



THE KEY REPORTER

SOCIETY SELECTS SIX WOMEN, SIX MEN TO BE VISITING SCHOLARS IN 1993-94

Phi Beta Kappa has named a panel of 12 Visiting Scholars for 1993-94. The six women and six men on the panel will meet with students and faculty in formal and informal settings on approximately 100 campuses nationwide over the course of two-day visits in the upcoming academic year. The Society established its Visiting Scholar Program in 1956 to enable undergraduates to meet and talk with distinguished scholars in a variety of disciplines.

The new panel is as follows:

Leon Henkin, professor of mathematics emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, is a past president of the Association for Symbolic Logic and the recipient of the Mathematical Association of America's 1990 Award for Distinguished Service to Mathematics. His research has focused on algebraic logic and the foundations of mathematics; he also works with programs to improve the teaching and learning of mathematics.

Miriam Kastner, professor of geology, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego, is the editor of *Earth and Planetary Science Letters* and the recipient of the Newcomb Cleveland Prize, the American Chemical Society Award for Service through Chemistry, and the Ocean Naval Research Science Educators Award. Her research deals with the geochemistry of the ocean and the origin of submarine mineralization.

Joseph Kerman, professor of music, University of California, Berkeley, is the recipient of a National Institute of Arts and Letters award and the 1981 Deems Taylor award. He is author of *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, *Opera as Drama*, *The Beethoven Quartets*, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd*, *Contemplating Music*, *The New Grove Beethoven*, *A History of Art and Music*, and *Listen*. He was founding co-editor of the journal *19th-Century Music*.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

\$50,000 RECEIVED FOR NEW PROFESSORSHIP

Phi Beta Kappa recently received a \$50,000 bequest for the creation of a professorship to be funded at least once every three years and administered in perpetuity by the Society. The bequest creates the Robert R. and Kathryn D. Aurner Memorial Fund, the revenue from which will be used to support the professorship.

The first grant funded the participation of Nell Painter, Edwards Professor of History at Princeton University, in the Seventh National Conference on Undergraduate Research, held in March at the University of Utah. Under the auspices of the professorship, Painter spent three days at the conference discussing the nature of research and encouraging the student delegates to pursue independent inquiry.

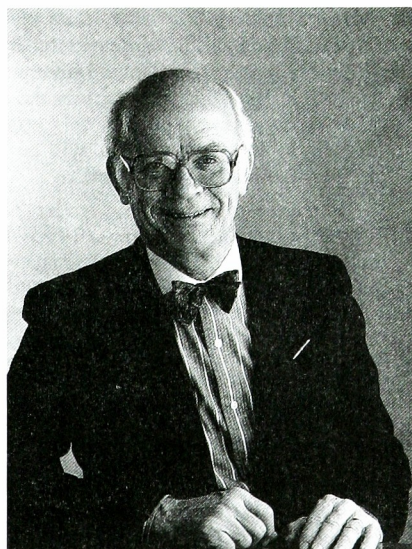
The late Robert R. Aurner was a member of Phi Beta Kappa (University of Iowa, 1919); his mother, Nellie Slayton Aurner, was chapter secretary and head of Iowa's English department at the time of his initiation. The late Kathryn D. Aurner was a Mortar Board graduate of the same university.

FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE SCHOLARS

BY MARTIN E. MARTY

THE DREAM, AT LEAST AS OLD as World War II, of "one world" has been shattered. "Many worlds," worlds of religious and ethnic and cultural tribes—can we call them that?—are at war with each other. The bipolar world of the cold war is gone. In its place are many convulsive movements of people against each other. The "new world order" went before it came, and a new world disorder finds a chaos of ethnic cleansings, terrorism, and extremism. The notion that religion, often a source of holy wars and lesser conflicts, would progressively disappear was misconceived. Religion is back in full force, often fueling the tribal movements and militancies. A parallel

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3



Martin E. Marty

KEY NOTES

Letters to the Editor
PAGE 6

Communities of Scholars for
School and College Faculty:
A Decade of Progress
by Claire L. Gaudiani
PAGE 8

Phi Beta Kappa Supports
'Books Change Lives' Project
PAGE 10

A Survey of Career Choices
of ΦBK Members
by Derek C. Bok
PAGE 11

Recommended Reading
PAGE 12

Mc Mullin Receives Romanell-
ΦBK Professorship
PAGE 15

VISITING SCHOLARS NAMED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Porter M. Kier, research associate, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, was director of the museum from 1973 to 1980 and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Geological Society of America, and the Geological Society of London. A past president of the Paleontological Society, he has studied fossil and living sea urchins with an emphasis on their living habits and evolution.

Bruce B. Lawrence, professor of religion, Duke University, is the author of *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt against the Modern Age* (American Academy of Religion prize) and consulting editor of *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions* and *Classics of Western Spirituality*. In 1991 he launched a multiyear, transnational Forum on Global Islam, and he is now working on a book about the postcolonial Muslim world.

Miranda Marvin, professor of art and classics, Wellesley College, is director of the Program in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology and co-editor of *The Reconstruction of Complex Societies*. She has been Clark Visiting Professor of Art History at Williams College, president of the advisory council of the American Academy of Rome, and senior associate of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

Donald N. McCloskey, Murray Professor of Economics and professor of history, University of Iowa, serves as director of the Project on Rhetoric of Inquiry and is former editor of the *Journal of Economic History*. Among his publications are *The Applied Theory of Price*, *The Rhetoric of Economics*, *If You're So Smart: The Narrative of Economic Expertise*, and *The Economic History of Britain, 1700-Present*.

John J. Mearsheimer, professor of political science, University of Chicago, is a senior fellow at the Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy. He was named the George Kistiakowsky Scholar in 1986-87 by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His research deals with international security issues, and he is the author of *Conventional Deterrence* (Furniss award) and "Back to the Future" (*The Atlantic*).

Lauren B. Resnick, director, Learning Research and Development Center and professor of psychology, University of Pittsburgh, serves as co-director of a project to develop a new national student performance assessment system and chairs the Resource Group on Student Achievement of the National Education Goals Panel. She is the founding editor of *Cognition and Instruction* and author of *Education and Learning to Think*.

Anna Roosevelt, curator of archaeology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship. She is the author of *Moundbuilders of the Amazon, Parmana*, and *The Ancestors: Native Artisans of the Americas*. At the Field Museum she directs the Lower Amazon Project, and from 1976 to 1985 she was curator at the Museum of the American Indian.

Barbara Gutmann Rosenkrantz, professor of the history of science, Harvard University, was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and the Fairchild Distinguished Scholar at Caltech in 1989. Her publications include *Public*

Health and the State, American Habitat, Public Health in America, Philanthropic Foundations and Resources for Health, and *Tuberculosis: A Documentary History* (forthcoming).

Elaine Showalter, Avalon Foundation Professor of the Humanities, Princeton University, has been elected to the Academy of Literary Studies and has received the Behrman Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Humanities and the Lindback Foundation Award for Distinguished Teaching. Her publications include *A Literature of Their Own, These Modern Women, The New Feminist Criticism, The Female Malady*, and *Sexual Anarchy*.

D.C. ASSOCIATION MEMBER OBSERVES 100TH BIRTHDAY

Mary Corinne Rosebrook (ΦBK, Ohio Wesleyan, 1916), a former Latin and classics teacher at Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C., who is still tutoring, was honored at a birthday party attended by 200 friends in Washington on March 14. A long-time member of the local ΦBK association, she originated its book awards program and served on the awards committee until 1989.

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The Summer 1993 issue is no exception. Among the articles featured are "Social Policy and Drug Research," by Daniel Patrick Moynihan; "The World's Worst Biography," by Donald Greene; "Human Morality and Animal Research," by Harold Herzog; "How to Join the Middle Classes," by Christopher Clausen; and "Orange Juice with General Peron: A Memoir," by Mark Falcoff. Also appearing in the Summer issue will be "A Very Private Person," an essay by the *Scholar's* editor, Joseph Epstein.

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FUNDAMENTALISM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

concept that surviving religion would be progressive and tolerant was also misleading: the religions that prosper are hardline, dogmatic, and disciplined.

Not all the extremisms and belligerent forces are religious, and not all the religious forces are fundamentalist. But many of them are, and they make daily headlines near the century's end. Certainly, impulses that are so strong, that attract so many millions of people and disturb the peace on all continents, should be noticed by the academy, which had long neglected them. In this final decade of the century, scholars in the academy are paying attention. Specifically:

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, chartered in 1780, set out "to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent and virtuous people." The projects to which it chooses to direct energy typically have names like "Applied Systems Analysis," "International Security," or "The Future of the Automobile in the Urban Environment," three current emphases of the academy's 2,900 elected fellows. In such company one recent endeavor, "The Fundamentalism Project," appears to be anomalous. Why pour funds and initiative from the largest grant in the history of the MacArthur Foundation¹ into a topic whose subjects seem to lack philosophical art and scientific worthiness?

Some of the academy's councillors did ask that, and no doubt some of its fellows have kept on asking that. For that matter, associate director R. Scott Appleby and I, who were appointed to pursue the topic that these councillors chose, often asked that as we launched into the studies. Six years ago, fears of international fundamentalisms of military and terrorist sorts—after the Iranian Revolution of 1979—and uneasiness about domestic fundamentalisms of quickened political sorts helped inspire the inquiry. But we asked ourselves, What if we embark on such an enterprise and issue its findings five years and more

later, only to find that by then a passing fad had passed, a movement was in decline, and the project and we would be irrelevant on the ash heap of history?

Of course, we did not have profound reservations or we would not have accepted the stewardship of the undertaking, set up one of the world's smallest command posts for such a large project, chaired five annual planning meetings in Cambridge and five presentation meetings in Chicago, enlisted 150 scholars from around the world, and set out to focus our enthusiasms on this enthralling topic. Yet it is good now, as the publications appear,² to uncross our once creatively crossed fingers and breathe sighs; it turns out we are and are likely to remain relevant, well into the next millennium. Those sighs sometimes include an "Alas!" as in "Alas! we are relevant," given the ominousness with which some activities of some fundamentalisms are regarded and deserve to be regarded. Six years ago we bought little yellow markers with which to color the occasional newspaper references to fundamentalisms here and there; by now the daily paper often appears to be yellow journalism in the quite literal sense, so frequent are credible references to the phenomenon.

If mass communicators deal with fundamentalisms daily, and people in statecraft find themselves dealing with it constantly, the fact that scholars turn attention to it should not be surprising: they—we—are supposed to observe, monitor, analyze, account for, and criticize all kinds of movements that have the potential for reshaping the destiny of individuals or, in this case, of hundreds of millions of people. Yet there was some diffidence, some wariness, and on occasion some expression of dismissiveness in some quarters of the academy. In an era

² Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms Observed* (1991), *Fundamentalisms and Society and Fundamentalisms and the State* (1993), with *Accounting for Fundamentalisms: The Dynamic Character of Movements, Fundamentalisms Compared*, and an unnamed sixth volume to come (all University of Chicago Press); Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, *The Glory and the Power: The Rapid Rise of Fundamentalism in the 1990s* (Beacon Press, 1992); and James Piscatori, ed., *Islamic Fundamentalism and the Gulf Crisis* (University of Chicago Press, 1991). In addition, there were a three-part PBS television series, *The Glory and the Power* (a Benton Project), and a similar four-part National Public Radio series.

when one must be careful about stigmatizing peoples, races, ethnic groups, or religions, fundamentalisms often seem to be exempt from the expression of civil manners or strategic caution. Fundamentalists can often with impunity be portrayed the way medieval cartographers showed the fantastic creatures they invented at the edges of their maps, where knowledge ended and ignorance began: "Here be monsters!"

Such dismissiveness, where it appears, is itself patently unscholarly. It does not permit the patient hearing of what anthropologists call "agents' description." Scorn of all fundamentalisms leads people who express disdain to fail to account for the fact that the Ph.D. scientist who works in the next laboratory may be a fundamentalist; so may the computer theorist or computer user at the next desk; the ma and pa who run the corner grocery with efficiency and courtesy; the people who put their main energies into being right with God and raising their children rightly; the poor of the world by the millions, who find measures of dignity and hope in movements that look for the overlooked and provide meaning in their lives.

To speak in such terms may sound like advertisements for movements that most of us, including most of the scholars in the project, find uncongenial and even threatening. Some reviewers of the books comment on the equanimity of our essayists: don't they realize that they are dealing evenhandedly with movements which, if they got the upper hand, would likely put an end to scholarly inquiry of the sort the project pursues? We have not spent much time on the politics of attack (having refused to be the "fundamentalist-bashers" some in the public wanted us to be) or defense (finding no natural sympathy for the potentially defended fundamentalists). We have tried instead to turn in the best possible "state of the art" volumes at century's end and, by encouraging scholarship, to produce "ripple effects" in the appropriate disciplines and to affect various publics around the world.

What Do the Scholars Study?

It is time to ask, as readers and audiences constantly do, *exactly* what are these fundamentalisms that you are

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

¹ The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation did not specify the project when underwriting a "multi-year interdisciplinary public policy study."



studying? The project keeps them in the plural, because while they have many comparative features, it is important to stress the particulars, the distinctives as well, both in the interest of our “sciences” and for strategic reasons in a world where all too conveniently and, one might say, foolishly, Americans are tempted to bundle together somewhat disparate forces, create bogeys and foils, and thus misportray the “Other” and miscalculate one’s own situation. For that matter, while many fundamentalisms share quite a number of structural and formal—never substantive, as in “doctrinal”—features, academics find it valuable to move to the edges of the category and speak of movements that have “family resemblances” to fundamentalisms, or are “fundamentalist-like.”

Two obviously relevant and tantalizing areas are *not* part of the project: the New Religions of East and West, which do not even claim to reach back in time for ancient “fundamentals,” and analogous movements from before the 20th century. Some religions have had fundamentalist-like movements repeatedly through the ages, and most of them bore family resemblances to fundamentalisms, in their own first or second generation. The Fundamentalism Project scholars all know that, but they are producing six books of 600 to 900 pages each with their current conceptions: with a sense for division of labor, they leave to others now and successors tomorrow the pursuit of analogues and precedents as they merely remind themselves and their readers that they are aware of these and that study of them throws some meaningful light on the current phenomena.

The scholars also know that there are nonreligious fundamentalist-like movements: one can be quite fundamentalist about “the scientific world view” or “the Western Enlightenment world view” or almost any political outlook or cause. This company, however, studies “modern *religious* fundamentalisms,” or, to shift the italics in the phrase, “*modern* religious fundamentalisms.” One only slightly jocular way to put it is: they study those fundamentalist-type movements that took rise after the academies of the West generally thought there would be no more like them.

The Controversial Name ‘Fundamentalism’

Since the Enlightenment two centuries and more ago, the instinctive projection of scholars and sages in the West was to foresee a world in which religion progressively declined. They advanced this projection by envisioning that surviving religions would be modern, progressive, friendly to mainstream science, tolerant, interactive. Students of modern religious fundamentalism instead find that there seems to be as much religion around as ever, and that the prevailing movements are closer to fundamentalisms than to modernisms. Such a double set of surprises demands scholarly inquiry—and, no doubt, some revisionism of world views that characterize the academy.

After much conferring and reading—I had studied American Protestantism, which gave the word

Fundamentalists . . . represent movements that react; to use honored language in fundamentalist camps, they “fight back.” The ammunition of fundamentalists . . . tends to be . . . rock-solid, hard-binding, time-tested, text-based verities that give believers total assurance and total missions.

fundamentalism to the world but did not dominate in the project definition, and Appleby had studied Catholic modernisms, which do not figure much in the polarities here—we hypothesized some features and refined them through these years as culture after culture and religion after religion met the scrutiny of scholar after scholar. The scholars remain sensitive to the fact that the use of a term from the West may look like one more example of the very imperialism that inspires fundamentalist reaction elsewhere.

Yet we were sensitive to the fact that all coordinating terms—“republics,” “liberalisms,” “conservativisms,” etc.—start somewhere, demand careful use, and might need considerable translation in various settings. And with some calculated naïveté we asked, Why did the 20th century need a term that willy-nilly is going to be used by publics, by other scholars, and in the media, when most languages and cultures already had words for “the old-time religion?” Maybe

fundamentalisms only looked like the old-time religion; maybe they were not as conservative as their professors thought them to be, as traditionalist as their enemies saw them to be, as orthodox as casual observers found them to be.

Maybe fundamentalisms, in short, are not survivors from premodernity or examples of resistance to modernity. They could be, and they are turning out to be, if our essayists are at all correct, late modern or, some would have it, post-modern phenomena. Tibetan Buddhist monks are conservative; High Church Anglican converts are traditionalist; the Amish pursue the old ways; Orthodox Jews are orthodox. None of them are fundamentalist and none of their enemies or friends call them that, nor do the scholars. None of them hand you tracts in airports, grab your lapel and ask if you are born again, call you to Yahweh’s or Allah’s service in their company; they let you and the rest of modernity pass them by, if you and it leave them alone. Not fundamentalists.

The Fundamentals of Fundamentalism

Fundamentalists represent movements that react; to use honored language in fundamentalist camps, they “fight back.” Unless they do, say the leaders and followers alike, the Enemy will overwhelm them; Satan, the devil, the West, pluralism, relativism, skepticism, immorality, modernity, violating signals of mass media, uncongenial educational institutions, unfriendly governments, or the tribes next door. Not to fight back is to abandon the Lord, or to fail to follow the purposes of the Divine.

The ammunition of fundamentalists—most of whom do not use the literal ammunition that grabs the headlines for the fewer who do—tends to be “fundamentals.” They are the rock-solid, hard-binding, time-tested, text-based verities that give believers total assurance and total missions. For Protestant Christians they tend to derive from special readings of ancient scriptures and take doctrinal form; the (fewer) Catholic fundamentalists stress papal doctrine from the 16th-century Council of Trent decrees up to but not during the Second Vatican Council in the 20th century. Islamic fundamentalists, minorities in both Shi’a and Sunni movements, obviously agree with no Christians on doctrinal fundamentals and instead zealously cherish literal application of



Shari'a, the body of ancient laws, anticipated in the Qur'an. The few Jewish fundamentalists, chiefly in Israel, side with Orthodox interpretations of law but are fundamentalist about stories from the Torah, which ground their understandings of Israel. Hindu fundamentalists have a harder time of it because they inherited no defined canon on the basis of which to argue the fundamentals, the Hindu scriptural possibilities being so vast. But somehow, say the scholars and the headline writers alike, they have found ways to define such, as have the Sikhs next door to them on the subcontinent.

Fundamentalists, defining and defending these selected fundamentals, create the "Other" who does not belong, and then create distance from the others—most notably from co-religionists who are not fundamentalist and who usually are moderates (not modernists themselves), who ought to know better. Most of them have a vision of their people as being called and elected to work out God's purposes. Some of them—and American Protestants really resent being bundled with these—take history into their own hands and engage in terrorism or military defense and aggression. In open republics, they are more likely to seek their way through legitimate political means, setting out to amend constitutions, elect congenial political leaders, or quietly—their foes say stealthily—take over local politics. In any case, they have some "end" of history in view, toward which they are advancing divine purposes: most of them have messianic or millennial casts.

The scholars of the Western academic traditions, and their kin elsewhere who accept the general terms of pluralistic societies, by the very act of comparing such movements, show that they do not accept the particular interpretations of divine revelation, the peculiar readings of sacred scriptures, that adherents find essential and integral to their very lives. In the Fundamentalism Project the scholars have done what they could to commend themselves to the people they study: commending here means being empathic, fair-minded, good listeners, and honest accountants, if never, in the end, true pleasers.

The Scholars' Approach

In general, the scholars' approach has been phenomenological. Each ob-

server becomes aware of his or her own presuppositions, but while remaining conscious of how these might color what is studied, cultivates a kind of naive eye, and hopes to perceive something of the world the fundamentalist sees—even as a critical intelligence goes to work on those perceptions. We have tried to ascertain "the worlds the fundamentalists make." They do not share what some scientific fundamentalists take for granted: a finally defined, assured, uncontroversial world view and mode of rationality that is to characterize all informed thinkers.

'The world the fundamentalists make' is, in every case we have come across, patriarchal, and much concerned with issues of gender, sexuality, intimacy, familiarity, the life-cycle.

But in studying these world views, they have, no doubt often unwittingly, contributed to some of the destabilizing of world views in activities that get called postmodern in some camps. That is, they make more credible the critiques of those who would relativize such a single world view, showing how it, too, is a product of a particular historical development, one without which many millions of people get along reasonably well. This does not mean that there is an intentional subversion of the modern university and its modes; it does mean that there are efforts to account for functioning nations, religions, movements, and millions who hold outlooks that do not match what the Cartesian, Kantian, Humean, or whatever other skepticism characterizes the West in its conventional modes.

"The world the fundamentalists make" is, in every case we have come across, patriarchal, and much concerned with issues of gender, sexuality, intimacy, familiarity, the life-cycle. This may be one reason that in America, at least, when fundamentalists turned political, they did not talk much about what most politicians consider political: tariffs and trade agreements, taxing policies, and the like. Their "social issues" deal with the closest-to-home social order.

Beyond the family as an area of concern, all fundamentalisms have much to say about education, especially of the young, because they are stewards of a divine particularity in a hostile world and must look to the next gen-

eration. They have all, to our knowledge, seized modern inventions like the instruments of mass communication to gather and reinforce their own groups and to try to keep at a distance the undercutting signals of the enemy communicator. Some fundamentalists have much to say about economic life, while others treat this only incidentally.

Although domestic Protestant fundamentalisms long looked private and nonpolitical, most of them have joined fundamentalists in other polities and cultures by turning political. Often they do this in efforts to repossess domains they think they have lost. Thus the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1962–63, which "took God out of the schools," or those of 1973, which reached the intimacy of bedroom, clinic, and womb (in the abortion case), represent a world that fundamentalists think they lost and must, in the name of God, reclaim.

Where Are Fundamentalisms Found?

There is no point here in getting out the atlas to point to all the fundamentalisms. They seem to be least vivid in Western Europe, but some are growing there thanks to immigrations from Eastern Europe and Africa. Eastern Europe in Soviet days was not seen to be a home for any (but Leninist?) fundamentalisms, but the fall of the Iron Curtain and the breaking down of the Wall reveal some more hardline, potentially fundamentalist-like movements taking shape. They trouble all of Islamic northern Africa, have been prime agents of unrest in the Middle East and the Gulf area. They take form in the Central Asian republics and are likely to be tribal presences in Afghanistan and Pakistan as they are acquiring geopolitical importance in Sikh-, Hindu-, or Muslim-dominated areas on Asia's subcontinent. Protestant pentecostals and evangelicalisms in many South and Central American countries are taking on fundamentalist-like political characteristics and, of course, remain potent forces in the United States.

Domestically, there are not fewer fundamentalists of the political sort than there were in the "high" years of 1980 or 1984. Some of them aspire to do what they did not achieve in the congenial administrations of Presidents Reagan and Bush: to aim for the centers of power, in an effort not only

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

to be heard but to "run things." More of them have seen such goals thwarted and have learned to settle for their share of the pie, their voice being heard as a caucus. More likely they will make their presence felt in powerful ways in what I call "board-fundamentalisms": on school boards, hospital boards, zoning boards, library boards, textbook-choosing boards, clinic boards, and the like.

Whatever else fundamentalisms have achieved so far, they have inspired some successful revolutions, as in Iran; established themselves as the governing power, as in the Sudan; shown themselves poised to take over when the ballot is allowed, as in Algeria; been destabilizing forces and inspirers of armed movements in Israel and a dozen nations north and east of it; portended the change of the constitution and the taking of thousands of lives in India; challenged old Catholic hegemonies in Latin America; and become the most controversial political-religious movement in end-of-the-century America. Wherever they are strong, they have changed the agendas for political debate: witness the abortion controversies in U.S. politics.

They have shown many sides: as inspirers of movements by the poor; as expressions of elites in developing nations; as voicers of legitimate concerns (e.g., family stability, antipornography) in the eyes of many who do not share their extremism or resort to law in pursuit of their goals. They have in some cases effectively gained the ear of those who find some expressions of fundamentalists' resentments plausible, even as they oppose the movements when they turn from the politics of resentment to conventional will-to-power forces.

Outlook for the Future

The Fundamentalism Project scholars are not predictors. One who observes them observing fundamentalisms can gather some hunches from the way they give voice to analysis of past and present. The last thing they assume is that fundamentalisms will become static expressions of the old-time religion. They concur in seeing these movements as being always adaptive, innovative, ready for new strategies, revisionist, ready for any-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Editor's note: Dr. Arnold S. Relman's article on health care reform in the autumn 1992 issue of this newsletter inspired the greatest reader response The Key Reporter has experienced. Here is a sample of the correspondence, with a response from Dr. Relman.

I enjoyed Dr. Relman's incisive analysis of the American medical system in the autumn 1992 issue ["Reforming Our Health Care System: A Physician's Perspective"]. However, I cannot agree with one statement. This states, "But healthier lifestyles, improved social conditions, and scientific advances in prevention could reduce the future burden of disease sufficiently to keep the health-care cost of a reformed system under control indefinitely." I am afraid that healthier lifestyles, etc., would lead to markedly increased costs. What would occur is a marked increase in life span, something I consider desirable. But it is naive to disregard the markedly increased costs of an enlarged elderly population. These are both medical and custodial expenditures.

I hope Dr. Relman's predictions of a healthier sane society do occur, but we must start designing a more rational and less expensive system for care of the elderly.

—Edward S. Greenwald, M.D.,
Bronx, N.Y.

Dr. Relman has failed to address the chief problem of rising medical costs: the absence of an effective triage system to decide what treatment is warranted and what is not. At present time, 40% of all medical expenses are incurred in the 6 months before death. With new and expensive life-saving technologies developing all

thing if it does not contradict their main understanding and purposes. The next to last thing they seem to assume is that, in the near future, whatever it is that gives rise to the various movements will disappear, and thus that the movements will soon disappear. They will remain military and political presences in many nations.

Religion has a side different from the one code-named "fundamentalism," and many members of fundamentalist movements know and cherish this. Religion can be used for counsel and consolation, for healing and reconciliation. Whether the religious people and their leaders can draw on some of these resources to

the time, that proportion is going to continue to rise.

Unless we agree on a mechanism for deciding whether a treatment will meaningfully and affordably prolong life, medical costs will continue to skyrocket. The savings in Dr. Relman's plan are mere trifles, and its adoption will make terminal treatment costs bulge, as universal medical care brings sophisticated methods within the reach of everybody.

—Andrejs Baidins, Wilmington, Del.

You will almost certainly receive many negative responses to the article in the Autumn issue by Arnold S. Relman. . . . I shall instead say to Dr. Relman, "Right on!"

It is time that some physicians speak out for a single-payer system of health care. The U.S. is the only advanced industrial nation without such a system; and it appears that everybody is out of step but Johnny. The AMA has been so hidebound and desirous of protecting the exceedingly highly privileged status of the medical profession that it and its henchmen, the insurance industry, have almost driven us out of house and home, in some cases all too literally. Because of the AMA's stance, physicians who might believe as Dr. Relman does have not spoken out.

Whether [or not] Dr. Relman's specific plan is the one we need, his

bring about measures of concord is a question that will demand answers in the years to come. For the moment, it is the threatening side of religious passion that dominates. In a crowded world where weapons are cheap, the risks and the stakes remain high.

Martin E. Marty, Cone Distinguished Service Professor of the History of Modern Christianity, University of Chicago, and senior editor of The Christian Century, visited eight campuses as a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar in 1992-93. This article is adapted from a variety of presentations dealing with fundamentalism be made to town and gown audiences.

emphasis on the kind of system that is working in so many other countries is a refreshing and courageous one.

—*Ralph Mason Dreger,
Baton Rouge, La.*

Thanks for publishing Dr. Relman's article. It is an excellent analysis of our health care situation and his proposed solution is a reasonable point of departure for the forthcoming debate.

Would it be possible to ask Dr. Relman to address two other areas of health care that are of concern to our citizens—care of the elderly, particularly custodial care, and dental care? What part of the national health bill do they represent and what is their outlook? What ideas does Dr. Relman have for managing these costs and their financing?

—*John A. Berggren, Pittsford, N.Y.*

... Having served in the Medical Corps of the Regular Army for over thirty years, I developed great respect for the manner in which we financially supported the medical care of active and retired Service personnel. The plan outlined by Dr. Relman parallels this system in many respects. The one thing that he recommends that was particularly noticeable in the military medical services was that we utilized more family practitioners and commissioned only the exact number of specialists required in military hospitals throughout the world.

During the period in this country when we were drafting physicians, we could determine our needs five years in advance and provide for training these specialists prior to coming on active duty. Inasmuch as graduating medical students are more prone to select specialty training, it is essential that we encourage medical schools to provide better facilities and furnish a broader training program to train family practitioners. They have proven to be the very backbone of the Medical Service in the Army. . . .

—*Douglas B. Kendrick,
Maj. Gen. (Ret.),
Tampa, Fla.*

... No system, the present one, modifications of the present one, or complete overhauls such as Dr. Relman suggests, can avoid immense and continuing huge increases in cost without a recognition that we cannot provide all services to everyone. A major reason for lower costs in Britain

and in Canada is that many services simply are not provided. This means people remain in pain or perhaps even die, but those systems have built-in rationing of care. . . .

Numerous other questions also come to mind. Given our litigious society and the attitude of the courts, does Dr. Relman see any end to the huge costs of malpractice insurance, and also the need for, the advisability of, defensive medicine? Our record with Workers' Compensation insurance does not bode well for any limits on what the courts will do to award benefits based on compassionate appeals. . . .

Finally, given our experience some 20 years ago with Certificate of Need legislation, I am not at all optimistic about the acceptance by Americans of any significant restrictions on their *right* (as they see it) not only to all of the care they need, and the best care they need, but to have that care as close to home as possible. We have tried to limit the proliferation of expensive equipment and costly care to a limited number of hospitals and it failed. Why does Dr. Relman think it will be acceptable now? . . .

—*Albert Cole, Jr., Las Cruces, N.M.*

Dr. Relman responds:

Dr. Greenwald is correct in his observation that medical care of the elderly is currently very expensive. On the average, annual medical expenditures for people age 65 and over are about two and a half times those for people under 65. But I don't think anyone really knows what the economic consequences would be if there were a marked increase in life expectancy. It would probably depend on how healthy the elderly were. Much of the cost of their present care is due to chronic conditions like arteriosclerosis, arthritis, and Alzheimer's disease. If these diseases were controlled, maybe the elderly could lead more active lives without requiring expensive chronic care, until they were ready to die.

Mr. Baidins's point about supposedly unwarranted medical expenses near the end of life is frequently made in discussions about health costs. As an experienced physician, I can assure him that most of those treatments and tests are given *before* it is quite clear that death is imminent. Yes, it is true that sometimes a lot of money is expended simply in prolonging dying,

but a much more important problem is the widespread use of marginal or unnecessary procedures even when there is no immediate threat of death. As I mentioned in my article, technology assessment would play a major role in the system I advocate, because doctors and patients need much more information about costs and benefits to make better decisions about the allocation of medical resources.

In response to Mr. Berggren: Long-term care of the elderly in nursing homes now costs approximately \$60 billion per year, and dental care (for all ages) about \$40 billion. In my judgment, with the savings achievable in a reformed system, we could probably afford all the nursing home and dental care our population really needs.

As Mr. Cole observes, there is *de facto* rationing in Canada and Britain, in the sense that some requests for services are not granted promptly, or at all. The critical question, however, is whether medically necessary care is being withheld, or simply marginal, optional, and totally unjustified care. From what I have seen and heard, neither country denies clearly necessary care, although there is sometimes a queuing problem with necessary but elective procedures. In any case, if these countries spent as much per capita on medical care as we do, I don't believe there would be delays or difficulties in obtaining any services that physicians deemed appropriate.

As for malpractice litigation—it is a big problem, although probably not as important a cause of increasing costs as some physicians think. To control it, I advocate extensive tort reform and experimentation with some form of no-fault system. Most important, however, is the fact that in the kind of system I advocate, well-managed group practice and professional peer review would greatly reduce the incidence of medical negligence.

I answer Mr. Cole's final question, about whether limitations on medical facilities would be acceptable to Americans, with a question of my own: What is the alternative? We simply cannot afford continued unlimited proliferation of facilities and services. We must either begin to use our resources more rationally or face a breakdown of the health-care system. Assuming some leadership from Washington, I believe the common sense of the public will ultimately prevail. ■



COMMUNITIES OF SCHOLARS FOR SCHOOL AND COLLEGE FACULTY: A DECADE OF PROGRESS

BY CLAIRE L. GAUDIANI

REFLECTING ON THE LIFE of the teacher, Edward Shils wrote in 1984,

The teacher's seriousness is supported by the proximity of other serious teachers, just as the seriousness of the student is nourished by the presence of other serious students. . . . The maintenance of intellectual integrity is not only a matter of strength of character, but it is also a function of the immediate environment of the teacher. . . . Consciences reinforce each other in intellectual matters as well as in others.¹

As citizens and especially as university and college faculty look at the condition of K-12 education in the United States, Shils's words could sound a clarion call to encourage meaningful interaction between post-secondary and K-12 faculty. In fact, since Shils wrote these words, projects have developed all over the nation to connect school and college faculty in communities of scholars and communities of inquiry, based in the disciplines. Meeting monthly (or bi-monthly), people who teach history or mathematics find common ground as they engage each other intellectually in the disciplines they share, whether they teach fifth-graders, tenth-graders, or college juniors.

A decade ago, I began a project called Academic Alliances, one of a number of school-college partnerships designed to develop common purpose and common ground between school and college faculty. Since that time, some 20,000 teachers in more than 600 locations across the country have participated in this project. Other partnerships have burgeoned as well, all of them proving that people who teach have more in common than the traditional hierarchies suggest. The partnerships also indicate that the education of teachers is the best hope for improving the education of students.

Even where they have improved remarkably, American schools rarely produce enough graduates at an academic level high enough to permit our

nation to compete effectively with other major industrialized nations. Systems and superintendents, and legislators and presidents, come and go; so do periods of financial bounty and cause to sacrifice. The critical intelligence and uncommon reflectiveness of those who teach are the most powerful, consistent, positive forces that could be unleashed to deal with one of the biggest challenges facing our country: improving the quality of K-12 education.



Photo by Paul J. Horton

Claire L. Gaudiani

The communities of scholars are a powerful instrument in the tool box marked "school reform." They express the continued commitment of faculty across the educational sectors to keep each other up-to-date in the fields they share and to assure each other a lively intellectual exchange in their disciplines.

Stratification of school and faculty is an honored tradition in American education. In the social hierarchy among teachers, elementary teachers rank below high school teachers, and high school teachers below college and university faculty. At risk is the life of the mind of the teachers, regardless of the age of their students. According to Donald Lazere,

A recent study by *Le Monde* ranked French universities on the basis of the quality of their preparation of secondary school teachers. Such a ranking is unheard of in the United States where universities are invariably rated on the basis of their graduate faculties'

Partnerships have burgeoned . . . , all of them proving that people who teach have more in common than the traditional hierarchies suggest. The partnerships also indicate that the education of teachers is the best hope for improving the education of students.

research and publications alone.

The attitude clearly conveyed to graduate students is that planning to teach in a high school, community college, or state college, or even taking a professional interest in them is the mark of a second-rate mind.²

While high school teachers across the country struggle to meet the social and educational needs of an increasingly diverse American population, American graduate students continue to be taught two important lessons: progressive isolationism and regressive denigration. Progressive isolationism teaches them that the more their career path isolates them from students and readers, the more important they are. Our academic value system suggests that as faculty become progressively more important, they teach fewer students each year, until the most important teachers do not teach at all. Similarly, as their scholarship is understandable to fewer people with each publication, faculty are more revered. Conversely, regressive denigration subtly implies that faculty who teach younger students have less prestige than those who teach older students.

In the latter half of the 19th century, when doctors and lawyers were organizing themselves into national and local organizations, the teaching profession remained clearly separated into university faculty and school teachers, and the two groups had little in common. They had different levels of education and taught vastly different numbers of students. (As recently as 1950 there were five times as many high school students enrolled as there were college students.) Moreover, some 70 percent of secondary school teachers were women, whereas only 20 percent of college faculty were women.

² Lazere, "Stratification in the Academic Profession," in *Humanities in Society: The Politics of Literacy* 4 (Fall 1981).

¹ Shils, *The Academic Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 47.



Today women constitute more than 35 percent of teachers in higher education, and the 1.2 million faculty members (compared with 20,000 faculty at the turn of the century) teach 12.4 million college students, almost equal to the number of high school students (13.8 million) in the country.

Over the past decade, thousands of college and school faculty have begun to teach each other new lessons. Their interaction in the disciplines they share has had a variety of effects on the quality of their own intellectual lives as well as on the academic experiences of the students they teach. School-college partnerships have developed across the country in all academic subjects. The continued evolution of this concept is one of the most cost-effective and powerful ways American education can change for the better.

How Academic Alliances Work

Experienced teachers at all levels know that individual attention makes all the difference to students' performance. Individual attention affects teachers' performance as well. Fellow teachers are best equipped to give one another the personal attention that sustains their freshness of perspective and their energy to engage in the disciplines they teach. College and university faculty are best equipped to reach out to school faculty to create communities of scholars in their local areas. For one evening or Saturday morning a month, members forget that they teach students of different ages and stages, and they focus instead on history, mathematics, literature, or chemistry.

They read and discuss the same book or journal article and review recent work in the field. They help each other to avoid having the field they teach implode to the dimension of the curriculum they teach. They make friendships that create the confidence members need to seek advice with difficult problems, to share techniques on classroom effectiveness or scholarly challenges.

Moving away from traditional hierarchies, college faculty can learn who their students will be in the future from those who teach them today. College faculty often say they learn excellent teaching techniques from school teachers. High school faculty can assure that they maintain an adult

relationship to their fields of study, despite the challenge of spending long hours with young people who have far less knowledge and experience than the students taught by the college or university faculty member.

How the Alliances Began and Spread

Academic Alliances began among foreign language and literature faculty and quickly spread to faculty teaching chemistry through the work of the Camille and Henry Dreyfus Foundation, and to history through a joint project of the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Historical Association. Since the mid-1980s, additional projects have grown all across the country. The accrediting bodies like New England Association of Schools and Colleges and Middle States Association of Schools and Colleges have sponsored opportunities for the development of communities of discourse among school and college faculty in the same academic discipline. Several states have supported opportunities for school and college faculty to interact together on a continuing basis. State support in New Jersey, Arkansas, and Georgia has

While high school teachers across the country struggle to meet the social and educational needs of an increasingly diverse American population, American graduate students continue to be taught two important lessons: progressive isolationism and regressive denigration.

improved the connections between high school and college course work and slowed teacher dropout and burn-out rates. Arkansas, for example, has alliances in mathematics, science, foreign languages, and the visual and performing arts.

In 1988, the American Association for Higher Education accepted the lead role for Academic Alliances and, with a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, vigorously expanded the reach of the Alliance movement.

Faculty in these communities of inquiry work on their academic disciplines, but they also conduct research

on teaching and learning, on reaching students with different learning styles and at-risk students, and on working with minorities and women in math and science. In Dutchess County, New York, the math-science alliance works to improve laboratory safety. Some groups have created a lending library; others swap class visits and share insights on teaching difficult material effectively. Many groups establish a forum in which teachers who travel to scholarly or pedagogical conferences discuss their experiences. Often school and college faculty can learn the use of new technologies as well as new pedagogies and explore ways to integrate new materials and new constituencies into the traditional educational mission.

Wayne Booth, George M. Pullman Distinguished Service Professor of English, Language, and Literature at the University of Chicago, was an early and vigorous proponent of connecting school and college faculty. Through years of personal dedication to school-college faculty interaction, he repeatedly reminded all scholars and himself of the quality of mind of those who teach in the schools and the significance of the college faculty's commitment to these colleagues. Booth noted in a journal he kept during a seminar on July 13, 1987:

I've been so deeply impressed by our discussions, and especially by the discussions among the secondary teachers I met with each day . . . the growing emphasis on . . . teaching to the end of building a nation of learners—this rising consensus seems so important that I find myself wanting to shout out at "the nation": "Wake up. Stop squandering your heritage. Recover that noble dream of universal democratic education. Stop inventing simplistic remedies and get down to the business of . . ." Well, of grappling, as we are doing here at this conference with the manifold forces that now too often frustrate the efforts of even our best English teachers.³

Booth emphasizes that teachers must strive to model learning for students. With heavy demands on their time and challenges to the focus and reflectiveness of the classroom envi-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

³ Booth, *The Vocation of a Teacher* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 269.

COMMUNITIES OF SCHOLARS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

ronment, teachers can easily lose contact with the pleasure and frustration of discovery and with the process of coming to know. In communities of scholars, school and college faculty can remind each other of the challenge of grappling with ideas, despite the fact that, for a number of school teachers, grappling with ideas is threatened by the need to grapple with social problems and sometimes with students who brandish weapons. College teachers must share these burdens and explore the common ground of school and college faculties.

Of course, college and school faculty still face different challenges daily. Faculty in colleges and universities struggle to keep up with their scholarship and with increasing pressures to teach more and to respond to financial pressures on their institutions. School faculty endure the challenges posed by the system itself, and the power structures around them, plus their students' emotional, psychological, and physical unpreparedness for class. Strong consensus in education over what is good pedagogy, good technology, good curriculum, and good practice is rare. Alliances give faculty a keener sense of what is taught at various levels of education, of students' abilities, and of the problems they bring with them, as well as of the new kinds of knowledge and insight young people gain as they participate in the modern world.

The best kinds of communities of inquiry often have no relationship to institutional systems or agendas, but are voluntary groups of faculty. Often administrators create incentives for faculty interaction in alliances. Some offer their faculty time to participate in groups; others host meetings, and still others grant various forms of in-service education credits for school teachers who participate. College faculty receive formal letters of appreciation from their deans, but participation is usually its own reward.

Alliances become communities of inquiry, places where people who learn to trust each other can *rethink* rather than think only new things, can stretch their minds to connect long-standing traditions in specific disciplines or specific educational sectors, and apply new ways of seeing the problems. Faculties balance the de-



Officials of the Washington, D.C., public schools met with officers of the six Phi Beta Kappa chapters in the District of Columbia last winter to plan workshops for teachers, proposed for August of this year. The meeting took place at the Society's headquarters.

PHI BETA KAPPA SUPPORTS 'BOOKS CHANGE LIVES' PROJECT

Phi Beta Kappa is one of 122 "reading promotion partners" of the Library of Congress, a diverse group of national civic and professional associations committed to promoting literacy and reading in cooperation with the Center for the Book at the Library. The national reading theme for 1993-94 is "Books Change Lives."

Phi Beta Kappa chapters and alumni

mands of specialization against the needs of the generalist and relate the demands of teaching to those of research. After years of work together they begin to develop a version of what Robert Bellah calls a culture of coherence around the teaching of the disciplines to their students. The communities of inquiry develop common memories. A number have pursued and won grants to support continuing faculty development and opportunities to explore and develop new course work for students at various levels. Faculties discover interdependence. Over time, faculty members from both sectors often report that they experience a new relationship to the teaching profession. They echo a version of Bellah's words:

It is true that a change in the meaning of work and the relation of work and reward is at the heart

of any recovery of our social ecology, but such a change involves a deep cultural, social and even psychological transformation that is not brought about by fine-tuning economic institutions alone. On the contrary, at every point institutional changes, educational changes, and motivational changes would go hand in hand.⁴ ■

Claire L. Gaudiani is president of Connecticut College, as well as founding director (1983-88) of the Academic Alliances. She is a scholar in 17th-century French literature and history and philosophy of science, and a Phi Beta Kappa Associates Lecturer.

⁴ Bellah, *Habits of the Heart* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 289.

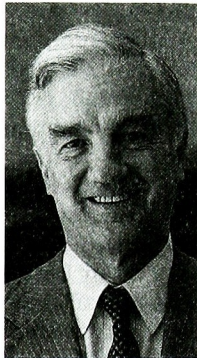
A SURVEY OF THE CAREER CHOICES OF PHI BETA KAPPA MEMBERS

BY DEREK C. BOK

IN the next century, people who are well educated and have exceptional intelligence and analytic ability are likely to be the nation's most important resource. As the economy and the society become increasingly complex, we will need more and more people who possess these attributes, and the competition for their services will grow more and more intense.

During the past century, we have become accustomed to treating such talent the way we once regarded land: as an inexhaustible resource. If the nation needed more able, well-trained people, we had only to build more colleges and offer more scholarships. Now that option has largely disappeared. Even in the 1960s and 1970s, roughly 90 percent of our ablest students, based on high school grades and test scores, were attending college, and of this number, almost 90 percent were graduating. Hence, it will be difficult to expand the supply of such exceptional students in the future simply by building classrooms and disbursing more financial aid. Instead, as our need for such people continues to grow, we will have to pay more attention to how they distribute themselves among different occupations and professions.

With this concern in mind, I decided to explore the subject more carefully. Immediately, I confronted the problem of how to define just what I meant by "talent." Obviously, a wide array of abilities and traits besides a high IQ and a stellar university record are needed to succeed even in the most learned professions. Judgment, self-discipline, perseverance, and interpersonal skills are only a few of the relevant attributes that come to mind. But few of these can be measured, let alone combined in some overall index. As a result, I quickly came to realize that I would have to settle for a very rough definition of talent if I was to make any progress at all.



Derek C. Bok

In this article, Derek C. Bok describes a survey he recently carried out involving 2,000 Φ BK members who graduated from college between 1970 and 1990. Through the survey he sought to discover what careers Φ BK members have chosen to pursue over the past 20 years. The survey is part of a larger study of how professionals and executives in the United States are compensated and how compensation affects the career choices of college students and the distribution of talent among different sectors and occupations in our society.

On reflection, I decided that election to Phi Beta Kappa would provide a useful, albeit partial, indication of intellectual ability and accomplishment, and that I should try to find out more about the career choices of these academically successful graduates. With the gracious approval of the executive secretary, Douglas Foard, and the Senate of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, I mailed a brief survey to almost 2,000 members who had graduated from college since 1970. My questionnaire concentrated on five professions and occupations of particular interest to me: business, law, medicine, higher education, and elementary and secondary school teaching. Although these callings are only a few of the many occupations in America, they have claimed more than 80 percent of all Phi Beta Kappa members who have graduated during the past 20 years.

Results of the Questionnaire

According to the more than 1,000 persons who responded to my questionnaire, 31 percent are now employed in business, 18 percent are in medicine, 14.5 percent are lawyers, 16 percent are Ph.D.'s (with 13 percent serving on university faculties), and 7.5 percent are school teachers. This distribution is not at all similar to

the career patterns of college graduates as a whole. For example, slightly more than 3 percent of all college graduates since 1970 have become lawyers, less than 3 percent of all B.A.'s have gone on to acquire a Ph.D., and only 1.5 percent of B.A.'s have become doctors.

I was also interested in learning whether the career choices of Phi Beta Kappa members from the most select colleges differed in any significant way from those of the entire sample. Accordingly, I examined the responses of graduates from the 25 universities and the 10 liberal arts colleges that were most highly rated in the last *U.S. News and World Report* rankings. In general, these alumni made approximately the same career choices as all other Phi Beta Kappa members—with two major exceptions. Of the graduates from the most highly rated institutions, 20 percent instead of 16 percent held Ph.D.'s (or were on the way to acquiring them). Conversely, only 4.3 percent of Φ BK alumni from the most select institutions had become school teachers, compared with 7.5 percent of the entire sample.

Changes Over Time

Have the career choices of Phi Beta Kappa members been changing in significant ways? Clearly, the most important shift took place in the 1970s, when the numbers of members attending law school and medical school rose dramatically, while the number seeking Ph.D.'s declined by more than 50 percent. My survey suggests that modest corrections occurred in the 1980s. The percentage of students entering law and medicine seemed to decline moderately, while the numbers obtaining a Ph.D. rose by a few percentage points. Even more marked changes occurred among students of the top-rated institutions. In the 1970s, approximately equal numbers of these students chose to obtain a Ph.D., a law degree, or a medical diploma. In the 1980s, twice as many sought to obtain a Ph.D. as the number choosing law or medicine.

Some of the most interesting results involved Phi Beta Kappa members who chose to work for the federal government. The 1970s and 1980s were not kind to civil servants. Their salaries declined by 20 to 30 percent in real dollars, while levels of trust on the part of the public toward govern-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



ment and bureaucracy dropped precipitously. As a result of these trends, a series of articles, commissions, and reports declared during the 1980s that the civil service was suffering a "brain drain" and was encountering serious problems in trying to recruit able people. Curiously, however, other studies showed that the educational and intellectual attainments of recent recruits to the federal civil service were fully equal to those of officials who had entered the government in earlier decades. No one seemed able to reconcile this seeming contradiction.

Our survey points to the answer. In fact, the percentage of Phi Beta Kappas from the 1980s who are currently employed by the federal government

The private professions recruit much more than their proportionate share of Phi Beta Kappa members; the public sector attracts significantly less.

is as high as, or even a bit higher than, the percentage of Phi Beta Kappas from the 1970s. On first glance, this seems to suggest that the academic quality of recent recruits is holding up very well. Nevertheless, the fraction of ΦBK members *who ever joined* the federal government is actually considerably higher among those graduating in the 1970s (10.5 percent) than among those graduating in the 1980s (7.5 percent).

The problem is that a substantial number of the earlier graduates have now left the government (and almost no ΦBK members have replaced them), which accounts for the fact that the percentage *now employed* in the government is roughly the same for the two decades. Worse yet, a significant fraction of the graduates from the 1980s indicate that they too are planning to leave the government before long (while almost none of their classmates have any intention of moving into the government). As a result, despite the seeming parity in academic talent between the older and younger generations, it appears that the government is indeed having increasing problems in recruiting and retaining top-quality people for the civil service.

A Troubling Conclusion

This finding serves to underscore one of the more troubling conclusions

RECOMMENDED READING

BOOK COMMITTEE

Humanities: Frederick J. Crosson, Robert P. Sonkowsky, Jean Sudrann, Lawrence Willson

Social Sciences: Earl W. Count, Richard N. Current, Leonard W. Doob, Thomas McNaugher, Madeline R. Robinton, Catherine E. Rudder, Anna J. Schwartz

Natural Sciences: Ronald Geballe, Russell B. Stevens

Thomas McNaugher

The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality? John Esposito. Oxford, 1992. \$22.

The bombing of the World Trade Center and the murder of helpless commuters outside CIA headquarters have brought Islamic terrorism to our very doorstep, reviving memories of U.S. hostages in Tehran and U.S. Marines dead outside Beirut, and raising again the specter of a grand "Islamic threat." Esposito is at pains to defuse that image. He reminds us of the greatness of Islam, its historic tolerance for other religions, and its current vast diversity. All this is true, well worth remembering, and rarely better stated than here.

Yet if there is no Islamic threat, there is certainly Islamic terrorism, and on this front Esposito's message is disturbing rather than reassuring. If Americans have had a trying decade dealing with Islam, he suggests, Muslims have had a trying millennium dealing with Christianity. The logic of Muslim extremists links the Crusades to the humiliation of Western imperialist domination. It proceeds to the current Muslim struggle to achieve welfare and empowerment within states whose borders, drawn by the

from my survey. There is a large and growing difference in the ability of the private and public sectors to attract outstanding talent from the nation's colleges and universities. The private professions recruit much more than their proportionate share of Phi Beta Kappa members; the public sector attracts significantly less. There is no "unseen hand" that guides our most accomplished college graduates to distribute their talents in this manner. Rather, the choices these students make are largely the result of a reluctance on the part of ordinary citizens acting through their elected representatives, to allow school systems and government agencies to match the starting salaries offered by the private sector.

This tendency was especially marked for the ablest university grad-

uating imperialists, often make little geographic or ethnic sense, and whose Westernized rulers are often corrupt and out of touch with their people. This conspiratorial logic gives enormous depth and power to the anti-Western rage of those frustrated by contemporary Muslim social problems, suggesting that, although there may be no Islamic threat, Muslim terrorism is likely to be with us for many years to come.

China and Japan in the Global Setting. Akira Iriye. Harvard, 1992. \$22.50.

Besides illuminating the recent history of a close but deeply troubled relationship between two of the world's more important countries, this book probes the very nature of international relations. Over the past century, Iriye argues, Sino-Japanese relations have been dominated successively by the three fundamental dimensions of international politics. In the decades before World War I, military considerations dominated, not because these two states were naturally militaristic (culture was far more important than military strength in legitimizing China's civilization, for example), but because in these years

uates in the 1970s and 1980s. Starting pay for outstanding graduates in law, business, and medical schools rose much more rapidly during these decades than salaries of beginning teachers. Entry-level salaries in the federal government actually dropped in real dollars by more than 20 percent. The effects on recruitment are all too apparent in the findings of my survey. Whether these results correspond with the nation's needs and priorities calls for a value judgment that I will leave my readers to make for themselves. ■

Derek C. Bok is University Professor in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. From 1971 to 1991 he served as Harvard's 25th president.

Asia was being incorporated into the militaristic Western imperialist system. In the interwar years, culture replaced military strength as the dominant mode of Sino-Japanese relations; even in the 1930s, when military power overwhelmed cultural ties, Fascists in Germany and Japan justified war in terms of superior culture and social organization. After World War II, Japan and China focused mainly on economic relations, trading with each other even during the darkest years of the cold war. In the current period their trade is booming, even if their political relations remain somewhat chilly.

Iriye is too fine a historian to let this argument become as procrustean as it might sound. He never fails to convey a sense of the complexity of Sino-Japanese relations. Rather, like all good historians, he casts well-known events in a different light. He is also trying to cast international relations in a different light, arguing that they are not unavoidably militaristic, but are multifaceted and can be shaped by choices societies make. Right or wrong, the argument could hardly be more timely, provocative, or finely honed.

Vietnam at the Crossroads. *Michael C. Williams. Council on Foreign Relations, 1992. \$14.95.*

Ten years after Vietnam won its independence, the country was no better off than it had been in war. Indeed, it was still at war, this time with Cambodia's Khmer Rouge and China. Meanwhile, socialist economic policies and massive political corruption had brought Vietnam's economy to a standstill. To their credit, Vietnam's Communist elite mostly blamed themselves for these ills, and in 1986 they set off down the road to reform. Williams describes impressive results on the economic front, where "privatizing" reforms have renewed agricultural productivity (Vietnam has reemerged as a major rice exporter) and already attracted foreign investment. Although the country's infrastructure is still a mess, the groundwork has been laid for real progress once Vietnam gains U.S. recognition and, with it, access to international financial institutions.

Alas, this happy outcome is missing from the political scene, where Vietnam's leaders lost their nerve in 1989, as they watched mass movements bring down Communist regimes in

Eastern Europe and threaten China's Communist elite. Hence the crossroads—the need to choose political forms capable of handling the results of economic growth. Williams cannot tell us which way Vietnam will turn, but his fact-filled, ruthlessly objective book provides exceptional insight into the economic, political, and foreign policy dimensions of the choices the Vietnamese face.

The United States will probably recognize Vietnam in the near future. In the years ahead, ironically, it might even "win" the war it lost two decades ago, by helping to bring prosperity to Vietnam (especially the south, which remains the country's capitalist engine) and by providing Hanoi with a balance to Chinese power. This book is the ideal vehicle for catching up on the country Americans have tried so hard to forget.

Catherine E. Rudder

Catherine E. Rudder, executive director of the American Political Science Association, has joined The Key Reporter's Book Committee to review books in the field of political science.

The Inner Ocean: Individualism and Democratic Culture. *George Kateb. Cornell, 1992. \$27.95.*

In this stunning collection of essays Kateb articulates and interprets the theory of democratic individualism. He argues that the individualism of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, not communitarianism, leads to human dignity; that individuals are liberated by claiming rights; and that self-seeking is not an inevitable outcome of individualism. Each essay in the volume rewards reflection, particularly "On Political Evil," which builds on Hannah Arendt's insights.

American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion. *Judith N. Shklar. Harvard, 1991. \$17.95.*

A central aspect of democracy, of course, is the belief in the moral identity of citizens, symbolized by the electoral process. What Kateb described as "the almost transubstantiating power of the equal franchise" (p. 160) is one of two themes in Shklar's volume. Deceptively simple, these essays, originally delivered as the Tanner Lectures in Political Values at the University of Utah, examine citizenship as standing.

In American society, Shklar argues, one gains standing through voting and earning. The meaning of the right to

vote is found less in the actual exercise of the franchise than in its power to designate citizenship and thus worth. Equally important in "being somebody" is the need to be an independent earner. Such a conception of citizenship suggests that there is a right to work. Shklar's analysis is offered against the backdrop of American slavery and the persisting contradictions in the United States between illiberalism and the promise of equal political rights. This work is a tour de force that can be savored in an evening.

Interests and Institutions: Substance and Structure in American Politics. *Robert H. Salisbury. Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1992. \$49.95.*

The vote as the motive power of American politics also implicitly underlies this collection of essays. A leading analyst of interest groups, Salisbury challenges the conventional wisdom about their operation and influence, sharpens the distinctions among types of groups, and places the groups in the context of a changing political environment. Several of the articles, written over a span of 30 years, are classics, including "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." This book is a fine example of an empirical political science that works to reveal American politics from the local community to the national level.

Jean Sudrann

The Uses of Error. *Frank Kermode. Harvard, 1991. \$29.25.*

The essays in this collection range from scholarly reviews of biblical commentary to a brilliant analysis of Julian Barnes's *Flaubert's Parrot*. The volume also includes a generous selection of essays on English Renaissance literature as well as the British Modernists from H.G. Wells through Cyril Connolly, both historical areas much enriched for contemporary readers by Kermode's insights and enlivened by his wit.

As a reviewer, Kermode often invites the reader to contemplate with him basic questions about the volume in question. "What—or whom—is the *New Oxford Book of Christian Verse*, ed. by Donald Davie, for?" "Why is it impossible to commend with warmth Bernard Crick's *George Orwell: A Life*?" "Why is a writer as fine as William Gerhardie overlooked?" These are not rhetorical

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

RECOMMENDED READING

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

questions; Kermode answers them seriously, sometimes passionately, sometimes by pursuing an irrelevance that turns out to be a perfect answer. Donald Davie's editing of the *Oxford Book of Christian Verse* springs from his desire to give a fair showing to the generally overlooked literature of dissenters that Davie considers to be central to British and American culture; his acknowledged status as a first-rate poet and critic combined with a commitment, both personal and scholarly, to Calvinist doctrine equip him for the task. But Kermode has a further question: Why then does Davie omit William Cowper's finest poem, "The Castaway," from the anthology? In a lucid, emotionally charged, and erudite critical analysis, Kermode takes the reader through Cowper's poem and suggests but does not prescribe the answer.

Throughout his career, Kermode has coupled his unabated delight in the act of interpretation with his refusal to prescribe "correct" answers, thus enabling critic and reader alike to explore conflict, and rest, if necessary, in ambiguity—one true gauge of his critical stature.

Writing Women in Jacobean England. *Barbara Kiefer Lewalski. Harvard, 1993. \$45.*

A distinguished book by a distinguished scholar, this book follows the lives and works of nine Englishwomen, each connected in some way to the court of James I. From Anne, queen consort to King James, to Aemilia Lanier, member of a family of court musicians dependent on patronage, Lewalski argues, each of these nine defined an opposition to patriarchal institutions and laid claim to rights, status, and power in their daily life. Their writings, embodying dreams of rebellion and dominant female communities, began the refashioning of literature to accommodate the voices and stories of women.

Queen Anne and Lady Arbella Stuart undertook striking roles of opposition to both public and domestic institutions. Queen Anne refused to attend James's coronation until James returned Prince Henry, their son and heir, to her personal care. Moreover, she kept a court separate from that of the king, where she promoted and participated in elaborate court masques enacting the superiority of

queens. Lady Arbella Stuart, claiming her right of succession to the crown, defied James in achieving a secret marriage to William Seymour, followed by a flight to the Continent. The flight failed; Seymour was left free to travel on. Arbella was seized and consigned to the Tower, where, four years later, she died.

Lewalski's fullest story is that of Lady Mary Wroth, daughter of Robert Sidney of Penshurst and niece to Sir Philip Sidney and his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke. Wroth's consciousness of this literary heritage, Lewalski suggests, fueled her writing and publication of her sonnet sequence and prose romance, opening a new world for her readers in each work. Turning the conventional Petrarchan model inside out, Wroth's sonnets give the woman-poet the chief role, all but eliminating the male voice in favor of a female voice chiefly concerned with exploring the nature of love itself as formed and perceived in the poet's consciousness.

Throughout the volume, Lewalski's mastery of the complicated Jacobean world brings to life the vitality of the women whose limitations and triumphs are articulated in the presentation of these "new voices sounding new themes."

Literary Exile in the Twentieth Century: An Analysis and Biographical Dictionary. *Ed. by Martin Tucker. Greenwood, 1991. \$99.50.*

From ABASSI, Talat, to ZWI, Rosa, the more than 500 literary biographies assembled in this reference work bear witness to so many and such various modern journeys into exile that Tucker can rightfully call them characteristic of the era. Editorial introduction and appendixes both suggest ranges of diversity and complexity from which the literatures of these journeys spring. The appendixes list not only geographical ports of departure and of arrival for the wanderers but also various motivations to exile: political, cultural, economic, career, religious—the list goes on. Making clear that he bases his definition of exile on the movement from native land to foreign space, Tucker also acknowledges that while distinctions can be made among exile, expatriate, refugee, and emigrant, the elaborate mingling of motives within each voyager usually makes such classification absurd. In detailing individual movements from the familiar to the foreign space and exploring the effect of exile

on the specific literature that emerges from the specific journey, the contributing authors (more than 100) have done much to enrich and clarify for the reader some of the subtle similarities and vast differences among the experiences of 20th-century wanderers.

The Gypsy-Bachelor of Manchester: The Life of Mrs. Gaskell's Demon. *Felicia Bonaparte. Univ. Press of Virginia, 1992. \$37.50.*

Bonaparte has undertaken a reading of the inner life of Elizabeth Gaskell, in which Gaskell's fiction and the facts of her outer life give way to a concern with what Bonaparte calls the "subtext" of her writings, as they illuminate the struggles of that inner life. Gaskell herself uses a striking image to describe her self-perception: "Nature intended me for a gypsy-bachelor; that I am sure of." The paradoxical phrase "gypsy-bachelor" suggests Gaskell's attempt to create for herself a life that couples the freedom of the Romany world with the decorums of a socially permissible but self-defined life.

The ambiguities of Gaskell's desire for both freedom and decorum were determined by her earliest years, when the infant Elizabeth was left motherless before her first birthday, then bundled off by her father into the care of a cousin who died within a year. This exile from her father lasted for 12 years before she was invited to visit a "home" now supplied with a stepmother and two children of her father's second marriage.

Vestiges of the childish rage, grief, guilt, and longing to be loved emerge in the mature Elizabeth Gaskell as a sustained conflict between the desire to be free and the necessity of being loved. Bonaparte is surely right to emphasize the influence of those early years. With her extensive knowledge not only of Gaskell's novels but also the shorter fiction, she effectively demonstrates the way Gaskell creates stories of decorous lives while her subtext tells the story of freedom in conflict with decorum. Throughout the biography, Bonaparte distinguishes between the minister's wife, "Mrs. Gaskell," whose life and whose fictions emulate the Victorian "angel in the house," and the "Gaskell" of the subtext, who creates surrogate characters in rebellion against Victorian social standards.

Readers of this study, which offers so much insight into a variety of fun-

damental problems that beset the Victorian woman, should, nevertheless, be well aware of Bonaparte's own description of a biography that includes the "inner life": "since that inner life must be reached by interpretation," she says, "[such] a biography is fiction."

Anna J. Schwartz

The SEC and Capital Market Regulation: The Politics of Expertise.

Anne M. Khademian. Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1992. \$39.95.

The author, a student of public administration, conducted interviews with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), congressional oversight committees, and representatives of the securities industries, for a study of securities regulation. Securities regulation illustrates the tension between the wish of elected officials to make their agents in the bureaucracy politically accountable and their unavoidable deference to the expertise of the agents. The SEC, the author notes, is unusual because two competing professional groups, lawyers and economists, provide its expertise. The former focus on prevention of investor fraud, the latter on the efficiency of capital markets as the major protection of investors, justifying an increase in required public disclosure only if it enabled investors better to discriminate between good and bad investments. The oversight committees have supported the disclosure-enforcement framework and opposed a formal role for economic analysis, but the White House by its choice of commissioners can influence the agency's decision making so that economic analysis has greater scope.

Corporate Takeovers and Productivity. *Frank R. Lichtenberg. MIT, 1992. \$29.95.*

This statistical study of the impact of changes in corporate ownership on output, productivity, employment, research and development expenditures, and fixed investment is a report on the real consequences—not the gains to shareholders—of the intense restructuring of American business from the 1970s to the mid-1980s. The study measures the total factor productivity of a company (defined as output produced per unit of the sum of inputs of labor, capital, and materials) before and after a merger, acquisition, or leveraged buyout relative to the factor productivity of other com-

panies in the same industry and year. Among the interesting findings are these: manufacturing plants involved in ownership change were significantly less efficient than other plants in their respective industries before the change but substantially closed the gap in the seven years following the change; reductions in relative employment and average wages were much sharper in nonproduction facilities that changed owners than in manufacturing plants that changed owners; the increase in relative efficiency of leveraged buyouts was almost three times as great, and the increase associated with management buyouts over seven times as great, as the increase associated with all ownership changes; industrial diversification had a negative effect on productivity, and ownership changes tended to reduce diversification.

Technology and the Wealth of Nations. *Ed. by Nathan Rosenberg, Ralph Landau, and Daniel C. Mowery. Stanford, 1992. \$49.50.*

The theme of this collection of papers is that U.S. economic performance in this decade will be influenced by factors affecting the commercialization of new technologies, including the macroeconomic environment (specifically, inflation, risk, and capital costs), the legal environment, and domestic and international economic interactions. Although the U.S. scientific research establishment remains preeminent in the world, its breakthroughs now know no national boundaries. U.S. companies have lost the advantage they once enjoyed over non-U.S. companies in introducing and commercializing new technologies. International collaborative ventures in technology commercialization have been spurred by these developments. One conclusion the editors reach is that strategic industry policies will have modest positive effects at best; the authors emphasize the effects of broader areas of policy on innovative performance.

Political Economy, Growth, and Business Cycles. *Ed. by Alex Cukierman, Zvi Hercowitz, and Leonardo Leiderman. MIT, 1992. \$45.*

The contributors to this volume combine insights into the process of growth and cyclical fluctuations based on two approaches, one within a purely economic framework that



Ernan Mc Mullin, director of the Program in History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Notre Dame, has been named Romanell-Phi Beta Kappa Professor of Philosophy for 1993-94. He will present three lectures at Notre Dame in March 1994.

takes policy as given and the other within a politico-economic framework that views policy as the reaction to economic and political considerations. One essay that does not fit either framework but has a relevant point of view examines the quantitative impact of labor market regulations, in particular, legislated severance payments. The authors view these payments as labor's use of the political process to extract resources from capital. Imposing firing costs on companies results in less job destruction and greater caution about job creation.

An Illustrated Guide to the American Economy: A Hundred Key Issues. *Herbert Stein and Murray Foss. AEI Press, 1992. \$14.95.*

This paperback offers readers a wealth of detailed quantitative information about the post-World War II American economy. Each of 100-odd subjects is accompanied by a one-page essay and illustrated by a page of full-color charts that present information ranging from measures of the size of our national output and of the distribution of national income, poverty, wealth, and debt, to data about regional differences, government expenditures, taxes, and deficits, and the United States in the world economy. Economists as well as others who comment on the dimensions of U.S. economic performance would do well to check their facts in this source.

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Russell B. Stevens

The Human Blueprint: The Race to Unlock the Secrets of our Genetic Script. Robert Shapiro. St. Martin's, 1991. \$24.95.

Dealing with Genes: The Language of Heredity. Paul Berg and Maxine Singer. University Science Books, 1992. \$38.

In *The Human Blueprint*, Shapiro has done a masterly job of presenting in prose understandable by the non-specialist the story of the Human Genome Project, a very large effort to read, as the saying goes, the entire genetic code of the human species. In so doing, he traces the background of our current understanding of inheritance, key events in its development, and the implications of achieving the capacity to read the human code.

Dealing with Genes is not in the same sense a book to be read, but it is a fine, profusely illustrated source of detailed information about the mechanisms and implications of the hereditary process. As such it serves as an excellent backup to the other volume.

Extinction: Bad Genes or Bad Luck? David M. Raup. W. W. Norton, 1991. \$19.95.

Despite the fact that, as the author titles his first chapter, almost all species are extinct, extinction as a phenomenon in the story of life on earth gets surprisingly little attention. This well-written volume goes a long way to redress the balance. Raup covers the subject thoroughly, including, of course, the recent lively debate over the postulated role of a meteoric impact in bringing about the demise of the dinosaurs at the end of the Cretaceous Period.

Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History. Stephen Jay Gould. W. W. Norton, 1991. \$22.95.

The 35 essays in this book were selected by the author from perhaps twice that number written initially for *Natural History Magazine*. Ostensibly they deal with a bewildering array of topics, hardly to be thought of as science, but each manages to incorporate a useful lesson in one or another aspect of science. In any event, Gould writes so engagingly that the particular subject matters little.

The Antibiotic Paradox: How Miracle Drugs Are Destroying the Miracle. Stuart B. Levy. Plenum Press, 1992. \$24.95.

The title says it all. The issue is critical for the health and welfare of everyone, and the dimensions of the risk are fully treated in this work.



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