

SUPPLEMENT TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA MAGAZINE

Arts & Sciences

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

SEPTEMBER 2008



Race, Gender and Elections

U.Va. professors investigate unconscious bias in American politics.

Dear Friends

It is with great pleasure that I introduce myself to you in these pages, and I hope this is just the beginning of a long and active correspondence we share in the years to come.

At this writing, I have been on the job as dean for two weeks, and I have found just what I expected: The College is a magical place. There is a deeply ingrained culture unique to Virginia which is not—and perhaps cannot be—replicated elsewhere. The College is a deeply nurturing place. Too many educators think that universities are providers only of skills and knowledge but not of virtue. Mr. Jefferson's Academical Village has managed to combine all three.

I am deeply honored and excited to be here. I have taught at both private and public schools, and I think our great public universities, which fulfill such an important public purpose, are a remarkable and singular asset to the nation, perhaps not appreciated enough for what a great job they do in educating tens of thousands of students every year. Virginia combines the best virtues of public and private universities, given the quality of its

undergraduate education, which is usually found only in the best private universities.

As always, *Arts & Sciences* magazine reflects this excellence. In this issue, you will find professors whose cutting-edge—and timely—research examines the subtleties of race and gender in American politics, and another who is single-handedly transforming our understanding of the origins of habeas corpus in ways that are making a difference at the U.S. Supreme Court. You will also find students doing creative work.

Each quarter, in this space, I look forward to sharing our work and activities. (This month, you'll find an interview with me on page 4.) I look forward to hearing from you as well, whether you drop me a line or respond to my

“Question from the Dean” in each month's *A&S Online*. (Addresses and subscription information are on page 2.)

It's a privilege to be here, and I am eager to get to know the College and its community.

Meredith Jung-En Woo

Buckner W. Clay Dean of Arts & Sciences



Meredith Jung-En Woo
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For more than 50 years, the desks at New Cabell Hall have been sites for student expression. See more on page 3.

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*Cover concept/art direction:
Tom Cogill, Ken Kipps/Jeff Hill*

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A first-year student's love of creative writing is honored by his family through a posthumous award judged by author John Grisham.

Breathing the Fire

Dozier survives near-fatal Iraq-War injuries.

When this magazine last checked in with CBS correspondent Kimberly Dozier (MA Foreign Affairs '93) in April 2005, she was posted in Baghdad, Iraq, and she talked about insurgents' disregard for journalists' traditional neutral wartime status.

We catch up with her on the occasion of *Breathing the Fire* (Meredith Books), her memoir of recovery after a 500-pound taxi-turned-bomb exploded in an ambush on Memorial Day 2006, killing her crew and military escort. Pronounced technically dead five times, she received more than 2,000 stitches; well over 24 surgeries (they stopped counting); skin grafts on second-degree burns from hip to ankle, leaving donor sites on her back raw and exposed for months; and months of physical therapy. Dozier is back at work in Washington, D.C., earning awards and yearning to return to her home in the Middle East.

"I was a Middle East specialist before. I don't know why this should change it," says the

I learned all those years running into walls, and then figuring out how to get over them or around them, or figure out another way or just ignore it and push on. Those life skills that seem horrible at the time when you go through these things, and you don't get the job you worked so hard for

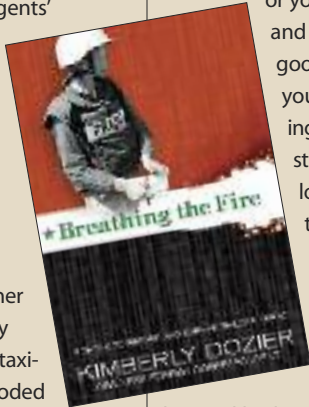
or you're told over and over you're not good enough. So you just keep standing yourself up straight, trying to look yourself in the mirror and get through the next day.

"So when the doctor told me in the hospital bed, 'You're not going to walk again,' the drive that got me to be a reporter combined with the faith and support of my family [kicked in]."

That drive was evident when she arrived at the University in the early 1990s, returning for a master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies, to the consternation of some loved ones. "I was told I was making a huge mistake, quitting a good job and a good career for a pipe dream" of being a foreign correspondent, she says, having given up a reporter's job with a powerful energy newsletter in Washington, D.C.

Then, arriving in the Registrar's Office, she learned that the program had been closed.

"I went directly to Professor [Ruh] Ramazani [then Government Department chair], and I think I camped outside his door until he came to his office. I just sat there, devastated, and he walked me through," she says. They built a program in fields ranging from religious studies to foreign affairs with the professors whose reputations had attracted her to Charlottesville.



To pay her way, she worked at St. Maarten's on the Corner, where she ran into an important press officer who had curried favor with her months before when she was at the newsletter. "He saw me there with a stack of menus in my hand and nearly fell over. I smiled sweetly and said, 'Hi.' He said, 'Kimberly.' I said, 'Yes, the special tonight is ...'"

"He must have thought how far I'd fallen."

Dozier wrote *Breathing the Fire* for her fallen colleagues and to tell the story of the injured. "I didn't know what the combat injured went through in Iraq," she says, but then, "I was living through it."

By Sally Ruth Bourrie

Dozier's Life Lessons

You can fight your way through these things.

Don't accept no for an answer.

Don't accept "I can't" from yourself.

Be your own compass.

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To read more about *Breathing the Fire*, and to read interviews with Dozier and our previous story, please visit **Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu**

woman who spent 15 determined years landing a job as a foreign correspondent.

And speaking of change, how did this experience change her? It confirmed some truths, she says.

"What this experience did was show me the value of all the stuff

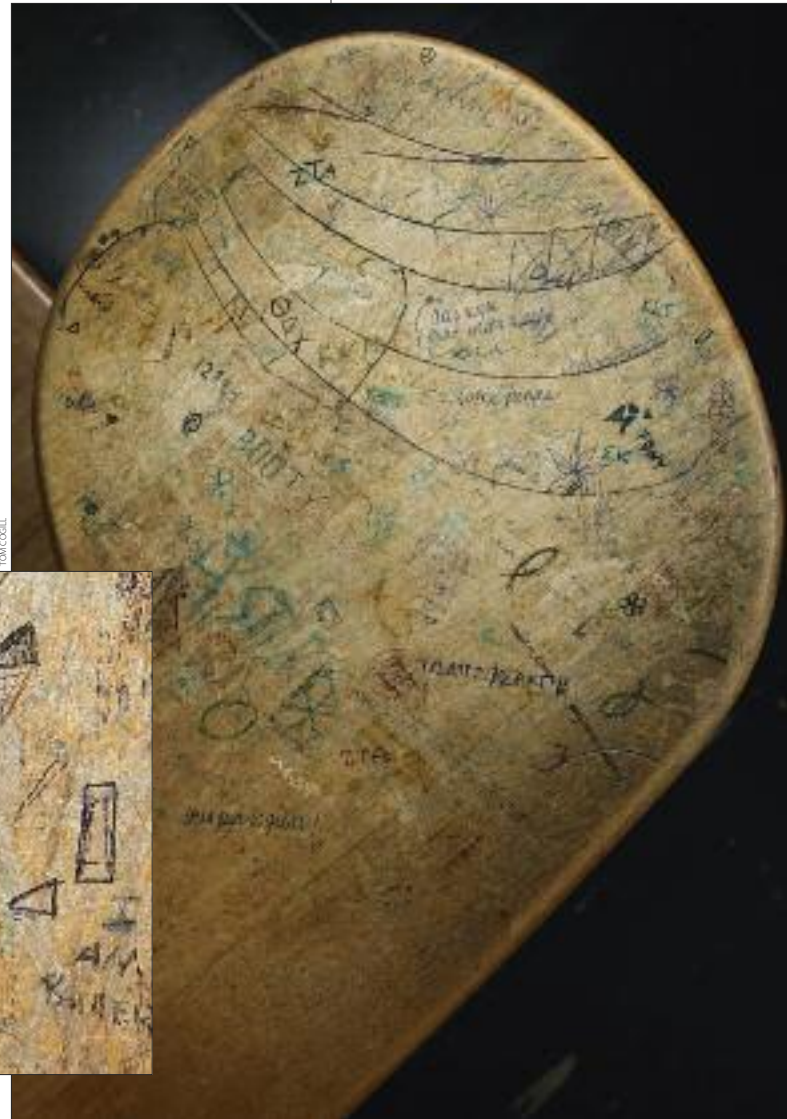
Past Perfect

New Cabell Hall desktops showcase a College tradition.

In 2002, James D. Graham (Architecture '03) called them “desks so uncomfortable you can’t even sneak a nap.” Soon these desks will be history as 56-year-old New Cabell Hall undergoes renovation.

And speaking of history, for decades students have expressed themselves on these desktops. Their doodles, thoughts and scratchings are both timeless—**young love and boredom**—and timely—**serving as a snapshot of their eras.**

Find a slide show of more New Cabell Hall desks and a model of new South Lawn Project classrooms at Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.



Honors for Arts & Sciences

Sarah Buckley (Environmental Thought and Practice, Political Philosophy '09) and **Grayson Lambert** (Foreign Affairs, Government '09) won the first Sen. John W. Warner Public Leadership Awards for students who intend to hold public office.



Novelist and short story writer **Edward P. Jones** (MA Creative Writing '81) was named a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

JoAnne Mancini (History '90) won the Smithsonian American Art Museum's 2008 Charles C. Eldredge Prize for Distinguished Scholarship in American Art for her

book *Pre-Modernism: Art-World Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show*.

Irina Mitrea, associate professor of mathematics, won the Ruth I. Michler Memorial Prize from the Association for Women in Mathematics.

George T. Rodeheaver III (PhD Chemistry '73), distinguished professor in the Department of Plastic Surgery, received the University of Virginia Patent Foundation's 2008 Edlich-Henderson Inventor of the Year award for his innovative wound-healing technology.

The Z Society recognized **Christopher Ross Walters** (Economics, Philosophy '08) with an Edgar F. Shannon Award as best graduate of the College.

Charles Wright, Souder Family Professor of English, received the Library of Congress' 2008 Rebekah Johnson Bobbitt National Prize for Poetry for lifetime achievement.

'Hoo Knew?

The University's Board of Visitors voted to alter the University's endowment payout formula for 2008–2009 to 5 percent, up from 4.5 percent in 2007–2008, making an additional \$16 million available over last year's payout.

Source: *UVA Today*

MEET THE DEAN

Dean Meredith Woo discusses resources, crossing boundaries and building opportunities.



On June 1, Meredith Woo stepped into her new role as dean of the University of Virginia College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. She joins the College from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where she was a professor of political science and served as associate dean for social sciences in the College of Literature, Science and the Arts. Prior to moving to Michigan in 2001, she taught at Northwestern University, where she helped rebuild the department of political science and co-founded the Center for International and Comparative Studies. She also has taught at Colgate and Columbia Universities.

A native of Seoul, Dean Woo is well known around the world for her expertise in international political economy and East Asian politics. A prolific writer and researcher, she also was the executive producer of a documentary about Stalin's ethnic cleansing during the Great Terror—a film named “best documentary” by the National Film Board of Canada last year.

In 1996, President Bill Clinton appointed her to the Presidential Commission on U.S.-Pacific Trade and Investment Policy. She has consulted for the World Bank, the United States Trade Representative, Asian Development Bank Institute, the Asia Foundation and The MacArthur Foundation.

Dean Woo received her B.A. at Bowdoin College (English Literature and History) and two M.A.s (International Affairs and Latin American Studies) and a Ph.D. (Political Science) from Columbia University.

Many on the search committee discussed your ability to work across the sciences, social sciences, humanities and the arts. How might looking beyond the boundaries of disciplines and departments be evidenced under your leadership?

The existing disciplinary boundaries are artifacts of a particular historical time and place. They are not set in stone but are more like lines drawn in shifting sands—there to be crossed all the time by innovative scholars. Part of my task will be to do some hard and creative thinking about how these boundaries might be redrawn or recombined in light of the challenges shared by higher education and the world today and how best to come up with the tools and ideas to meet such challenges. One way to do this is to encourage a contentious plurality of perspectives and to draw upon people from diverse backgrounds and experiences so that we can field the best ideas and solutions to meet these common challenges.

You've talked about looking to the past, to the future, inward and outward as an institution. Could you elaborate on those perspectives, what we will learn and what actions we will take?

The past is always prologue for the future, but at this University, one of the first truly American universities with a nonpareil founding by Thomas Jefferson, the past is ever-present. Luckily, Jefferson's legacy is entirely forward-looking, a legacy that rings true today and always will: that the remedy for society's defects and for individual ignorance

is “to inform their [and our] discretion by education.” Education, in turn, is the best guarantee of a well-functioning civil society and democracy. His legacy is, therefore, a fine guide for the future. Not all universities are blessed with such a gold-plated *telos*, but this one is.

As for looking inward, I was referring to the great complexity of the College—one of the few truly great comprehensive colleges in the country. I come from the University of Michigan which, like Virginia's Arts & Sciences, has a large, complex and comprehensive college. So I have some appreciation of the magnitude of the complexity and daunting nature of the tasks here. By understanding and enhancing the internal workings and strengths of this multivariate place, we can then look outward to the world, to help our students understand the opportunities that exist and take full advantage of them.

What do you feel are the College's greatest needs?

Resources, resources, resources. The College is a public entity that provides the best education money can buy—but not with the resources that private universities have. To maintain some of the world's finest faculty and to enhance academic programs in the face of steep competition from private universities with bottomless pockets and massive endowments, and to provide a great education to the sons and daughters of the Commonwealth and elsewhere, is a

daunting challenge that is not going to go away. The only way to meet it, and to do better, is with greatly enhanced financial resources.

What are your short-term goals for the College? Your long-term goals?

Given my answers above regarding the greatest needs and challenges for the College, you can imagine that I will be fully involved with augmenting the resources of the College. The goal is always academic excellence, without which a university has nothing, but with such stiff competition we need new and manifold resources to stay abreast and move ahead. So in the short and the long term, we always keep an eye firmly fixed on maintaining and developing the excellence of the College so that it remains one of the best places in the country for undergraduate education and a world leader in generating knowledge.

You've spoken about coming to the United States and entering academia as a foreign student 30 years ago. How does that affect how you see your job? How you see the world?

Being a foreign student at a good small college, and one of the early women at this former men's college, was an education in itself and a kind of revelation to me of how much one can learn about the world in a free atmosphere of give-and-take, how much self-discovery can take place in a few short years. Thirty years ago I was truly one of the few; today foreign students or students of immigrant parents are a ubiquitous presence on American campuses—and all by themselves they have internationalized American education.

You've stated that the Commonwealth of Virginia is more diverse in every way than ever before. You also said that both the College's constituency and its responsibility is the world. Can you please elaborate?

When we talk about “internationalization,” or “globalization” in the curriculum, we think it is something far afield, something about the rest of the world. But we

need not look far. The Commonwealth is increasingly diverse and increasingly a site for new immigrants who are often well educated—and always want the best education for their children. Northern Virginia today is as diverse as any suburban or exurban place in the country. This is a tremendous asset for the University, but it requires that we understand and serve this new constituency, along with the loyal alums and other folks who have long been devoted to Virginia. ●

To read more about Dean Woo, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.





HOW OPEN ARE WE?

*U.Va. professors investigate the truth
about race and gender in American politics.*

BY DAN MORRELL

There were early signs that Americans were excited by this year's presidential election: the packed high school gymnasiums-turned-caucus-sites in Des Moines, the masses waiting in the early morning for New Hampshire primary polling stations to open, the fleet of copiers put to use as throngs of voters threatened ballot shortages from Connecticut to Colorado on Super Tuesday. This enthusiasm was constant through the hard-fought primary battles and palpable among Lynn Sanders' students this spring. "It was almost impossible to talk about our boring political science material," says Sanders, associate professor of American government, with a chuckle. "We talked about the primaries half the time." (This, of course, in a political science class, is notably relevant.)

And the faculty was just as energized. A serious campaign for president that included both a female candidate in Hillary Clinton and an African-American candidate in Barack Obama has no precedent. It's the poli-sci equivalent of the English department stumbling upon an unpublished Frost poem or astronomy finding a new galaxy.

"Usually, presidential general elections are reasonably predictable," says Assistant Professor of Politics Nick Winter. "We'll know within a handful of points how things will play out." Who votes for whom, who is undecided and where they come from—these quantities are somewhat known when you have historical constants of white male

contestants. But with this election, America's internal battles with race and gender materialized in the most public of ways, throwing a wrench into that predictable system and rendering carefully laid blueprints woefully inadequate.

As the race progressed through the spring, the talking heads and the columnists began to offer some new data on how the country was reacting—polls on how race affected voting, surveys on the likelihood of voting for a woman—revealing some old national wounds that still haven't fully healed. And while the numbers gave a quick answer to some pressing questions, U.Va. professors are doing research on the mechanics behind the stats, which tell a much more complex—and perhaps more complete—story.

SHADES OF GRAY

To anyone who questioned what role, if any, race would play in this year's election, exit polls in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary in April made it clearer: One out of five whites surveyed plainly said a candidate's race was a factor. "And those," says Vesla Weaver (Government, English Language and Literature '01), assistant professor of politics, "are just the ones willing to admit it."

So for those who considered race an issue in their vote, what is the effect? It may depend not only on the thick line between black and white but also the gradient of skin color separating the two.



BRIAN NOSEK

Associate Professor
of Psychology



His Implicit Association Test measures how long it takes respondents to match positive and negative words with black and white faces.



LYNN SANDERS

Associate Professor
of Politics



Her research on surveys shows whites think very differently about politics when they talk to black interviewers than when they talk to other whites.



VESLA WEAVER

Assistant Professor
of Politics



Her data show dark-skinned black candidates receive more votes against white candidates than light-skinned black candidates receive versus whites.



NICK WINTER

Assistant Professor
of Politics

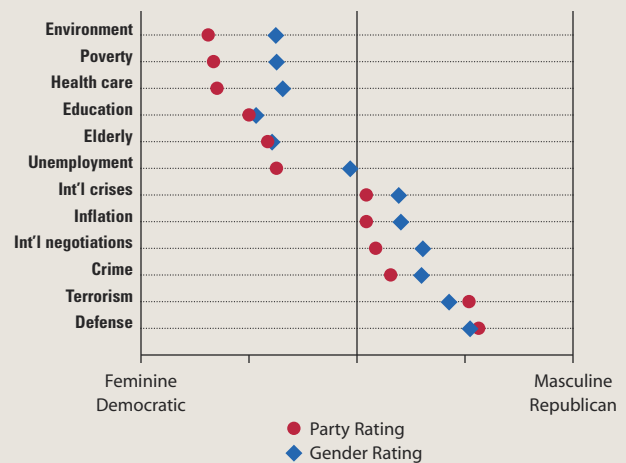


His studies suggest that attitudes toward gender structure how people think about political parties: Republican = masculine, Democrat = feminine.

A few years ago, Weaver measured the response of white voters to lighter- and darker-skinned black candidates using a series of online tests with imaginary candidates. In head-to-head match-ups pitting black candidates (both dark- and light-skinned) against white candidates—with controls for ideology and candidate and respondent characteristics—Weaver found that whites generally preferred the white candidate. However, when respondents did choose a black candidate over the white candidate, they preferred the darker one. “When a black ran against a white, the norm of social equality is triggered,” says Weaver. Because the race is more emphasized in the darker candidate, she argues, the white respondents think they are being asked about race and will vote to show they have no biases. But, using the same formulation, when Weaver ran a lighter-skinned black candidate against a darker-skinned black candidate, the lighter candidate was preferred 40 percent more. “When you are viewing two black candidates, the norm is not triggered—you’re not making a racial decision.”

Her research on skin shade includes work as a co-author of *Unstable Boundaries: Skin Color, Immigration, and Multiracialism in the American Racial Order*, a book project underway that, in part, details the disparities between the outcomes of darker- and lighter-skinned blacks and Hispanics, including lower incomes, high incarceration

PARTY AND GENDER ASSOCIATIONS OF POLITICAL ISSUES



Nick Winter's research suggests that there is strong overlap between the association of political issues with the parties on the one hand and with gender on the other. For example, issues rated the most Democratic, like the environment and poverty, are also among the most feminine, and those rated the most Republican, like terrorism and defense, are also rated the most masculine.

Source: pilot data collected by Nick Winter

rates and higher execution rates for the dark-skinned. Even when controlling for background similarities like parental involvement, the dark-skinned minorities average a few months more on prison sentences and take home nearly \$10,000 a year less than their light-skinned counterparts.

This disparity carries over to politics as well. “We know that throughout history, light-skinned blacks have been much more likely to be elected to office and much more likely to hold the first high-powered appointments—with the notable exceptions of [U.S. Supreme Court Justice] Clarence Thomas and [former Chicago Mayor] Harold Washington,” says Weaver. And while Weaver doesn’t put Obama, who is mulitracial, in the light-skinned category, she sees differences. “His whole appearance is less afro-centric,” says Weaver. And not just skin color, but the pitch of his voice, his manner of speaking and the kinkiness of his hair.

The disparity among the various skin gradients isn’t talked about. “We don’t attend to this in our policies, our speeches or our political discourse,” says Weaver. Affirmative action, for instance, applies no matter the skin tone. And no one is proposing extra policies to address the disparities suffered by those with darker skin. “We just don’t have the language to talk about it.”

THE COMMUNAL TRUTH

The language of prejudice, however, has long had a voice. And those Pennsylvania voters who said race was a factor were not alone. As an Inez, Ky., voter told *New Yorker* writer George Packer, “I won’t vote for a colored man. He’ll put too many coloreds in jobs.”

But would this person have expressed this opinion if Packer were a black reporter? And what would happen if a black man with a clipboard were polling those Pennsylvania voters who said that race was a factor in their voting?



Hillary and Barack are pioneers in many ways, and they will make it easier for women and minorities in both parties to be top-tier candidates in the future.



MICHAEL TONER

(English Language and Literature '86)

Legal advisor to Republican presidential candidate

John McCain’s campaign and former chair, Federal Election Commission

Associate Professor Lynn Sanders says that the responses of whites answering to white interviewers has been shown to be very different than those of whites being interviewed by blacks, with the opinions expressed shifting to conform to a more moderate stance to agree with the perceived beliefs of the black interviewer.

Here, the definition of truth becomes tricky. If a white person shares prejudice toward blacks in an interview with another white person and then tells a black interviewer that he has no prejudices, which response is truer? And if he would have pulled a lever in private for a white candidate but instead were coaxed into voting for a black candidate by political pressures, is his vote still legitimate?

“Why is it the case that the secret ballot is truer than the public vote?” asks Sanders, who is working on a book about the history of using survey research to study politics. “If people in a more public setting are pushed or drawn or provoked into thinking a different way than in the voting booth, it’s not necessarily less true.” These kinds of pressures, she argues, are completely appropriate—legitimate social pressures provoked by the Civil Rights movement that push

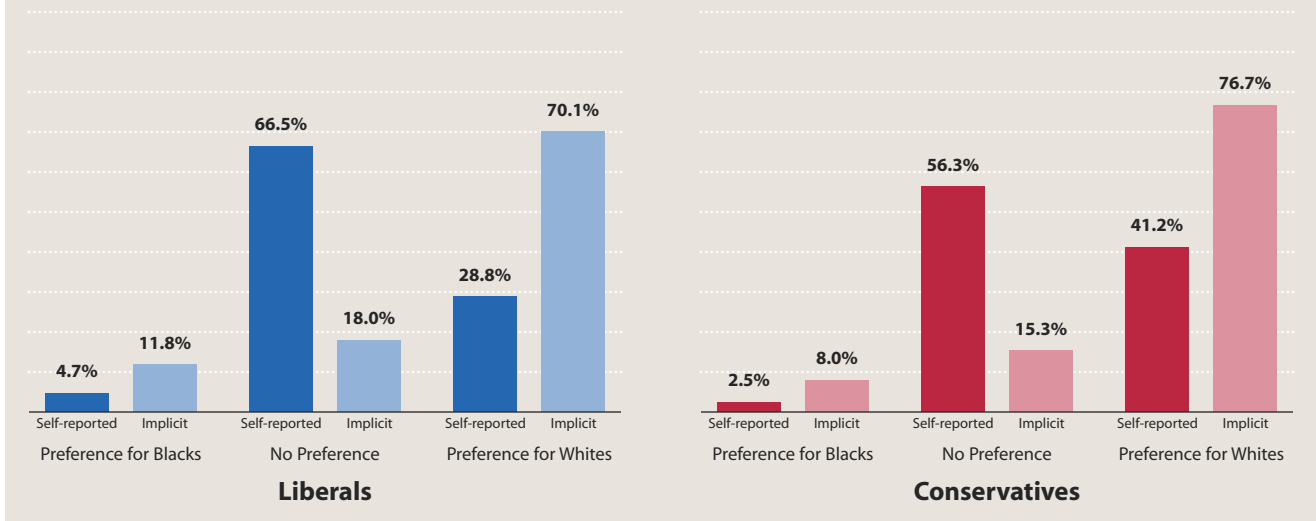
people to live up to egalitarian ideals and the ambitions of colorblind society.

The issue came into sharp focus in the Democratic campaigns’ differing results in caucus states versus primaries states.

Primaries offer the secrecy of a curtained voting booth that can ostensibly hide prejudices or just the appearance of them. But in caucuses the voting is public, with people literally amassing in groups based on who they are supporting, with a count of hands taken to tally the votes. This year’s results between the two different methods were very different. Columbia journalism professor Tom Edsall, writing at RealClearPolitics.com, noted that

BLACK AND WHITE

Liberals' and conservatives' stated feelings and implicit reactions about race



Data from more than 280,000 people who completed the Implicit Association Test suggests that both liberals and conservatives are less likely to report holding a racial bias than to show one implicitly and that liberals have a greater divergence in their self-reported and implicit reactions. Try it yourself at: <https://implicit.harvard.edu/>. Source: Brian Nosek and colleagues (2007).

“in the 14 states that picked some or all of their delegates through caucus systems this year, Obama won 400 delegates to Clinton’s 193, a 207-delegate advantage that more than accounts for his overall delegate lead.”

“When it seems easier to vote for Obama in a caucus rather than a secret ballot, it’s quite arguably a legitimate pressure,” says Sanders. (The pressure for Clinton was not

the same: Without an antisexist norm in American politics that is equivalent to the antiracist norm, Clinton reaped no benefit in the public setting.) And it’s not a lie, Sanders argues, when someone buries a prejudice in front of a crowd that they would reveal in a voting booth or to a white interviewer. In effect, this is what is supposed to happen. “When people who’ve been living among their own race or living in a segregated setting for a long time start to encounter new social and political experiences, we would hope that they begin to think in different ways. And one of the things that is going to provoke them to think in different ways is to be around different people—and that is not necessarily bad.”

Live Roundtable Event And Webcast

Hear from professors Freedman, Nosek, Sanders, Weaver and Winter in a roundtable discussion of race and gender and American politics led by *Wall Street Journal* Atlanta Bureau Chief Douglas Blackmon, author of *New York Times* bestseller *Slavery By Another Name: the Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (Doubleday, 2008).

The free event happens at 7 p.m., Sept. 25, at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, 2201 Old Ivy Road, Charlottesville, followed by a reception and book signing. For reservations or to participate in the live Webcast by posting questions online, call 434-243-8974 or visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.



INVISIBLE GENDER

In March, former vice presidential candidate and Clinton finance committee member Geraldine Ferraro told the Torrance, Calif., *Daily Breeze* that “sexism is a bigger problem” than racism. “It’s OK to be sexist in some people’s minds,” Ferraro told the paper. “It’s not OK to be racist.” The statement followed a much-discussed op-ed by feminist icon Gloria Steinem in *The New York Times* in January, in which Steinem argued that gender is “probably the most restricting force in American life, whether the question is who must be in the kitchen or who could be in the White House.” So began the great 2008 media battle of race versus gender.

This whole construct was misleading, says Nick Winter, whose *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race*

and *Gender Shape Public Opinion* (University of Chicago Press) appeared earlier this year. For one thing, this sort of adversarial view assumes that only Obama has race and only Clinton has gender. And it also assumes a simplistic view of gender that ignores a deeper, more complex view of candidates based on gender stereotypes. “Gender is not just about having either male or female candidates,” he says.

For instance, some of the public stereotypes associated with Obama, Winter says, are more in line with traditional gender roles for females, while Clinton projected more masculine characteristics. “She does shots in a bar; she’s the girl who wears pantsuits and hangs with the guys,” says Winter. “Obama advocates talking to our enemies, collaborating, working together, listening to all viewpoints—these are all stereotypically feminine characteristics.”

A good number of the masculine characteristics Clinton exhibited—more hard-line, more hawkish—are also more typically associated with the Republican party of the last 40 years and with leadership in general. But there is a downside to these characteristics, Winter says, noting the perception that President Bush has been overly aggressive, with isolating results. “If any election is going to be one where they shy away from the masculine candidate, this may be it.”

Winter conducted pilot studies in the spring and summer to expand on these ideas, asking respondents to rate how much they associate different character traits (emotional, independent, assertive) and issues (the environment, inflation, unemployment) with both political parties and genders.

The responses showed clear connections between the gender associations and party associations, with the Republicans being seen as more masculine and the Democrats more feminine. The Republicans, for instance,



People were strongly planted behind one or the other [candidate], but I would say that the vast majority of the time the next thing out of someone’s mouth would be, ‘It’s going to be historic regardless.’



MOLLIE BRUNDAGE

(Religious Studies '93)

Democratic National Convention Host
Committee development director

were associated with defense and terrorism as well as assertiveness and aggressiveness, issues and traits that were also deemed to be masculine. Democrats were aligned with compassion and sensitivity, which, along with the issues of the environment and poverty, were associated with the feminine.

The study is part of Winter’s forthcoming book, tentatively titled *The Secret History of Gender in American Politics*. “When we think of gender, we think of the suffrage movement, the women’s movement,” says Winter. “But what I want to show, in a variety of other areas where explicit gender issues weren’t necessarily on the agenda, nonetheless, people’s concerns, anxieties and thoughts about gender have structured how they think about politics.”

BURIED BIAS

This idea that we make choices based on traditional gender stereotypes suggests that some of the political choices we make aren’t really choices at all. They’re just reactions—visceral responses to stimuli on some very basic level. Even if we don’t know it, we may be making choices based on negative feelings toward blacks, women or, in John McCain’s case,

the aged. “We don’t observe our mental operations,” says Brian Nosek, associate professor of psychology. “We only experience them.”

Nosek’s interest in politics emerged while he was doing research in implicit cognition, which examines thought and feeling outside of awareness and control. These kinds of implicit reactions are often useful: the natural reaction to the taste of sour milk or poison keeps you from getting ill, for instance. It’s possible, says Nosek, that some of these reactions have evolutionary roots, influenced by our experiences and exposure to things like media messages.

“They’re hard to escape, because we can’t turn them off,” says Nosek. Because we can’t run away from them,



Two Servings of Negative Rhetoric a Day

we rationalize. In the case of politics, when your negative reaction to the candidate can't be explained away by a belief that you are unbiased, then it must be something else—foreign policy, a health-care plan or some other policy position.

Nosek—along with collaborators Anthony Greenwald from the University of Washington and Mahzarin Banaji of Harvard University—set up an online experiment during this year's primaries to test respondents' implicit reactions to the candidates. Named the Implicit Association Test, it looks to strip away a respondent's layers of consciousness and reveal their implicit reactions by measuring how long it takes respondents to match positive words with black faces (including Obama's) versus the time it took to match negative words with the images. Under rapid-fire conditions, the faster you can hit the keys to associate black faces with negative words, the more you likely have implicit negative reactions.

While the 50,000 respondents to the Web-based presidential-candidates task test were mostly those who would find their way to an online site like this—highly educated, liberal and more pro-Obama—the test found that most of the respondents didn't like the senator from Illinois as much as they said they did in prescreening questions. "Support for Obama, we found, is implicitly weaker than his support explicitly."

Nosek has also been working with the American National Election Study to include an IAT in its data collection for 2008. And this time, while lacking the volume of his site's nearly 2,000 visitors a week, the IAT responses gathered by the ANES will be more representative of the American public.

But the results won't be available until after the nation chooses its next president, meaning Nosek and his collaborators will have to wait until after November to see if implicit reactions can be useful in predicting elections.

And even with Senator Clinton out of the presidential race, Obama's run for the presidency will be giving faculty at U.Va. and around the world new data to comb through, new questions to answer, and maybe a clearer view of how the country reacts to race and gender—every poll, survey and headline a brand new piece of political science.

"I'm watching the news just like everyone else," says professor Vesla Weaver. "Everything here is new." ●

The Pennsylvania Democratic primary was one of the most fiercely contested of the race. Voters expressed their displeasure with negative ads, with ABC News exit polls showing more than two-thirds of voters believing that Hillary Clinton unfairly attacked Barack Obama. And yet, the state went for Clinton, 55 percent to 45 percent.

So much for America's disdain for "going negative." In fact, Associate Professor of Politics Paul Freedman says negative advertising is actually good for you. "The political diet of most Americans is deficient," says Freedman. "And the role of these ads is to convey useful, digestible information that enhances the ability of Americans to make reasonable political choices." In his study of multiple elections, Freedman found that voters who saw more campaign advertising were more energized and knowledgeable.

But the campaigns have been all too happy to try to offer the public the sober, reasoned approach they think they want. In early June, when John McCain offered to plot a series of town hall debates with Obama, the Democratic candidate's campaign manager replied, "We would recommend a format that is less structured and lengthier than the McCain campaign suggests, one that more closely resembles the historic debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas."

"Nobody wants a Lincoln-Douglas debate," says Freedman. Those debates, which took place 150 years ago during Lincoln's failed run for the Illinois senate, consisted of a series

of lengthy speeches and equally lengthy rebuttals. "Politics isn't about pristine, hermetically sealed, antiseptic debates. Politics is about argument—about mixing it up over things that matter." Issues like defense and civil liberties, which Freedman says deserve a dust-up. "If I'm running for president and you think that my plans are not only foolish but put our nation at risk for economic disaster or even—and this became an issue in 2004—another terrorist attack, don't you have not just a right but an obligation to make that case?"



Paul Freedman
Associate Professor of Politics

DAN ADISON



For more information on faculty research on race and gender in American politics and a link to the Implicit Association Test website, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.



REWRITING History

Historian Paul Halliday transforms understanding of habeas corpus and helps the U.S. Supreme Court ensure constitutional protections.

BY KAREN DOSS BOWMAN

This summer, when the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its historic affirmation of the right of detainees at Guantánamo Bay to challenge their confinement, one University of Virginia history professor's research was critical to how the justices arrived at their decision.

For nearly a decade, Associate Professor of History Paul Halliday has been quietly studying the use of habeas corpus in England and its empire back to the 16th century and earlier. Habeas corpus, the judicial means by which prisoners may demand that their jailer show a valid reason for their detention, is considered a bedrock of personal liberty in U.S. law—and is the only specific right enshrined in the U.S. Constitution.

“Like most historians,” says Halliday, “I like to think of my work as leading to reconceptions of a problem, allowing us to see more fully what the law was and how it was conceived and used.”

“Paul is probably the most knowledgeable person on the planet about the historical scope of the writ of habeas corpus and its use in the Anglo-American tradition,” says

James Oldham, St. Thomas More Professor of Law and Legal History at Georgetown University Law Center, who consulted with Halliday about the writ's history for several amicus briefs written on behalf of the Guantánamo detainees. Halliday's book on the subject (expected in 2010) “will rewrite that history [of habeas corpus] in a fundamental way,” says Oldham.

SEEING MORE FULLY

Halliday never dreamed he would be doing research on habeas corpus because so much had already been written about it. But while immersed in research on the role of litigation in 16th- and 17th-century English politics at London's National Archives, Halliday realized that documents concerning more than 11,000 habeas cases from the court of the King's Bench—the king's greatest common law court—remained bundled in their original files, most unopened since they were stored away hundreds of years ago.

It turns out, he says, that the many volumes written about the “Great Writ” are “astonishingly superficial,” based on printed case reports that amount to less than 2 percent

of the thousands of writs answered by justices of the peace and all kinds of other magistrates across England and the empire in cases ranging from family disputes to slavery.

Halliday began spending his summer and semester breaks in the National Archives at Kew, Oxford's Bodleian Library, the British Library and university and law school libraries at Cambridge, Yale and Harvard.

"The more work I did, I realized that what's in the archive and what's been written [about habeas corpus] had nothing to do with one another," he says.

Scribbled on tiny scraps of parchment (1 or 2 inches by 8 to 10 inches) and written in Latin, many writs are rumpiled, worm-eaten and soiled with coal dust, dirt or water stains. Halliday has photographed thousands and noted their contents, which he then analyzes in an intricate computer database that tracks each case.

"The writ of habeas corpus was not founded on ideas about liberty," he was surprised to learn. Instead, it was designed to ensure that individuals imprisoning people in the king's name upheld the law and did not abuse their authority.

"The focus of habeas corpus was on the wrongs of jailers rather than the rights of prisoners," Halliday says. "Judges were concerned with the behavior of jailers and that they acted within the law." Paradoxically, this would give the writ its great strength as ideas about liberty developed outside of law.

This was clear in 1605, when jailer Francis Hunnyngs repeatedly refused to return habeas writs granted by the court of King's Bench on behalf of people imprisoned in a property dispute. Ultimately, the court found Hunnyngs in contempt, and he went to jail.

"When they jailed the jailer," Halliday says, "we can see how determined the court was to ensure that everybody who claimed to act in the king's name answered to the judges." From these beginnings, a kind of judicial authority developed that would make it possible to use habeas corpus

to protect what we later came to know as civil liberties.

The relationship of the king to his subjects—which included aliens living within

the king's protection—was considered a bond of reciprocity, Halliday explains: "The king protects the subject, and the subject protects the king, literally, with his body." (The Latin habeas corpus is sometimes translated as "produce the body.") It was in the king's best interest to ensure that



Associate Professor of History Paul Halliday's research on habeas corpus, done quietly for more than a decade in United Kingdom archives and libraries, has revealed new insights into the intent and meaning of the "Great Writ." He has photographed and built a database of thousands; analysis by previous scholars was based on only 160 printed documents.

his jailer, as the king's authority, acted within the bounds of the law, whenever the body of any subject was detained.

GUANTÁNAMO AND THE SUPREME COURT

The key in the Supreme Court Guantánamo case (*Boumediene v. Bush*) was whether non-citizens are entitled to habeas corpus, and if so, whether they must be on American soil to use it. A recent *Virginia Law Review* article by Halliday and U.Va. Law School's American legal historian G. Edward White—not yet published when sought out by the Court—was cited four times in the decision and by attorneys on both sides.

Halliday and White identified what the Founding Fathers understood about habeas corpus and why they included the "Suspension Clause" in the Constitution, which reads: "The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." Since 1789, the writ has been suspended only a few times, always controversially, including by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War and following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 allowing U.S. internment of people of Japanese descent.

The article also showed that the English court consistently allowed foreigners access to habeas corpus. In the 1640s, during the English Civil War, justices used habeas corpus to release those imprisoned by military officers. Between 1689 and 1710, Chief Justice Sir John Holt and his court released hundreds of accused traitors and spies—French, Irish, Scots and English—during wartime and threatened rebellion, while always identifying those who might, by law, rightly merit prosecution.

"Place was not the point in habeas litigation. People were," Halliday writes.

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 To read Halliday's analysis of history in the Supreme Court opinion, the *Virginia Law Review* article and the text of the court's decision, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.

“Paul’s work sheds light on the original meaning and purpose of the Constitution’s guarantee of habeas corpus,” says Jonathan Hafetz of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, who consulted with Halliday for an amicus brief in the Guantánamo cases. “It shows that efforts to deny habeas corpus to detainees today and to create prisons outside the law contradicts centuries of history and tradition.”

Still, Halliday cautions, one thing not found in the past is the present, and looking for cases identical to today’s is not the way to use history. Neither is it right to superimpose one generation’s experience on another’s from hundreds of years before, for each lives in a “different mental universe.” Instead, he writes about how he, as a historian, looks at the evidence: “What we find in thousands of cases across thousands of miles are patterns revealing principles about habeas corpus.”

And that’s what it takes, he says. If the past is expected to inform current legal issues, legal and judicial practitioners must do much more serious work in court archives to detect trends and patterns in Anglo-American jurisprudence.

“I want my research to teach American lawyers and judges: Not so fast—don’t be so quick to think that by reading a handful of sources everyone has read over and over again that you can declare, ‘It was thus and such in the past, so we will do thus and such in the present.’ If judges are supposed to be informed by what happened in the past, they need to take much more seriously what it takes to recover that past.”

That kind of historical analysis, he says, “might help us think our way into the problems we confront today from surprising points of entry that we might not otherwise see.”

This approach to research also informs every course he teaches, encouraging his students’ questioning and critical analysis—the heart of the liberal arts education. ●



Nobody was ever more thrilled to be at the University than the late Brett Gosnell (College '08), who insisted that he and his friends arrive at football games two hours ahead of time.

A-Minus!

Brett Gosnell’s family honors first-year writers and instructors who exceed expectations.

BY SALLY RUTH BOURRIE

BRETT GOSNELL leapt into Karen Rheuban’s car. He’d never received an A-minus for his writing! He’d been high-school valedictorian, he wanted to be a writer—and a lawyer—just like John Grisham. She’d never seen him so mad.

“Giving him an A-minus was the best thing she ever did,” Mark Gosnell, Brett’s father, says of Brett’s writing instructor, Jill Rappoport (PhD English Language and Literature ’06). “It challenged him and it really turned him on. Jill pushed him. It was very, very important to him.”

“The A-minus made him value my comments, and held him to the high standards he expected of himself,” which far exceeded course requirements, says Rappoport, now a professor at Villanova University. “I had to remind myself I was talking to a first-year. He had that effect on everyone.”

When Brett died months later, on Aug. 17, 2006, it was this relationship the Gosnells returned to the Univer-

sity to commemorate by founding the Brett Baxley Gosnell Prize: \$1,000 each to a College student and his or her instructor for the best first-year essay. Abby Adams (College ’11) and her instructor Zak Fisher (PhD English ’11) were the inaugural winners. The judge was John Grisham.

“Through Brett,” Grisham says, “I realized there is no such thing as a bad day.”

In 2003, Brett was diagnosed with rhabdomyosarcoma, a rare pediatric muscle cancer. He continued to excel despite aggressive chemotherapy and radiation treatments.

After graduation from high school, he attended college classes near home in Hickory, N.C., but his dream was to attend the University of Virginia. In spring 2005, he and his father drove to Charlottesville. Brett wrestled with the decision, alone in thought on the Rotunda steps.

“You can imagine how difficult it would be to send your child off

four hours from home knowing his future was uncertain,” says Rheuban, professor of pediatrics and pediatric cardiologist at the U.Va. Health System, whose son was Brett’s roommate. “When Mrs. Gosnell, Mary Ann, heard that I was a physician, she burst into tears and shared the story of her son, who was determined to have a college experience at the University he loved. So it was easy for me to be of service.”

“It’s like God came down and said, ‘I’m going to give you a little break here,’” says Mark. “Brett had a second mother at U.Va. with a medical degree who could watch over him day to day.”

And she did. Rheuban and her family took Brett to chemotherapy at the U.Va. Medical Center. He signed up for afternoon classes to accommodate the treatments, which lasted all morning. Still, he maintained a 3.8 grade point average and never missed a football game or tailgate party.

“Brett was inspirational; he was a beautiful person, and to see his commitment to excellence was so impressive,” Rheuban says. “It was so heartwarming. You just wanted to do for him, to make his life better—and he has wonderful parents.”

Through Rheuban, Brett met Grisham and they “hung out” at Java Java coffee shop. “We rarely talked about his cancer,” Grisham says. “He preferred to talk about more pleasant things, and that was fine with me. “Brett was always very thoughtful, kind,



Brett’s friend, author John Grisham, judged the submissions and presents the 2008 prize to co-winner Abby Adams (College ‘11) at graduation.



Left to right: Brett Gosnell’s first-year creative-writing instructor Jill Rappoport (PhD English Language and Literature ‘06), now an assistant professor of English at Villanova University; his father, Mark Gosnell; English Department Chair Jahan Ramazani (English Language and Literature ‘81); inaugural Brett Baxley Gosnell Prize winners, instructor Zak Fisher (PhD English ‘11) and Abby Adams (College ‘11); and Brett’s mother, Mary Ann Gosnell, who, with Mark, originated the idea of an award in their son Brett’s honor.

soft-spoken, and he was extremely smart. He was also cautious. Although he wanted to be a writer, he was careful with his dreams.”

In spring 2006, Brett e-mailed his last paper from Hickory, the day before an aggressive, 10-hour surgery that, if successful, might have allowed him to live another year. The paper was about cloning and attempts to resurrect the dead, says Rappoport. “He was strongly opposed to it. He believed nature should take its course.”

After Brett’s death, the Gosnells met with English Department Chair Jahan Ramazani (English Language and Literature ‘81). “As a personal honor to Brett—U.Va. was so important to him—we just had to do something up there,” says Mark. “Writing was his passion and that class was his favorite class he took in just his short year there.”

Ramazani encouraged an award for both first-year and instructor. He told the Gosnells, “We need to give more to our graduate assistants because

we’re losing too many to other universities. They’re the ones who teach the first-years.’ We said, ‘OK, you know your needs,’” says Mark. The Gosnells currently pay the awards outright while raising an endowment.

“The student wins but so does the instructor,” says Ramazani. “What the

To read the full text of “Brett’s Challenge” and a complete biography, and to learn more about the award, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.

graduate student is doing is unglamorous, but it’s fundamentally important to the student’s education, to teach them to write clearly and to energize their writing.”

Back in Hickory, Brett treasured signed galley proofs from Grisham, says Mark. “He was sick and sitting there reading it. He said, ‘This is what I was going to be.’”

But Brett never felt sorry for himself. Days before he died, he secretly dictated a “challenge” for his friends, which ends, “Do something meaningful with your life. After all, that is how you can most honor me and my life.” ●

Editor’s note: Brett’s brother, Andrew, is a member of the class of 2011.

Two Worlds

Philip Zelikow straddles policy and academia.

On the morning of Sept. 11, 2001, Philip Zelikow did what he had done most days since coming to the University of Virginia from the Harvard faculty in 1998—he went to

work at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, where he served as director. And with the rest of the world he watched as members of al-Qaida perpetrated the worst attack on U.S. soil since

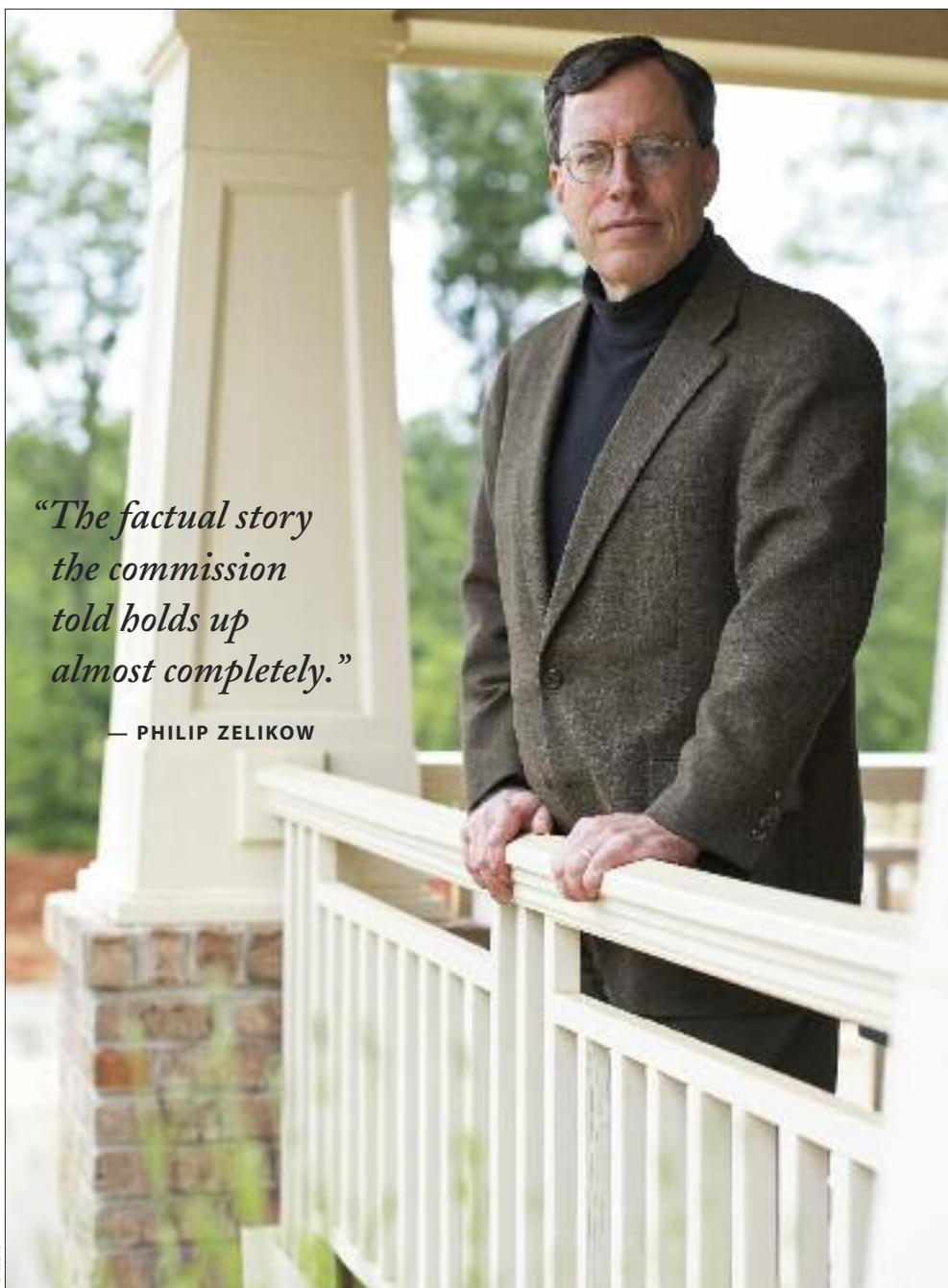
Pearl Harbor. In his own words, he was “riveted and saddened” by what he saw happening. Within the next few years, Zelikow would take a leave from the University to accept the role of executive director of the 9/11 Commission, another chapter in his history of being called to national service while at U.Va.

Some have speculated Zelikow wound up leading the

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks (a.k.a. “the 9/11 Commission”) because of his professional association with then National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice—with whom in the 1990s he co-wrote a book about Germany’s reunification—but Zelikow actually was suggested for the position by the commission’s vice chairman, Lee Hamilton, a former Democratic member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Indiana. Why Zelikow? He had served as executive director of two other commissions that navigated the partisan divide’s tricky shoals to reach consensus: the National Commission on Election Reform (co-sponsored by the Miller Center of Public Affairs and chaired by former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in the wake of the 2000 election, which led to passage of the federal “Help America Vote Act of 2002”) and the Markle Foundation’s Task Force on National Security in the Information Age (which managed to bridge the concerns of intelligence officials and civil-liberties advocates).

While some were bothered that the report of the 9/11 Commission did not lay blame at the door of either the Clinton or Bush administration, Zelikow contends that was the intention of the commissioners—whose desire was to lay out “the facts and let the American people decide.” The “factual story the commission told holds up almost completely,” he says, and over time as new facts about the 9/11 attacks become known others will be able to build on what was published in July 2004.

After completing work with the 9/11 Commission, Zelikow didn’t get his awaited permanent return to Charlottesville. In early 2005, Rice, newly installed as secretary of state,



“The factual story the commission told holds up almost completely.”

— PHILIP ZELIKOW

PHOTOGRAPH BY JACQUELINE

appointed him counselor of the U.S. Department of State. Bob Woodward, in his book *State of Denial*, describes Zelikow as a critic of the administration's conduct of the Iraq War in 2005–2006. Zelikow traveled to Iraq multiple times, and his observations led to authoring the administration's "clear, hold and build strategy," in which American troops first clear insurgents from an area house by house and then maintain a neighborhood presence. Reflecting on his State Department service, Zelikow says he just wants "the country to win the war, so I raised constructive criticism."

Zelikow left the administration in April 2007, and returned to the position he has held since 1998, the White Burkett Miller Professor of History. Committed to keeping "one foot in the world of ideas and the other in the world of policy," he also accepted service on the board of the Bill and Melinda Gates' Global Development Program, which strives to assist those in the developing world in lifting themselves out of poverty and hunger. The foundation aids small farmers in improving crop production and market access—while also providing access to financial institutions that many in the West take for granted. Based in the belief that "Every human life has equal value," Zelikow says the foundation could provide "game-changing innovations to alleviate" poverty. Zelikow also works with the Council on Foreign Relations in writing the successor to the Kyoto Protocol on global climate change. According to Zelikow, legislation to combat global warming is coming, and he wants to help "make these plans work" for the West and the developing world.

By Cordel Faulk (Law '01)



American Judges Association President Eileen Olds (Psychology '79), of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court in Chesapeake, Va., is the first woman and the first African American in the city's history to sit on the bench.

Children First

Eileen Olds says destiny made her a trailblazer.

"My calling is to make a difference," says Eileen Olds (Psychology '79). "I believe that I have been called to make a difference in the lives of the children and the families that I serve."

Chance meetings and "failures" with silver linings—otherwise known as "destiny"—have led her to where she is, says Olds, a judge on the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court in Chesapeake, Va., since 1995, the first woman and the first African American in the city's history to sit on the bench. "When I look back on my life, I can see there were moments of revela-

tion. I now understand that I have gone through a natural progression of events. You join a path that was chosen for you to take."

Attending the University of Virginia was on that predestined path. A chance meeting with Lloyd Ricks, then dean of admissions, led to the Chesapeake native entering the fourth class that included women. And she says that if she had not run for state legislature—a race she lost by 87 votes—she might not have become a judge. "I was appointed at least in part by the efforts of my opponent after he took office," she says.

It's a destiny filled with trailblazing and perseverance. After being elected her middle school's first African-American student-council president, the school abolished the council, presumably to prevent her from taking office.

After graduating with honors from the University, she became one of four African Americans in her class at the College of William and Mary's Marshall-Wythe School of Law, the first African American in private practice in Chesapeake and, at 26, one of the youngest presidents of her local NAACP chapter. Last year, the 3,000-member American Judges Association, an international organization headquartered in Williamsburg, Va., elected her its president—the first African-American and only the fourth woman president in its 50-year history.

Early in her career, juvenile justice became her passion. Olds realized that the "most devastating and gut-wrenching criminal cases" were those involving the abuse and neglect of children. "I know absolutely that dysfunction in

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families has an enormous impact on the futures of innocent children," she says.

Over the years, she has fulfilled her goal to protect and defend them. "I recognized my ability to advocate effectively," she said. "My selection as a juvenile and domestic relations judge was a natural progression for me."

At the American Judges Association, Olds has established an outreach program called *Tell It to the Judge*, a multiyear effort to seek input from the general public about the judicial process. The AJA is holding events around the country that allow citizens to talk to panels of judges about their experience with the judicial process and offer recommendations for change. "The most important thing that citizens are looking for is an opportunity to be heard—not necessarily a favorable outcome," says Olds.

Olds also believes the nation's judges will gain from opinions and recommendations of citizens whose lives have been changed by decisions made in the nation's courts. "We're the gatekeepers of the system," she says. "We have to better understand how others perceive us."

What does the future hold for Olds? Except for her belief that her travels along a predetermined path of progress will continue, she has no idea. She wants to offer a message of "hope and possibility" to children, and she'll go "where the Lord leads me" to deliver her message. "It's worked well so far," she says.

By Arthur Hill
(English Language and Literature '67)

The New Enlightenment

Rumeel Ahmed speaks out for reconciliation through religion.

Rumeel Ahmed (PhD Religious Studies '08) recently accepted a tenure-track position in Colgate University's Department of Religion after two successful years as Brown University's first Muslim chaplain. As one of only a handful of Muslim chaplains at universities around the country, his role at Brown ranged from planning official events and bringing speakers to campus

to counseling students and continuing his own scholarship. Only about 100 of Brown's 5,000 undergraduates are Muslim, and Ahmed applauded the university's decision to create such a position. "A major institution actually can't afford not to have that voice," he told Boston's *Phoenix*.

Last fall, *Religion & Ethics NewsWeekly* spoke with Ahmed

about "scriptural reasoning," a practice in which Christians, Jews and Muslims—the Abrahamic religions—read their scriptures together and discuss issues with the goal of building relationships while understanding differences.

Q: Can you find in scriptural reasoning grounds for hope that discussing different scriptures, different beliefs, can have practical consequences



in reducing tensions between lots of Muslims and lots of people in the West, many of whom are Christians? Can you see it trying to work out peaceful relations between Islam and the West?

A: I have seen it. But more importantly, I believe it. I have to believe that this is going to work because the alternatives are so dire. When we're talking about relations between people of difference, you really only have a few alternatives: You can destroy them. You can make them all like yourself. Or you can engage them and try and understand

them. This process of understanding is very, very immature, both in the Muslim world and in the Western world. And I don't say that in the sense that the West doesn't understand Muslims. But in our modern education system, we often don't understand religion and religious people, and we don't take their religious conviction seriously the way that they take their religious conviction seriously. We have people graduating from universities in political science departments, in economics, in sociology, where people are studying the practical impacts of individuals all over the world. And these people are given—these students are given very little religion vocabulary, if at all, to relate to their own tradition, if not other people's tradition. The idea that we don't take religion seriously is, I think, the vacuum created that scriptural reasoning steps into, to say that, you know, your religious conviction actually is important and we're going to approach you on that level, not as though we don't have any differences and as though it's a surface belief, but taking very seriously your conviction.

Q: How can scriptural reasoning deal with this huge problem of millions of people in the Islamic world thinking the United States and Christianity are out to destroy Islam?

A: Scriptural reasoning allows the opportunity for Christians, Jews and Muslims who are committed to each other, as they are committed to their texts, to demonstrate their commitment—at the round table. What Muslims need to see, and what the West needs to see also, are the vast numbers of people who are committed to reconciliation, and who are committed to their



Aunspaugh Fifth-Year Fellowship recipient Michael Thurston (Studio Art '07) proved last year that artists find inspiration in places the hoi polloi take for granted. His Taboret Gallery in the midst of Studio Art classrooms was a hit and felt eerily familiar to students and faculty alike, even at its debut. No wonder—all artists have them, taboret cabinets where they store art supplies.

texts, so they can see there's a Christian here who really cares about me and cares about my text and isn't trying to convert me but just wants to understand me. And what happens then, the hope is that there will be a de-linking between a Christian in the West and American foreign policy. And hopefully there will be a de-linking between a Muslim living in a Muslim country and that Muslim country's policies.

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Editor's note: Scriptural reasoning was conceived in 1994 by U.Va. Judaic Studies professor Peter Ochs and two colleagues at Cambridge University. It has grown into a worldwide movement of Christians, Jews and Muslims who join together to read and discuss their shared scriptures, a way of practicing peace at a time of inter-religious tension and conflict. The movement's four Web journals are all published at U.Va. and edited in large part by U.Va. grad students and faculty. The University is the only institution that offers a Ph.D. in the subject.

For links to the scriptural reasoning forum and journal at the University of Virginia, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.



The Election of a Lifetime

BY LARRY J. SABATO

What an election! No political analyst could have asked for a better laboratory than 2008. It is a year of firsts that has included the first female and African-American candidates with a real chance of winning the presidency, not to mention the first former prisoner-of-war in the same position.

Representing the University of Virginia, my home for the last 38 years, I have been privileged to watch it all unfold, from Iowa and New Hampshire to the party nominating conventions in Denver and Minneapolis/St. Paul to the exciting stumping around the country in the general election campaign.

Thanks to fast work by the able staff of the U.Va. Center for Politics, we were able to bring the campaign to Charlottesville for 900 faculty and students in February, as we hosted Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton in Old Cabell Hall auditorium. The students of American Politics 101 impressed Senator Clinton and the news media with superb, policy-oriented questions that she handled with aplomb. Ninety minutes passed quickly, and the candidate exited to a rousing, swaying serenade led by the University Singers. It was the *Good Ol' Song*, of course.

Watching the nominating battles skip from state to state, the entire country wondered anew whether this exhausting cavalcade that had lasted years and eliminated some good candidates all too quickly was the best way to pick presidential candidates. It's no secret that I am in favor of major reforms, and I have argued at length for them in my new book, *A More Perfect Constitution*. We need a system that is shorter, sharply focused and fairer to all states and regions over time. Other democracies choose good leaders with a fraction of the time and money America does, and it is past time for change in the United States.

The release of the book stirred the pot—and deep passions—just as I had hoped. Among the descendants of James Madison, the volume sparked a family feud. I was delighted. Part of an academic's work is to challenge citizens to think in new ways. Whether they agree or disagree with one's proposals is of much less consequence.

This election season has also generated a remarkable degree of student involvement, more than we have seen since the late 1960s and early 1970s. Almost all my young charges in Charlottesville have been following the campaign closely, and many hundreds of U.Va. students have chosen to get involved. At the Center for Politics, our largest program, the Youth Leadership Initiative, will hold the nation's largest secure online mock election in the fall, allowing

more than 2 million students from across the nation to register their votes for the candidates of their choice. The Center-led Voter Registration Coalition will continue to encourage new registration on Grounds and distribute absentee ballot information into the fall.

The Center produces a weekly *Crystal Ball* e-newsletter, now sent to over 25,000 subscribers. We keep up with the Electoral College scoreboard, as well as all the races for U.S. Senate, U.S. House and state governorships. After the 2006 midterm elections, the *Crystal Ball* was named the "most accurate predictor" of the results by the Pew Center for Excellence in Journalism as well as news networks as diverse as MSNBC and FOX News. Many U.Va. students participate in the *Crystal Ball's* research efforts, by the way.

For political analysts, the bonus value of the election will be reams of voter and polling data that will keep us busy for years. Already we are planning a book on the watershed



STEPHANE GROSS

"Despite the hot rhetoric and upheaval, politics is a good and necessary thing in a vibrant democracy."

2008 quest for the presidency.

Despite the hot rhetoric and upheaval, politics is a good and necessary thing in a vibrant democracy, and in America, it represents an unbroken continuum stretching over 220 years. Our time here is well spent studying the considered actions of tens of millions of citizens, and encouraging civic education and participation in every way. Thomas Jefferson would have wanted his University to be in the vanguard of these efforts—and it is. ●

Larry Sabato is the Robert Kent Gooch Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia. He founded the Center for Politics in 1998 and is pictured with one of Florida's Palm Beach County voting machines made infamous in 2000.



For more on the Center for Politics, *A More Perfect Constitution*, the Youth Leadership Network and the *Crystal Ball*, visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.

The Annual Fund *in Action* • Career Development

Launching bright minds onto paths of professional success is an implicit promise of the University's mission. As director of the new Graduate and Postdoctoral Professional Development Programs, I tailor this task to the specialized needs of our graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. Some have likened me to an entrepreneur for creating innovative programs and resources that address the wide-ranging professional interests of our most academically accomplished students and research trainees.

As U.Va. enters its third century and places increasing weight on outcomes, professional development programs lie at the core of enhancing those outcomes. At the advanced-degree level, growing these programs improves retention rates, time-to-degree and the lifelong relationship with the University that graduates and trainees will maintain as successful professionals. Our program seeks to aid our

faculty, stimulate imaginations about possibilities and enhance the competitiveness of those who have excelled by our own standards as they transition to the professional world, whether working in academia or in the private sector.

This year Graduate and Postdoctoral Professional Development Programs introduced an extensive website featuring 250 pages of content. We also hosted 37 interactive seminars and events about preparation for the academic job market

and for careers beyond academe. Successes included our interdisciplinary "Mock Academic Interviews" with faculty panels and graduate-student volunteers performing for audiences. Our very popular "The Expanded Job Market for Advanced Degrees" sessions spotlighted graduate and postdoctoral alumni who explained their career paths and offered advice to current graduate students and postdoctoral fellows in the humanities, social sciences and biomedical, life, physical and mathematical sciences. In a pioneering move, we digitally recorded these events and streamed the videos on our website.

In some fields, up to 80 percent of Ph.D.s pursue jobs beyond academe—in private research, government, industry, consulting, the nonprofit sector and other fields. We respond to this reality. One microbiologist wrote, "Let me just say that you have radically changed my vision



Through professional-development programs, microbiologist Sergio Sanchez (PhD Microbiology '11) has gained confidence about employment opportunities he can pursue with his doctorate degree.

of job opportunities upon completion of my Ph.D. degree. After attending your last two presentations on work beyond academe, I feel like a blindfold has been taken from my eyes and confidence injected in me. I now actually believe that all this very specific training I'm receiving can be translated into meaningful contributions to any big business/scientific company."

It is imperative in a tough market for those who seek academic positions to be well prepared for the job search. A graduate of the new Ph.D. program in music received multiple academic job offers and attested to our program's "direct impact" on his success.

This work never gets old. Every week I learn something new that sparks an idea. For me, the best part is the tremendous reward—the warm thanks we receive as we help to change lives, and the news that often later follows of the fascinating contributions U.Va. advanced-degree holders are making to society within academe and well beyond.

For a link to the Graduate and Postdoctoral Professional Development Programs website, please visit Magazine.Clas.Virginia.edu.

By Wendy Perry

*Director, Graduate and Postdoctoral Professional Development Programs
Office of the Vice President for Research and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences*

WHAT IS THE ANNUAL FUND?

Every year thousands of the College's alumni and friends make gifts to the Arts & Sciences Annual Fund—more than \$4 million last year alone. Those contributions are essential because they are unrestricted, flexible funds that Dean Woo can spend immediately to help students and faculty wherever the needs and opportunities are greatest. Typically, the Annual Fund helps pay for research, faculty recruitment, student support, guest lectures, discussion sections in popular classes, undergraduate seminars and language fellowships.

FUNDRAISING PROGRESS

Alumni, students, parents and friends help make things happen through their gifts to the Arts & Sciences Annual Fund—financial support for career services, plus academic journals, workshops, travel, labs and more. As of the fiscal year ended on June 30, 2008, the Arts & Sciences Annual Fund had raised more than \$4.26 million. As of May 31, the College had raised \$175 million of the \$500 million goal for the Campaign for the College. Overall, campaign gifts to the University stood at \$1.7 billion of the \$3 billion goal (May 31).



PAUL HALLIDAY

To understand the history of habeas corpus in England, history professor Paul Halliday has reviewed thousands of writs like this one, a 1628 writ that asked why Michael Biddle was imprisoned. The answer, called the return, was attached to the writ and sent back to court along with Biddle himself. This return shows that Biddle was convicted in a church court of blasphemy for swearing “he would go to hell, for the devil was a good fellow and there he should be sure to find good company.” The court’s order—“remittitur” (“remand,” or returned to jail)—is visible on the writ’s left side. Court clerks enrolled a copy, then put the writ and return into bundles, like the one where this writ was found.

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Faculty get beneath the surface of race and gender in American politics

History professor’s research informs U.S. Supreme Court Guantánamo decision

A family remembers son and brother posthumously with a writing award