scorn the "Big Mac" proved to be wrong, and MacDonald's and other American-style fast-food stores are a well-established feature of the landscape.
On the outskirts of Paris, Eurodisney, after a shaky start, is apparently as successful as its American parent parks; presumably the employees have learned to smile and say "Ava nice day." The elegant Trianon Palace Hotel, where the Treaty of Versailles ending World War I was signed, is now part of the Westin chain, and Westins and Marriotts have proliferated, replacing many of the small hotels. "Buvez Coca-cola" signs are ubiquitous, as are waiters clad in "Coca-cola" and "Lipton's Fun Tea" shirts. Several spacious Haagen Dazs Ice Cream shops have opened in Paris, and appear to be doing well. Backwards baseball caps and baggy pants are as common as on the streets of Boston.

Yet beneath the surface of Americanization, significant aspects of the French way of life remain constant. Public spaces are kept clean and attractive and decorated with fresh flowers. Each morning, legions of street cleaners dressed in bright green uniforms wield fluorescent green brooms through the streets of Paris, followed by large trucks with high-pressure hoses. As a result, the streets are virtually free of litter, empty beer bottles and food wrappers. Historic buildings and monuments are periodically scrubbed and even private landlords are obliged by law to clean their facades every twenty years.

French character is also a constant. Americans notice the Parisians' independent streak, displayed most publicly in their dedication to automotive rights and their parking behavior. Any unoccupied space, whether in the street or on the sidewalk, is considered to be a legitimate parking spot.

"Is this legal?" I once asked, as a French friend eased his Renault over the curb and onto the sidewalk and deftly squeezed it between two other cars. "Legal?" His shrug indicated that the word itself was problematic. "You buy a car, you pay taxes to the state, you pay for a license — therefore you are entitled to a parking space."

His logic seemed irrefutable, perhaps the kind of thinking Charles de Gaulle had in mind when he made his famous remark about the impossibility of governing a country that produces two hundred forty-six kinds of cheese.

The lowest point of my most recent visit to Paris came when my wallet was stolen in the metro. It was a classic dumb-tourist scenario: I had bought my ticket and turned to put the wallet back in my bag when some English-speaking tourists asked for directions. We consulted the map, discussed the best route — and when I finally looked down into my still-open bag, the wallet was gone. Fortunately, I had been carrying only a small amount of cash, but the wallet did contain credit cards and items (driver's license, Bridgewater I.D.) which, although useless to the thief, would be tedious and time-consuming to replace.

At the local Prefecture, the police officer who filled out the crime report ("Vol D'un Porte-monnaie Dans Le Sac A Main" — theft of a wallet in a handbag) advised me that there were a great many pickpockets in Paris and that large numbers of them hung around metro stations on the lookout for confused tourists like me. I related the details of the crime, signed the report, and assumed that was the end of it.

But — surprise! The next day my phone rang. The janitor of an apartment building had seen my wallet in the trash, picked it up, found a Parisian friend's phone number in it and called. The cash was gone; of course, but everything else, including the credit cards, was untouched. When I related this story, which seemed to me, as a Bostonian and former New Yorker, rather amazing, my Parisian friends were not surprised. To them it seemed quite "normal" that the wallet had been returned: "This often happens."

The legendary Paris — free, artistic, romantic, sophisticated — may have all but disappeared, but the city is still, if you look carefully, different from home.
CULTURAL COMMENTARY

Wow! That Was Easier Than I Expected!

William C. Levin

Latey I've been wondering about the American faith in the value of cooperative work. Like anyone else who grew up in this country, I remember lots of lessons during my childhood about how much more we can accomplish if we have help. For example, I think at least a dozen films have made the point via a barn-raising scene in which neighbors from farms all over the county are seen marching purposefully over hills and down country roads, hammers and saws at the ready, to "help out a neighbor." I loved how the whole job took only a few minutes during which everyone sang, engaged in lots of good-natured joshing, and afterward had a big picnic while it was still light. On television, children's programs like Sesame Street and Mr. Rogers have always taught us how important it is to work together. It's more fun and we get more done. In addition, we get to cooperate. And the lessons taught to children continue to find expression in our adult lives. Friends in private industry tell me their time is typically split among numbers of groups that have been "tasked" with specific jobs. Managers have available seemingly endless varieties of seminars and workshops to help train their staffs members to work more efficiently together. And cooperative learning is a hot new trend in the education field. The belief here is that if working together is more efficient and effective, then learning together should be as well.

So, what makes me wonder about the wisdom of all this working-together stuff? It's not that I'm an isolate, a go-it-alone curmudgeon who thinks that people who need help getting things done are weaklings and work-group wooses. No, I have experienced the joys of working with others. I know that my brother's garage was cleaned much faster than it would have been if he had cleaned it alone. I know that the leaves at our house were pulled from places I never would have bothered with if Jeanne had not been raking by my side. I am certain that there are ideas in much of my written work that I would never have imagined without my co-authors. And I'll even concede that there are jobs that, left to my own devices, would never have been done at all. Thank goodness someone else was aware that our barn needed raising. We got it done in no time.

No, my question about the value of cooperative work comes from a suspicion that its reputation for efficiency is not pure.

Think of the times you have seen a number of people working together on a project. Haven't you always seen at least one unusually relaxed person, and usually several? These are the people who, while others are busily working at some part of the task at hand, are taking the opportunity to relax against a door-jamb or in conversation with some other group member. In some cases the loafing takes the form of "supervision" which often looks suspiciously like watching other people work. I don't think there is anything wrong with loafing. I'm pretty good at it myself, and I think a certain amount of not doing what you're supposed to be doing is an intensely human and sane thing. Also, I'm not trying to question the value of work groups on the grounds that some people are lazy (though some are), but because they are not the paragons of efficiency that some descriptions of them would suggest. Work groups are less than perfectly efficient because loafing is actually an inevitable consequence of having people work together. Consider some evidence from a classic study on the subject that working in groups may actually reduce the efficiency of individuals compared with working alone.

In 1979 the social psychologist Bibb Latane and some colleagues did a series of experiments in which they measured the work output of a number of male college students in four separate working conditions: 1) each student working alone, 2) each as a member of a two-person group, 3) each as a member of a four-person group, and 4) each as a member of a six-person group. The "work" being measured was...
clapping and cheering. It was chosen as the form of work to measure because it was found to be relatively tiring in a short period of time (try clapping a cheering as loudly as you can for more than a few seconds), because it is a behavior that commonly occurs in groups and because it is easy to measure accurately with instruments.

The experimenters put the subjects of the study in a soundproofed room and asked them to clap and cheer as loudly as they could for five seconds. By measuring each subject's work level when alone, a baseline was established for comparing his performance in groups of two, four and six members. The results were extremely consistent over a series of trials, and should be extremely surprising to fans of the efficiency of work groups. As the group size increased, the work output per group member decreased significantly. When measured as lone individuals, subjects in the study averaged 3.7 dynes per cm (a measure of sound volume). Working in pairs, the average noise figure per subject dropped by 30 percent to 2.6 dynes per cm. In groups of four, the noise figure per subject (1.8 dynes per cm) was only half the figure for individual efforts. And in groups of six the noise figure per subject (1.5 dynes per cm) was 40 percent as efficient as when working alone. (The data showing the relationship between group size and work output are shown graphically in the figure at left.)

What happened to the increased efficiency that working together was supposed to provide? The study found just the opposite. Working in groups consistently decreased the work output of each member. In fact, the larger the work group, the greater the reduction in efficiency per group member. In one sense, the work of the group was more efficient than the work of individuals. That is, as groups increased in size, the total amount of work done increased. Subjects in the study who worked in pairs made more noise than either could alone, and groups of four and six made more noise yet. But the increases in noise making did not increase in proportion to the increase in group size. Why not?

The researchers attributed the tendency of work output to be lower in groups to a phenomenon they called social loafing. Social loafing is that group work settings allow people to diffuse responsibility. Working alone you are clearly responsible for your work, but in a group you can get "lost in the crowd" in terms of work output. The loss of work efficiency is made up for by the apparent increase in work that the group accomplishes as a whole. Bigger groups make more noise than individuals or smaller groups, enforcing belief in the efficiency of group effort. Members of groups actually feel they accomplish more than they would alone (in a sense they do), but not when measured as individual effort. So, when you hear the saying "many hands make light the work," take it in its full meaning. Working in a group, each member actually works less. Certainly the work seems lighter. It is.

I suppose there are worthwhile benefits of working together other than increased work as measured by the output of each individual. For example, it is likely that people who work in groups feel they are very productive. They must also get a strong, if somewhat inflated, sense of the value of cooperation. Work should be enjoyable, and the feeling that you are doing well and dealing well with others is valuable in its own right. But we need to recognize that the benefits of working together are not limitless and that people do not, in fact, work more efficiently in social settings than they do when alone. Of course, it may be that when I am left to myself I tend to do nothing, but while working with others I might do at least a little work..... Hmmm.

![Graph of Relationship between group size and work output per person](image-url)
BOOK REVIEW

THE GREAT NORTH WOODS: LOVELY, DARK, AND DEEP

Charles F. Angell

J. Parker Huber,

Bernd Heinrich,
A Year in the Maine Woods (Addison-Wesley, 1994)

Helen Hamlin,
Nine Mile Bridge: Three Years in the Maine Woods (Down East Books, 1973)

John Gould,
Maine's Golden Road: A Memoir (W. W. Norton, 1995)

Cross the Piscataquis Bridge and head up the turnpike and shortly those from away will read the sign proclaiming 'Maine: the Way Life Should Be.' So many vacationers believe the slogan that they'll stand before the L. L. Bean book racks wondering just what photo essay, memoir, or collection of Maine tales and lobster recipes they should carry home as a memento of their holiday in what is arguably one of America's most scenic states. Most, I suspect, opt for the picture collections of Bar Harbor or coastal lighthouses since, for those who venture beyond the Freeport outlet stores, those are the usual destinations. Yet, despite the lobster emblazoned on the license plate, Maine remains the 'pine tree state' where away from the picturesque coast can be found over a million acres of the Great North Woods, still one of America's remotest wilderness areas.

Henry David Thoreau understood the fascination of this wilderness and tells us that he "started on my third excursion to the Maine woods on Monday, June 20, 1857." Though the Bean book counter offers a number of books on the Maine wilderness, some of which will provide the subject for this review, those who wish to undertake a literary excursion into this forest should begin with Thoreau, who with his friend Edward Hoar and Penobscot guide Joe Polis entered the Allagash region by way of Greenville and Moosehead Lake and returned to Old Town and Bangor on the East Branch. Thoreau experienced what any canoeist today encounters on the big lakes. "We rarely crossed even a bay directly, from point to point, when there was wind," he writes, "but made a slight curve, corresponding somewhat to the shore, that we might sooner reach it if the wind increased." Good advice then, good advice now, and, indeed "The Allegash and the East Branch" finds Thoreau observing the plant and wildlife, terrain, and lake conditions during the course of his trip and offering instruction on how to exist in this wilderness. He grows increasingly fascinated with his Indian guide Joe Polis, wondering how he manages to navigate the forest without recourse to maps and compass. "It appeared as if the sources of information were so various that he [Polis] did not give a distinct, conscious attention to any one, and so could not readily refer to any when questioned about it, but he found his way very much as an animal does. Perhaps what is commonly called instinct in the animal, in this case is merely a sharpened and educated sense..."Thoreau's awareness of what we would call 'multiple intelligences' leads him to study Polis—as he had studied Alek Therien in Walden—to assimilate his ways of perceiving and understanding. The high point of Thoreau's trip comes when Polis challenges him to race along the portage around Whetstone Falls, a race Thoreau wins. Graciously, Thoreau attributes his victory to his carrying the camping gear, not the canoe which Polis had had to take great care not to damage.

J. Parker Huber's The Wildest Country: A Guide to Thoreau's Maine, published by the Appalachian Mountain Club, provides a detailed guidebook to Thoreau's three sojourns into the northern wilderness. Using photographs, line drawings and detailed maps, Huber explains and illustrates where Thoreau went and what he encountered. Readers of Thoreau, perhaps confused by his use Indian names for lakes and landmarks no longer employed on USGS topos, will find Huber helpful, especially in planning a trip that follows Thoreau's route. Huber also fills in the history, before and since Thoreau, of the area he traveled through. He notes...
that, judging from the distance traveled, Thoreau's race with Polis probably occurred at today's Grindstone Falls. The race, he says, was "one of those rare moments in Thoreau's life when he ran...and won."

Others have been led to duplicate Thoreau's experience, particularly his year spent at Walden Pond, by retreating to the Maine woods for an extended period. Bernd Heinrich's *A Year in the Maine Woods* presents in detail his seclusion at Adams Hill in western Maine. Heinrich, a zoologist at the University of Vermont, tells his readers that "for the past twenty-five years I've been teaching at a university, which means what I also do is fill out forms, read memos, and sit in meetings. Sometimes I apply for grants, and sometimes I write papers, but what I really want to do...is to be out in the woods." Like Thoreau, tired of labeling and arranging, Heinrich desires to explore another intelligence. His companion is Jack, a fledgling raven, whose habits and those of the flock that visits his cabin, Heinrich is studying. The raven's playfulness and intelligence impress Heinrich, but "on July 19, he [Jack] left for good. I wished him well, but I also wish he had stayed."

Heinrich discovers wonder in the simplest of nature's designs and decorates his text with exquisite line drawings of the phenomena he observes. While his habit of scientific inquiry contrasts to Thoreau's more intuitive understanding, both delight in the mysteries and unexpectedness of the natural world and the contrast it forces us to make with our lives, in Thoreau's phrase, of quiet desperation. "The hills of western Maine, " Heinrich writes: "these are my favorite haunts, because this is home, where the subtle matters, and the spectacular distracts."

Others, like Helen Hamlin, inhabit the Maine woods out of necessity. Hamlin's *Nine Mile Bridge: Three Years in the Maine Woods* tells of her time spent, first as the schoolteacher at the Churchill Lake logging camp, then as husband to 'Curly' Hamlin, game warden in the north woods. Hamlin introduces the reader to the logging and trapping society, heavily Quebec French-Canadian, that earns its living in this unforgiving environment. The nearest settlement of any size is in Quebec; "the railroad ends at Lac Frontiere, and there is nothing else." Among these people, friendship, hospitality, and mutual support guarantee survival. Hamlin's trapper neighbor arrives at their cabin one morning, calling out "Curly, you've got to take my wife to Lac Frontiere!"

"What's the trouble, Brooks?" "She's going to have a baby!" Curly harnessed his dog team and carried Hermanse across fifteen miles of snow to the midwife, arriving "only two hours ahead of the stork." Hamlin recounts these adventures in a breezy, this-is-the-way-life-in-the-woods-is style. Yet she admits that prolonged and enforced solitude can bring on panic. "The immensity of the outdoors, the lonely wildness of the forests and the singing wind over the tree-tops only made me feel insignificant," she tells us; "I was but a tiny dot on this bit of wooded landscape. I waited." But, echoing Thoreau, she says that with her husband, she enjoyed "a priceless freedom away from the restraining conventions of civilization." Though the imminent birth of her first child takes her away from the wilderness, Hamlin concludes that a new wilderness awaits.

John Gould, Maine's resident humorist, explains how he and his friend Bill Dombusch, in thirty summers' camping at Caucamagomac (kok-m'gommick) Lake, "picked Thoreau's rear." In *Maine's Golden Road: A Memoir*, Gould takes Thoreau to task, saying "his departure from Bangor didn't take long—perhaps because he missed so much." Gould, in more detail than Hamlin, explains operation of the logging camps, especially those run by Great Northern Paper which still owns almost one million acres of timber. He also takes sides in the current controversy surrounding the appropriate use of the Great North Woods, saying that "Maine is loved by a great many well-meaning, sincere folks who like to leave their snug 'associations with the settlements' to come into our Maine woods and become devout disciples for what ails us... There are people, not all of them in lavender pants, who look at the piles of limbs and decry the clear-cut as the last felonious assault on God's great, green beautiful forest." But, Gould says, "there is certainly a false premise about preaching one way and then hustling home to read a newspaper—or a funny book." Thoreau, Gould reminds, was able to make this distinction, preferring the woodchopper's indifference to his woods to the nature lover's enthusiasm. This vast Great North Woods reminds us to maintain such intelligent distinctions.
FACULTY PROFILE

Judy Deckers

Professor Judy Deckers of the Elementary Education Department is a prime example of how the academic reputation of Bridgewater State College reaches well beyond the borders of Massachusetts. Professor Deckers recently returned from a year in Texas as a project editor for Resources for Christian Living Publishing (RCL), which is developing a series of workbooks and videos for Catholic education. Professor Deckers’ reputation as an expert in the field of literacy and reading methodology brought her to the attention of the Texas publishing firm. RCL was beginning a major curriculum program, “Echoes of Faith”, that prepares catechists to understand and teach their faith. Professor Deckers, with considerable experience as Chair of the Elementary Education Department, her work with public school systems on developing reading programs and her commitment to Catholic education, made her a natural to work on the “Echoes of Faith” project.

While in Texas Professor Deckers worked with staff members at RCL and distinguished Catholic educators from throughout the country to write what will eventually become thirteen booklets and videos that will be marketed nationwide. Professor Deckers quickly found out that the “Echoes of Faith” project was a massive undertaking which required that she utilize her background in reading pedagogy, editing manuscripts and advising catechists on the most effective manner of understanding Catholic doctrine. At present eight of the booklets and videos are complete, with the remainder close to publication.

Also while at RCL Professor Deckers worked as editor and advisor on a second project - a catechism workbook for young people called “Our Catholic Identity.” The workbook combines basic principles of Catholicism with exercises such as crossword puzzles, word games and attractive visuals, all designed to make the learning experience of school children meaningful. The workbooks are organized by grade level and will also be marketed nationwide.

After her stint in Texas Professor Deckers returned to Massachusetts with renewed commitment to continue her work in reading. She has completed two articles on teaching concepts and she has worked with Professor Emeritus John Deasy to write a series of field guides that are used by her undergraduate students to enhance their understanding of reading methodology. She also continues her work as a frequent inservice instructor on reading to public school systems in Massachusetts.

Professor Deckers states proudly that her work on the “Echoes of Faith” project and the “Our Catholic Identity” workbooks made her a better writer and editor and gave her an appreciation of the publishing industry. She now feels more confident that she can make other contributions to reading pedagogy, book publishing and Catholic education. But finding time for all these new professional endeavors will be difficult because Professor Deckers has become a regular speaker to education groups around the country.

Despite her busy schedule, Professor Deckers remains dedicated to the undergraduate and graduate reading programs here at Bridgewater. She is a patient and caring classroom instructor who pays considerable attention to her supervisory responsibilities of prospective teachers. Professor Deckers is animated when she discusses the importance of teaching reading whether it is in the classroom or at home. As a result, she works closely with reading students to ensure that they understand the importance of their role with young people. Stimulating good reading habits in Professor Deckers opinion is the basic foundation of education. With Professor Judy Deckers as a mentor to Bridgewater students there is a high degree of certainty that the next generation of reading teachers will be well prepared and well motivated.
Professor Lydia Bernstein of the Department of Foreign Languages is somewhat of a rarity on the Bridgewater State College campus. She is a medievalist, and a scholar of 16th and 17th century Spanish literature. Often called the Golden Age of Spain, this Renaissance/Baroque period gave birth to such classic works of literature as Cervantes' Don Quixote.

Professor Bernstein's initial literary interest during this Golden Age was in the study of Francisco de Aldana, a Renaissance poet whose humanism reflects an ultimately repressed tendency of early Spanish culture and whose poems are often viewed as controversial.

Much of Professor Bernstein's work on Aldana requires a professional relationship with the University of Texas library, which has the best Spanish language holdings in the United States. After acquiring the texts of Aldana's works, Professor Bernstein must begin making a 400 year old poem come alive again. Despite the difficulty in working with such early works of literature, it is obvious that Professor Bernstein loves her work and values the poetry of a bygone era.

Doing research on a poet of the 16th century is often a difficult task. Professor Bernstein must not only be knowledgeable of the language patterns of the times, but also do some scholarly detective work to validate whether the poetry is indeed that of the poet or whether a literary colleague or family member has played a role in the text that reaches the 20th Century. This is a time consuming process requiring an understanding of textual idiosyncracies of 16th century Spanish literature and a working familiarity with the life and times of poets like Aldana.

Professor Bernstein has built on her interest in the origins of Spanish literature by branching out into a new area of research. She is currently examining Sephardic literature, the Jewish works of prose and poetry of medieval Spain. This research project is sure to further test the skill and patience of Professor Bernstein since it will require that she examine not only Hispano-Judaic works, but the impact of Muslim and Christian culture on the Sephardic literature. Professor Bernstein must be familiar with Hebrew and Arabic in order to complete this project and be confident in her assessment of the connections among the three literary traditions. The complexities of the research are obvious, but Professor Bernstein is determined to engage in her literary detective work. She hopes to travel within the near future to Spain to follow the trail of both Golden Age and medieval Sephardic literature in libraries, monasteries and universities.

If this were not enough of a challenge, Professor Bernstein is also working on a book of her own poetry. Already a third completed, the book is a personal reflection on Professor Bernstein's experiences and her life searches. The book is a departure from her life as a medievalist/Golden Age scholar, but a further example of her commitment to poetry and language.

Professor Bernstein fits this extensive research agenda into the normal teaching load at Bridgewater. Her classroom instruction includes Spanish language courses, conversational Spanish and literature courses, such as the advanced course on Don Quixote that she will teach during spring semester. Medievalist, Golden Age textual scholar, poet and teacher, Professor Bernstein is another example of the commitment to blend research and teaching at Bridgewater.
FACULTY RESEARCH NOTE

Leora Lev

For many of us the link between art and politics is usually not terribly clear; we see the work of artists, poets and movie directors as forms of entertainment and beauty rather than politically-charged productions. But for Professor Leora Lev of the Foreign Language Department exploring the connection between aesthetics and politics is at the core of her research interests. Professor Lev, a specialist in Romance Languages who comes to Bridgewater from the University of Northern Arizona, has turned her attention at Bridgewater to examining the impact of avant garde artists and filmmakers in 20th century Spain. Building on her dissertation work at Harvard, Professor Lev is investigating the ways in which artists and filmmakers represent images of gendered bodies and link those images to the body politic.

Professor Lev is particularly interested in pre-Civil War Spain and the work of noted Spanish poet Federico García Lorca whose work, both trenchant and lyrical, gave voice to the repressed and alienated of Spain and eventually led to his execution. Lorca wrote about women, gays and gypsies and the travails of being different in a fascist environment. Professor Lev has explored the work of Lorca to better understand the political climate for poets whose work is permeated with an awareness of oppressive social-political ideologies in proto-Francoist Spain.

Professor Lev is also interested in avant garde filmmakers such as Luis Buñuel and Pedro Almodóvar. She is concentrating on how these filmmakers portray the rituals or spectacles of Spanish national life such as the bull fight, the religious procession and the flamenco dance, thereby casting light on the official governing ideology of the times. Buñuel and Almodóvar are masters of parody and black humor as they coyly skewer the practices of the establishment and the governing elite. Needless to say, Professor Lev is a movie buff, a cinefile who has spent endless hours not just watching films, but analyzing the message that filmmakers

like Buñuel and Almodóvar are making in their work.

At present Professor Lev is in the process of preparing a book length manuscript on the impact of artists on national identity. Tentatively titled, Exterminating Vanguard Angels: Transgressing Spanish Cultural Spectacles of Gender and National Identity, the book will explore the linkage between art, cultural practices and political ideology in contemporary Spain. In order to complete this book Professor Lev plans to travel to Spain this summer to see how these spectacles have changed over time and interview some of the avant garde poets and filmmakers whose work has become an important facet of contemporary Spanish culture. Professor Lev is especially interested in interviewing Augustin Villaronga, a filmmaker whose radical critique of fascism is essential to her work on gender identity and repression during the rule of Franco.

Professor Lev’s interest in Spanish literature and filmmaking has carried over to the classroom. Besides her usual work as a Spanish language instructor, she will be teaching a course on avant garde filmmaking and Hispanic cinema in the coming semesters. She has also developed an interest in the Gothic mode in literature and film and will be working on a course that incorporates the work of Shakespeare, Bram Stoker and Angela Carter and explores the Gothic mode within the context of European intellectual history and cultural studies.

In the months to come Professor Lev will be presenting a paper at a Romance Language conference at Purdue University on Augustin Villaronga and another paper on “Modernism and Modernity in Spain” at an international symposium at Brown University. Professor Lev is excited about her research on 20th century Spanish literature and film, but she is equally excited about the prospect of making her work part of the classes she teaches at Bridgewater. It is evident that Professor Lev enjoys the classroom experience and bringing her background in literature, film and social commentary to the campus.
While the catalogue provided prospective students with the entrance requirements for Bridgewater Normal School, the final examination and commencement pamphlet announced the end of the academic journey. The 1864 "Exercises and Semi-Annual Examination" announcement offered a glimpse of the academic exit requirements and the organization of commencement. The "Parting Song" is a reminder to all that the student body was deeply conscious of the war and those who left Bridgewater for the battlefields.