SPRING 2019 · VOLUME 15 · ISSUE 1

ELEMENTS

THE UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL OF BOSTON COLLEGE

SCHOOL'S OUT

UNPACKING THE REALITY OF SUMMER LEARNING LOSS

ALSO FEATURING

- *Discrimination on Gender Binary Campuses*
- *Taking the Check or Checking the Take*

MISSION STATEMENT

Elements, the undergraduate research journal of Boston College, showcases the varied research endeavors of fellow undergraduates to the greater academic community. By fostering intellectual curiosity and discussion, the journal strengthens and affirms the community of undergraduate students at Boston College.

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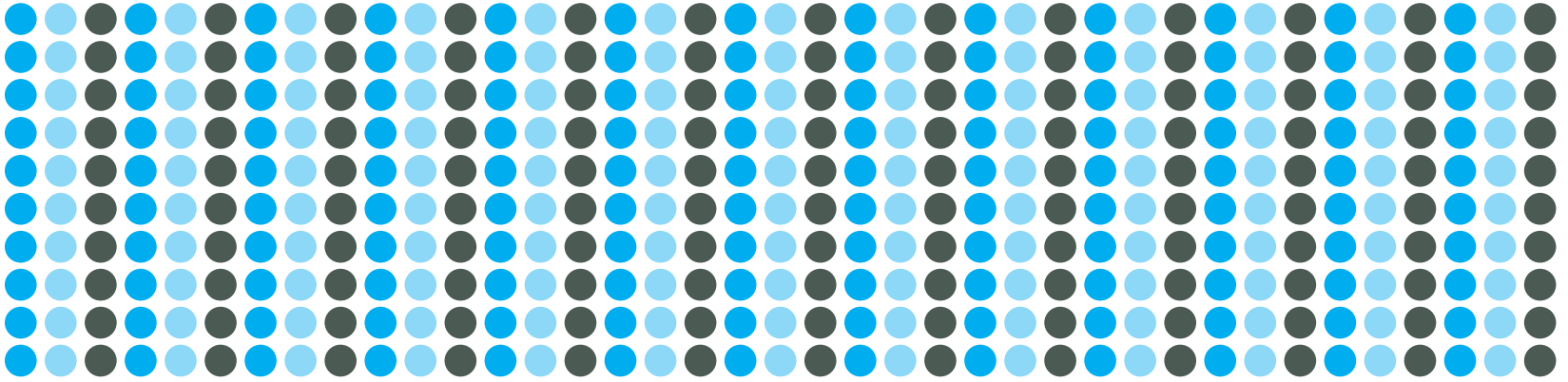
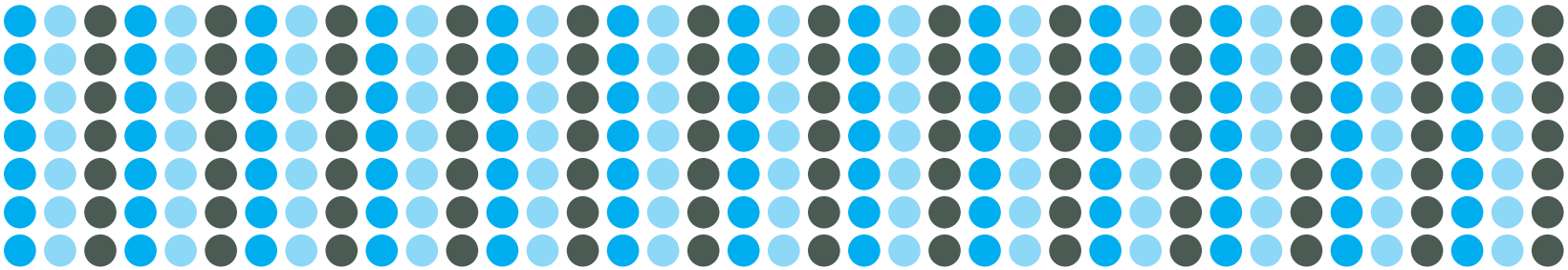
Spring 2019





THANKS

We would like to thank Boston College, the Institute for the Liberal Arts, and the Office of the Dean for the College of Arts and Sciences for the financial support that makes this issue possible.

QUESTIONS & CONTRIBUTIONS

If you have any questions, please contact the journal at elements@bc.edu. All submissions can be sent to elements.submissions@gmail.com. Visit our website at www.bc.edu/elements for updates and further information.

COVER

PERIODICITY

Elements is published twice an academic year in the fall and spring semesters.

Elements, Undergraduate Research Journal, Volume 11, Issue 1, Spring 2015

Boston College, 140 Commonwealth Avenue,
Chestnut Hill, MA 02467
Printed by Flagship Press,150 Flagship Drive, North Andover, MA 01845

ELEMENTS STAFF

EDITOR'S NOTE

Dear Readers,

The Jesuit tradition and liberal arts education of Boston College is often lauded as one of the most versatile and effective ways to cultivate critical thinking, ethical reasoning, and intellectual dexterity—among a vast array of other skills so desirable to employers and the world in general. And yet, we are asked time and again the same question facing many undergraduate student research journals: "Beyond the educational benefit of practicing post-graduate work, where is the value in undergraduate research?" A perfectly valid response lies in the assertion that there is no well-defined chasm between inexperience and expertise that students leap across on the day of their graduation. Rather, each student undergoes a gradual accumulation of knowledge which can be competently utilized in real-world applications at any point throughout their college education, and this process, when taken in consort with fresh perspective, can yield incredible results. Taken further within the context of Element's environment, students exposed to the concept of cura personalis—literally "care for the whole person"—likewise have the capability to inquire intellectually, to search for the truth in all things, and to passionately use their knowledge in service to others. Indeed, the research present in this issue demonstrates the well-rounded intellect of its authors who, through careful analysis, offer enriched interpretations of—and in some cases potential solutions to—some of the most pertinent issues of our time.

In our cover article, "School's Out", Charlie Power analyzes the impact of summer learning loss and the ramifications for students across socioeconomic backgrounds. Power uses the published research to highlight the disparate impact summer learning loss has on low income communities compared to those that are more privileged. Our first feature article "Discrimination on Gender Binary Campuses" by Wenny Xu examines the experience of transgender students on today's college campuses; noting their institutional failures and lack of progress in nondiscrimination policies that should include gender identity.

In Aaron Salzman's article "Taking the Check or Checking the Take", Catholic universities' institutional endowment is put under scrutiny as Salzman uncovers that many of their investments are antithetical to church teaching. Salzman notes that current frameworks for defining ethical investments by these institutions have not been clearly codified and deserve further look. Billy Hubschman's article "Hip Hop's White Audience" delves into the relationship between hip hop artistry and the largely white audience that consumes it. He explores the ramifications that a largely white audience can have on hip hop as an art form and the future of the genre that can be shaped by its consumers. Grace Peter's article "The Artist's Hand" explores black portraiture and Sarya Baladi's "Proselytization vs Education" explores how Islam is taught in American classrooms. Similarily the issue contains Rachel Conelly's "Colonialism, Human Rights, and Abortion in Ireland" that looks into the role of the pro-life movement in Ireland's secular legal history. And lastly Michael Haley's "Arthurian Influence in The Lord of the Rings" looks at JRR Tolkien's ability to borrow elements from the legend of Arthur for his beloved Lord of the Rings series.

The range of perspectives and topics in this issue serve to highlight the vast and unique society that we live in. Whether it struggles to define the boundaries of ethical investment or create socioeconomic chasms in its summer learning loss, society has been challenged to think more about the issues deeply embedded and engrained in our system. These articles provide a well-written and well-crafted deep examination of these issues; an introspective challenge that requires us to understand the roles of aspects in our society that create these issues. This edition of Elements is a nod to those that want to illuminate and bring forth the difficult assumptions in our society; ones that through shared understanding can create constructive discourse.

Happy Reading!

Sincerely,

ROSHAN TAROLL, TREVOR HALE

Editors in Chief

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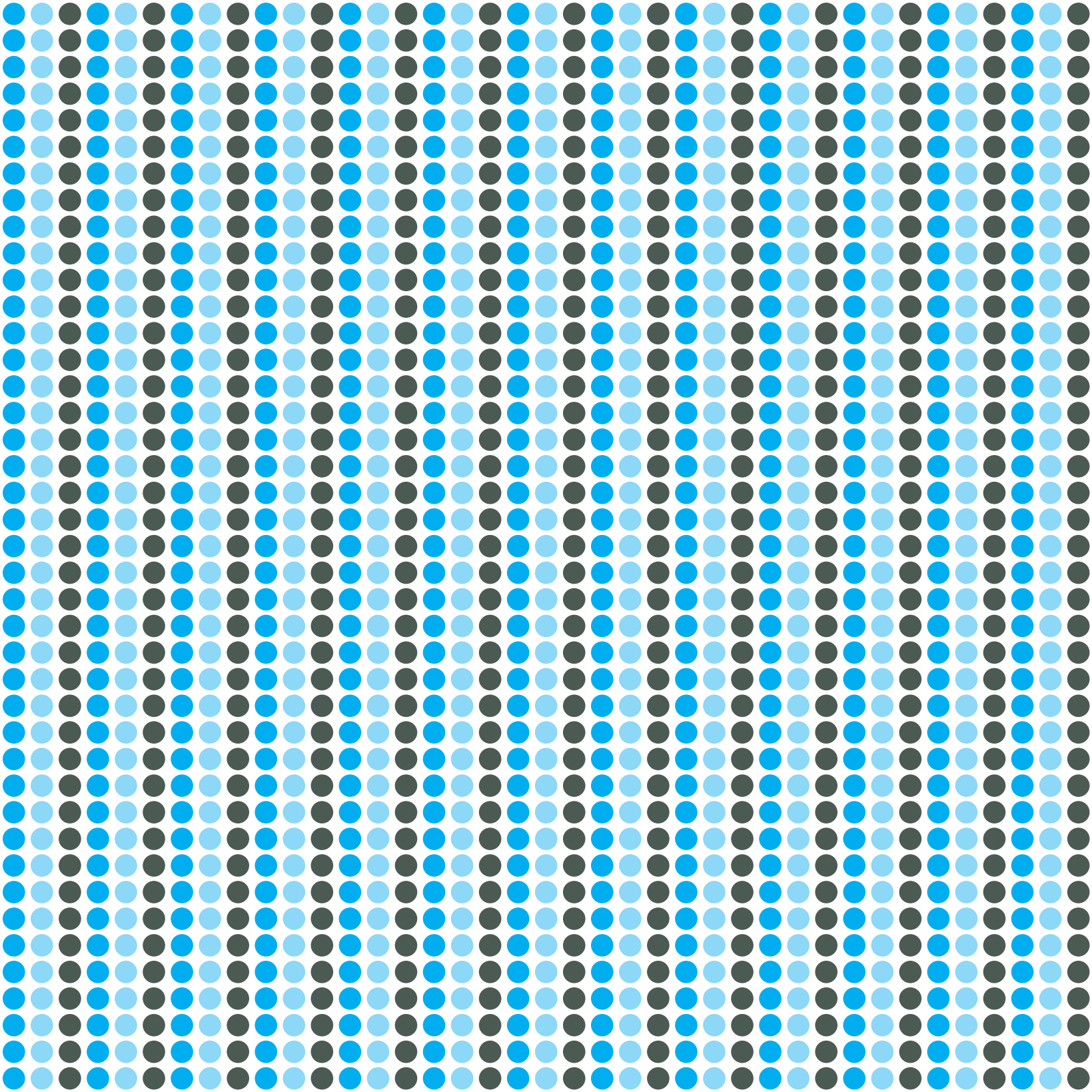
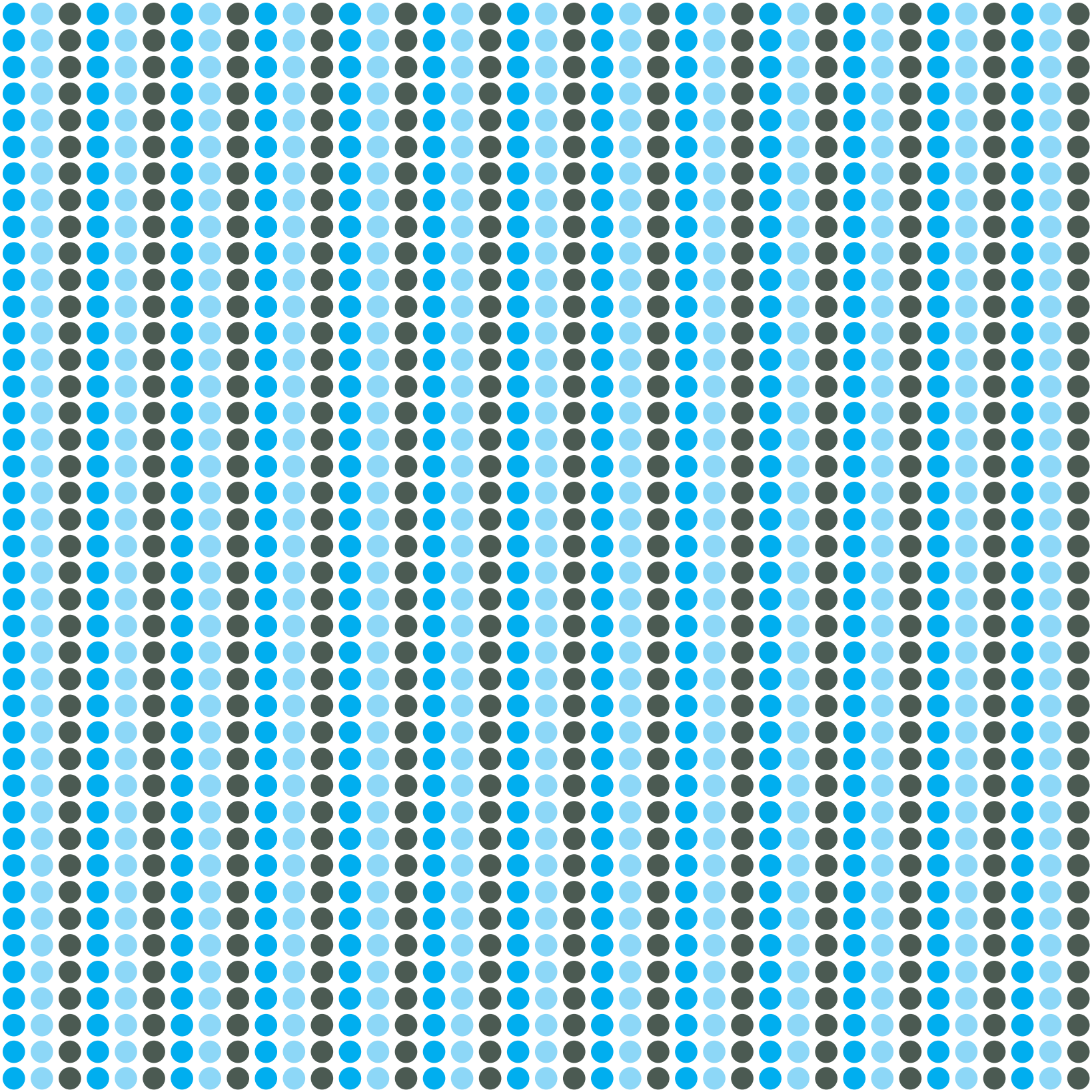
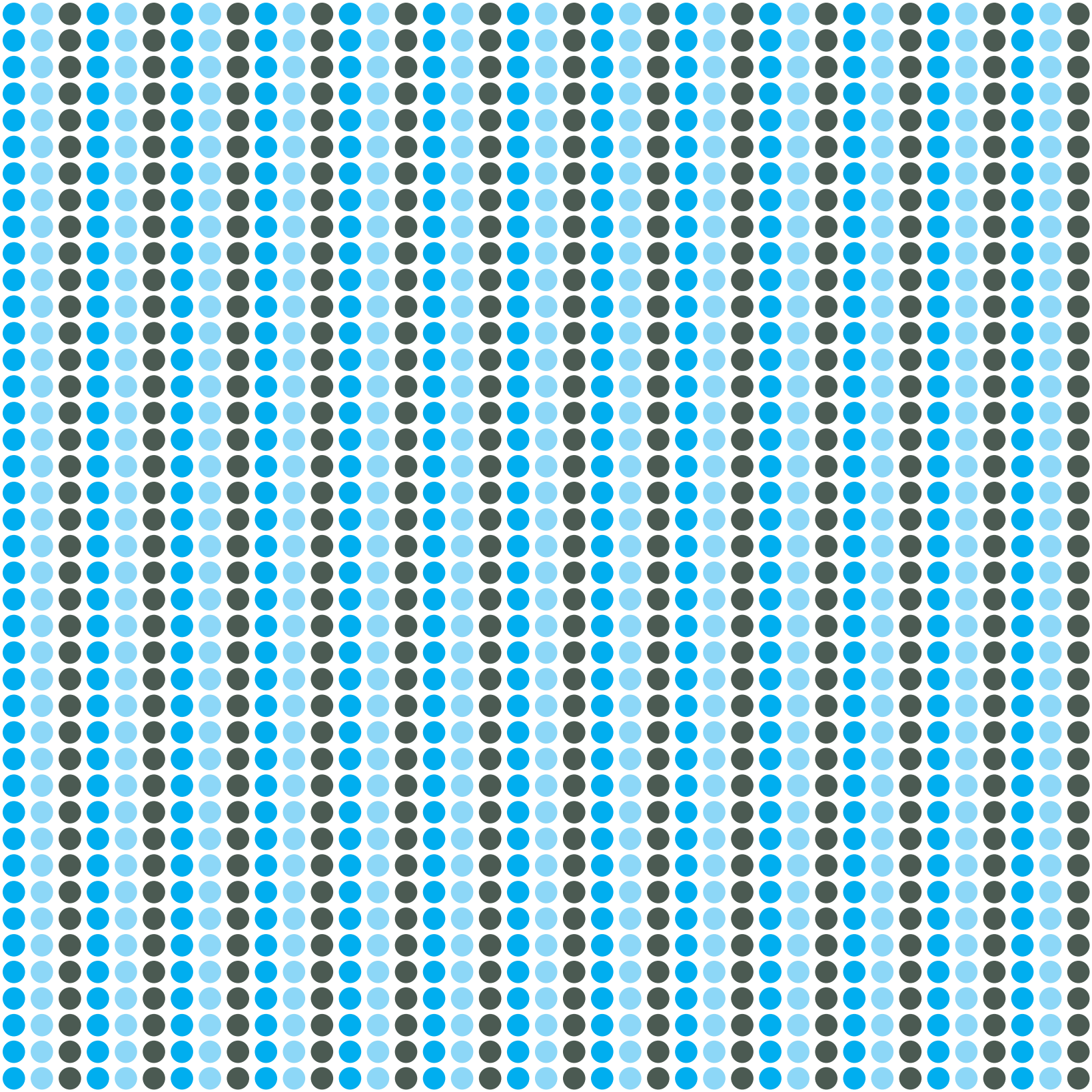






HIP-HOP'S WHITE AUDIENCE

Tracking the Perspectives and Ramifications of Hip Hop's Listeners

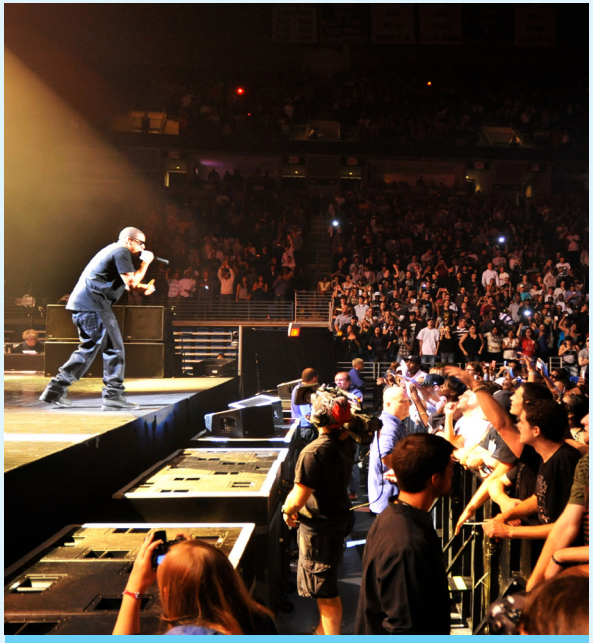
BILLY HUBSCHMAN

THIS PAPER SEEKS TO UNPACK THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIP-HOP MUSIC AND ITS WHITE AUDIENCE. AS HIP-HOP'S AUDIENCE CONTINUES TO GROW, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE SHIFTS AND CHANGES IN THE GENRE THAT RESULT FROM THIS INCREASED POPULARITY. SPECIFICALLY, THIS PAPER WILL TAKE A LOOK AT HIP-HOP'S WHITE AUDIENCE AND PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW OF SOME OF THE RESEARCH SOCIAL SCIENTISTS HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING ON THE SUBJECT. THE PAPER IS DIVIDED INTO TWO SECTIONS ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF RESEARCH CONDUCTED BY SCHOLARS: AUDIENCE ANALYSIS, BOTH QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE, HELP ILLUSTRATE THE PERSPECTIVE OF HIP-HOP'S WHITE AUDIENCE; CONTENT ANALYSIS, BOTH OF LYRICS AND VIDEOS, HIGHLIGHT THE RAMIFICATIONS OF HIP-HOP'S WHITE AUDIENCE ON THE GENRE ITSELF. AS A LITERATURE REVIEW, THIS PAPER DOES NOT SEEK TO MAKE AN ARGUMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIP-HOP AND ITS WHITE AUDIENCE AS MUCH AS PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW OF THE ARGUMENTS BEING MADE BY CERTAIN SOCIAL SCIENCE SCHOLARS.

I. Introduction

Hip-hop's popularity is surging. In 2018, Rolling Stone declared hip-hop and R&B as "definitively the most popular music in the country these days" (Wang 2018). As hip-hop has become a more popular musical genre, the whitening of its audience has been undeniable. Hip-hop today is far different from the hip-hop that grew out of the predominantly black and brown impoverished neighborhoods of 1970s New York City: hip-hop in 2019 is a global, corporate machine more focused on profits, streams, and going viral than genuine artistic expression. While there is no denying hip-hop's effectiveness as a truth-telling outlet for marginalized voices, one cannot ignore the commercialization and degradation of hip-hop culture that has coincided with its burgeoning white audience.

There is a wealth of sociological literature on the relationship between hip-hop and race. Literature focused specifically on white hip-hop listeners, though, is less extensive but still substantial. In this paper, I will be reviewing just some of the contributions that scholars in sociology and related disciplines have made towards understanding the genre's white audience. The paper will compare and contrast different methodological approaches that scholars have taken in their analyses of hip hop's white audience. I divide the methodological approaches into two broad categories: content analysis and audience analysis. Within my content analysis category, I review articles that analyze lyrics (Álvarez-Mosquera 2015; Belle 2014) and articles that analyze videos (Hunter 2011; Laybourn 2018; Muhammad 2012). Within my audience analysis category, I review articles that take more quantitative, survey-style approaches (Sullivan 2003; Tyson & Porcher 2012) and articles that take more qualitative, interview-style approaches (Bennett 1999; Cutler 2003; Rodriquez 2006).



JAY-Z PERFORMING AT PENN STATE IN 2009 (COURTESY OF *FLICKR*)

II. Audience Analysis

Audience analysis paints a clear picture of how hip-hop music is consumed and understood by fans. Through quantitative survey-style research and qualitative interview-style research, scholars have been able to effectively illustrate the kinds of relationships certain audiences—especially white audiences—have with the genre of hip-hop. These audience analyses give us a look into the perspectives of hip-hop's white audience.

Quantitative, Survey-Style Approaches

Scholars interested in hip-hop's white audience use surveys in hopes of comparing certain populations. Sullivan (2003) uses survey research in her study on the differences between black and white adolescents' perceptions of rap music. Her 13-question survey included closed-ended questions that measured respondents' level of interest in hip-hop and open-ended questions that measured hip-hop's significance to the respondents. She distributed the survey to 51 teenagers at a local mall, with reasonable distributions of race and gender amongst the participants. Sullivan found that—while popularity of the genre existed across all races—whites tended to appreciate rap for more superficial reasons such as "nice beats" (2003, p. 614), while people of color were more likely to understand the racial implications of the music and have a connection with it on a deeper level. Sullivan argues that this commitment gap between white and black fans of hip-hop must be considered when talking about hip-hop's rise in popularity amongst whites: white fans, for whom hip-hop is often a "passing phase" (2003, p. 616), consume hip-hop much differently than black fans who are more likely to see their own lives in the music.

Tyson & Porcher (2012) use survey methods to map perceptions of hip-hop music on a much larger population than Sullivan (2003). For their paper, Tyson & Porcher distributed a survey to over 1,254 college students at two southeastern universities: one predominantly white institution (PWI) and one historically black college and university (HBCU). The 10-minute survey follows the Rap-music Attitude and Perception (RAP) Scale: 24 questions all presented in a five-point scale format that ask why the respondent does or does not like hip-hop music and how the respondent perceives the genre as a whole. Tyson & Porcher argue that the RAP Scale is an effective way to measure how listeners perceive rap music, as it operationalizes both positive and negative views about the genre (2012, p. 215). Their findings show little correlation between race and how people think about hip-hop music. In general, black respondents had slightly more favorable views of hip-hop music, while white respondents were slightly more critical of the violent and sexist aspects of hip-hop.

Qualitative, Interview-Style Approaches

While surveys can capture trends and general feelings amongst white hip-hop fans, there are certain nuances and details that can only be uncovered through qualitative research methods. Bennett (1999) uses these methods in his ethnographic account of the significance of rap music and hip-hop culture for white youth in the predominantly white, working-class post-industrial northeast English city of Newcastle upon Tyne. Bennett conducted semi-structured interviews with local hip-hop enthusiasts and engaged in participant observation of focus groups, securing a route into the local hip-hop scene through a local breakdancer. His findings emphasize the importance of local dynamics in shaping the hip-hop culture of particular communities: in the case of Newcastle's hip-hop community, the predominantly white demographic established authenticity around their shared white working-class identity, rather than the African-American identity that is typically associated with the genre. One white rapper said, plainly, "Hip-hop isn't a black thing, it's a street thing" (Bennett 1999, p. 15). Such a colorblind framing of the genre makes hip-hop more relatable to the white working-class experience.

Ultimately, Bennett (1999) is not all too critical of the potential effects that a colorblind, white hip-hop community might have on hip-hop as a whole. Rodriquez (2006), on the other hand, engages in qualitative research that directly confronts the issue of colorblindness amongst white hip-hop fans. Looking at how white hip-hop fans use colorblind ideology to appropriate the genre, Rodriquez engages in participant observation at 20 hip-hop shows and conducts 32 interviews with white audience members. He found that the white concert-goers had a color-blind ideology that framed their hip-hop consumption as part of their generically left-wing politics rather than more specifically racialized politics. Interviewees like Jeff, for example, perceived a Dead Prez performance filled with Black Panther speeches and images of Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and Huey Newton as a performance focused on general messages of freedom and independence, not on black liberation (Rodriquez 2006, pp. 660-661). Rhetorical strategies like this allowed almost all the interviewees to avoid feelings of guilt as a white listener (except one, Ryan, who is unique from the rest in his acknowledgement of his own role in the cultural appropriation of hip-hop and the guilt he feels because of it). Racial politics are foundational to hip-hop as a genre, especially to the more "conscious artists" whose concerts Rodriquez went to for the study (Talib Kweli, The Roots, Common, and more).

Cutler (2003) uses qualitative research methods to give an insightful look into the use of AAVE by white hip-hop fans. Her data collection came out of two years of sociolinguistic fieldwork with 35 white middle-class and upper-middle-class New York City teenagers and young adults affiliated

"While there is no denying hip-hop's effectiveness as a truth-telling outlet for marginalized voices, one cannot ignore the commercialization and degradation of hip-hop culture that has coincided with its burgeoning white audience."

with hip-hop whose speech was influenced by AAVE. Cutler conducted interviews with the teenagers, looking for five linguistic variables—similar to Álvarez-Mosquera (2015)—including verbal–s absence and copula absence. Like Bennett (1999), Cutler focuses on authenticity and finds that language adoption of AAVE is one of the only ways that white middle-class hip-hop fans can appear authentic given their race and class differences with the working-class black artists they seek to imitate. Cutler ultimately finds that all interviewees were forced to confront their race in ways that may not have happened had they not been involved in hip-hop, but that they dealt with the confrontation in different ways: some cited hip-hop's inclusivity to downplay their race, while others did not necessarily consider themselves as white.

III. Content Analysis

Content analysis is crucial in the study of the effects of commercialization and a growing white audience on the genre of hip-hop. Hip-hop lyrics and music videos give us a look into the kinds of messages and images that are used to attract white audiences, and sociological analysis sheds light on how these kinds of messages and images can be detrimental for the genre as a whole.

Lyrical Analysis

For many hip-hop fans, lyrics are the most important aspect of the music. As hip-hop has become more commercialized, rappers have become more focused on using lyrical content that appeals to a white audience. Belle (2014) looks at this phenomenon in her article on representations of black masculinity in hip-hop. Though Belle recognizes the genre's role in promoting patriarchal, hegemonic ideals, she asks hip-hop's critics to also consider hip-hop as a liberating tool for working-class people of color. This dual role is illustrated, she argues, in the difference between mainstream rapper Jay-Z and underground rap duo Dead Prez: while Jay-Z often acts out stereotypical images of black masculinity with his lyrical focus on sex, drugs, and money, Dead Prez can be found rapping about the commodification of hip-hop artists and the horrible conditions of U.S. public schools. Ultimately, Belle argues that misogynistic and homophobic elements of black masculinity must be understood through the lens of W.E.B. Du Bois' "double-consciousness:" black men adopt a certain persona according to the stereotypes assigned to them by the white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy—a "performance instigated by a white gaze" (2014, p. 289).

One of the major effects of hip-hop's increasing white audience has been the increase in the popularity of white rappers. Álvarez-Mosquera (2015) looks into how these white rappers appear authentic in a genre that is so distinctly African-American, and he posits that they do so through the use of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE). Use of AAVE by white rappers is highly problematic, as it is often perceived by African-Americans as appropriation of their culture: theft of language in the pursuit of profits by outsiders who have no intentions of compensating those of the culture from which the language is stolen. In his research, Álvarez-Mosquera compares white and black rappers from three different eras: Beastie Boys and Public Enemy from the 1980s; Everlast and 2Pac from the 1990s; Cage and 50 Cent for the 21st-century. He looks at four features of AAVE: use of "ain't"; copula deletion (e.g., "where she at"; "he nice"); absence of final –s for indicating the third person in present tense (e.g., "she walk to school"); pronunciation of the ending cluster -ing with the alveolar nasal / n/ instead of the velar nasal / ŋ/ in Standard English (e.g., "hangin' out"). While Álvarez-Mosquera does find that white rappers use AAVE as a means of gaining authenticity, he also argues that African-American rappers have responded to this increase in white usage of AAVE by increasing their own usage of AAVE even more—a process he describes as "recreolization."

"[Rodriquez] found that the white concert-goers had a color-blind ideology that framed their hip-hop consumption as part of their generically left-wing politics rather than more specifically racialized politics."

Video Analysis

Like lyrics, hip-hop music videos are crafted in order to attract white audiences. Content analyses of hip-hop music videos give us an idea of the kinds of messages and images that attract white listeners and viewers. Laybourn (2018) analyzes music videos and song lyrics of popular hip-hop songs from 2007 to 2011. She was interested in finding out whether alcohol/drug lyrics or light skin tone had a more significant effect on a song's Billboard Rap Chart rankings. By bringing forth concepts such as "oppressive othering" (the use of racial ideology by a dominant group to create an inferior group) and white beauty standards (the exaltation of European physical features to emphasize the inferiority of those of non-European descent), Laybourn argues that corporations create "controlling images" (2018, p. 2087) like songs and music videos to craft certain notions of black authenticity and beauty. In her analysis of 190 songs and videos, Laybourn finds that lighter skin tone is significantly correlated with higher chart rankings, while alcohol and drug lyrics have a non-significant effect on the commercial success of a song. Her findings stress the relevance and importance of colorism in hip-hop today.

Hunter (2011) also looks at music videos in her analysis of hip-hop's white audience. She uses Billboard charts to determine what songs and videos were successful in the mainstream in 2007 and 2008, deciding to focus on songs like T.I.'s smash hit "Whatever You Like," Flo Rida's iconic song "Low," and Fat Joe's club anthem "Make It Rain." Hunter's analysis is primarily focused on portrayals of black women. She notes how white audiences today are less interested in the voices of black women rappers, resulting in less successful 21st-century women rappers than there were in the 1990s (Queen Latifah, Salt-n-Pepa, Missy Elliot, Lil' Kim, MC Lyte). Given the expected outrage of white audiences in reaction to images of white women sexually servicing black men, black women are primarily used as music video dancers. Hunter's findings are clear: as hip-hop has evolved and become commercialized, it has developed a culture of consumption. In this culture of consumption, women are expected to sexually service men. More specifically, commercial hip-hop promotes problematic, hyper-sexualized caricatures of black women to fit this gendered culture of consumption.

Music video analysis can also be found in the work of Muhammad (2012). Drawing inspiration from rap group Little Brother's 2005 album, "The Minstrel Show," Muhammad looks into how hip-hop today mirrors historical patterns of minstrel performance in America. For his research, Muhammad analyzes 20 episodes of Black Entertainment Television's (BET) show "Rap City" from September and November of 2006. In addition to analyzing lyrics, Muhammad kept track of the number of times historical minstrel character types such as Zip Coon and Wench appeared in videos. He found that most videos featured tributes to both character types. Ultimately, Muhammad found that the parallels between modern rap music and minstrelsy were so strong that he argued that modern rap music should have its own musical genre, separate from hip-hop music as a whole. Only 17% of the videos Muhammad saw were considered, to him, as actual hip-hop (i.e., they included imagery and lyrics that promoted cultural collectivism and not individualistic materialism). Muhammad does not seek to criticize "minstrel rappers;" rather, he aims to present them in the context of "commercial survival" (2012, p. 319): the minstrelsy of hip-hop must be understood as a concerted effort by America's corporate media elite to maintain white supremacy and promote neoliberalism.

"Laybourn finds that lighter skin tone is significantly correlated with higher chart rankings, while alcohol and drug lyrics have a non-significant effect on the commercial success of a song."

IV. Conclusion

The goal of this literature review is to take a look at the arguments that some scholars have made on the perspectives and ramifications of hip-hop's white audience. My review shows that different methods are better suited for investigating different areas of the topic: perspectives of hip-hop's white audience are best illustrated through audience analyses, and ramifications of hip-hop's white audience can be found in content analyses of hip-hop lyrics and music videos. As this paper has shown, each method has its merit, and different methods must be chosen depending on the goal of the research.

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COLONIALISM, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ABORTION IN IRELAND

Swaying Voters with Historical and Political-Legal Narratives

RACHEL CONNELLY

THIS ESSAY EXPLORES THE ROLE OF NARRATIVES IN THE FIELD OF THE IRISH ABORTION DEBATE. IN SPECIFIC, IT EXPLORES THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF NARRATIVES THAT BOTH THE PRO-CHOICE AND PRO-LIFE GROUPS MANIPULATE IN ORDER TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THE IRISH POPULACE. THE AUTHOR EXPLAINS THAT THE PRO-CHOICE GROUPS EMPLOY POLITICAL-LEGAL NARRATIVES TO ARGUE FOR THE RIGHT TO ABORTION WHEAREAS HISTORICAL NARRATIVES AND ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENTS ARE MORE COMMONLY FOUND WITHIN PRO-LIFE NARRATIVES. HOWEVER, THE TRUE PURPOSE OF THE PRO-LIFE NARRATIVES IS TO PREVENT THE SECULARIZATION AND LIBERALIZATION OF IRELAND'S LAWS, THEREBY MAINTAINING THE PATRIARCHY AT THE TOP OF THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY. HOWEVER, WITH THE 2018 REFERENDUM ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL BAN ON ABORTION RESULTING IN A LIBERALIZATION OF IRELAND'S ABORTION LAWS, THE LACK OF SUCCESS ON THE PRO-LIFE END IS REVEALED, AND A POSSIBLE WAVE OF LIBERALIZATION MAY FOLLOW TO PERMANENTLY SHIFT THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY.

Originally instituted in 1861 as a part of the Offences Against the Person Act passed by British Parliament, Ireland's constitutional ban on abortion gradually transformed from a colonial legacy to a signifier of its strong Catholic identity, a foil to Britain's relatively recent social liberalization. Irish law, confirmed by the passage of the Eighth Amendment in 1983 but reversed by the May 2018 referendum, allowed for abortion only in cases of extreme threat to the mental and physical health of the mother, ranking Ireland among the most socially conservative countries in Europe. Landmark cases, such as the X case and the death of Savita Halappanavar, attracted significant attention to the abortion debate in Ireland, further complicated by the involvement of more vulnerable women, namely Irish children and migrant women. A constitutional referendum concerning the Eighth Amendment was held on May 25, 2018, which caused the reversal of Ireland's abortion ban. The results signal the direction the Irish people's desire for their country – an embarkation toward a future of social liberalization and reform that will ultimately make Ireland a more inclusive society.

The abortion debate in Ireland, composed of the #RepealThe8th movement, its pro-choice offshoot organizations, and the anti-abortion faction headed by the Pro Life Campaign, was distinctly Irish because each side invoked and co-opted narratives of human rights and colonialism. Neither side prioritized these narratives for their intrinsic value; instead, they worked and manipulated these principles in a way that ensured maximum historical and cultural value to the Irish voter. In this paper, I will establish the history of the Eighth Amendment in Ireland, including the reasons for its initial passage. Then, I will examine i) the colonial narrative which the anti-abortion campaigners—most often—manipulated to pair liberalization of abortion laws with undesirable English tendencies and sympathies; ii) the human rights narrative, which was deployed by both anti-abortion and pro-choice groups to establish an alternative legal framework to their positions; iii) a brief summary and analysis of the X case and its symbolism as the first case to show the flaws in Ireland's Eighth Amendment. In doing so, this paper suggests that with the reversal of the Eighth Amendment, the Irish voters have signaled their desire for a future of social liberalization and secularization that could eventually displace the dominant conservative social order currently in place.

PRO-CHOICE ACTIVISTS INTERFACE WITH A PRO-LIFE RALLY IN THE STREETS OF DUBLIN, (COURTESY OF *FLICKR*)

A General History of the Eighth Amendment

Though it was initially proposed by the Fianna Fail government in 1982, the Eighth Amendment (also known as Article 40.3.3°) was adopted by a coalition government composed of Fine Gael and the Labour Party in 1983. Irish voters solidly approved the referendum; it was passed with 67 percent support. Opposition leaders acting under the Anti-Amendment Campaign criticized the amendment for its controversial language, namely that it was vague and could have implications for future prenatal health treatment. While the Irish Catholic Church supported the amendment as a validation of its absolutist pro-life doctrine, the Irish Protestant Churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican) denounced the amendment because it "enshrined the teaching of one religious denomination in the Constitution."[1] Once validated by Irish voters, the official text of the amendment in the Constitution of Ireland read that "The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right."[2] In short, the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of Ireland legally established the life of the mother and the life of the unborn as equal.

After the passage of the Eighth Amendment in 1983, antiabortion activists and groups applauded the referendum as a permanent settlement that outlawed abortion in Ireland. According to position papers of The Life Institute, the referendum "was supposed to be the end of the abortion controversy in Ireland," drawing on the

majority of voters who approved the measure.[3] Ignoring changes in circumstances and public focusing events, organizations like The Life Institute and the Pro Life Campaign criticize new efforts to renew the abortion debate as contributing to a "deliberately created atmosphere of confusion" surrounding reproductive rights in Ireland.[4] After the Irish Supreme Court found in the landmark X case that the risk of suicide justified an abortion according to Eighth Amendment, pro-life campaigners introduced a proposal (known as the Twelfth Amendment) to exclude suicide as a legal reason for abortion just months after the first decision was handed down. Though the Twelfth Amendment failed and deflated the efforts of anti-abortion campaigners, its mere proposal signified more conflict to come in the 21st century.

The Colonial Narrative: How Britain's Abortion Law Affects Ireland's Votes

On April 17, 2018, The Irish Times published a letter from Niamh Ui Bhriain, a spokeswoman for The Life Institute, in which she detailed her opposition to the proposal to repeal the Eighth Amendment, ending her piece by saying that it "would introduce the British model of abortion to Ireland, and this is simply a step too far for most Irish people."[5] Though Ui Bhriain's words included no explicit logic regarding why "the British model" is too extreme for the Irish people, it was expected that the association of the pro-choice movement with Britain would discredit the movement entirely for most nationalist-minded Irish voters. In the post-colonial era, there was a continent-wide, European trend toward opening abortion access, which Ireland promptly rejected. This phenomenon can be attributed to an Irish nationalist desire to "construct a culturally authentic 'pro-life' Irishness in opposition to what has been perceived as a British colonial pro-choice culture."[6] Intentionally or not, anti-abortion activists almost exclusively manipulated Irish postcolonial anxieties over British influence in order to frame illiberal abortion policies as positively and distinctly Irish and Catholic.[7] Emblematically, Catholic Herald columnist David Quinn writes that Ireland should fight to protect and sustain its pro-life culture, as it is a "standing rebuke to the abortion laws and pro-choice culture in many countries, including Britain."[8] By establishing the pro-life culture as a sort of Catholic beacon, Quinn is criticizing the amorality and lack of religion, particularly Catholicism, in Britain. Scholar Ruth Fletcher asserts that because of the historic colonial-era disenfranchisement of Roman Catholics in Ireland, Catholicism became the dominant, anti-British, and nationalist marker for many Irish people.[9] Thus, according to the logic implicit in Ui Bhriain's argument, the post-colonial Irish identity relied upon faithful adherence to Catholic mores, rendering liberalization of abortion laws the equivalent to pro-British tendencies in the public consciousness.

Established in 1801 under the Acts of Union 1800 and dissolved after official Irish independence in 1922, the Offences Against the Person Act allowed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to ban abortion in 1861. However, in 1967 British Parliament voted to legalize abortion and the corresponding law, the Abortion Act of 1967, was one of the most liberal abortion laws in Europe at the time. As Ireland's abortion debate began to emerge in the late 1970s and 1980s, the popular nationalist desire to oppose all things British morphed into a justification for a new anti-abortion amendment to the Irish Constitution. By co-opting how regular Irish people perceived the British Abortion Act of 1967, anti-abortion activists sought to define the impending abortion debate in terms of British and Irish, colonial and post-colonial. Thus, by positioning each entity in opposition to each other, the anti-abortion movement forced Irish voters to make a choice. Although this choice would normally be about whether the Irish people legalized or criminalized abortion, the anti-abortion activists succeeded in distorting this choice so that the Irish people essentially had to choose between nationalist platforms and pro-British, Protestant-inspired social policies.

Before and after Article 40.3.3° was inserted into the Irish Constitution, the abortion debate in Ireland proved to be a contentious battleground to redefine the post-colonial Irish religious identity. In 1981, most of the pro-life and

"The Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of Ireland legally established the life of the mother and the life of the unborn as equal."

anti abortion organizations consolidated into a powerful coalition, the Pro-Life Amendment Campaign (PLAC). Despite claims of interdenominational cooperation and diversity within PLAC, 10 of the 14 founding member groups were exclusively Catholic and the rest were overwhelmingly Catholic. By excluding and alienating all Protestant organizations, the almost-exclusively Catholic front of PLAC succeeded in making the abortion debate distinctly Catholic and therefore implicitly Irish. Drawing on the historical connections between Irishness and Catholicism, PLAC sought to maintain Ireland's identity as a conservative, Catholic nation through its attacks on abortion rights, homosexuality, and contraception. Fintan O'Toole connects Ireland's evolving post-colonial identity and PLAC's platforms, asserting that the wide-ranging nature of the coalition's attacks against Ireland's "increasing tide of permissiveness" aimed to stymy what they saw as slow but steady instances of liberalization and secularization[10] in Ireland.[11] Thus, PLAC aimed to preserve the dominant narrative of Irish Catholicism and its historic marginalization in order to demonstrate the undesirable "Britishness" of pro-choice policies and platforms. In the process and aftermath of this political grandstanding, Irish women suffered, and continue to suffer, from the enduring legacies of PLAC's anti-abortion agenda.

In extreme examples, anti-abortion activists represented abortion as a "violent colonial tool of population control," using bloody language to draw a connection between British bloodletting in Ireland and British abortion policy.[12] Fletcher cites the case of a 1981 PLAC poster inscribed with this phrase: "The Abortion Mills of England Grind Irish Babies into Blood that Cries out to Heaven for Vengeance," illustrating how pro-life activists linked anti-British Irish nationalism with Catholic values—for instance the word choice of "heaven." The language on the poster positions English violence toward unborn Irish children as a legacy of the violent and oppressive colonial relationship between Ireland and Britain. Furthermore, this poster also calls out industrial England for profiting off Irish women through its purposeful description of an abortion clinic as a "mill." In short, by manipulating Ireland and Britain's contentious colonial history, anti-abortion activists sought to universalize the connection between Britain and pro-choice policies.

Although this practice was not nearly as prevalent, pro-choice advocates also manipulated colonial tensions and histories to promote their narrative of why Ireland should legalize abortion. While pro-life activists work the colonial and post-colonial aftermath to discredit the Britishness of abortion rights, some factions of the pro-choice movement invert this narrative to establish the practice of abortion as pre-colonial. Immediately after the X Case had been decided, the group Youth for Choice distributed pamphlets defining Ireland's venerated Saint Brigid as an "abortionist" according to Irish folklore.[13] Youth for Choice advocates legitimate pro-choice policy proposals not only by positioning St. Brigid as distinctly Irish, but also as pre-colonial.[14] By associating one of Ireland's most esteemed women with the practice of abortion in the era before British colonization, pro-choice advocates aimed to counteract the discrediting of abortion rights as colonial and British by proving abortion's existence in Ireland before the arrival of the British.

The Human Rights Narrative: How the UN Influences Irish Abortion Laws

Unlike the colonial justification for or against abortion, both the pro-choice and pro-life movements equally manipulated human rights arguments to sway Irish voters. The logic for both sides is simple: for the pro-life side, every human being has a right to life, including the unborn; for the pro-choice side, denial of abortion to women infringes upon several human rights, most notably and ironically the right to life. Fundamentally, though, "the right of a woman to control her own sexuality and reproduction" is the most central human right undergirding any debate on abortion–a right that Irish women did not have prior to the

"The language on the poster positions English violence toward unborn Irish children as a legacy of the violent and oppressive colonial relationship between Ireland and Britain."

passage of the referendum.[15] Because eminent organizations like the UN support the repeal of the Eighth Amendment in Ireland, the human rights narrative held more sway in the pro-choice movement because, unlike its usage in anti-abortion campaigns, it was able to function as more than an ethical or moral appeal and could frame the side in legal terms.

Based on patterns observed through examination of position papers, posters, and opinion articles, anti-abortion activists usually pointed to human rights arguments in order to establish that their main goal is noble and human rights-oriented: to protect and preserve innocent lives.[16] Responding to the UN report that will be covered later in this section, Ui Bhriain writes that "Instead of criticising Ireland, the UN should follow our lead in protecting the human rights of both mother and child and seeking a better answer than abortion."[17] In addition to calling abortion a "medieval tool," Ui Bhriain sought to establish the practice as the antithesis of human rights–the same method the anti-abortion movement utilizes to discredit liberalization of abortion policies as "British." Furthering the use of human rights for anti-abortion purposes, Cora Sherlock, a solicitor and deputy chairperson of the Pro Life Campaign, wrote on her personal blog that to remove the Eighth Amendment is to remove a human right from the Irish Constitution.[18] By positioning an unborn child's right to life as fundamental and absolute, members of the anti-abortion movement sought to manipulate human rights in order to provide an inviolate justification for the sanctity of an unborn life.

Though anti-abortion activists pointed to the primacy of human life as the main justification for their use of a human rights argument, the pro-choice movement's connection to human rights was based more on legal explanations than moral, ethical rationalizations. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women issued a report in March 2017 in which the committee members outlined their concerns about Ireland's "restrictive legal regime" that governs abortion rights.[19] The report addresses four primary human rights issues with Ireland's current abortion climate; 1) abortion in cases not involving life-threatening situations is criminal and carries a significant prison sentence; 2) women and girls must travel outside Ireland to obtain an abortion; 3) "women and girls without means to travel outside the State party to obtain an abortion, such as poor women, asylum seekers, and migrant women and girls, may be compelled to carry their pregnancies to full term or to undertake unsafe abortion, which may lead to severe mental pain and suffering;" 4) health care providers cannot freely distribute information on abortion for fear of prosecution—a violation of the Regulation of Information Act of 1995.[20] Because this report is grounded in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, pro-choice advocates frequently pointed to the report's findings in order to prove how Ireland's restrictive abortion laws violated human rights norms.

The Irish branch of the Centre for Reproductive Rights frequently lobbies the UN Human Rights Committee to rule on cases alleging the Irish state's violation of Irish female citizens' human rights.[21] In the case of Siobhan Whelan, she was refused access to an abortion, despite a fatal fetal diagnosis which meant her baby would die hours after birth. In a complaint filed with the UN Human Rights Committee, CRR representative Leah Hoctor argued that Irish doctors subjected Whelan to degrading, inhumane treatment that violated her basic human rights. Notably, the committee ruled in favor of Whelan, instructing the Irish state to pay her damages and to "reform its laws to ensure other women do not face similar human rights violations."[22] Because the preeminent authority on human rights forcefully aligned itself with the pro-choice movement in Ireland, the human rights narrative was proven to be more powerful for the pro-choice movement during the abortion debate.

The X Case (1992): How These Narratives Influenced the Case

In 1992, the X Case redefined most Irish people's conceptions of and opinions on abortion law in Ireland, as the case stretched the limits of how the supposedly liberal democratic state could continue to credibly outlaw abortion in almost all circumstances.[23] The Irish High Court prevented a 14-year-old pregnant Irish rape victim from traveling to Britain with her parents to obtain an abortion. The ensuing outrage from the public resulted from the fact that she had been raped by a family friend and had become severely depressed and suicidal, which still did not qualify her for an abortion in the eyes of the Irish state. The resulting court case and media attention drew renewed scrutiny to the Eighth Amendment, demonstrating how it significantly curtailed women's human rights and highlighting how its nationalist inspiration often came at the expense of vulnerable women and girls in Ireland. These two narratives, human rights and a pro-nationalist,

anti-colonial mindset, are what made the Irish abortion debate particularly Irish. The X Case shows how this combination proved to limit women's reproductive and social opportunities, all for the reason of preserving Ireland's traditionally Catholic and conservative social order.

Displaying the full range of the anti-British, pro-Irish nationalist argument, anti-abortion activists fought back against accusations of state overreach and totalitarian policies. Their chief assertion maintained that while the details of the X Case were tragic, the Irish state was simply attempting to be the "last bastion of humanity in a barbarous world."[24] Though no mention of Britain was made, the quote demonstrates the same implicit pairing of Ireland as the source of morality and Britain as the source of violence and abortion on demand. For the anti-abortion activists, Irish women were to be manipulated and worked as this last source of morality and purity.

Ireland's daily newspapers established the basics of the case as an example of "child rape;" this total lack of censorship and prudishness enabled the Irish people to see the case as it was–the rejection of a child's right to bodily autonomy after a heinous crime.[25] By explicitly framing the discourse in terms of rights, the Irish people were forced to see how the Eighth Amendment wholly removed a women's personal agency. Furthermore, pro-choice activists declared that Ireland "defended men's right to procreate through rape,"[26] calling into question how and why Ireland's Eighth Amendment could not grant exemptions to rape and incest victims. Though Irish popular opinion sided more with the girl because of the added element of rape, the X Case still permanently transformed the abortion debate in Ireland by demonstrating how the flaws in Ireland's constitutional abortion ban could attempt to force a 14-year-old child to carry to term a rape pregnancy.

Legally, the Irish Supreme Court agreed to hear the X Case upon its appeal from the High Court. The case, known officially as Attorney General v. X, was ruled in favor of X's right to obtain an abortion–establishing it as a landmark case in Irish constitutional law. Now the Supreme Court had ruled as a precedent that the risk of suicide qualified as a threat to the life of the mother. Though this precedent was complicated by X's eventual miscarriage, the case succeeded in drawing attention to how the state's illiberal abortion laws limited women's reproductive and social rights. These fundamental limitations functioned to preserve the existing conservative, Catholic hierarchy in Ireland–the same hierarchy that was responsible for the implementation of the Eighth Amendment in 1983. By using the colonial narrative to justify its position as benign and not inherently against reproductive rights, the anti-abortion campaign attempted to mask its primary goal of preserving that hierarchy that stymies secularization and liberalization in Ireland.

Conclusion

The Eighth Amendment's enshrinement in the Irish Constitution enabled a systemic violation of women's rights that, at the time, prohibited women from travel, took away their bodily autonomy, and prosecuted them for attempting to reassert that same autonomy. By taking away and violating women's fundamental human rights, the Irish state established women as an entity to be protected, controlled, and managed with the assistance of the Catholic Church. In sum, the Eighth Amendment still exemplifies a larger issue than abortion; it demonstrates how women's rights can be legally and constitutionally controlled and limited in order to preserve the existing nationalist and conservative narrative of Irish female purity.

Though the pro-choice movement used narratives of colonialism and human rights to sway Irish voters in favor of liberalizing abortion laws, the anti-abortion campaign did that too, but it also intended to use these narratives to hide its main goal: to prevent secularization and liberalization in Ireland. By removing the rights of women and other socially vulnerable populations, the existing hierarchy would be able to maintain its power as the dominating patriarchal force in Ireland. The results of the constitutional referendum on May 25, 2018 demonstrated that the overall efforts of the anti-abortion movement were largely unsuccessful. Considering the passage of the referendum and the resulting liberalization of Ireland's abortion laws, the flood gates could be opened to allow for an advancement of social liberalization and secularization that could eventually and permanently displace the dominant conservative male hierarchy in Ireland.

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PROSELYTIZATION VS EDUCATION

Teaching about Islam in American Public Schools

SARYA BALADI

THIS PAPER ARGUES FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS LITERACY IN THE AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN RELATION TO ISLAM, A RELIGION THAT IS NOT ONLY GROWING IN RELEVANCE THAT THAT IS ALSO SUBJECT TO VARIOUS MISCONCEPTIONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. THE AUTHOR OUTLINES WHAT AN APPROPRIATE LESSON PLAN ABOUT ISLAM WOULD LOOK LIKE IN THE CONTEXT OF A SECULAR CLASSROOM WHILE POINTING OUT LIMITATIONS AND SHORTFALLS IN CURRENT LESSON PLANS. ADDITIONALLY, THE MULTIPLE CONTROVERSIES RAISED BY TEACHING ABOUT ISLAM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, PARTICULARLY ON BEHALF OF CONSERVATIVE MEDIA OUTLETS, ARE HIGHLIGHTED TO EMPHASIZE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROSELYTIZATION – WHICH IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL – AND RELIGIOUS LITERACY – WHICH IS KEY TO PROVIDING A WELL-ROUNDED EDUCATION TO AMERICAN STUDENTS.

INTRODUCTION

The place of religion in public schools has been a long contested and controversial issue. Although major Supreme Court cases of the 1960s such as Engel v. Vitale (1962) and Abington School District v. Schempp (1963) secularized the American public education system by prohibiting school-sponsored prayer and daily Bible readings, education about religion is still legal and even encouraged for pedagogical and democratic reasons. In the majority opinion for Abington School District v. Schempp, Justice Clarke makes a clear distinction between devotional and secular religious teaching, refuting the popular claim that religious studies in public schools is unconstitutional:

"...it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistently with the First Amendment."[1]

While many believe that religion has no place in the public sphere, or conversely that Western religions should be given an exclusive place in public education, many scholars have been committed to promoting well-rounded religious literacy in public schools. Diane L. Moore, the founder and director of the Religious Literacy Project at Harvard University, defines religious literacy as "the ability to discern and analyze the fundamental intersections of religion and social/political/cultural life through multiple lenses," which entails not only possessing a basic understanding of world religions, but also the ability to see how religions manifest themselves in society.[2] The type of study Moore refers to is purely academic, neither promoting any religion nor encouraging students to take part in devotional practices. With the support of the American Academy of Religion, she states the priority for public schools should be combating religious illiteracy by teaching the basics about major world religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.) since religious illiteracy leads to ignorance, bigotry, and intolerance, which is especially problematic in a multi-confessional country such as the United States. However, to this day, public schools are not required to offer any religious studies courses to their students, and there exist no teaching guidelines or institutional resources that educators can use to teach about religion in a pedagogical and appropriate manner.[3]

A SIGN AT A TEA PARTY MARCH ON WASHINGTON DC. (COURTESY OF *FLICKR*)

Although all faiths should be introduced and covered equally during religious studies classes in public schools, it is particularly important to pay attention to the tricky issues of how Islam is taught, given that it is a hot-button topic. While religious literacy in the United States is generally lacking, Islamic religious literacy is particularly low; in the words of Stephen Prothero, the chair of the Department of Religion at Boston University, "when it comes to understanding the Islamic tradition, most Americans are kindergarteners at best."[4] Considering the demographic growth of Muslims around the world, the prevalence of political violence in many Muslim-majority countries, and the pervasiveness of Islamophobic sentiment in the United States, it is crucial now more than ever that American students be informed about the basics and modern expressions of this prominent religion. This paper will focus on the significance of Islam as an influential religion worldwide, on the way Islam is currently taught in public schools, and on the controversies surrounding lesson plans about Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ISLAM

It is important for students to be knowledgeable about Islamic traditions as well as current iterations of Islam for multiple reasons. Firstly, Islam is one of the largest global religions, second only to Christianity in size. It was esti-

mated in 2015 that there were around 1.8 billion Muslims worldwide, making up approximately one quarter of the global population. Islam is also believed to be the fastest growing religion, and it is estimated that it will become the world's largest religion in a few short decades (around the year 2030): "In the period between 2010 and 2015, births to Muslims accounted for an estimated 31% of all births around the world – far exceeding the Muslim share of people of all ages in 2015 (24%)."[5] In the United States, although Muslims represent a much smaller proportion of the population, their growth rate is significant compared to that of other religious groups. There were around 3.45 million Muslims living in the United States in 2017 (representing 1.1% of the American population), and "by 2050, the U.S. Muslim population is projected to reach 8.1 million, or 2.1% of the nation's total population — nearly twice the share of today."[6] Muslim presence and influence, therefore, including in the United States, will only become more prevalent in the decades to come.

Secondly, even though Islam plays an important role in today's global society, religious literacy about Islam is shockingly low. Results from the 2009 Annual Religion and Public Life Survey highlight this lack of knowledge: "A slim majority of Americans know the Muslim name for God is Allah, and a similar number can correctly name the Qur'an as the Islamic sacred text. Overall, 41% of the public is able to answer both questions correctly, 23% can answer one but not the other, and 36% of Americans are unfamiliar with either term." This has led to severe consequences for the Muslim minority, as the same study shows that there is a strong correlation between the level of familiarity with Islam and public opinion about Islam:

"The survey shows that higher levels of familiarity with Islam, and especially knowing someone who is Muslim, are associated with more positive views toward the religion. For example, among the group with the highest level of familiarity with Islam, most reject the idea that Islam encourages violence (57%). By contrast, fewer than half of those with medium familiarity with Islam (46%) and one-third of those with little familiarity (34%) reject the idea of a link between Islam and violence. Not surprisingly, people with lower levels of familiarity with Islam exhibit higher levels of non-response in attitudes about Islam, saying they do not know whether it is more or less likely than other religions to encourage violence. Similarly, those with the highest levels of familiarity with Islam express the most favorable views of Muslims. Nearly six-in-ten of those most familiar with Islam express favorable views of Muslims, compared with less than four-in-ten among those with less familiarity."[7]

Muslim-Americans have greatly suffered as a result of low religious literacy about Islam, especially following the terrorist attacks of September 11th.. Findings from the 2015 American Values Survey reveal a prevalent negative sentiment about Islam: 56% of Americans believe "that the values of Islam are at odds with American values and way of life," which directly correlates with high levels of discrimination and negative sentiment towards Muslims.[8] The general association of Islam with violence or terrorism is the justification used for these negative sentiments, translating into an array of negative experiences for Muslims that range from insensitive comments to excessive airport screening, hiring discrimination, and hate crimes. Around two-thirds of Muslims report having experienced some form of religious discrimination, and 42% of Muslim school-age children have reported being bullied (compared to a mere 10% of the general public), with one quarter of those incidents involving an educator.[9]

Is it thus of particular relevance to teach about Islam during this time, and education can go a long way for school-aged children. During her time teaching at Phillips Academy, Diane Moore taught a class about Islam in high school and received very positive feedback from her students. She openly justifies the importance of this class

"Islam and Muslims are still seen as a dangerous 'other' that can easily corrupt young Americans, despite the efforts many school districts have made to foster respectful dialogue about religious pluralism through education."

given "[her] concern regarding religious illiteracy among U.S. citizens in general and especially in relationship to Islam given the current world events and the problematic representation of Islam through the rhetoric of politicians and the contemporary media."[10]

APPROPRIATE LESSON PLANS ABOUT ISLAM

Against the backdrop of the concerning rise in Islamophobia, multiple scholars and institutions have been vocal about introducing religious literacy programs. This pressure was even present to some extent within the American government under the Bush Administration. For example, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) started multiple initiatives, such as ACCESS Islam or Empire of Faith, to teach Americans of all ages about Islam, from its basic traditions to its marks in contemporary American society. ACCESS Islam was developed by PBS to be used in American classrooms and received some funding from the federal education department following the attacks of 9/11, when hate crimes against Muslims were at an all-time high (in 2001, the number of assaults motivated by anti-Muslim bias drastically increased to 93, a number that has again peaked to 91 in 2015, due to the resurgence of populism and nationalism in the United States).[11] Some schools have also taken advantage of the decentralized nature of the American public education system to introduce religious literacy classes to students, which invariably include class-time about Islam. The public Wellesley Middle School, for instance, dedicates the whole second semester of the sixth-grade social studies curriculum to the study of world religions, which covers five weeks of Judaism, four weeks of Christianity, four weeks of Islam, and three weeks of Hinduism. Although this school puts more emphasis on religious studies than most, other schools have similarly started to make an effort to include religious studies in some shape or form in their curricula.

ACCESS Islam offers a good illustration of how Islam should be taught in public school and gives the possibility to educators to use a legitimate curriculum that is both educational and appropriate for classrooms. It is made up of ten different in-depth lesson plans about Islam, such as "Religion and the First Amendment," "Salat: Prayer in the Muslim Life," "Scholarship and Learning in Islam," or "Women in Islam." Despite widespread criticism of this program, the lesson plans are generic and in line with the restrictions set out by the First Amendment of the Constitution, meaning that they merely teach about Islam and in no way seek to convert students to Islam. The program rightly starts off by explaining the place of religious studies in public schools in order to set the students' expectations in a way that is Constitutionally sound; educators are expected to be transparent about their intentions of teaching religious studies and to make a clear distinction between education and proselytization. Lesson plans then go over a basic history of the religion, covering the birth of Islam with Muhammad in the 6th and 7th centuries, a basic timeline of main events within the religion, general vocabulary about the religion (which is mostly in Arabic), and the Sunni-Shia divide that took place in the early days of Islam. Additionally, educators cover the main practices and beliefs of the religion , particularly the tenants of the Five Pillars of Islam and the main holidays celebrated by Muslims. Finally, ACCESS Islam considers modern-day manifestations of the religion, including the presence of Islam in the United States, gender and sexuality within Islam, and Islamophobia. Generally speaking, the topics in ACCESS Islam not only follow what is expected to be covered in public school curricula, but also respect the standards set by the First Amendment, making the program very appropriate to teach in public schools:

"Despite competing historical narratives, pervasive stereotypes, and the difficult choices over designing an appropriate curriculum, scholars generally agree that there are some core values, beliefs, historical events, and practices that characterize Islam and should be part of the secondary school curriculum. Most scholars agree students should know the theological meaning of Islam, the transcendence and indivisibility of Allah, the role of Muhammad and his deeds and sayings (hadith), the importance of the Quran to Islam, Shariah (law), the Five Pillars of Islam

"Around two-thirds of Muslims report having experienced some form of religious discrimination,..., with one quarter of those incidents involving an educator."

(five requirements that are at the heart of Islam), the Six Pillars of Faith, the contributions of Muslims to world civilization, reasons for the rapid expansion of Islam, and the divisions within Islam."[12]

TEACHING IN PRACTICE: LIMITATION AND SHORTFALLS

Although PBS's ACCESS Islam and other current curricula devoted to teaching about Islam seem to be unproblematic, old textbooks from the 1970s and 1980s posed multiple issues. With the secularization of the American education system and numerous important developments in international relations—particularly the instability during the Cold War in Islamic-majority countries—educators saw the opportunity and the need to expand their curricula beyond purely Western history and philosophies. Substantial material about non-Western areas and religions was thus gradually introduced: "In the 1980s, most textbooks contained approximately one paragraph or so on each world religion, although by the 1990s many textbooks contained a full lesson, or even a chapter, on each." Although these were positive developments, early textbooks about Islam generally "portrayed Islam, Muslims, and the Middle East with numerous inaccuracies," which only strengthened negative stereotypes about Islam for the large majority of students who were unfamiliar with the religion.[13] Specifically, these textbooks would describe overly-strong differences between Islam and the two other monotheistic religions despite them being from the same religious lineage (Judaism, Christianity and Islam are all considered to be religions of People of the Book); these tendencies could eventually reinforce questionable clichés about Islam as being overly foreign, exotic, and oriental—a religion that has no natural place in Western nations.[14]

Modern curricula have been making great improvements since the 1980s. For instance, the educational materials used in the in-depth four-week section about Islam at Wellesley Middle School correct a large majority of the flaws present in older textbooks. Their handouts accurately portray the religious traditions, such as the founding story, an overview of the beliefs, the Five Pillars of Islam, the rites of passage, and the Sunni-Shia division, in a way that is perfectly appropriate for a sixth-grade religious studies class. In addition, the strongly connected lineage of Islam in relation to Judaism and Christianity is also covered—one of the handouts asks students to make a Venn Diagram with the three religions—as well as modern-day considerations, particularly stereotypes and misperceptions about Islam. However, despite the distinguished quality of the Wellesley curriculum, there is some room for improvement: for instance, in the handout about the Sunni-Shia divide, it is written that "Some Shiite groups are made up of people who believe that violence is acceptable when fighting for justice." Not only can this also be said for Sunni groups, thereby making it an irrelevant distinction, but it can also be said of any religious, political, or social group in general. Therefore, although curricula about Islam, whether found in textbooks, in ACCESS Islam, or in school-individual handouts, are generally much better than what they used to be forty years ago, their corresponding materials should be revised on a regular basis to ensure that they are rid of inaccuracies and that they reflect the evolving place of Islam in the United States.

Moreover, while curricula have greatly improved over the past decades, more needs to be done to prepare educators to teach about Islam in the classroom. Even though ACCESS Islam and similar lesson plans are for the most part appropriate, it would be naïve to assume that educators on an individual level do not sometimes overstep their boundaries when using them. An otherwise very appropriate lesson plan, about Islam or about any other religion, can be taught in a way that is very inappropriate by going off-script—making side comments that denigrate or endorse a religion goes against the standards set by the First Amendment. With regards to Islam specifically, educators are often ignorant about certain beliefs and practices and let common American stereotypes about Islam influence the vocabulary they use or the facts they decide to emphasize at the expense of others. In effect, American relations with Islamic-majority countries have been unstable since the second half of the twentieth century, with political developments such as the Arab-Israeli Conflict, the Iranian Revolution, the War on Terror, and the rise of ISIS as a global terrorist organization, all contributing to increased negative public opinion about Islam in the United States. Educators, poorly prepared to teach a class on world religions in their classrooms, are very easily influenced by the overwhelmingly negative media coverage of Islam and can approach the religion in a way that is misleading or inaccurate; as a result, "the popular media's interpretation of Islam and the Muslim world has flowed freely into schoolrooms and then back out again to the wider public without being subjected to much critical analysis and correction."[15]

There is a limit to how much good lesson plans constrain teachers, so it is crucial that educators receive solid training and preparation for religious studies instruction prior to teaching. However, as it is unfortunately not common for teachers to have access to this type of training funded by the American Department of Education or local school districts, and it is often left up to them to train themselves prior to teaching about religion They can do so by educating themselves about the nature of the First Amendment and becoming as knowledgeable about the religion as possible through personal research and readings. However, this is often insufficient to ensure a truly positive class experience, and the American Academy of Religion strongly urges educators to seek more rigorous preparation:

"We in the American Academy of Religion urge programs that train pre-service educators to include at least one religious studies course in their requirements. We also encourage educators to avail themselves of opportunities to strengthen their literacy about religion by enrolling in religious studies courses at their local college or university. Obviously, the more exposure teachers have to the academic study of religion, the better equipped they will be to teach about the rich complexities of religion as it manifests itself in human political and cultural life. However, due to the widespread illiteracy about religion in the general population, exposure to even a single well-taught course in religious studies can dramatically enhance one's understanding of, and appreciation for, the important role of religion in human experience."[16]

CONTROVERSIES AND CLAIMS OF PROSELYTIZATION

Although teaching about religion in public schools is fully Constitutional and encouraged, lesson plans about Islam have not come without controversy, especially since the attacks of 9/11 and their aftermath, as some educators started to make a concerted effort to teach about Islam in the classroom. The numerous news stories from different states such as Tennessee, Massachusetts, or Virginia paint a very similar picture: there are parents who claim that in-class education about Islam is "indoctrination," as it prioritizes the teaching of Islam over the teaching of other religions and cherry-picks solely positive sides about Islam while ignoring the violent tendencies within the religion. Although these criticisms have been expressed across the country for the past fifteen years, school districts in which they take place have similar characteristics: they are overwhelmingly white, Christian, and Conservative, meaning that they have little exposure to Islam and thus higher rates of Islamophobic sentiments.[17] Conservative media sources, particularly Fox News and other smaller right-wing media outlets, have largely covered these claims of pro-Islamic teaching in public schools. Educators can at times overstep their boundaries and do Constitutionally-inappropriate things in the classroom, but the large majority of these reported cases are greatly misleading and paint a false picture of Western-Christian values being sidelined at the expense of 'pro-Islamic teaching.'

Concerns among Conservative Americans have been present since curricula started introducing material about non-Western countries in the 1970s. While rising multiculturalist strategies stood by the importance of re-writing the curricula in the light of an evolving world, Social Conservatives tended to "[fear] that critically analyzing and then re-writing the existing story of one nation, one people would ultimately tear the country apart" and to "[worry] that too much study of 'other cultures' besides Europe and North America would discourage young Americans from embracing a common heritage and diminish their commitment to traditional western ideals and values."[18] Moreover, anti-Islam sentiment has generally increased in the twenty-first century and has varied according to partisan lines, particularly since 2015 with the poignant political polarization in the United States between liberals and conservatives. For example, the question of whether Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence among its believers reveals growing ideological differences between Democrats and Republicans: "When it was first asked in 2002, just 11 points separated Republicans and Democrats. By December 2016, the partisan gap had grown to 44 points: 70% of Republicans say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence, compared with 26% of Democrats who say the same."[19]

One of the most mediatized controversies was about ACCESS Islam in 2017 when the Christian Action Network, a Conservative activist organization, posted an eight-minute-long video on YouTube claiming that "the United States Department of Education has developed an Islamic indoctrination program for public schools called ACCESS Islam." They also wrote a letter to the Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos demanding to shut down the program. The video shows the founder of the Christian Action Network, Martin Mawyer, criticizing the program as "nothing more than a Sunday school class on Islam," and commenting on some video snippets from the ACCESS Islam program, taken out of context, as follows:

"The emphasis of these videos is to instruct students on how to follow the Five Pillars of Islam [...] Students are told to focus on learning about the core duties of Muslims as well as have the students read about what it means to proclaim faith or belief as a Muslim. Students are expected not only to learn passages from the Qur'an but to explain the meaning of those verses found in the Qur'an. It is important to note that the U.S. Department of Education offers no similar program for Jews, Christians, Hindus, or any other of the world's major religions, just Islam. Pay attention to the language used in these videos. They go beyond the pale of simply educating the students on Islam. They clearly fall into the arena of teaching children how to become a good Muslim, how to perform Islamic rituals, and how to be pleasing to Allah."[20]

Conservative media sources such as Breitbart News and The Clarion Project were quick to express support for the claims made by the Christian Action Network. Additionally, Mawyer was invited on Tucker Carlson Tonight, and during the show Carlson asserted that the Department of Education is funding this program for the sake of "diversity," to appease politically-correct liberals by promoting solely positive stories about Islam at the expense of hard, disturbing facts.[21]

Mawyer's case is almost entirely based on incorrect claims. It is simply false to say that ACCESS Islam teaches that Islam is superior to other religions or that it encourages students to convert to Islam. PolitiFact (operated by the Tampa Bay Times) correctly summarized the issue when it asserted that "the program includes educational lesson plans and videos about various topics related to Islam including how Muslims pray, but the materials we reviewed didn't appear to try to convince students to become Muslims or to argue that Islam is a better religion than other world religions."[22] On the other hand, the Department of Education should continue to introduce similar programs about other major world religions, instead of only having a program dedicated to Islam, for the sake of non-establishment and equality among the religions of the United States. All in all, these numerous controversies about covering Islam in school curricula illustrate how Islam is sidelined from mainstream American culture, particularly in more socially conservative regions that prefer to emphasize Christian values over a multicultural education. Islam and Muslims are still seen as a dangerous 'other' that can easily corrupt young Americans, despite the efforts many school districts have made to foster respectful dialogue about religious pluralism through education.

CONCLUSION

Prevalent religious illiteracy about Islam in the United States has only had negative consequences, namely ignorance about one of the world's most significant religions, and intolerance towards Muslim-Americans. Widely-available, legitimate, and appropriate educational resources about Islam for public schools is an excellent way to combat this issue. Although it is important that educators focus on all major religions equally in the classroom, it is necessary that they pay special attention to the way they prepare and teach their lesson plans about Islam in particular due to developments about Islam in the international community since the twentieth century and its growing presence in American society. Public schools have already made great strides since the turn of the twenty-first century in introducing a more nuanced and complete illustration of the Islamic religion to American students, partly through the aid of PBS or through district-personalized curricula, that generally cover the separation of Church and State, traditional Islamic beliefs, practices, and holidays, as well as modern developments and implications for Muslims in the United States and in the world. If schools continue to move in this direction, they can have the power to create a more socially and politically-aware generation of young Americans and to strengthen pluralism and democracy in America.

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THE ARTIST'S HAND

Portraiture's Potential to Transform Black Identity and History

GRACE PETER

THIS PAPER EXPLORES THE POWER OF PORTRAITS AND THEIR ABILITY TO REDEFINE RACE AND IDENTITY IN TIME. IN TIMES OF EXPLOITATION AND DISREGARD, BLACK CULTURE HAS BEEN DEFINED BY THE LENS AND HANDS OF OTHERS. HOWEVER, THE EMERGENCE OF BLACK ARTISTS IS NOW BRINGING LIGHT TO A MORE PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE OF THEIR IDENTITY AND CULTURE. ARTISTS SUCH AS GAYL JONES IN HER BOOK CORREGIDORA, ONEIKA RUSSELL'S NEW OLYMPIA 7, AND JOHN B. MARTIN'S PORTRAIT OF JAMES ARMISTEAD LAFAYETTE CREATE AND REDEFINE A PEOPLE WHO TRIED TO BE ERASED. THROUGH THESE SELF-PORTRAITS, THE IMPORTANCE OF ART AND ITS CREATOR ARE BROUGHT TO LIFE.

The history of portraiture extends throughout centuries. Historians study portraits to derive ethnographic details of time. Historical interpretation expands the power of portraits beyond storytelling; portraits have the ability to shape history. However, the historic exclusion of black people from portraits created a void in history. This void in history rendered black identity vulnerable to the definitions of others. White hands, of artists and of those who commission the work, constructed the portrait identity of black people. Although portraiture threatens an authentic black history and identity when it is in the wrong hands, the function of the art form is in the midst of an evolution. With the emergence of black artists, the function of portraiture has been flipped to combat the erasure of black people in history (Meskimmon 188). In Gayl Jones' Corregidora, four generations of women fight the tide of history that targets their identity. The Corregidora women and the sociopolitical movement within black portraiture share the same struggle and purpose: to preserve their authentic and independent identity in the face of opposing efforts. To do this, a process of creation must be undergone in addition to analysis of their violent past. Creation through portraits offers a key to an autonomous identity for black people and specifically for the Corregidora women.

Portraiture is a necessary medium because incapable and abusive hands erased the identity and history of black people. To understand the past, the ruling powers of portraiture in must be unearthed and exposed. In Corregidora, Great Gram explains how their history was once the possession of slaveholders, who literally tried to erase their history by burning the documents (Jones 14). In a similar way, when white men dominated the field of portraiture, they wielded the power over black history. As a result, black bodies were used in portraits to augment a white image of beauty, virtue, or wealth and status (Boime, Bontemps). Within the parameters of portraits, new ways to erase black history and identity were discovered. A formulaic interpretation of the color scale was one of the largest displays of this. The artist used the innately contrasting colors of black and white to represent the differences between black and white people through their portraits. In 1837, Frederic Portal published a book on color symbolism that Paillot de Montabert later endorsed. Montabert can be described as "one of the most influential writers on art practice of the period" (Boime). Montabert wrote a lesson manual for art students that built upon Portal's ideas. The manuscript contains the following passage:

"White signifies supreme beauty;

Black ugliness.

White signifies perfection;

Black signifies vice.

White is the symbol of innocence,

Black that of guilt, sin, and moral degradation"

(Boime 2).

BETHANY VENEY, A SLAVE WOMAN WHO DOCUMENTED HER EXPERIENCES (COURTESY OF *WIKIMEDIA COMMONS*)

Color symbolism deliberately taught the equation of blackness to negativity. It thus becomes clear that the erasure of black history and identity within art was never a simple result of racism at the time; this erasure stems from institutionalized intentions of artists.

Once viewers are aware of the intentionality behind portraiture, viewers can critically assess artwork within the context of deliberate erasure. Then, by understanding these tools used against them, the black community can use them to their advantage. In "The Art of Exclusion," Biome cites chiaroscuro as evidence of an artist's intentionality (Boime 2). Chiaroscuro is a dramatic use of highlights and shadows, which correlate to good and evil. In the canonical portrait, Olympia, a white women lays nude across her bed, doused in angelic light, while the black maid nearly disappears in the shadows. When the artist

floods the white figure with light and shrouds black people in darkness, the Portal's chiaroscuro formula equates blackness to evil and whiteness to good. The maid's portrayal demonstrates the artist's malicious intent to diminish and subordinate blackness.

Since chiaroscuro became elucidated as a tool to perpetuate the inferiority of black personhood to whiteness, black artists like Oneika Russell used it to their advantage. In her piece Olympia 7, Russell alters the original Olympia so that the maid becomes the focal point. A silhouette of pattern replaces the detailed white figure. The diminished shadows draw out the figure of the maid. The black figure pops out with a colored border and an arrow.

Great Gram exemplifies the strategy of understanding one's weaknesses and then using them to one's advantage. Even though Great Gram's sexual abilities put a target on her back for violence, she uses this characteristic to create identity and history. Great Gram asserts her superiority over the white Mrs. Corregidora because of her ability to reproduce and please Corregidora, an ability that alludes Mrs. Corregidora (Jones 23). In a particular scene, Great Gram imagines during sex that she is helping a runaway slave escape. She says "And then somehow it got in my mind that each time he kept going down in me would be that boy's feets running" (Jones 128). Great Gram interprets sex as a power that can help black people escape white people's enslavement. Throughout the novel, procreation acts as a tool to combat erasure, as the preservation of their history depends on the sexual and reproductive capabilities of the women.

In "Who's Afraid of Black Sexuality," Stacy Patton addresses how academic discussion avoids black sexuality to the detriment of black identity. Great Gram's assertion of her own sexual and reproductive abilities supports Patton's argument. Patton also explains that academics avoided the topic because "'to focus on sexuality would have been a distortion of the agenda'" (Patton). The agenda referenced is the civil rights movement. This contention, that black sexuality corrupts the drive for civil rights, crumbles when it encounters Great Gram. Great Gram's agenda, the preservation of history and identity, depends on her sexuality. Without her sexuality, Great Gram cannot produce generations. Furthermore, Great Gram would lose a major aspect of her identity if academics ignore her sexuality. She would no longer be "Dorita. Little gold piece" (Jones 10). Great Gram reveals sexuality as a creative force for identity.

In my project, the portrait of Great Gram takes all the tools primarily exercised to erase black identity, and uses them to highlight Great Gram's identity. I channeled Great Gram's ability to turn the tables on a disadvantage. Since color symbolism slanders blackness, I used gold highlights on and around her body to channel Great Gram's sexual pride as "little gold piece." The mixture of skin tones, of gold and brown, symbolize her self-love as "the darkest woman in the house, the coffee-bean woman" (Jones 11). Her confident pose with her exposed breast chastises academics for their discrediting avoidance of black sexuality. Great Gram smirks, contented by her portrait's statement of resistance and creation of identity.

Portraiture can both heighten individuality and blur the individual. Ursa encounters a similar contradiction: the history of Corregidora. While it generates a strong familial identity, it also invades her identity as an individual. Portraiture provides Ursa with an important lesson: when another person's creation defines you, you lose dominion over yourself. Once black artists took the brush into their own hands, their portraits produced an identity independent from the destructive portrait identity made by white artists. For example, in John-Baptiste Paon's portrait of General Lafayette, Paon "'intensified the hierarchical, master-servant symbolism of his composition by rendering the black orderly's features so abstract, stylized, and shadowy that the viewer's attention is drawn not to the individuality of Armistead's features but to the theatrical splendor of his costume'" (Bontemps). Portraiture, in the wrong hands, subjugates the black individual to the benefit of whiteness.

"Even though Great Gram's sexual abilities put a target on her back for violence, she uses this characteristic to create identity and history."

When John B. Martin, a black painter in the 19th century, paints the same black orderly, he portrays Armistead in his army uniform "'with his highly individualized features forcefully drawn, a dark, ruggedly handsome man looking out at the viewer with quizzical expression'" (Bontemps). Martin transforms history with his portrait; a prop of a person metamorphoses into a real individual a soldier with a playful personality. Portraiture is a dangerous tool. In the wrong hands, it erases a person's history and identity. In the right hands, it creates an authentic black story.

The hyper-individual aspect of a portrait presents Ursa with an opportunity to assert her individual identity within the history of Corregidora. From the onset of the novel, the reader senses the pressure the older Corregidora women place on Ursa to carry their history. Great Gram tells Ursa "'I'm leaving evidence. And you got to leave evidence too. And your children got to leave evidence'. . . I was five years old then" (Jones 14). A five-year-old made into an instrument to preserve the history of violence done onto her ancestors. Ursa is raised for the purpose of another, but after her hysterectomy, she loses the ability to fulfill this purpose and sinks into inner turmoil. Ursa's identity as an appendage of the Corregidora women also alters her reality. Scenes of her love life are interpolated with the sexual violence done to her grandmothers; her identity is a blur between her individual self and her historical self that was created by her grandmothers. Ursa clearly deflects her own reality to those of others. She angrily contemplates her mother's actions and asks "How could she bear witness to what she'd never lived, and refuse me what she had lived? That's what I mean" (Jones 103). Once Ursa finally confronts her mother and receives her private memories, Ursa has an epiphany: "what had I done about my own life?" (Jones 132). Ursa fell victim as an embodiment of others' stories and identities and delayed the creation of her own.

In order to support Ursa in her creation of a truly separate self, my portrait depicted Ursa singing. Ursa's voice is her own creation of identity. The quality of her voice changes after her injury; her friend testifies that "it sounds like you been through something. Before it was beautiful too, but you sound like you been through more now" (Jones 44). Her voice thus acts as a form that embodies her own story of violence. The emotional expression she wears represents her struggle within her own story. Additionally, the blue colors symbolize the genre of blues music. The music genre offers important insights into the character because of its focus on love andit's melancholic undertones. In its totality, the portrait of Ursa is a reaction to Audre Lorde's when she asks, in her speech "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action," "What are the tyrannies you swallow day by day and attempt to make your own, until you will sicken and die of them still in silence?" (Lorde 41). Ursa's voice refuses to sing a history that is not her own, to become submissive to an identity that is not her own. Her voice literally and metaphorically, breaks her out of the silence Lorde discusses.

Portraiture has historically been a tool that takes away black people's history and identity. Portraiture by black artists, however, creates identity and history; it is a process of "reclaiming of that language which has been made to work against us" (Lorde 43). The struggle to save history from erasure ties portraiture and the struggle of the Corregidora women together. This project's portraits of Great Gram and Ursa reclaim their sexuality, beauty, purpose, and voice through a form that is, itself, an act of reclaiming black identity and history.

"Once black artists took the brush into their own hands, their portraits produced an identity independent from the destructive portrait identity made by white artists."

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This source clearly explained how racism in art is institutionalized. It explained key educators in art that led to this negative effect. The source gave a detailed account of how portraits have represented black people throughout history and provided specific examples of this. Additionally, the source discussed the ways that these representations were a reflected racism back into reality, meaning the effects that racism in portraits has on the lives of black persons. The downfall of this book was its narrow focus on only the negative aspects of black portraits. As a result, this book motivated me to defend artwork, specifically portraiture, and its ability to be an authentic representation of black lives and a positive tool for expression of identity and history.

Bontemps, Alex. "Seeing Slavery: How paintings make words look different." Common-place.org. 01, no. 4. http://common-place.org/book/seeing-slavery-how-paintings-make-words-look-different/

This article sparked my interest in how slaves were portrayed as a way of supporting a white identity. It analyzed the difference between two paintings of the same subject, which showed how the artist has an immeasurable effect on the portrayal of black figures. Also, the focus on portraits of slaves led to the more intimate connection between erasure in portraiture and the erasure of the history of the enslaved Corregidora women.

Jones, Gayl. Corregidora. Beacon Press, 1986.

I was drawn to the complexity and intertwinement of the characters in this novel. I felt that the many moving parts made interpretation of the plot and characters readily available and posed an interesting challenge. The challenge of the novel especially made it a good choice as a focus for my project because my thesis pertains to the way portraiture, my chosen form, can bring new insights and clarification to the themes in the text.

Lorde, Audre. "Modern Language Association's 'Lesbian and Literature Panel.'" The Crossing Press, Sister Outsider, 1984, pp. 40–44.

Audre Lorde's speech spoke about the struggle of silence and how the torture of silence is incomparably worse than the misinterpretation of one's message. Her speech was especially applicable to Ursa's struggle to tell her own story and not just the history of Corregidora that has been put on her. Lorde focused my portrait of Ursa because through her speech, I asked myself what Ursa needed to receive from a portrait. If she had commissioned this portrait, what would be the main goals? The importance of an individual, independent from the voices of others, is the central theme of Lorde's speech and Ursa's portrait.

Lugo-Ortiz, Agnes I, and Angela Rosenthal. Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

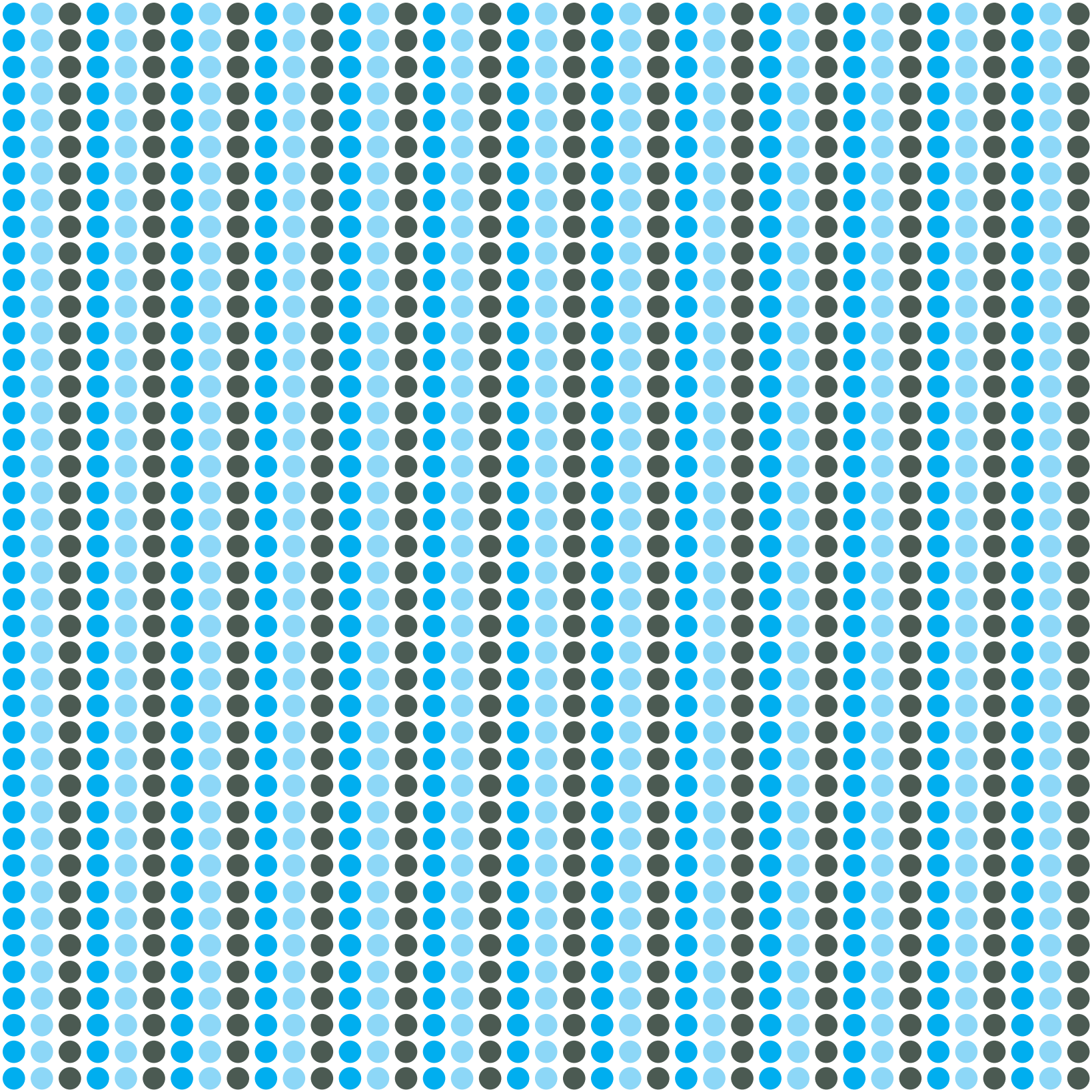
I used portraits included within this source as references for my own artwork. I specifically tried to replicate the color and pose of the Portrait of a Negress by Marie-Guilhelmine Benoist for Great Gram's portrait.

Meskimmon, Marsha. The Art of Reflection : Women Artists' Self-Portraiture in the Twentieth Century. Columbia University Press, 1996.

This book provides a general overview of movements within art that center around women. Two especially key chapters focused on portraiture of black women and portraiture of older demographics. The first chapter opened my eyes to the relatively recent evolution in portraiture caused by the emergence of black artists who fight the default imaging of black people.

Stephens, Michelle. "Defacing the Gaze and Reimagining the Black Body: Contemporary Caribbean Women Artists." Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art, vol. 38, 2016, pp. 22-30. Project MUSE, muse.jhu.edu/article/639562.

This article perfectly tied into the use of chiaroscuro as a specifically artistic-focused method of erasure that I had read about in the book "The Art of Erasure." The article showed how portraits, even ones that are initially negative like Olympia by Edourd Manet, can be reinterpreted to the advantage of black identity. The article analyzes the transformation of Manet's Olympia into Oneika Russell's piece Olympia 7 and specifically, how Russell accomplishes this transformation. Russell inspired me to include a own portraits of Ursa and Great Gram.



SCHOOL'S OUT

Unpacking the Reality of Summer Learning Loss

CHARLIE POWER

THE DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES IS FRACTIOUS AND CONTENTIOUS. MANY OF THESE ARE ROOTED IN CONCERNS OVER DISPARITIES IN FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND RACE. WHILE THE FULL EXTENT OF THE GAPS, IN ADDITION TO THE UNITED STATES' MEDIOCRE EDUCATION SYSTEM RELATIVE TO OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, HAS BEEN A SUBJECT OF FREQUENT RESEARCH AND HEATED DEBATE, ONE CRUCIAL COMPONENT OF THIS DIVIDE HAS YET TO BE ANALYZED: SUMMER LEARNING LOSS.

THIS PAPER WILL CLOSELY ANALYZE PUBLISHED LITERATURE IN ORDER TO ANALYZE THE IMPACT OF SUMMER EDUCATION LOSS. ADDITIONALLY, THIS PAPER WILL ARGUE THAT SUMMER LEARNING VARIES BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES), WITH LOW-INCOME POPULATIONS GRADUALLY REGRESSING OVER THE YEARS. THIS PHENOMENON HAS RAMIFICATIONS ON STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENT AND EXPLAINS THE DISPARITIES THAT ACCUMULATE OVER A STUDENT'S EDUCATIONAL CAREER. FINALLY, BASED ON CURRENT EVIDENCE, THIS PAPER WILL MAKE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO CHANGE THE CURRENT EDUCATION SYSTEM TO BETTER ADDRESS SUMMER'S INHERENT INEQUITIES.

INTRODUCTION

The debate over the future direction of elementary and secondary education in the United States is fractious and contentious. While all stakeholders express the desire to raise the quality of education, this consensus quickly disintegrates into bitter disputes over charter schools, teacher quality, and standardized tests, to name a few of the issues that devour much of the oxygen surrounding education reform.

Rooted in many of these disputes are concerns over equity—disparities in educational performance due to differences in affluence and racial background. While the cause and full extent of the gaps, in addition to the United States' mediocre system-wide educational performance relative to other industrialized nations, has been a subject of frequent research and heated debate, one crucial component of this divide has not received as much attention: summer.

This paper will closely analyze published literature in order to clarify the magnitude of summer education loss. Additionally, this paper will argue that the magnitude of summer learning varies by socioeconomic status (SES), with low-income populations regressing the most between school years. This phenomenon has ramifications for long-term achievement gaps, and is an explanatory factor in the disparities that accumulate over the course of a student's time in the school system. Finally, based on current evidence, this paper will make policy recommendations on how to change the current education system to better address summer's inherent inequities.

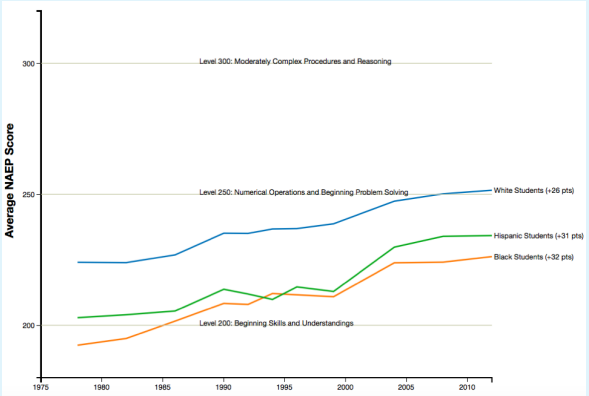


FIGURE 1: 9 YEAR OLD NAEP MATH SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012[3] (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

However, before delving into the current research, it will first be necessary to discuss what is at stake in the summer learning loss debate. This discussion will take place in Section I. Section II will address challenges in methodology and experimental design—the techniques researchers have deployed to gather and interpret data relating to summer learning loss. Section III will examine what is known about summer learning loss, how and why it might vary by race or class, and its possible contribution to long-term educational outcomes. After reviewing the evidence, Section IV will discuss implications for policymakers and propose some suggestions for reform. Section IV will also contain a more forward-looking analysis of what data still need to be gathered around summer learning loss, as well as future questions for researchers to examine.

SECTION I: WHAT'S AT STAKE

It is no secret that American educational performance in recent decades has been mediocre. In the most recent 2015 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) results, the U.S. ranked 38th in math and 24th in science, out of 71 countries. These results are disappointing given the relatively high amounts of money local, state, and federal governments spend on K-12 public education. For the 2018-19 school year, the U.S. is projected to spend $654 billion on primary and secondary education[1], an average of almost $13,000 per student, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. This figure is almost a third greater than the Organization for Economic Cooperation (OECD) average, a group of countries with developed, market-based economies. The American education system also contains significant disparities along racial and income lines.[2] As data from Stanford's Educational Monitoring Project reveal, the correlations between achievement and racial gaps in income, neighborhood levels of poverty, unemployment, and educational attainment are strong: "When these four factors are combined into a single index of racial socioeconomic disparities, the correlation between state achievement gaps and state racial socioeconomic disparities is high: for white-black gaps the correlation is 0.61-0.68; for white-Hispanic gaps it is 0.83-0.86." And as Figure 1 depicts, while students of all racial backgrounds have improved over time—and black and Hispanic students have improved slightly more in absolute terms than their white counterparts—significant testing gaps remain.

While there are undoubtedly several factors that influence academic achievement, the research presented in Section II will demonstrate that summer learning loss is a salient component. Subsequently, it may be foolish to devote more resources into improving the nine months that compose the school year if a significant proportion of what is learned evaporates in the intervening months, especially among minorities and students of low SES.

Whether they seek more equity or greater overall performance in the American education system, or both, policymakers traditionally have not made addressing summer education loss a priority. In fact, an OECD report that summarizes the U.S.'s latest PISA results list five suggestions for improving equality in educational outcomes, and none of them included addressing the disparities of how children from different backgrounds spend their summers.

The lack of attention is unfortunate and may be due to summer's image. In popular culture, summer is a time for the beach, camp, and family vacations. However, this traditional notion is predicated on parents having enough disposable income to sign their kids up for tennis lessons, space camp, or whatever else piques their interest. For those without the requisite resources, summer can be a burden. It is a 10-plus week break from school, and less affluent parents cite summer as the most difficult time to keep their kids occupied (Duffet et al. 2004). Further, while millions of children attend summer camp or participate in other recreational or constructive activities, it is disproportionally youths from higher income brackets. Wimer et al. (2006) estimate that 4 percent of those from the lowest income bracket attend summer camp, compared to 18 percent in highest bracket.

In short, summer is expensive, and the lack of constructive activities for many youths may be exacerbating current educational inequities or even causing them in the first place. Any educational reform, whether on the local or the national level, should strive to be holistic. Such an approach would address summer's influence on overall performance and its contribution to disparities between socioeconomic groups. Summer is a quarter of the year, and any policies that do not focus on this season are at best 75 percent solutions.

SECTION II: INITIAL METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

As Cooper et al. (1996) and Burkam et al. (2004) explain, there are several methodological challenges that researchers face in attempting to study the effects of summer learning loss. One pertinent factor is when students are tested in the school year. Ideally, students would take the similar exams on the last and first days of school, and the differences in scores would be compared. This, as Cooper finds in his 1996 review of 39 studies related to summer learning loss, is practically never what happens. All the studies reviewed by Cooper test students either a few weeks before the school year finishes or a few weeks into the new term, or some combination of both. As Burkam et al. (2004) write, "The achievement scores that serve as outcomes in longitudinal studies are often administered in October and May. The October tests supposedly indicate children's achievement at the beginning of the school year, although they typically include one to two months of instructional time and thus give 'fuzzy results.'" This is especially problematic when researchers focus on young children, since knowledge grows rapidly month-by-month in kindergarten and first grade.

As Figure 2 hypothetically details, it is possible that summer learning loss occurs, but the testing data does not record it. In the chart the solid line records measured achievement test scores, with testing points a few weeks before week 40, the end of the year, and a few weeks after week 1, the start of the year. Only examining this trend would lead researchers to conclude that while students' learning slows over the summer, it does not decrease; stu-

"In short, summer is expensive, and the lack of constructive activities for many youths may be exacerbating current educational inequities or even causing them in the first place."

dents perform better on the fall test than the spring. In contrast, the dashed lined illustrates another (more likely) reality: the summer slide. What the solid line fails to capture is the fact that learning increases throughout the school year, both after the spring test and before the fall test. This learning occurs between the tests, but because the tests are being used to measure summer education loss, they are lumped in with the summer months, cancelling out the negative effects of summer. This offsetting effect could be large enough, as Figure 2 illustrates, to make it appear as if summer has none or even a positive effect on student learning.

In short, testing intervals are an important element of properly measuring summer learning loss. This experimental design has the potential to be problematic, and some papers, such as Burkam et al. (2004), compute a variable to control for time-gaps in testing. However, researchers' ability to make this adjustment hinges on the availability of data that not only records testing results, but also compares tests taken on the first and last day of school.

SECTION III: LITERATURE REVIEW

While previously mentioned, the Cooper et al. (1996) meta-analysis of 39 studies related to summer learning loss is the starting point for any comprehensive review of the subject. In aggregate, they found that "the summer loss equaled about one month on a grade-level equivalent scale... the effect of summer break was more detrimental for math than for reading and most detrimental for math computation and spelling." Hill et al. (2008) expanded upon Cooper et al. (1996)'s analysis, and demonstrated that summer learning has the potential to vary with grade level.

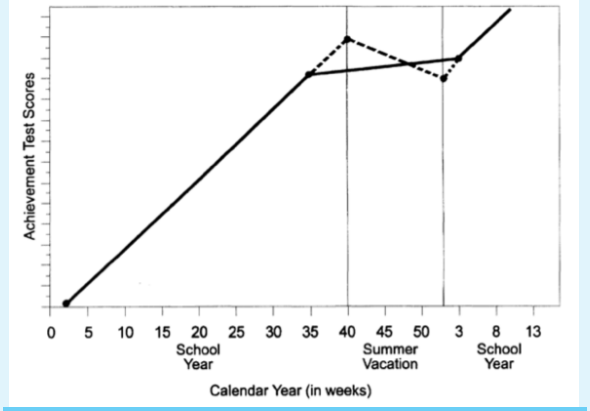


FIGURE 2: A HYPOTHETICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TESTING INTERVAL AND SUMMER LEARNING LOSS (SOURCE: COOPER ET AL. (1996))

An effect size of one month may not seem large, but Cooper et al. (1996) conclude that "middle-class students appeared to gain on grade-level equivalent reading recognition tests over summer while lower-class students lose on them." In short, the issue of summer learning loss is more nuanced, for not all students lose knowledge, and the students driving Cooper et al. (1996)'s finding of overall summer learning loss are those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Cooper et al. (1996) examine the average effects of summer, but as other research demonstrates, the gap opens as students of low SES slide, and students from more advantaged backgrounds gain (Alexander et al. 2007). Further, as Burkam et al. (2004) identify, much of the prior research examining summer learning overlooked underlying factors driving the loss: "Early studies did not account for differences in students' backgrounds, so they could not uncover accurate, consistent, or generalizable findings." Burkam raises a critical point, for several studies—notably: Grenier (1975), a 1978 Congressional report authored by the National Institute of Education, and Klibanoff (1981)—do in fact show negligible summer losses or even positive gains in the overall student population. Burkam is not dismissive of these claims; instead he and his colleagues establish the need for an analysis that accounts for student background.

The first seminal study to document that achievement gaps vary by SES was Barbara Heyns' (1978) research on Atlanta 6th and 7th graders.[4] Heyns concluded that all students improved over the course of the school year, but learning in the summer is "considerably more dependent on parental status than is learning during the school year." Heyns's analysis also revealed that gaps between rich and poor, and white and black, widened over the summer. Encouragingly, Heyns found school to be an equalizer: all students exhibit similar gains during the academic sessions; the gap occurs in summer achievement growth (see Borman et al. 2005). After Heyns published her results, follow up studies confirmed her conclusions. Entwisle and Alexander (1992) and Alexander et al. (1997) replicated her results with data from the Baltimore Beginning School Study, finding the same type of summer achievement gaps that Heyns's research revealed.

In a more recent article, Alexander et al. (2007) continue to work with data from the Baltimore Beginning School Study, a representative random sample of 790 first graders from 20 public elementary schools in the Baltimore Public School System. The project began in the fall of 1982, and students' progress and educational attainment were tracked from 1st grade through age 22.[5] Over the lifetime of the study, there were 11 testing points for reading comprehension: fall and spring for grades 1st-5th and the spring of grade 9. Some students had to be excluded due to incomplete records. However, enough data remained for robust analysis, and as Entwistle et al. (2007) write, "81 percent of cases have observed data for at least 6 of 11 testing occasions, and 92 percent have data for at least four test scores. " In digging into the testing data, the researchers decomposed student achievement into several categories, including a Winter Gain (5 winters), a Summer Gain (4 summers), and Gain Over Years (grades) 6-9. Since no fall scores are reported for grades 6-9, gains cannot be measured by season, and so the researchers had to report overall gains. Table 1 summarizes the researchers' results. Reading comprehension scores are also broken down by family SES status, and the Gap High-Low column displays summer learning loss in the context of family background.

The data reveal that students from all income levels gain during the school year, as Heyns (1978) had predicted, and the more recent Stanford Educational Opportunity Monitoring Project demonstrates. In fact, while poorer students come in with a significant achievement gap at the start of first grade, they actually display a larger cumulative gain between first and fifth grades compared to their peers of higher SES. During grades 6-9, poorer students lose some ground, but broadly construed, all students continue their educational growth. Alexander et al. (2007) conclude that disparities in early childhood education and summer learning loss drive almost all of the overall achievement gap: "In year 9, the high SES achievement average is 73.3 points above the low SES average. About a third of that SES difference, 26.5 points, traces to disparities in place when these children started 1st grade, implicating experiences and family resources that predate school entry.[6] The remainder of the difference is built up over the school years, and Table 1 shows that the largest component, 48.5 points, or about two-thirds of the total, traces to summer learning differences over the elementary years." Even if students of low SES outgain their peers during the school year, as these data demonstrate, the gap created by the summer slide and early childhood development is too large to be closed in the school year alone.[7]

Alexander et al. (2007) deconstruct their data even further to show a possible relationship between summer learning loss, SES disparities, and educational attainment. Since the Baltimore Beginning School Study followed youth until age 22, the researchers were able to subdivide students based on their SES and level of high school and college attainment. Table 2 reveals an even greater disparity in reading comprehension due to the cumulative effects of summer. As the study discusses, "What might not have been expected is the extent to which the continuing press of school-age children's family and neighborhood environments contributes to the year 9 achievement differential between high and low SES youth: summer shortfall over the five years of elementary school accounts for more than half the difference, a larger component than that built up

Reading Comprehension CAT Score Gains, Years 1–9	Total	Family SES Low SES	Mid SES	High SES	Gap High-Low
Initial Test Score, Fall 1st Grade	279.81	271.99	277.89	298.47	26.48*
Winter Gain (5 winters)	194.97	191.30	210.19	186.11	–5.19
Summer Gain (4 summers)	11.12	–1.90	4.12	46.58	48.48*
Gain Over Years 6–9	61.69	60.95	60.73	64.34	3.39
Test Score, End Year 9	547.55	522.33	552.94	595.49	73.16*
(N)	(787)	(397)	(204)	(186)	

Note: Significant t-tests for mean differences between Low SES and High SES groups are shown in Gap column.
* $p \leq .05$ (two-tailed tests).

TABLE 1: "READING COMPREHENSION TEST SCORE DECOMPOSITION OVER THE FIRST NINE YEARS OF SCHOOL BY FAMILY SES" (SOURCE: ALEXANDER ET AL. (2007))

	Family SES Low SES	Mid SES	High SES	Gap
Proportion College-Prep High School Track	.13	.30	.62	.49*
(N)	(320)	(176)	(160)	
Educational Attainment, Age 22				
Proportion Permanent Dropout	.36	.13	.03	–.33*
Proportion High School Graduate/GED	.35	.35	.11	–.24*
Proportion Trade School/Two-Year College	.21	.34	.27	–.06
Proportion Four-Year College	.07	.18	.59	.52*
(N)	(313)	(158)	(159)	

Reading Comprehension CAT Score Gains, Years 1–9	Low SES Non-College Track	High SES College Prep Track	Gap
Initial Test Score, Fall 1st Grade	269.88	310.30	40.42*
Winter Gain (5 winters)	188.20	180.58	–7.62
Summer Gain (4 summers)	–1.85	74.63	76.48*
Gain Over Years 6–9	60.44	67.21	6.77
Test Score, End Year 9	516.67	632.72	116.05*
(N)	(278)	(99)	

Reading Comprehension CAT Score Gains, Years 1–9	Low SES Permanent Dropouts	High SES 4-Year College	Gap
Initial Test Score, Fall 1st Grade	268.06	311.04	42.98*
Winter Gain (5 winters)	183.32	180.19	–3.13
Summer Gain (4 summers)	–11.04	75.53	86.57*
Gain Over Years 6–9	62.93	69.54	6.61
Test Score, End Year 9	503.26	636.30	133.04*
(N)	(114)	(94)	

Note: Significant t-tests for mean differences between Low SES and High SES groups are shown in Gap column.
* $p \leq .05$ (two-tailed tests).

TABLE 2: "READING COMPREHENSION TEST SCORE DECOMPOSITION OVER THE FIRST NINE YEARS OF SCHOOL BY FAMILY SES, HIGH SCHOOL PLACEMENT, AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AT AGE 22" (SOURCE: ALEXANDER ET AL. (2007))

"...low-income students are most likely to benefit from summer programming because they are less likely to have other summer activity outlets relative to higher-income peers."

over the preschool years. And too, these learning differences from the early years that present themselves in 9th grade reverberate to constrain later high school curriculum placements, high school dropout, and college attendance." Alexander et al. (2007)'s study is unique because it follows children from kindergarten to age 22. While it does not investigate what the summers of these children consisted of, the researchers were able to demonstrate a connection between an achievement gap, of which summer learning loss is a major component, and college attainment, shedding light on the negative, reverberating effects of the summer slide.

To explain these results, Alexander et al. (2007) turned to the faucet theory (see Entwisle 2000). During the school year, the metaphor posits, the faucet is turned on: resources flow towards all students. However, in the summer months, poor families cannot effectively substitute the amount of resources the school provides, and so their children's learning slows, or even atrophies. In contrast, students of middle or high SES have parents that are able to invest in their summer, whether that be camp or sports, or activities that are more academic, such as summer school or trips to the library.[8] However, this is speculation, and several studies have in fact attempted to analyze the social stratification that occurs over the summer and whether the activities children participate in have any significant effect, and whether the faucet model is an effective framework.

One early study, Heyns (1978), found a positive relationship between summer learning and the number of books read or the frequency of library visits, even when controlling for race and income. Reading was the activity that had the most effect on the summer slide, but its explanatory power was limited, accounting for only 10 percent of the variance in summer achievement growth. Additionally, Borman (2000) found that "middle and upper class children enjoyed more reading opportunities over the summer," and Entwisle et al. (2000) found summer library trips to be correlated with income. A meta-analysis published by Cooper et al. (2000) synthesized 93 studies that examined whether remedial summer school is effective, and found that attendees improved one fifth of a standard deviation on math and reading exams compared to their peers who did not attend the same program. However, these results came with an important caveat: children of middle and upper SES benefited more than those of lower SES. Thus, while summer school has the potential to raise overall levels of academic achievement, it could exacerbate existing academic disparities. However, as Borman and Boulay (2004) writes, "The summer school programs disadvantaged students attend are often remedial and are, in many cases, mandatory programs developed for low-achieving students and those who may be at risk of retention in grade. The programs attended by middle-class children are more likely to be voluntary enrichment programs that are sought out by parents or highly motivated students." In short, Cooper et al. (2000)'s finding that educational inequality increases when students participate in summer programs may simply be attributable to the quality of the programs students from different backgrounds attend.

More recently, Kim and Quinn (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of 35 papers published after Cooper's review that examined summer academics. They also found summer school raised reading scores. And while they, unlike Cooper et al. (2000), did not examine math scores, Kim and Quinn (2013) found the opposite of Cooper: low-income students benefited more than any other cohort: "Our study, however, did not replicate these earlier results. In our meta-analytic review, the mean effect size was positive and statistically significant in four of five outcomes in studies with a majority of low-income children." According to these researchers, who examined 41 summer reading programs in the U.S. and Canada between 1998 and 2011, low-income students are most likely to benefit from summer programming because they are less likely to have other summer activity outlets relative to higher-income peers.[9]

Burkam et al. (2004) examine data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS) of 1998-99, a nationally representative sample of children in kindergarten and first grade. Their model explores whether differences in summer learning "can be explained by differential participation in educationally beneficial summer activities." ECLS data included questions designed to gauge student participation in various activities, including literacy, trips, which included visits to zoos, museums, etc., and access to a computer. Surprisingly, the results of the Burkam et al. (2004) models listed in Table 3, with sample size of 3664, do not show statistically significant relationships between summer activities, including trips and literacy activities, and summer learning loss. As the authors note, these findings contradict several preceding studies, including Alexander et al. (2001), Entwisle et al. (1992), and Heyns (1978).[10] Borman et al. (2005)'s findings concur with Burkam et al. (2004)'s. Borman et al. (2005) studied the results of the Teach Baltimore program, an intensive summer school program for disadvantaged urban youth. While the program did have positive effects, a set of summer activity variables, including practicing literacy skills, home learning resources, encouraging reading, cultural events, and church attendance, collectively accounted for less than one percent of variation in the model.[11]

Background and Activities	Literacy		Mathematics		General Knowledge	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Spring K test to end K time gap[h]	.06***	.06***	.05*	.05*	.08***	.07***
Summer vacation time gap[i]	.10**	.09**	.06	.06	.09*	.08*
Beginning 1st to fall 1st test-time gap[h]	.20***	.20***	.25***	.25***	.04*	.04*
Low SES[b]	-.09**	-.08**	-.14***	-.10**	-.12***	-.09**
Medium-low SES	.01	.01	-.05	-.04	-.01	-.01
Medium-high SES	.07**	.07**	-.02	-.03	.03	.02
High SES	.07**	.07**	.12***	.09**	.11***	.09**
Black[d]	-.05	-.05	-.12***	-.11***	-.08**	-.07*
Hispanic[d]	.04	.04	-.03	-.03	-.08*	-.08*
Asian[d]	.08	.07	.08	.07	-.03	-.03
Other race[d]	-.01	-.01	-.05	-.04	-.11*	-.11*
Female	.03	.03	-.02	-.02	-.03	-.03
Age[e]	.00	.01	.03**	.03**	.03*	.03**
Repeated kindergarten	-.13**	-.13**	-.18***	-.17**	-.13*	-.12*
Single-parent home	.00	.01	.00	.01	-.06*	-.05*
Home language non-English	.04	.03	-.05	-.03	-.05	-.04
Spring K same-subject achievement[e]	-.01	-.01	-.15***	-.16***	-.21***	-.22***
Summer trips[e]		-.01		.03**		.03**
Summer literacy activities[e]		.02*		.01		.01
No computer, but educational computer use[f]		.01		.02		-.03
Has computer/no educational computer use[f]		.03		.04		.01
Has computer/educational computer use[f]		.03		.09***		.03
Required/suggested summer school[g]		.06		-.08		-.11*
Optional summer school		.02		-.06		-.03
Intercept	.05	.03	.20***	.16***	.31***	.31***
R^2	.075***	.079***	.128***	.136***	.125***	.131***
Adjusted R^2	.070	.071	.122	.129	.120	.123
Change-R^2	.024***[j]	.004	.068***[j]	.009***	.112***[j]	.006**

[a] Gain computed as (fall 1st-grade score)-(spring K score)/pooled *SD* of fall 1st-grade score.
[b] SES quintiles compared to middle SES.
[c] Unstandardized regression coefficient.
[d] Compared to whites.
[e] Measure is a *z*-score.
[f] Compared to children with no home computer who did no educational computer activities during the summer.
[g] Compared to children who did not attend summer school.
[h] In months, with a true zero.
[i] In months, centered around the mean.
[j] Change in R^2 computed relative to the model with only the three time-gap measures.
*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

TABLE 3: EFFECTS OF CHILDREN'S BACKGROUND AND SUMMER ACTIVITIES BETWEEN KINDERGARTEN AND FIRST GRADE (SOURCE: BURKAM ET AL. (2004))

Burkam et al. (2004) acknowledge the surprising nature of these findings: it appears that the summer activities modeled in his study "demonstrate only modest relationships with children's learning between kindergarten and the first grade, do not explain social stratification in learning, or both." One theory could be the limitations of the ECLS dataset. Only kindergarten to 1st grade is tested, and summer activities may have more bearing on the development of older children. Further, Burkam et al. (2004) consider the difficulty in actually measuring summer activities, "Multipurpose surveys of parents, like those used in ECLS, capture the frequency of activities better than the nature of those activities." In other words, the researchers have no idea the intensity or duration of reading activities, and more in-depth information about summer activities may provide more conclusive explanatory power for the summer learning disparities the literature has documented.

SECTION IV: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the published literature on summer learning loss. The first is that summer learning loss occurs to some extent for all students. However, this summer slide is not uniform, and varies significantly by race and SES. While the school year was shown to function as an equalizer in the Baltimore Public School System (see Alexander et al. (2007))[12], with students from all backgrounds showing roughly equal gains, subsequent educational achievement gaps appear to be driven by a combination of early childhood factors, documented at the beginning of first grade, and the cumulative effects of the summer slide. While this conclusion does not imply that all schools are properly resourced, it does hint that policymakers should turn to improving equity in early childhood education and summer resources.

On the summer activities front, there is also a gap in comprehensive research on the different activities that youth from various backgrounds participate in. Borman (2005) and Burkam et al. (2004) carry out a rudimentary analysis

of summer activities, but as Burkam et al. (2004) document, the existing data likely do not gauge the true effectiveness of these programs. Further, the previous two studies focus on kindergarten and elementary school. While this period is where much of the documented summer educational gap emerges, data on the different patterns of summer activity in junior high and high school youth, and how these events correspond to long-term outcomes, would be informative. Put most simply, more longitudinal studies are needed. As Alexander et al. (2007) write, "Rather, studies have been narrowly focused on establishing the seasonal pattern, and to a lesser extent on trying to account for it (e.g. investigating differences in the summer experiences of low-income and upper-income youth)." Borman (2005) and Burkam et al. (2005) represent a start, but more needs to be done to pin down the cause of the summer achievement gap.

This paper has focused on summer education, and will recommend policies around that topic. While existing research was not able to specifically identify certain activities among youth that improve achievement, that does not mean well-designed summer programs have no effect on educational achievement, or other important social indicators. For example, in a randomized control trial with disadvantaged Chicago youth, participation in a summer jobs program decreased "violence by 43% over 16 months (3.95 fewer violent-crime arrests per 100 youth). The decline occurs largely after the 8-week intervention ends" (Heller 2014).[13]

Heller et al. (2017) continued their analysis on Chicago youth, focusing on the Becoming a Man program, a nonprofit initiative that focuses on character development and decision-making in at-risk youth.[14] As the researchers conclude, "Participation in the program reduced total arrests during the intervention period by 28–35%, reduced violent-crime arrests by 45–50%, improved school engagement, and in the first study where we have follow-up data, increased graduation rates by 12–19%... modest program costs imply benefit-cost ratios for these interventions from 5-to-1 up to 30-to-1 or more." Perhaps most strikingly, those programs are not academic in nature—these two examples focus on employment and character-building. Paradoxically, in addressing summer education disparities, more school is not necessarily the solution: "By comparison [to putting more resources into schooling], the rate of return to investing in helping youth make better judgments and decisions in high-stakes moments seems promising." What is clear is that students, particular those of low SES who may come from at-risk neighborhoods, need constructive year-round programming. However, the debate over what form this programming should take is still ongoing. At this time, this paper cannot in good faith point to one type of program or summer activity that will singlehandedly change the trajectory of low-income, at-risk youth. Future research that focuses on longitudinal outcomes and summer programming is needed, and the best

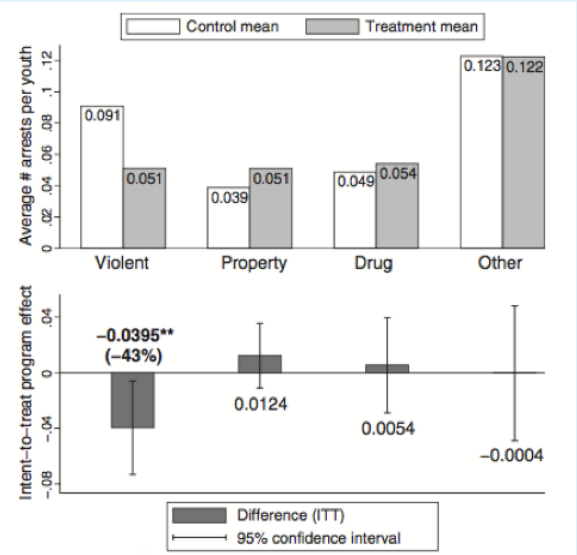


FIGURE 3: PROGRAM EFFECT ON VIOLENT CRIME (SOURCE: HELLER (2014))

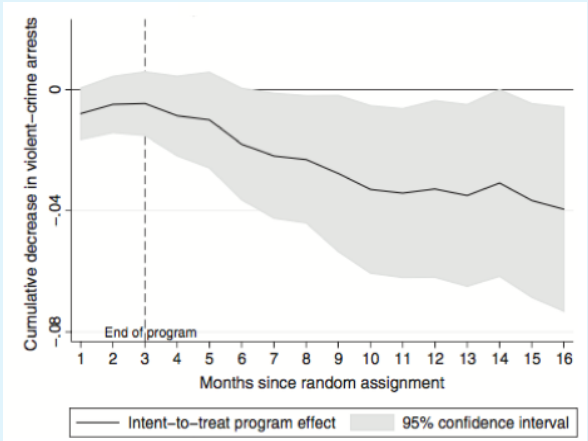


FIGURE 4: TIME PATH OF VIOLENT CRIME DECREASE (SOURCE: HELLER (2014))

way to address educational inequities that have their root in the summer is to brainstorm, pilot, and analyze all sorts of programming. While the Becoming a Man program has generated quantifiably positive outcomes, Heller et al. (2017) only followed program cohorts for 16 months. This is an indication that the results hold in the short and medium term, but policymakers should be interested in the five, ten, and twenty year horizon. Researchers should follow participants throughout their adult lives to get a better sense of whether Becoming a Man-type interventions and supplementary programming translate to better educational, career, and social mobility outcomes. Until such research is conducted, policymakers are operating with incomplete information. Good intentions present in administering these programs do not amount to much if there is no empirical record of success, and impede an accurate cost-benefit analysis. In some sense, it is easier to research treatment effects as Heller et al. (2017) did, studying youths who were assigned to summer employment or the Becoming a Man Program. While these programs may be rear-guard action in the sense that by high school the summer learning slide has already perpetuated a substantial achievement gap, they show tangible, positive effects, even if they do not address the underlying causes of summer learning loss.

In short, this paper recommends that policymakers seek action in two dimensions in seeking to address summer learning loss. The first is to continue to invest and expand in comprehensive mentoring programs such as Becoming a Man. Although these programs will not solve the underlying equity challenges, they make a real, measurable, and cost-effective short- and medium-term difference in the lives of at-risk individuals. The second recommendation is to commission more research on how youth from different backgrounds spend their summers and track those individuals over time in order to formulate a set of most cost-effective practices. The gap is quantifiable; the challenge is to find what exactly is causing it and what remedies stick. Policymakers should also experiment with programs modeled after the mentoring and character development featured in Becoming a Man among younger children to see what effects such programming has, if any, on academic achievement and closing the summer gap that opens in elementary school. As of now, there is no exact prescription to rectify the effects of summer learning loss, but by no means is there a lack of a need for immediate, constructive action. The type of programs Heller and her colleagues at the University of Chicago document have generated early promising results, and increasing their enrollment would not only be cost-effective due to the reduction in violent crime, but would have the additional benefit of allowing researchers to further analyze and study these programs to explore whether they have positive long-term effects. Plunging in, experimenting, and scaling up successes and abandoning failures are the only ways to design interventions that work in practice, and not just in theory.

SECTION 6: APPENDIX

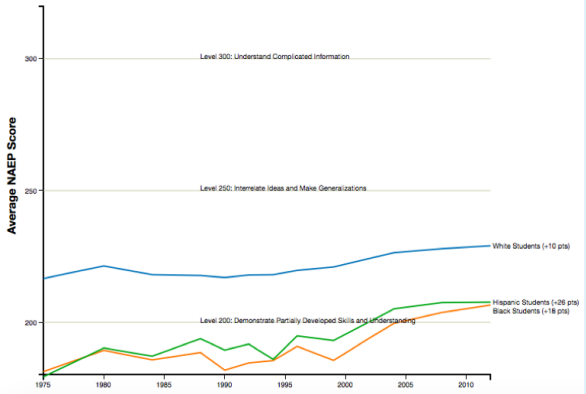


FIGURE 5: 9 YEAR OLD NAEP READING SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012 (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

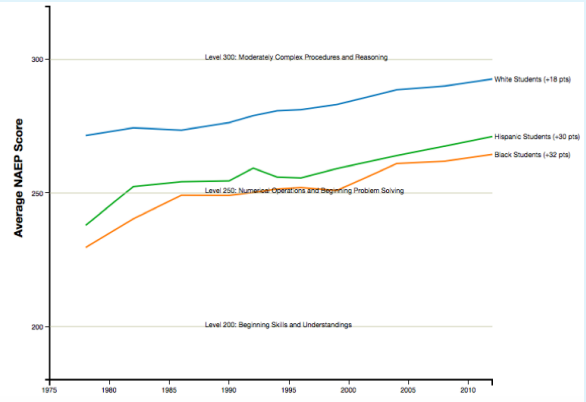


FIGURE 6: 13 YEAR OLD NAEP MATH SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012 (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

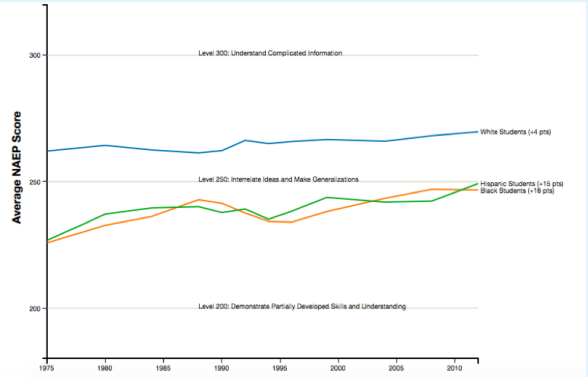


FIGURE 7: 13 YEAR OLD NAEP READING SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012 (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

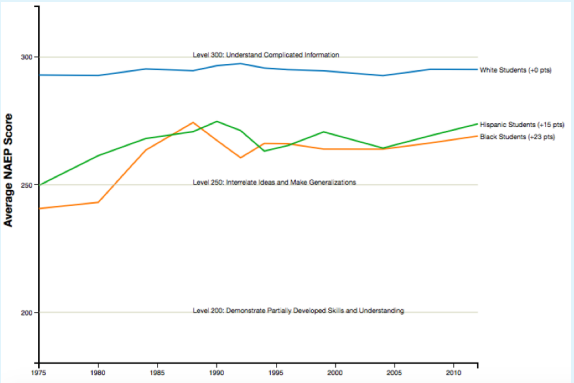


FIGURE 9: 17 YEAR OLD NAEP READING SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012 (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

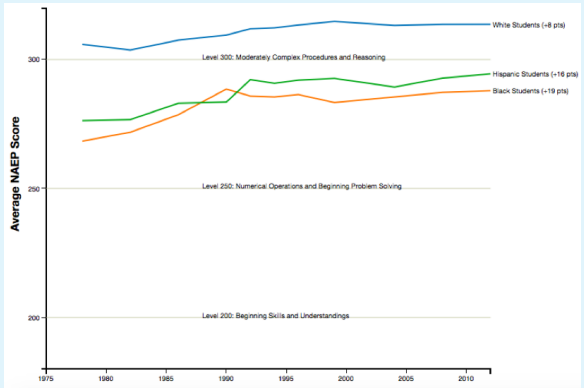


FIGURE 8: 17 YEAR OLD NAEP MATH SCORES BETWEEN 1978-2012 (SOURCE: STANFORD CENTER FOR EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS)

ENDNOTES

1. This figure includes the budget of the U.S. Department of Education. While the Department was appropriated $67.4 billion dollars in the 2012 fiscal year, this number does not include spending on programs such as Head Start. However, despite the existence of policies such as the National School Lunch Program, it is more accurate to characterize the federal government's role in funding K-12 education as peripheral. States and local governments shoulder the funding burden. According to data from the Urban Institute, roughly 20 percent of state and local government spending goes to K-12 education, which equates to $616 billion. This number is not far off from the National Center for Education Statistics estimate. In terms of funding for higher education, both states and the federal government devote significant resources. In 2012, the federal government underwrote $112 billion in higher education loans. Nationwide, roughly 10 percent of states' budgets go towards funding public universities.

2. This statement describes the educational system as a whole. Of course, there are students from challenging backgrounds who perform well. The PISA data reveal that 32 percent of disadvantaged U.S. students beat test score expectations (based on their family's affluence) and are "among the top quarter of students with the same socio-economic status across all countries and economies in PISA." In 2006, 20 percent of disadvantaged students beat expectations, a 12 percentage point increase.

3. This research was carried out Stanford University's Center for Education Policy Analysis. Data are sourced from the National Assessment of Education Progress, a nationally conducted test that evaluates the reading and mathematics skills of 9, 13, and 17 year-olds. Children take the same test that was used when the project was first launched in the 1970s, allowing for long-term comparisons. Nationally representative sample groups are used. The latest available data were published in 2012. See Figures 5-9 in the appendix for additional NAEP Reading and Math scores tracked between 1978-2012 for different age groups. It is interesting to note how these longitudinal data on disparity and achievement test improvement vary by age. All Figures sourced from the Stanford Center for Education Policy Analysis.

4. Heyns's original hypothesis was that "schooling has a substantial independent effect on the achievement of children and that the outcomes resulting from schooling are far more equal than those that would be expected based on the social class and racial origins of sample children." Her testing process used word recognition, an index tested on the Metropolitan Achievement Test, a standardized test used in the Atlanta public school system, and in other districts around the country. Word recognition was chosen as the metric for summer learning loss because it was found to be the highest correlated subtest with overall test score. Interestingly, in her analysis Heyns controlled for the effects of IQ, and as Cooper 1996 succinctly writes, "including IQ in multiple regression equations did not remove the effects of students' socioeconomic status or race. Heyns eventually published her research in a book entitled Summer Learning.

5. The schools were within strata defined by racial composition and socioeconomic level. Testing data were collected from the Baltimore City Public School system. Half of the sample is considered low SES. As the authors write in the appendix, "The family SES composite was trichotomized into low (50 percent of sample), medium (26 percent), and high (24 percent) SES categories in such a way that the mean educational level for parents was around 10 years for the low group, 12 years for the medium group, and around 15 years for the high SES group. The skew in the data toward the low SES group reflects the socioeconomic makeup of the Baltimore City student population." Student and parent interview data were also collected. See Alexander et al. (1997) for more detail on for sample methodology.

6. Kindergarten was not mandatory in Baltimore in the early 1980s, which was when the BSS began. The expansion of early-education programs, coupled with addressing summer inequalities, in theory could reduce much of the inequality in secondary education. Federal government programs such as Head Start attempt to expand early childhood educational opportunities.

7. This is not an indictment of the school system, but an honest admission that it is unrealistic to expect elementary and secondary schools to erase on their own achievement inequities that result from factors these institutions have not typically been tasked with dealing with, such as early childhood education and summer learning loss. The fact that in the Baltimore Beginning School Study all students of lower SES gain slightly more during the school year (5.2 points, but not statistically significant) is an impressive feat in itself.

8. It is difficult to determine if non-academic activities such as soccer camp improve academic performance. As this paper will later discuss, it is difficult to attempt to quantify the stimulative intensity of an activity to allow for the comparison, for example, between a summer theater workshop, two weeks of summer camp, and playing eight hours of video games. Further, even if such activities were coded as dummy variables, the whole model may be plagued by omitted variable bias, for the frequency of participation in summer activities is likely to be a thinly veiled measure of family affluence.

9. Kim and Quinn speculate further about reading and development in their discussion. To paraphrase, "For example, descriptive findings from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth suggest that poor families are less likely than non-poor families to own 10 or more books . More precisely, the rich-poor gap in the proportion of children owning 10 or more books was .57 SD in early childhood (3–5 years) and .25 SD in middle childhood (6–12 years). Ethnographic research also indicates that low-income parents spend less time discussing books with their children and have less knowledge about their children's reading interests and levels than middle-income parents ... Psychologists have also noted that children need extensive experience reading expository texts to acquire background knowledge. In the absence of an effective summer reading intervention, low-income children may have limited opportunities to practice reading connected text with speed and accuracy and to acquire conceptual and background knowledge."

10. Burkam's conclusion is worth quoting in full. He writes, "we found that the SES effects on gains during the summer are

not explained by class-related discrepancies in children's out-of-school summer activities. Although children who engage in a few of these activities do learn slightly more over the summer, the magnitudes of the SES effects on summer learning remain nearly constant even when out-of-school educational activities are taken into account. Either parents' reports of activities are unreliable, the particular items that were asked in the ECLS-K parent questionnaires were incomplete or not well designed, or the frequency of these activities simply do not influence summer learning as measured by these tests.

11. To quote Borman's conclusion: "Our findings suggest that a voluntary summer school program developed specifically to avert the summer achievement slide can have positive effects on students' summer learning. However, the outcomes also indicate that simple assignment to the program is not likely to make a difference. For most families in the United States, summer is reserved for recreation rather than academics. However, our results suggest that when parents do make it a priority to support their children's attendance at summer school, the summer slide can be prevented. Expressed as an effect size, each additional week of Teach Baltimore attendance is associated with nearly a .05 SD increase on the fall achievement test. Attendance at the full 6-week program is associated with an effect size of .27 on the fall test. In other words, the students attending the full Teach Baltimore program returned to school in the fall with achievement scores more than one- quarter of a standard deviation higher than those of their peers who did not attend the program."

12. Of course, one cannot assume other school districts function as an equalizer, but those were the results in this specific case.

13. It is interesting to note that the summer jobs intervention had no effect of property, drug, or 'other' crime.

14. Becoming a Man programs are available as summer and year-long sessions. The program began in Chicago, and launched in Boston in 2017.

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DISCRIMINATION ON GENDER BINARY CAMPUSES

Investigating The Experiences of Transgender College Students

WEI (WENNY) XU

IN RECENT YEARS, TRANSGENDER PEOPLE HAVE BOTH GROWN IN NUMBERS AND VISIBILITY IN THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THE ISSUE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TRANSGENDER PEOPLE HAS BEEN A SERIOUS AND WIDESPREAD PHENOMENON IN TODAY'S SOCIETY. THIS PAPER DISCUSSES THE TRANSGENDER ISSUES AT LARGE AND HOW THE ISSUES NEGATIVELY AFFECT TRANSGENDER STUDENTS' COLLEGE EXPERIENCES IN A VARIETY OF WAYS, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO INSTITUTIONS' FAILURE TO INCLUDE "GENDER IDENTITY" IN THEIR NONDISCRIMINATION POLICIES. THE EVIDENCE FROM SCHOLARLY SOURCES ALSO SUGGESTS THAT RELIGIOUSLY AFFILIATED, SINGLE-SEX AND TWO-YEAR COLLEGES TYPICALLY OFFER FEW PROTECTIONS FOR TRANSGENDER STUDENTS. FINALLY, THE PAPER WILL EXAMINE INSTITUTIONS' PAST INITIATIVES ON THE SUBJECT MATTER AND PROVIDE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONS TO CREATE A MORE GENDER-FRIENDLY ENVIRONMENT.

Nick and Jordan are undergraduate students at a Midwestern university in the U.S. and participants in Brent Bilodeau's (2005) case study. Like other typical college students, they start each day with a coffee, delve themselves into the infinite realm of knowledge, split their days into chunks of classes and activities, and cyclically chase after deadlines. However, unlike other cisgender students, who identify themselves the same gender he or she is born with, Nick and Jordan have to confront with a dilemma every day: should they use the women's restroom or the men's restroom?

In this research, the goal is to investigate how the overarching issues around transgender people possibly affect transgender college students, who often find it impossible to separate themselves from the hostility in the world. The primary focus is on transgender students' college experiences and how these experiences differ based on the types of institutions. The evidence from the scholarly sources on the topic suggests that transgender students college experiences are often characterized by a variety of challenges including but not limited to violence and discrimination, and varies based on the institution types. It is shown that religiously affiliated, single-sex and two-year colleges typically offer few protections for transgender students (Goldberg et al. ,2018a; Marine, 2011). The paper will conclude with past initiatives and recommendations for institutions to create a more gender-friendly environment.

A BATHROOM LABELED GENDER-NEUTRAL AT A CAPITAL TRANSPRIDE EVENT. (COURTESY OF *FLICKR*)

TRANSGENDER ISSUES AT STAKE

The issue of discrimination against transgender people not only exists in college; rather, it is a serious and widespread phenomenon. The term "gender identity" refers to the pronouns that one uses to describe oneself and the term "transgender" defines individuals whose self-identified gender conflicts with their biological gender. The definition keeps evolving in the modern day society and begins to include identities such as "male and female impersonators, drag kings and queens, male-to-female or MTF transsexuals, female-to-male or FTM transsexuals, cross-dressers, and gender benders" (Bilodeau, 2005). However, the concept of two polar opposite genders - men and women- is deeply entrenched in society and affects the overall social environment. In the United States, gender-segregated facilities such as "public restrooms, locker rooms, dressing rooms, homeless shelters, jails, and prisons" exist across all public areas (Herman, 2013). The design of such facility not only reflects the underlying value of the concept of the gender binary that society has been trying to uphold but also sets an unconquerable barrier for transgender and gender non-conforming people.

According to the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey, 59% of the respondents avoided using public bathrooms due to the fear of verbal harassment, physical attack, and sexual assault and 32% of the respondents limited the amount of liquid they drank to avoid using restrooms (James et al., 2016). In his study of the impact of gender segregation in transgender and gender non-conforming people's lives, researcher Jody L.Herman surveyed 47 self-identified transgender people in Washington D.C. and found that "seventy percent of survey respondents reported being denied access, verbally harassed, or physically assaulted in public restrooms" (Herman, 2013). The harm that transgender people receive also extends from uncomfortable school experience, confrontation of co-worker resentment, to barriers to participation in health care visits and public life (Herman, 2013). The experience often intersects with race, gender, sexual orientation and income (Freitas, 2017; Herman, 2013). For example, people of color, people who transition from female-to-male, and lower income people report negative experiences in using public restrooms at a higher rate than white respondents, male-to-female transgender people, and higher income people (Herman, 2013).

The heated debate over whether transgender and gender non-conforming people should be allowed to use a restroom that is different from their anatomic sex has been of

public interest, especially after the passage of the Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act in 2016 in North Carolina. This was the first state law that prohibits transgender and gender non-conforming people from using public restrooms consistent with their gender identity. Proponents of the bill cite the possibility of abuse that comes with permissive laws for transgender and gender non-conforming people in bathroom use (Barnett et al., 2018). They argue that the perception of a different gender identity can be a strong evidence of mental illness, can lead to increased risks of committing sexual assaults, and can be an advantage of sexual predators (Barnett et al., 2018). Opponents of the bill find no evidence of a positive correlation between trans-inclusive bathroom laws and the rate of sexual offenses and find the law to be ethically problematic (Barnett et al., 2018).

With the increased population and visibility of transgender people in the United States, the need to rethink about the ways people naturally marginalize the group and address the problem of discrimination becomes pressing. For the scope of this paper, ways in which transgender college students encounter the societal problems at large in their college experiences will be investigated.

EXPERIENCES DEFINED BY INSTITUTION TYPES

Most of the transgender students find that college marks a transition from the vague perception of themselves to open discussion and questions of "gender identity" (Freitas, 2017). According to the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey, 0.6% of people identify themselves as transgender, amounting to 1.4 million Americans and the majority of them lie in the age group of 18-25 (James et al., 2016). Nick and Jordan, transgender college students who participated in Brent Bilodeau' case study, belong to the gender non-conforming group and share their experiences with many other college students. However, they often have to confront hostile classmates and professors who do not have enough knowledge on the topic of homosexuality and transgender when they are trying to seek support from the institution (McKinney, 2005).

In the United States, colleges and universities vary greatly in terms of the school's trans-inclusive practices and policies. Researches on transgender college students indicate that religiously affiliated universities and two-year community college typically offer fewer protections for transgender students (Goldberg et al. ,2018a). For instance, relatively few of these institutions are aware of the need of implementing gender-neutral restrooms, filing "gender identity" in their nondiscrimination policy, providing professional counseling service, allowing change in gendered official documents and records, and offering gender-inclusive housing options (Freitas, 2017; Goldberg et al. ,2018a; McKinney, 2005). This lag in college's actions regarding the transgender issues on campus may be a possible result of colleges taking time to adapt to the relatively "new" issue.

The lack of policies and support can potentially lead to an overall negative perception of campus climate and make transgender students feel that they need to hide their identities to avoid the extra scrutiny from their peers and professors (Freitas, 2017; Goldberg et al. ,2018a). The result of these stressors associated with gender identity, as research indicates, is a higher rate of distress among transgender college students compared to cisgender college students (Beemyn, 2005; Goldberg et al. ,2018a). However, when transgender students try to seek counseling from the university's mental health providers, they often find the experience not affirming due to the providers' invalidation of their gender identity, avoidance of their transgender identity or the overemphasis of causation effect of gender identity on their mental health problems (Beemyn, 2005; Goldberg et al. ,2018a).

"...59% of the respondents avoided using public bathrooms due to fear of verbal harassment, physical attack, and sexual assault; and 32% of the respondents limited the amount of liquid they drank to avoid using restrooms."

A small but growing body of researchers has also been conducting researches on transgender students' experience in single-sex colleges and universities as compared to co-educational environments. Since attending single-sex colleges and universities underlie the assumption that only one gender is identified, transgender students face increased difficulty in housing and using the restroom that is constructed to suit the dominant gender identity in the college. Although many single-sex colleges and universities have reported openness in understanding and accommodating transgender students' needs, they are not likely to support transgender students effectively by instituting new policies or changing existing policies (Freitas, 2017). In fact, making institutional changes in women's colleges poses a tremendous challenge for student affairs administrators (Marine, 2011). Through her interview with three current student affairs administrator at women's college, Susan Marine (2011) helps her reader understand the reason for the hesitation of making women's college trans-inclusive: the fear of undermining the college's original mission and backlash from the Board of Trustees, alumni, benefactors, and prospective students and families. Even though supporting transgender students openly at the institution level remains difficult in single-sex colleges and universities, it is reported that transgender students have more positive experiences at women's colleges as a possible result of increased activism of transgender students at single-sex colleges and increased understanding and positive attitudes from their cisgender peers (Freitas, 2017).

PAST INITIATIVES AND WHAT ELSE SHOULD BE DONE

Transforming colleges and universities in the United States into a more gender-inclusive setting is necessary for ensuring transgender students' emotional and physical well-being. Over the past few years, government and institutions of higher education have also become increasingly aware of the current situation. Nationally, public policy such as adopting statutory language use in restrooms has been enforced in the state of NJ, Boston, Denver, Boulder, the cities of Oakland and several jurisdictions within the state of Oregon and the 2005 DC Human Rights Act protects transgender people's rights to use the bathroom that fits their gender identity and calls for implementation of more gender-neutral bathrooms in the state (Herman, 2013).

As for the institutions of higher education in the country, only a few more than 300 out of 4000 U.S. colleges and universities have included "gender identity" in their non-discrimination policies (Chen, 2010). Such policies aim to protect transgender students by holding faculty, staff and students who use transphobic language accountable (Goldberg et al. ,2018a). Excluding "gender identity" in institutions' nondiscrimination policies decreases transgender students' ability to succeed academically and has a negative effect on their emotional and social well-being. If the term "gender" is defined only as a biological and immutable condition, the whole group of transgender people will be invalidated and erased. To create an inclusive environment for transgender students, it is necessary for institutions to provide legal protection for transgender students by refining their nondiscrimination policies and supporting the human rights of transgender students.

For single-sex colleges specifically, efforts should be made to counteract the exclusion of individuals who do not define themselves by their biological sex. Although some may think that this change towards accepting transgender students will undermine single-sex colleges' mission, it is important to acknowledge that transgender students can offer colleges invaluable perspectives drawn from their own experiences and knowledge about the complexities of gender (Freitas, 2017). The administrators at women's colleges should be attentive to the increased visibility of transgender student on campus by re-evaluating the colleges' missions and taking consideration of their education's commitment to solidarity and social justice (Marine, 2011). The acceptance of transgender students is only the first step for single-sex colleges in a new direction. For single-sex colleges to move forward, it is necessary to continu-

"Excluding 'gender identity' in institutions' nondiscrimination policies decreases transgender students' ability to succeed academically and has a negative effect on their emotional and social issues well-being."

ingly create open spaces for transgender students and recognize them as an inseparable and growing part of the community.

Religiously affiliated schools have also been attentive to the transgender issues in their communities. Boston College, a Catholic and Jesuit university, provides LGBTQ+ students with a variety of on-campus and off-campus resources. For example, the Office of the Dean of Students organize programs such as Pride Peers, which pairs LGBTQ+ students with LGBTQ+ mentors, monthly LGBTQ+ community dinners, and weekly discussion groups. Meanwhile, clubs such as Allies of Boston College and GLBTQ Leadership Council also reflect BC's commitment to providing a supportive environment for all of its students. However, queer students at BC still find the administrative support inadequate and report instances of facing "utter disregard and prejudice" from the community (Kratz, 2016). One such instance reported on The Heights was the confrontation of a homophobic slur posted on the Mod parking lot sign in September 2016. Meanwhile, BC is still working on making institutional changes that include "gender identity" in its nondiscrimination policy. With the mission of educating men and women for and with others, it is expected that BC will recognize the transgender students' rights and provide the legal protection for them.

Results from a 2017 research study of 507 trans and gender nonconforming undergraduate and graduate students in the U.S. has indicated among all the desired protection policies from the institutions they are attending, the addition of curriculums that enhance the students' and faculties' understanding of gender diversity, the creation of more gender-neutral bathrooms and trans-inclusive housing options, the ability to identify a gender outside of gender binary pronouns, the ability to change one's name on the college's record, and the inclusion of gender identity to the campus nondiscrimination are the kinds of supports that they value most (Goldberg et al. ,2018a). The valuable perspectives from trans students should raise the institutions' awareness of creating policies that meet the trans students' desire. In doing so, the system-level changes that institutions are trying to implement will ultimately serve to promote a more inclusive environment for all genders.

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ARTHURIAN INFLUENCE IN THE LORD OF THE RINGS

Disenchanting Tolkien's Commentary on Postwar England

MICHAEL HALEY

J.R.R. TOLKIEN'S BELOVED LORD OF THE RINGS HAS BEEN CONSIDERED ONE OF THE GREATEST WORKS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. THIS WORK ANALYZES TOLKIEN'S INSPIRATION AND MOTIVATION IN HIS WRITING PROCESS BY SITUATING MIDDLE-EARTH IN THE CONTEXT OF POSTWAR ENGLAND. EVALUATING TOLKIEN'S LETTERS REVEALS HIS AFFINITY FOR ARTHURIAN LEGEND, AND HIS DESIRE TO REINVENT IT TO CREATE A MYTH THAT WAS DISTINCTLY ENGLISH. A COMPARISON OF THE TWO BODIES OF LEGEND REVEALS SIMILAR ARCHETYPAL ELEMENTS AND CHARACTERIZATIONS THAT GIVE TOLKIEN'S LEGENDARIUM CREDIBILITY AND WEIGHT. THROUGH SAURON'S DESTRUCTION OF MIDDLE-EARTH, TOLKIEN REVEALS HIS CONCERNS FOR A MODERN, INDUSTRIALIZED ENGLAND AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR. IN THE LORD OF THE RINGS, TOLKIEN REINVENTS THE LEGEND OF ARTHUR INTO A SYNTHESIS OF ENGLISH NATIONAL IDENTITY WITH EXIGENCY FOR THE FUTURE.

J.R.R. Tolkien wrote one of the most well-known modern mythologies and best-selling trilogies of all time—The Lord of the Rings. As a philologist and university professor at Oxford, and a lifelong enthusiast of myth, Tolkien appreciated the depth and intricacy of mythic traditions, especially those from Nordic cultures. Epics such as Elias Lönnrot's 19th century compilation of Finnish ballads and lyric poems, the Kalevala, and the Danish Beowulf gave Finland and Denmark a sense of national pride and cultural individuality. In contrast, due in large part to countless invasions of England over the centuries, it was impossible for a uniquely "English" myth to have grown naturally. Tolkien considered England deprived by its lack of such a mythic tradition that could express the depth of Englishness and explore truths of human existence with a distinctly English flare:

> "I was from my early days grieved by the poverty of my own beloved country: it had not stories of its own... But once upon a time I had a mind to make a body of more or less connected legend, ranging from the large and cosmogonic to the level of fairy-romantic story... which I could dedicate simply to: England; to my country."

During his period of writing (1937-1949), England was emerging from the imperialist era and the throes of war into the modern age. By making his legendarium, Tolkien sought to defend aspects of English identity that he felt were threatened by the dawn of industrialization and modern warfare. Tolkien took it upon himself to create the English myth. He seemingly rejected the myth most associated with England for its Celtic roots, that of King Arthur. He disqualified it because of its religiosity and French flavor after generations of adaptation. Despite his complex attitude towards Arthurian legend, Tolkien incorporated its elements in his attempt to construct a new English mythology to give expression to the heart and soul of his beloved England in a changing modern world.

Tolkien's relationship with Arthurian legend was complicated and often contradictory. In a letter to publisher Milton Waldman, the same letter in which he described his intention to create and dedicate a mythology to England, he dismissed the Arthurian story, which many would consider "not just a prime candidate for England's myth but already established in that place."

Tolkien explains his opinion in his letter to Waldman: "Of course, there was and is all the Arthurian world, but as powerful as it is, it is imperfectly naturalized, associated with the soil of Britain but not with English; and does not replace what I feel to be missing. For one thing its 'faerie' is too lavish, and fantastical, incoherent and repetitive."

However, on closer inspection of Tolkien's work, it becomes apparent that King Arthur did in fact have a place in Tolkien's mythology and his heart. In the mid-1930s, before he wrote the previously mentioned letter to Waldman, he started to write his own version of Arthurian legend in the form of a poem titled The Fall of Arthur. In 1955, he wrote another letter stating that he still hoped "to finish a long poem on The Fall of Arthur in the same measure." While The Fall of Arthur is not related to Middle-earth directly, Tolkien's desire to finish the poem proves that he was engaged with Arthurian material throughout his authorship.

Tolkien thought of himself as recreating Arthurian tradition as opposed to imitating. Verlyn Flieger observes, "Although Tolkien made use of Arthurian motifs in The Lord of the Rings—the withdrawal of a sword, a tutelary wizard, the emergence of a hidden king, a ship departure to a myth-enshrined destination—these are reinvented to fit the context of his own story."

KING ARTHUR AND SIR LANCELOT, ONE OF A SET OF 13 STAINED GLASS PANELS COMMISSIONED FROM MORRIS, MARSHALL, FAULKNER & CO.
(COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS)

"By making his legendarium, Tolkien sought to defend aspects of English identity that he felt were threatened by the dawn of industrialization and modern warfare."

Shippey notes that Tolkien may have been aware of his borrowing: "He was 'reconstructing,' he was harmonizing contradictions in his source-texts . . . He was also reaching back to an imaginative world which he believed had once really existed, at least in a collective imagination." Incidentally, his description of this "imaginative world" parallels the form and creation of Arthurian legend:

"It [the mythology of Middle-earth] should possess the tone and quality that I desired, somewhat cool and clear, be redolent of our "air" and while possessing the fair elusive beauty that some call Celtic, it should be "high," purged of the gross... I would draw some of the great tales in fullness, and leave many only placed in the scheme and sketched. The cycles should be linked to a majestic whole, and yet leave scope for other minds and hands, wielding paint and music and drama."

Tolkien's description of his own work very accurately describes the state of Arthurian literature, as if he, in the ongoing, organic process of creating Middle-earth, used the Arthurian process to make his own writings seem more "real." This sense of incompleteness lends the same realism and complexity of existing mythologies to his own.

A comparison of the two bodies of legend—the rejected Arthurian world and Tolkien's Middle Earth—demonstrates similarities more than mere coincidence. Flieger challenges Tolkien's criticism of Arthur against his own work, finding many comparable elements between his Middle-earth and Arthurian legend. Indeed, Tolkien retold these legends in the context of his own story—Gandalf as the archetypal wizard Merlin, the sword Narsil as the new Excalibur, Aragorn and Frodo as his reinvented Arthur, and The One Ring as the Holy Grail.

Tolkien's portrayal of his wizard Gandalf evokes similarities to the Arthurian wizard Merlin. Introduced in Celtic and Welsh mythologies is the character of Myrddin; he was originally a bard and later evolved into the figure of Merlin, the wizard who serves kings with prophecy and guidance. Ruth Noel in her book The Mythology of Middle-earth describes Gandalf and Merlin as "powerful, prophetic, inscrutable, and, suddenly, unexpectedly human" with "the responsibility for the fortunes of a nation and its future king." Like Merlin, Gandalf is a magician of infinite wisdom and power with an impish sense of humor and a humble appearance.

Just as Gandalf is instrumental in Aragorn's claim to the kingship of Gondor with his active involvement in the Fellowship, Merlin facilitates Arthur's ascension to the throne with his prophecy and advice. Both Gandalf and Merlin let their kings be the heroes they were meant to be on their own, intervening in moments of peril, but do not seek the power or glory, disappearing so their charges can enjoy their successes. Once Gandalf's task is done—the final destruction of Sauron—he leaves Middle-earth to be ruled by Men, proclaiming: "But in any case the time of my labours now draws to an end. The King has taken on the burden." Above all, Merlin and Gandalf are wizards—humble men of great power, respected by all.

However, Flieger argues that Gandalf "out-Merlins Merlin" by being the wizard Merlin is thought to be but isn't necessarily shown as in the older stories. In The Lord of the Rings, Gandalf takes on a larger role in the novel, appearing more human and pushing the story forward with action as opposed to Merlin's cryptic guidance. Older tales of Merlin merely suggest what he is capable of, leaving Merlin's power open to interpretation by later authors. Despite his flaws, Merlin is the archetypal wizard of mythology, which Tolkien improves upon in his creation of Gandalf by providing a complete and logical backstory. The essence of what Tolkien feels is missing in Merlin he gives to Gandalf—that the wizard ought to be the divine ambassador of Celtic mystical spirits.

While Arthur and Aragorn are assisted by their wizard-advisers, their claims to kingship stem from each owning a particular sword. According to María José Álvarez-Faedo, "the connection [of Aragon's sword Andúril] with Excalibur is unquestionable." Arthur's claim to the throne is

legitimized when he pulls Excalibur from the stone and his father is revealed as the former king, Uther Pendragon: "Whoso pulleth out this sword of this stone and anvil, is rightwise king born of all England." Arthur later fights King Pellinore, whose "sword... smote King Arthur's sword in two pieces." Merlin takes Arthur to the Lady of the Lake and she reforges Excalibur. Likewise, Aragorn's sword is also vital to his restored kingship. During the Battle of the Last Alliance at the end of the Second Age, Aragorn's ancestor, Isildur, struck Sauron with the sword, dispossessing him of the One Ring and breaking Narsil.

Though the kingship is Arthur's birthright, his birth is shrouded in mystery and he must legitimize his claim to contenders through the challenge of the sword in the stone. Likewise, when "Strider" reveals his identity as Aragorn and heir of Isildur, Boromir, the Steward of Gondor, is suspicious. Although Gandalf supports his claim to royal lineage, only when Aragorn reveals the shards of Narsil at the Council of Elrond is Boromir convinced of his legitimacy. The prophecy says that the sword originally named Narsil, broken in two pieces, will be renewed:

"From the ashes a fire shall be woken,

A light from the shadow shall spring;

Renewed shall be blade that was broken

The crownless again shall be king."

Narsil, is indeed renewed as , for the "the Sword of Elendil was forged anew by Elvish smiths" before Aragorn and the newly formed Fellowship of the Ring leave the council in Rivendell. Overall, the renewed sword of both kings is instrumental in the preservation of their kingships as the symbol for and the means by which a rightful dynasty is restored.

For Tolkien, consciously or unconsciously, the light that shines from Excalibur serves as inspiration for the brilliance of Andúril, a mighty weapon of Middle-earth. Both Excalibur and Andúril lead their kings to a conquest of their enemies. As Arthur drew Excalibur, "it was so bright in his enemies' eyes that it gave light like thirty torches. And therewith he put them a-back, and slew much people." When Aragorn returns to Minas Tirith after his victory, Faramir proclaims that Aragorn fulfills all prophecies as the "bearer of the Star of the North, wielder of the Sword Reforged, victorious in battle, whose hands bring healing." Here, Faramir is alluding to the prophecies and legends which foretell the coming of the king who would return to rule the people and instigate an age of renewal and victory over oppression. Arthur, likewise, "would turn the tides drowning his country and bring victory where defeat had been known." With their legendary swords in hand, Arthur and Aragorn emerge as victorious warriors ready to rule with justice and peace—they have proven their kingship.

Aragorn owes more than just his sword to Arthur, however, for "it appears that part of his life story is actually derived from Arthur himself." Like Arthur, Aragorn is raised by elves and "exemplifies elven virtues and beliefs by respecting and admiring nature, the ancient traditions of elves and men, the elven language, and healing lore." While their paths to glory parallel each other, Aragorn does not meet the same tragic end as Arthur, whereas the hobbit Frodo does. Johnson notes that "Aragorn only conforms to the rise of a hero; he does not conform to the pattern of the hero's tragic death." Tolkien split the inextricably linked elements of Arthur's character into Aragorn, the chivalrous hero, and Frodo, the spiritual hero. Aragorn's quest is to initiate a new era of peace in a disordered world—he has nothing to lose and everything to gain. On the other hand, Frodo's quest involves self-sacrifice and high stakes, and his sacrifice ultimately saves the world. Only when Frodo finds the Ring does he accept his heroic role, which ends in his tragic death.

Comparing Arthur and the hobbit Frodo, Verlyn Flieger demonstrates how Frodo's wounding by Gollum "recalls Arthur's wounding by his anti-self Mordred," and how his

"Remnants of a long-forgotten history permeate Middle-earth with a sense of longing for a past far richer than most of its inhabitants know"

leaving "Middle-earth to be healed in Valinor explicitly echoes the wounded Arthur's departure."Arthur is given a final wound by his mortal foil, Mordred, the next heir to the throne, while Frodo is given a final wound by his antithesis, the fallen ring bearer Gollum. As a result of these wounds, Arthur and Frodo must depart. The resemblance of Mallory's description to Tolkien's is striking. Mallory writes:

"Then Sir Bedivere cried, 'Ah my lord Arthur, what shall become of me, now ye go from me and leave me here alone among mine enemies? 'Comfort thyself,' said the king, 'and do as well as thou mayest, for in me is no trust for to trust in; for I will into the vale of Avilion to heal me of my grievous wound...' And as soon as Sir Bedevere had lost the sight of the barge, he wept and wailed..."

Similarly, Tolkien describes the following scene:

"'But,' said Sam, and tears started in his eyes, 'I thought you were going to enjoy the shire, too, for years and years, after all you had done.' 'So I thought too, once. But I have been too deeply hurt, Sam. I tried to save the Shire, and it has been saved, but not for me...' Then Frodo went aboard... and then slowly the ship slipped away... and the light of the glass of Galadriel that Frodo bore glimmered and was lost."

Both Frodo and Arthur are forced to depart from the world and leave behind their loyal companion in order to avoid death and return in the future to save their people.

Tolkien also adapted a key aspect of Arthurian legend—the Holy Grail. While there is no grail in The Lord of the Rings, there is the essence of the grail in The One Ring. The Fellowship's mission to destroy The One Ring resembles the Knights of the Round Table's quest to discover the Holy Grail. Rather than the king, a member of the Fellowship is destined to complete the quest and destroy the ring, just like three of Arthur's Knights are worthy of the grail. Tolkien reinvents the quest by modifying the significance of the ring. With its corrupting influence, the ring has a negative effect on the environment of Middle-earth. Sauron's dark forces, Orcs, and Black Riders gather in the Land of Mordor, where they plot to retrieve the Ring and gain power over all things, and the Ring's power will destroy the minds of those who attempt to interfere with its magic. According to Tom Shippey, the evil of the ring is not just external; it reaches out to "echo in the hearts of the good," and therefore the bearer of the Ring cannot trust himself or his friends." Moreover, the user cannot even trust himself, as The Ring's consumes his existence—Tolkien's message for a modern era marred by destructive wars, superpowers, and horrific abuses of power.

In The Lord of the Rings, Tolkien articulates some of the deepest concerns of the twentieth century—"industrialized warfare, the temptations of power, the origins of evil, and the failure of good intentions and righteous causes." The industrial revolution, a period of rapid change beginning in Britain around 1750 and lasting well into the 1800s, transformed the cultural and physical landscape of England. A recurring theme in Tolkien seems to be the collision between ideals from two different worlds—a more nostalgic look at England's past. Remnants of a long-forgotten history permeate Middle-earth with a sense of longing for a past far richer than most of its inhabitants know. Tolkien not only wrote to express the core of Englishness, but also to the truth that he gained from his own experience: "As far as I know, it is merely an imaginative invention, to express, in the only way I can, some of my (dim) apprehensions of the world." As a combat veteran, like many of his contemporaries, he saw literature as the best form to address the changing moral landscape caused by modern industrialized warfare. Simon Tolkien describes his realization about how the Great War influenced his grandfather's stories:

"I went back to The Lord of the Rings and realised how much his grand conception had to have been informed by the horrors of the trenches. Evil in Middle earth is above all industrialised. Sauron's orcs are brutalised workers; Saruman has 'a mind of metal and wheels;' and the

BAGGINS RESIDENCE 'BAG END' WITH PARTY SIGN. (COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS)

desolate moonscapes of Mordor and Isengard are eerily reminiscent of the no man's land of 1916. The companionship between Frodo and Sam in the latter stages of their quest echoes the deep bonds between the British soldiers forged in the face of overwhelming adversity. They all share the quality of courage which is valued above all other virtues in The Lord of the Rings... There is a sense too that the world has been fundamentally changed by Sauron even though he has been defeated. Innocence and magic are disappearing from Middle Earth as the elves leave, departing into the West."

Tolkien dreaded the industrial plague and modern development overwhelming his England just as it invaded the Shire of Middle-earth. Bell(notes that "every description Tolkien applies to his beloved hobbits develops a vision of his hopes for himself and England." In his letters, he describes hobbits as a merry, content, generous, moderate, "loveable, and laughable" people. The Shire, far removed from the chaos of Middle-earth, represents everything Tolkien loves about England—countryside, community, and friendship.

Tolkien reminisces about a simple people in a simple time as both slip from his grasp in his modern England with "the first War of the Machines [leaving] everyone the poorer, many bereaved or maimed and millions dead, and only one thing triumphant: the Machines... [they] are going to be enormously more powerful."Through the ongoing struggle between good and evil in Middle-earth, Tolkien calls on the ordinary people like that the hobbits symbolize to take pride in their identity and preserve the world they love as he does for England.

Considering Tolkien's message, The Lord of the Rings becomes the rediscovered source of the Arthurian legend rather than the result of the influence of the legends. Tolkien invokes the emotions Arthur stirs while reinventing the story he deemed inadequate into an English anthem addressing the issues of an industrialized world. Tolkien has indeed succeeded, for a translator, who asked for his help on a Polish translation, asserted that The Lord of the Rings "is an English book and its Englishry should not be eradicated." While incorporating existing literary traditions and mythologies into his own, J.R.R. Tolkien's body of fictional work has developed into a new English national mythology with modern relevance.

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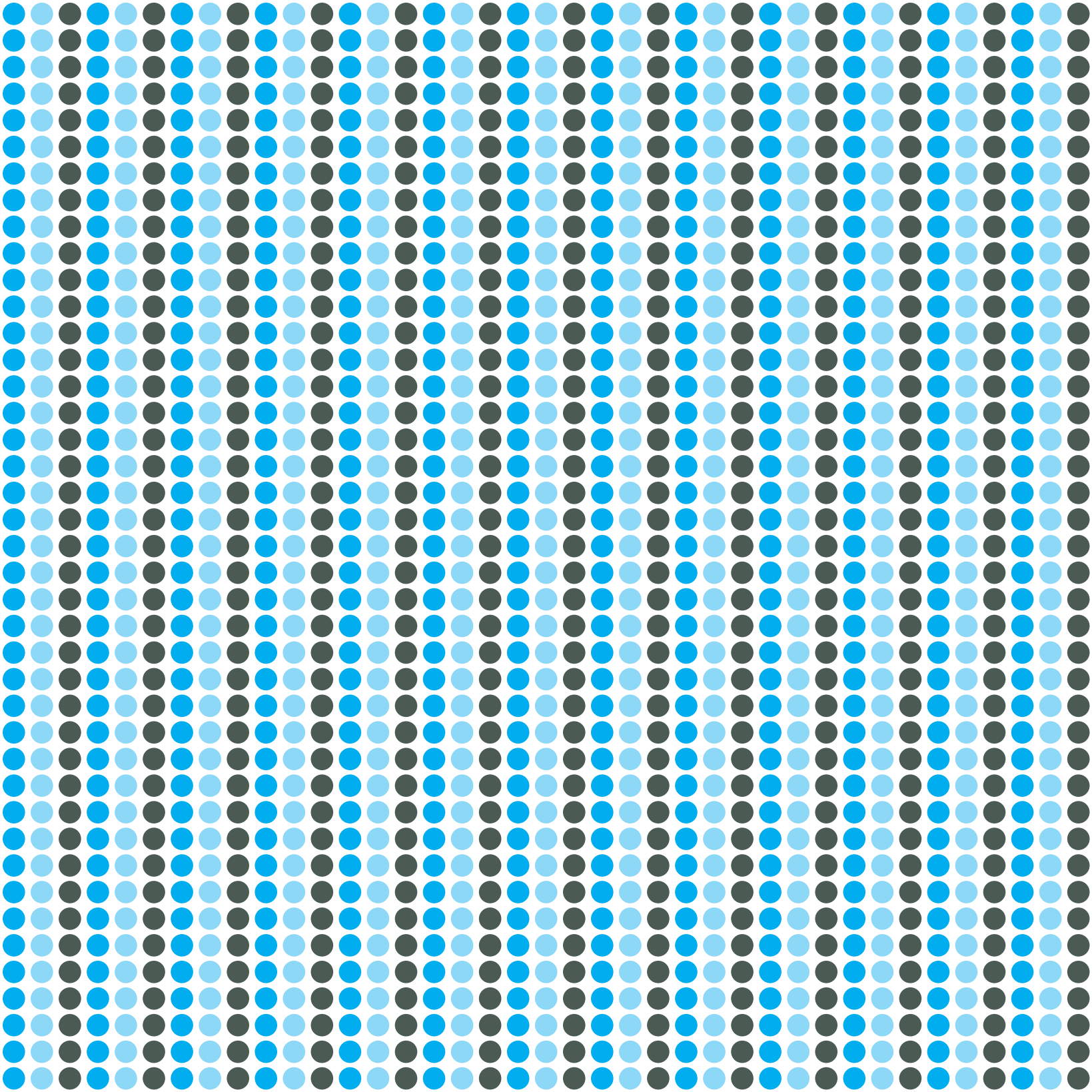

TAKING THE CHECK OR CHECKING THE TAKE

Assessing the Regulation of Catholic Univeristies' Endowments

AARON SALZMAN

THIS ESSAY STUDIES THE ENDOWMENTS OF MODERN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. IT EXAMINES THE NORMS THAT GOVERN THE ACTIVITIES THAT AFFECT THE SIZE OF THE ENDOWMENT, SPECIFICALLY SPENDING, ACCEPTANCE OF DONATIONS AND INVESTMENT OF ENDOWMENT FUNDS. THE NORMS REGULATING THE LATTER TWO ARE FOUND TO BE INSUFFICIENT, AS IS EVIDENCED BY THEIR INCONSISTENT APPLICATION. HOWEVER, AMERICAN CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES APPLY THE NORMS REGULATING INVESTMENTS MORE CONSISTENTLY THAN OTHER SCHOOLS. CATHOLIC COLLEGES' AND UNIVERSITIES' SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE INVESTMENT (SRI) PRACTICES ARE FOUND TO BE ROOTED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S OFFICIAL TEACHING ON CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES AS FOUND IN EX CORDE ECCLESIAE AND THE CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THESE DOCUMENTS SUGGEST THE NEED TO DEVELOP, CODIFY AND APPLY EVEN MORE RIGOROUS NORMS GOVERNING THE ACCEPTANCE OF DONATIONS AND INVESTMENT OF ENDOWMENT FUNDS AT EVERY AMERICAN CATHOLIC COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY.

One of the most recent social movements to take root on university campuses is the fossil fuel divestment movement.[1] Divestment is the act of withdrawing funds from stocks, bonds, or investment funds which may be morally ambiguous or immoral.[2] This movement has been used to oppose South African apartheid, the tobacco industry, private prisons, and producers of firearms.[3] Today, advocates of fossil fuel divestment argue that colleges or universities have an obligation to the demands of social justice in every economic decision they make, including the investment of a university's endowment. These concerns lead into a wider discussion of the proper use of university endowments in general. The endowment is a resource that helps to finance the objectives of the university. Today, there do indeed exist widely accepted and practiced norms regarding the ethical expenditures that an endowment supports. However, there do not seem to exist similarly clear or widely practiced norms when it comes to regulating the means by which an endowment grows through acceptance of donations and investments. The American Catholic university is positioned to be a leader in this regard due to the nature of its traditional mission, which, upon examination, offers a normative framework that regulates the ethical growth of a university's endowment.

The modern endowment is a powerful source of financial stability at the university level, and it is used to fund important mission-based programs through returns on investments. An endowment, as defined by Christopher J. Ryan, Jr., is a body of donated financial assets which are later invested in order to generate additional revenue to be used for "further investments and supplementary university expenditures" which "[support] the university's educational mission."[4] The endowment is overseen by an investment committee on the board of trustees.[5] The investment committee is charged with growing the endowment in order to support the university's mission. The endowment's growth is dependent on three variables: spending, donations and investment returns.[6] To explain why an endowment must grow, experts have established the principle of "intergenerational equity," by which an educational institution has the duty to ensure that future stakeholders "receive the same or greater benefits" as present stakeholders.[7] According to Professor James J. Fishman, "intergenerational equity is the most commonly stated goal for endowment management," and it is cited when investment committees make decisions regarding endowment spending.[8] In this paper, I will first study the mission of the American university and then the norms regarding acceptance of donations and investments at today's American universities. In this discussion, American universities' actual fidelity to these norms will be addressed as well. It will become clear that the least developed and practiced norms are those regulating acceptance of donations and that the existing norms regulating investment of the endowment are practiced with varying degrees of regularity and consistency, depending oftentimes on the type of university practicing them. These observations will finally lead into a discussion of the norms that specifically regulate American Catholic universities, which will be drawn from the official teachings of the Catholic Church.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA CLASS OF 2008'S COMMENCEMENT. (COURTESY OF *FLICKR*)

The university's priority is the education of students, but its basic mission also includes other necessary obligations to society as a whole. The American Council on Education (ACE), which represents almost 1,800 university presidents and executives, defines the university's mission as "teaching, research, and public service."[9] Additionally, the Higher Learning Commission (HLC), which accredits postsecondary educational institutions in nineteen states, similarly requires that an "institution's mission [demonstrate] commitment to the public good."[10] Within this broad mission, of course, an "institution's educational responsibilities take primacy over other purposes, such as generating financial returns for investors, contributing to a related or parent organization, or supporting external interests."[11] However, the ACE and HLC guidelines seem to allow or even suggest that the American university also

include a mission-based commitment to faculty, to administrators, and to society as a whole, with particular attention given to the least privileged members of society. As a vehicle for the fulfillment of a university's mission, the endowment is a tool that can and should promote education, expansion of knowledge, and social justice, while still respecting the principle of intergenerational equity at the same time. However, despite the strong guidance regarding university mission, the HLC criteria only speak broadly about the norms regarding the acquisition of university funds. Norms regarding acceptance of donations and endowment investments are implicitly referenced when the criteria state that an accredited university's "governing board ... provides oversight of the institution's financial ... policies and practices and meets its legal and fiduciary responsibilities."[12] Additionally, the criterion that an "institution allocates its resources in alignment with its mission and priorities" can be interpreted as a reference to the investment of endowment funds.[13] However, the strength of the norms governing these two means of endowment growth is not explicitly spelled out in a way that provides clear guidance.

A university's acceptance of donations is a means to grow the endowment, fulfill its commitment to intergenerational equity, and fulfill the mission of the university. Donations are thus a major component of the university's lifeblood. However, the only reward for a university that has a gift acceptance policy regulating the acceptance of donations is protection "from risks, including public relations risks."[14] This reward is tied to the Internal Revenue Service's Form 990, which nonprofits like universities use to file their taxes and which must be made available to the public by law.[15] Schedule M of this form includes a question about whether the organization has a gift acceptance policy for noncash contributions, like real estate and stock.[16] A university's policy on nonstandard gifts, though not obligatory under law, can offer an opportunity for creating a positive public image. Applying the policy on nonstandard gifts to standard gifts as well would also be an act of positive branding. However, it is certainly the case today that many universities value the money of potentially unethical gifts more than public opinion regarding gift acceptance policies. In 2017, corporations and foundations donated almost $20 billion to American universities, accounting for 45% of all donations to universities.[17] Of course, many corporations and foundations do not engage in unethical practices; however, the mere acceptance of donations from parties that have no obviously altruistic reason for giving to a specific university risks creating issues of "transparency, conflicts of interest, academic and scientific integrity, and coercion."[18] One example of an organization that creates such issues is the Charles Koch Foundation, which donated almost $150 million to American universities between 2005 and 2015.[19] This foundation has a documented history of using its donations to universities as a means of controlling curricula to promote libertarian economic positions.[20] To date, the foundation has donated to over 300 universities ranging from the public to the private Catholic, including University of California - Berkeley, Harvard University, University of Notre Dame, and Boston College.[21] To summarize, it seems that there exists a norm applicable to the acceptance of donations, namely that a university should not accept a donation if it will hurt its public image. However, many American universities today ignore this norm, even if violating the norm risks offending their teaching, research, and public service missions

American university endowments today grow through the aggressive investment of funds, which make a university more able to fund its mission-based expenditures. There was a shift in universities' investing norms in the second half of the twentieth century, which oversaw the transition from a more prudent, safer strategy of investment to a high-risk, high-reward strategy based upon Modern Portfolio Theory (MPT).[22] MPT "is based upon the principle that carefully choosing the proportions of various assets for investment through diversification can maximize

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a portfolio's expected return against some portfolio risks."[23] Investment decisions in line with MPT are inherently risky, so investors use diversification to mitigate risk for their body of invested capital. The principles that guide MPT have become the foundation for the "endowment model of investing."[24] From the 1990s to 2005, the university endowment began the transition from being heavily invested in fixed-income securities and cash to being more aggressively invested in alternative assets like hedge funds, private equity buyout, venture funds, and commodities, including timber and oil.[25] Because of the endowment model of investing, investment returns have become a major source of growth for endowments. However, there are certain Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) practices that universities use to avoid investment in companies whose practices contradict university missions; these practices challenge the dominance of a purely profit-driven ethic.

The SRI trend originated in religious settings, and it has been mostly Christian and specifically Catholic universities that are leading the movement to condemn the actions of certain companies and industries through both negative and positive financial activism.[26] According to a study by Professors Janet Kiholm Smith and Robert L. Smith, "the nature of social issues that are the focus of universities' concerns has evolved to a more expansive practice," and universities have acted on these concerns by negatively screening and excluding problematic investments, by positively screening and investing in socially responsible investments, and by engaging in proxy voting to influence corporate decision-making.[27] Specifically, negative SRI screening includes consideration of stocks involving environmental, social and governance (ESG) issues, sin stocks and stocks involving reproductive issues.[28] ESG issues include environmental sustainability, labor practices, and support for weapons and defense; sin stocks involve alcohol, gambling, pornography or tobacco; and reproductive issues include abortion, birth control, and use of stem cells.[29] According to Table I of the study, while only about 12% of public universities use negative SRI screening, 24% of private independent universities and 37% of church-affiliated universities use this screening. Additionally, church-affiliated universities were more likely than private independent universities and much more likely than public universities "to actively vote their proxies consistent with SRI ... , take [environmental] sustainability into account in their investment decisions, and be willing to sacrifice return on investments for SRI objectives."[30] Finally, Catholic universities, which made up about a third of the sampled church-affiliated universities, were much more consistent in screening for all three kinds of SRI investments than Christian Fundamentalist universities, which mostly ignored ESG screens in investment decisions.[31] Catholic universities were also three times as likely to vote their proxies consistent with their SRI screening guidelines as their Christian Fundamentalist counterparts.[32] Clearly, Christian, and especially Catholic, affiliation allows certain universities to more intentionally incorporate SRI policies into their investment decisions. What is it about Catholic universities that makes their investment committees so disposed to social responsibility in investment decisions, and do they go far enough? To answer this, and to search for applicable norms regarding a Catholic university's acceptance of donations, I turn now to a study of the Catholic Church's official teachings.

The mission of the Catholic university is unique from those of other types of universities, because of the Church's official teaching that shapes a commitment to a very specific mission. Ex Corde Ecclesiae, subtitled Apostolic Constitution of the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II on Catholic Universities, is a Church document that explicitly laid out the expectations for the Catholic university in its mission and actions.[33] It includes a section titled "The Mission of Service of a Catholic University," in which Pope John Paul II stated that "the basic mission of a University is a continuous quest for truth through its research, and the preservation and communication of knowledge for the good of society."[34] The document then goes on to distinguish the mission of Catholic universities from non-Catholic universities. Pope John Paul II listed one "specific priority" of the Catholic university as "the need to examine and evaluate the predominant values and norms of modern society and culture in a Christian perspective, and the responsibility to try to communicate to society those *ethical and religious principles which give full meaning to human life.*"[35] One necessary part of this critical and educational

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work is a commitment to social justice; the document stated that "[e]very Catholic University feels responsible to contribute concretely to the ... promotion of social justice" and to the "integral growth of all men and women."[36] Finally, Pope John Paul II asserted that "Catholic teaching and discipline are to influence all university actions."[37] Pope John Paul II thus unequivocally made a social justice-based mission the guiding principle of every university action, including those actions involving the use of the endowment. In many ways, this teaching merely strengthens and codifies the teaching, research, and public service missions that guide any secular university. However, the tradition of the Catholic Church certainly sharpens and underscores the moral dimension of any solution to the problem of striking the appropriate balance between a commitment to mission and a duty to intergenerational equity.

The Catholic university is "immersed in human society," as are all its component parts, including its endowment. The endowment is more than just an economic tool to assist in maintaining a sustainable budget; it is a tool that can advance the promotion of social justice. The Catechism of the Catholic Church has strong words regarding the dual responsibilities of any economic activity:

Economic life is not meant solely to multiply goods produced and increase profit or power; it is ordered first of all to the service of persons, of the whole man, and of the entire human community. Economic activity, conducted according to its own proper methods, is to be exercised ... in keeping with social justice.[38]

Clearly, the Church views economic activity as being in service to society and the common good, rather than as only incidentally or optionally being tied to social justice. This teaching implies a radical reimagining of what norms should inform a Catholic university's investment decisions and gift acceptance policies. When norms promoting a duty to social justice, such as SRI guidelines, conflict with norms promoting a duty to current students and intergenerational equity, it is not always acceptable to simply defer to the immediate financial needs of the university. When a university's endowment is profiting off industries that hurt individuals and groups, especially "the poorest and ... those who suffer economic, social, cultural or religious injustice," it becomes the duty of the university to find a socially responsible way of correcting this social injustice.[39]

Catholic universities can fulfill this obligation even better by implementing several changes addressing both the ethical acceptance of donations and the socially responsible investment of endowment funds. For starters, every Catholic university ought to develop, publish and make public policies regulating both the acceptance of donations and investments. Although many Catholic universities already engage in some type of negative SRI screening, there is no reason why this practice should not be codified and published at every Catholic university. Second, in the pursuit of transparency and accountability, Catholic universities ought to include both student and faculty representatives in meetings of boards of trustees and investment committees. As beneficiaries of universities, and as the two groups with the most direct exposure to the educational mission of the Catholic university, students and faculty have the right to know about decisions regarding the acceptance of donations and investments. Concerning investment decisions specifically, an example from one Catholic university is Boston College's divestment from companies profiting off and upholding South African apartheid, which illustrates two key ways of proceeding.[40] In the student newspaper's 1984 interview with BC's Financial VP and Treasurer John Smith, Smith addressed the "means to which the holding of stock give access toward redressing wrongful conduct."[41] He proposed to the readers of The Heights two avenues for fulfilling the university's mission to social justice. First, he touted the effectiveness of "proxy votes and ... pressure ... to influence management decisions." [42] In this method, known as shareholder advocacy, "shareholders of a listed company ... can requisition its members to meet and vote on specified resolutions."[43] Smith articulated his preference for this avenue by stating, "We are all for human rights, and we have a better chance of ensuring them if we attempt to influence management policy."[44] However, he also addressed the divestment approach which he deemed appropriate, "where no other means are possible, ... as a means of redirecting policy or as a necessary step to avoid [Boston College's] own complicity in wrongdoing."[45] Smith went on to explain: "if our investment advisor bought stock in a company in clear violation of our ethical standards, we would dump it without questioning it. Some stocks are just not worth it."[46] Thus, there exist at least two means for a Catholic university to use its investment decisions in service of the common good. Makers of investment decisions must weigh all the facets of the university's educational mission when deciding whether to invest or remain invested in a company engaged in unjust activities. If the university is already invested in such a company, the university ought to begin by intentionally

engaging in stakeholder advocacy through proxy voting in order to convince the company to cease its unjust activities. If dialogue is successful, then divestment becomes unnecessary. However, if the company were to continue its unjust activities, then the university would need to consider divestment as an option in order to stay true to its institutional mission. If investing or continuing to invest in an unjust company is necessary for maintaining a consistent standard of education (the first priority of the university), and if no alternatives exist that could ensure a similar standard of education, then a Catholic university would need to weigh the moral cost of offering a lesser education against the moral cost of investing or remaining invested. These suggestions are directly derived from Church teaching around economic activity at Catholic universities. The moral norms that regulate the acceptance of donations and the investments of a Catholic university's endowment are rigorous, specific, and visionary in a way that has made and can continue to make Catholic universities leaders in university activism.

The frameworks that regulate the means of growth of an American university's endowment offer objective norms by which to make and judge economic decisions, while maintaining a legitimate degree of liberty that allows universities to decide for themselves how to proceed. The norms of endowment growth include norms that address how expenditures, acceptance of donations, and investments can contribute to a university's well-defined mission. The norms regarding expenditures are established and widely practiced. However, Catholic universities and non-Catholic universities alike accept donations of all kinds, including those from corporations and foundations engaged in morally questionable or even immoral activities. Additionally, most American universities do not negatively screen for SRI stocks, and although church-affiliated universities lead this trend, only about a third of these engage in the practice.[47] However, when one focuses solely on the norms of official Church teaching that inform Catholic universities in America, one finds a set of norms regulating endowment decisions that has a level of specificity that both explains Catholic university leadership on SRI practices and calls for even stronger activism in investment decisions and gift acceptance policies. The Catholic university's mission is one that centers around social justice and necessitates consideration of all avenues by which social justice might be achieved. Commitment to intergenerational equity, while ever-present, can no longer be used as an excuse to remain uncritically invested in companies engaged in morally questionable or immoral activities. We can no longer accept the argument of some administrators at American Catholic universities that "[the endowment is] a resource, ... and it's not intended to be an instrument to induce political or societal change."[48] Indeed, the endowment is a resource, and it is one that the American Catholic university in particular must use in all its activities as a means to pursue social justice, in line with its mission that the Catholic tradition defines.

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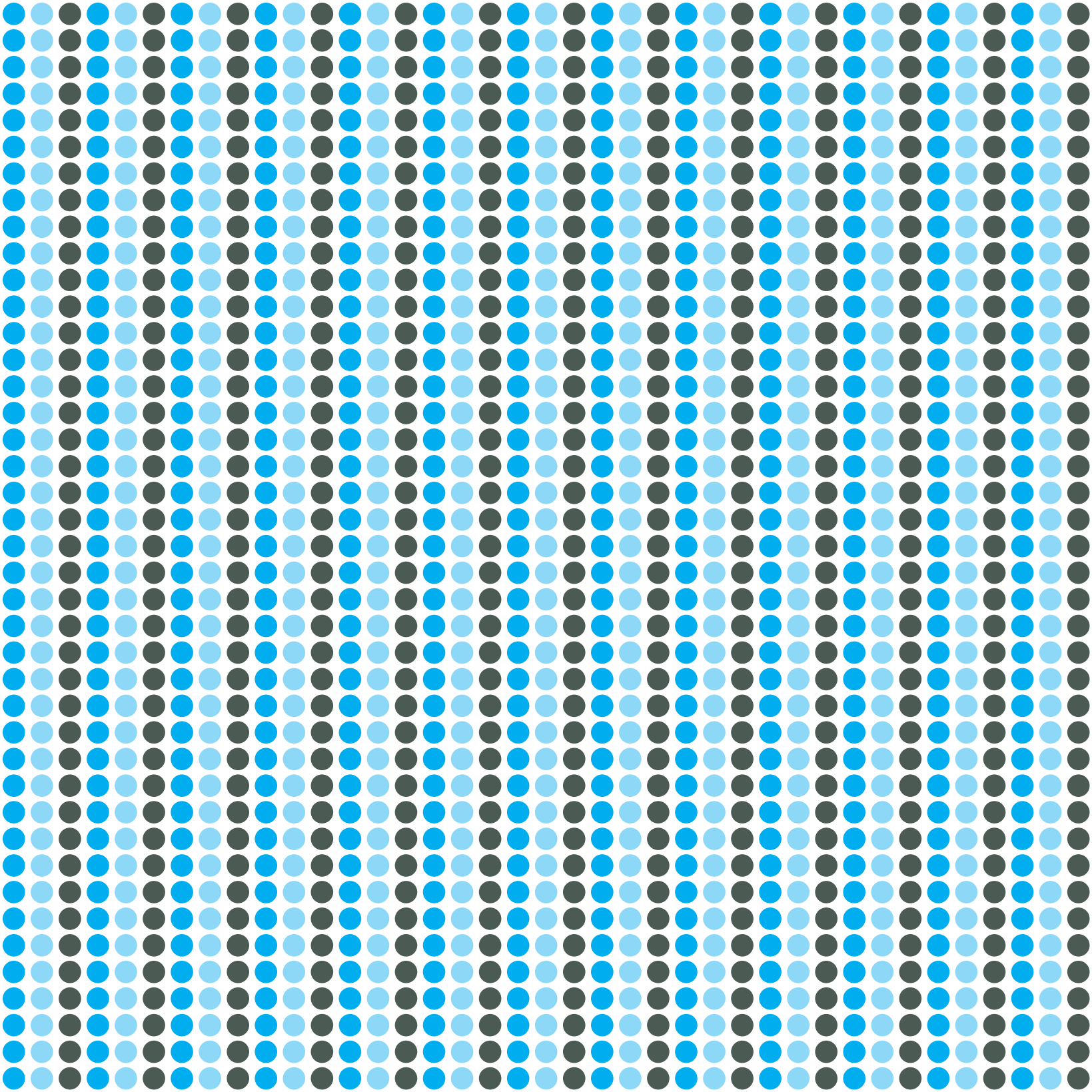

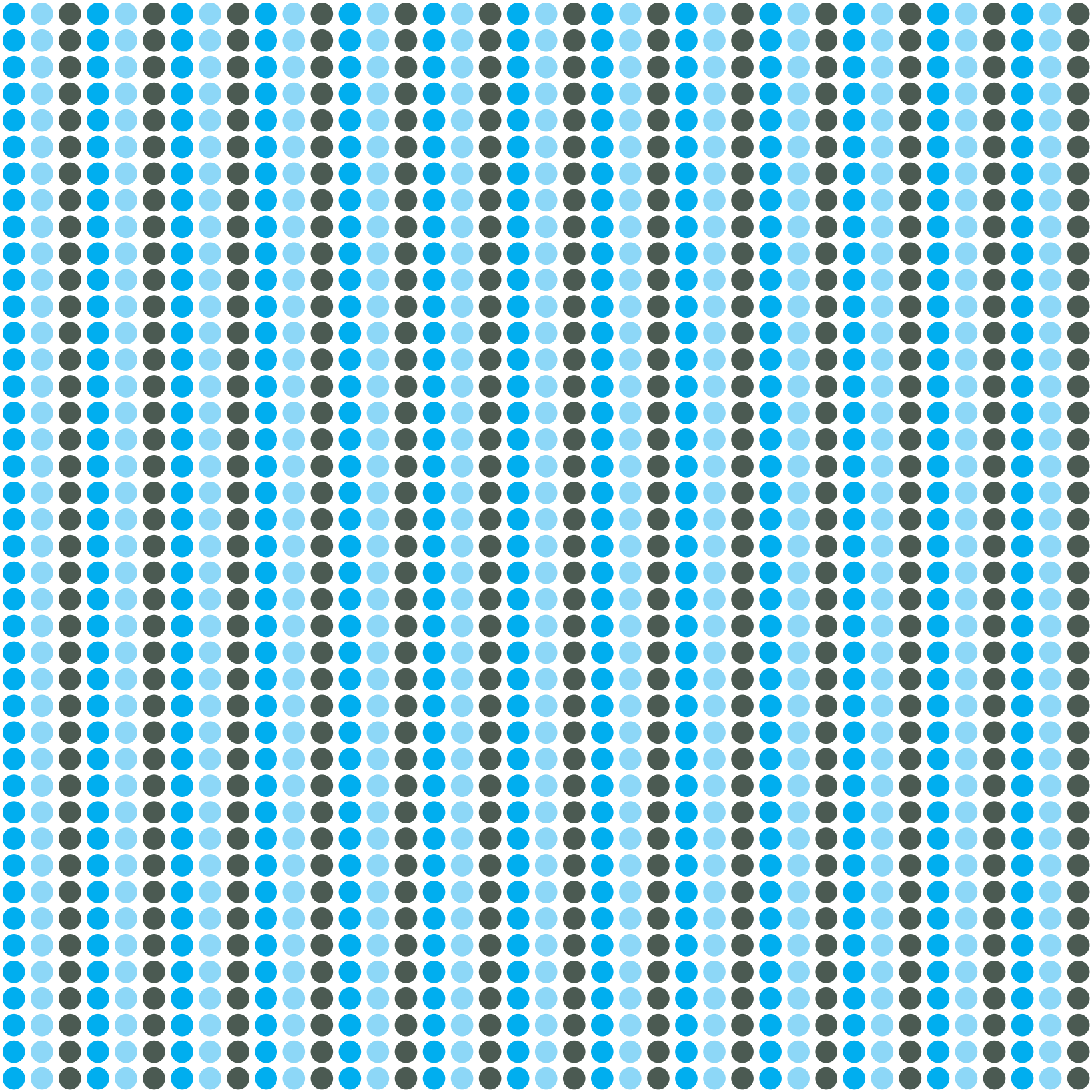

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BILLY HUBSCHMAN

Billy Hubschman was a member of Boston College's class of 2019 and graduated with a major in sociology. He grew up in Andover, Massachusetts and now resides in Somerville. As a white person who has been an avid fan of hip-hop since his early teens, Billy is cognizant of the white audience's role in the commercialization and degradation of hip-hop culture. This paper provides an overview of some of the sociological literature on this subject. These days, Billy is working as an outreach specialist for the Pine Street Inn, helping connect folks experiencing street homeless with services for housing, healthcare, and more.

RACHEL CONNELLY

Rachel graduated from Boston College in May 2019, majoring in political science and minoring in history and Irish studies. She studied abroad in Galway, Ireland and took a course with Dr. Rita O'Donoghue, who sparked her interest in women's issues in Ireland. Her varied academic interests include learning about trailblazing women throughout history (from Grace O'Malley to Ruth Bader Ginsburg), researching intersections between international law and women's rights, and reading fiction from around the globe. She is employed as a corporateparalegal in Boston and previously worked as a victim witness advocate intern at the Essex County District Attorney's Office. She plans to attend law school and hopes to pursue a career in international women's rights law. Her article was written for Professor Jim Smith's interdisciplinary course on Irish writers of the recent economic boom and bust years. She wishes to thank Professor Smith for his encouragement and support in developing this paper.

SARYA BALADI

Sarya Baladi is a Presidential Scholar at Boston College set to graduate in 2019. She is majoring in Islamic Civilization & Societies with a double minor in International Conflict & Cooperation Studies and Theology. At Boston College, she works in the Political Science Department as an Undergraduate Research Fellow focusing on issues of religion and public life, immigration, and cultural pluralism. She has a particular interest in questions concerning immigration, and hopes to pursue a career advocating on behalf of refugees and asylees in the United States.

GRACE PETER

Grace Peter is from Connecticut and is in the BC class of 2020. She majors in Biology (B.A.) and has a minor in English. She is currently studying abroad in Seville, Spain and loves learning more of the language and food culture. At BC, she gets dinners with Jeff, her buddy from BestBuddies and goes on the builds organized by Habitat for Humanity. She is also an avid gardener and is apart of the Garden Club at BC. In her free time, she loves to write and has enjoyed her discussion-based English courses and is excited to read and write more.

CHARLIE POWER

Charlie Power is a sophomore in the Carroll School of Management, majoring in Economics and Theology. He is originally from Winnetka, IL, a suburb of Chicago. On campus, he is a member of the Student Organization Funding Committee and works as an Undergraduate Research Fellow for Tracy Regan in the Economics Department. This summer, he will be in Mexico City working for La Chispa, an organization that promotes social entrepreneurship. In terms of future plans, he is undecided about the career path he would like to pursue after graduation, but is broadly interested in technology, consulting, and possibly law school.

WEI (WENNY) XU

Wei (Wenny) Xu is currently a sophomore majoring in Neuroscience at Boston College. She was born in China and went to high school in New Jersey. In college, she wishes to further explore her academic interests while continuing to enact positive changes to the community. She loves to study anything related to the brain and plans on going to graduate school after college. In her free time, she enjoys eating, singing, reading, volunteering, watching movies or anime, and traveling.

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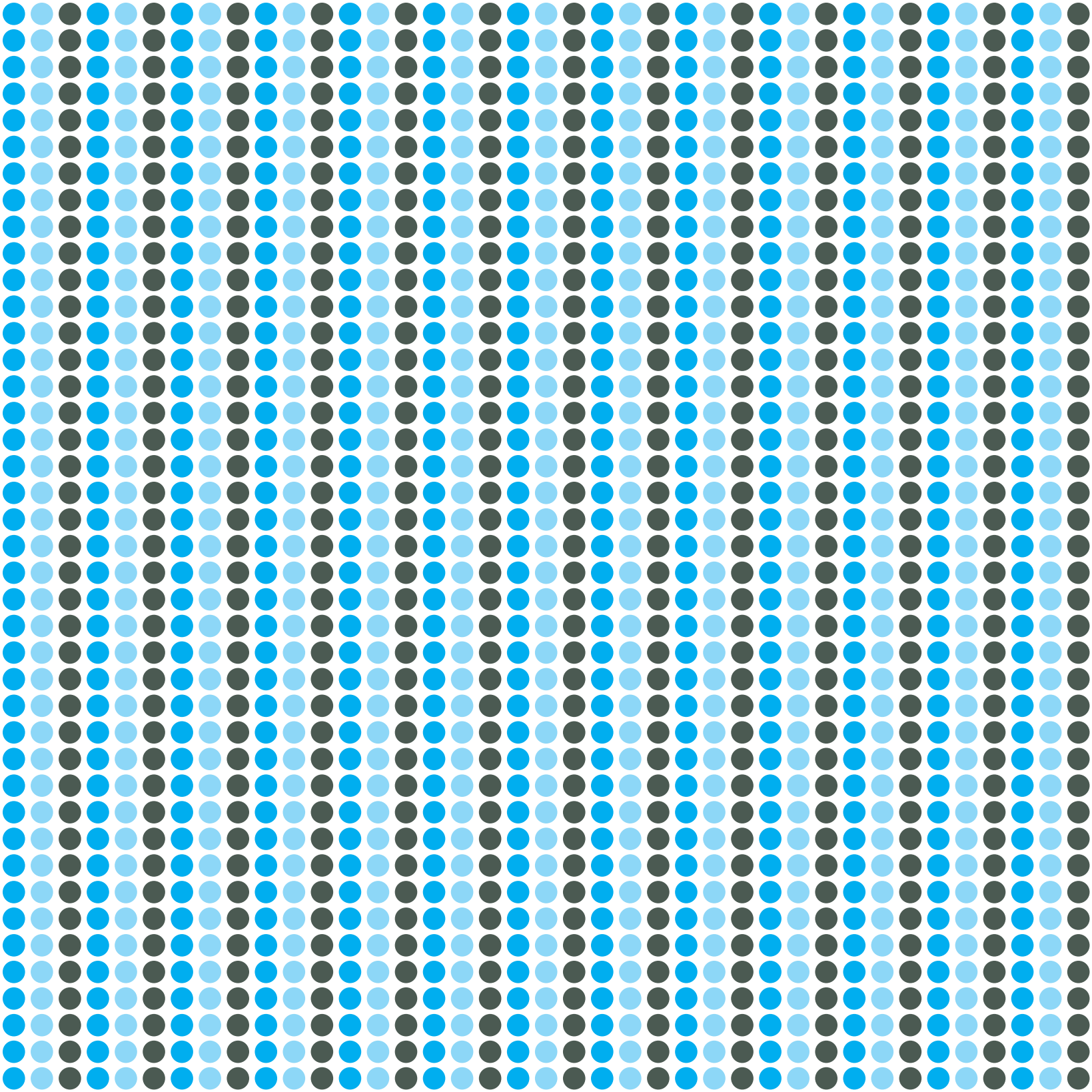
Michael Haley is a sophomore at Boston College studying Economics. As an avid fan of the Lord of the Rings, Michael became interested in exploring Tolkien's motivations and inspiration for creating the lore of Middle-earth. This work is the culmination of his research and commentary on the mind of the legendary J.R.R. Tolkien in the context of postwar England.

AARON SALZMAN

Aaron Salzman is a junior studying Philosophy, with minors in Theology and Hispanic Studies. He has joined Climate Justice at BC, has been a fellow in the Better Future Project's Climate Justice Fellowship Program and has helped to organize the Catholic Divestment Network, a platform for fossil fuel divestment campaigns at American Catholic colleges and universities. He has also interned for the Global Catholic Climate Movement and remains involved in its activities. While still discerning his larger goals, he intends to pursue an advanced degree in philosophy and develop his interest in environmental philosophy and environmental issues in general.



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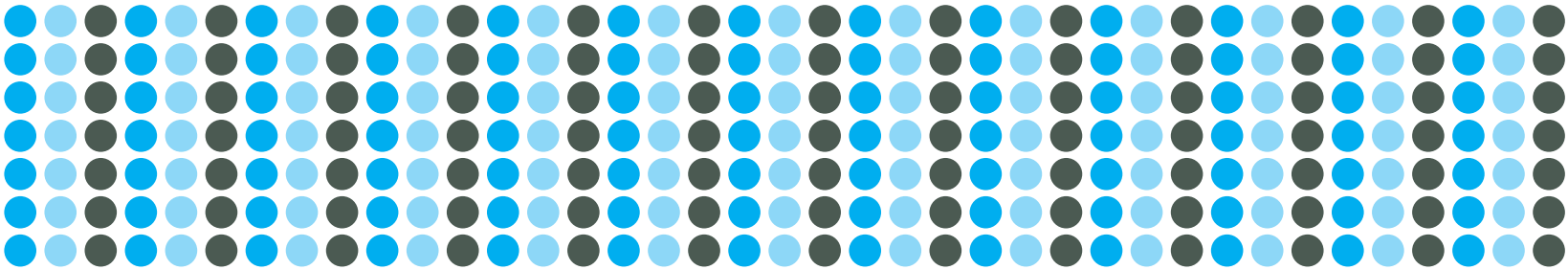

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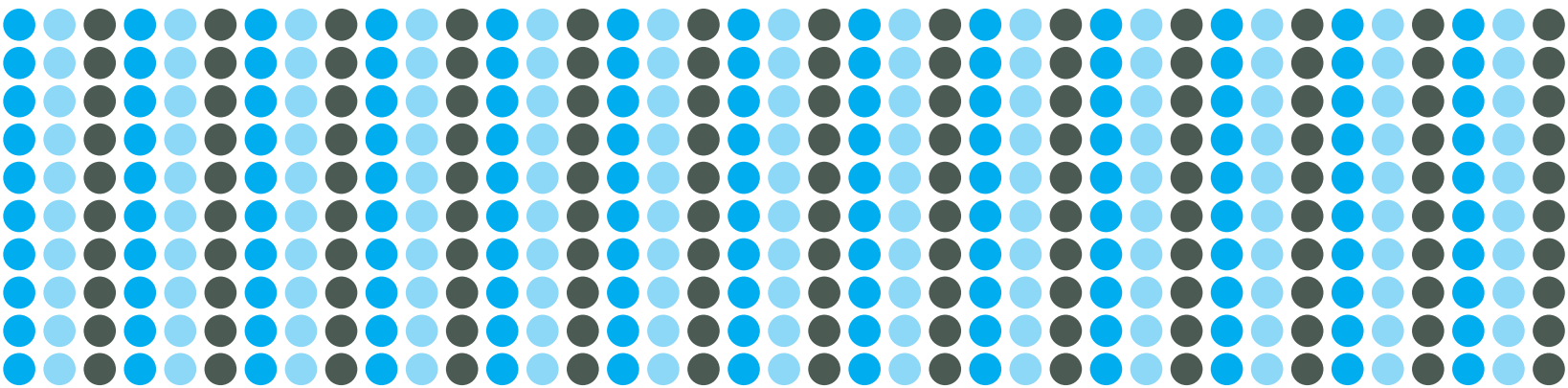

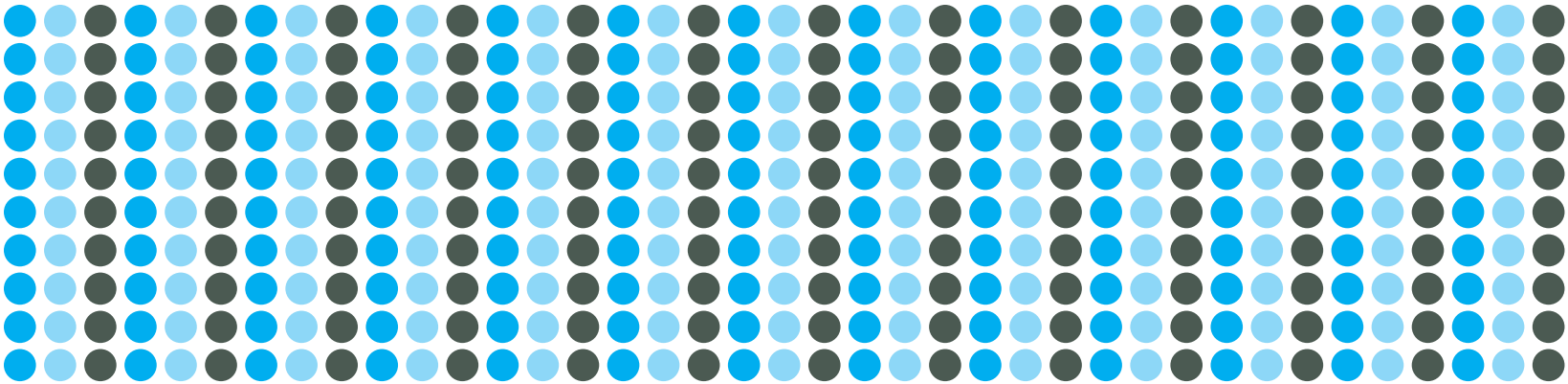

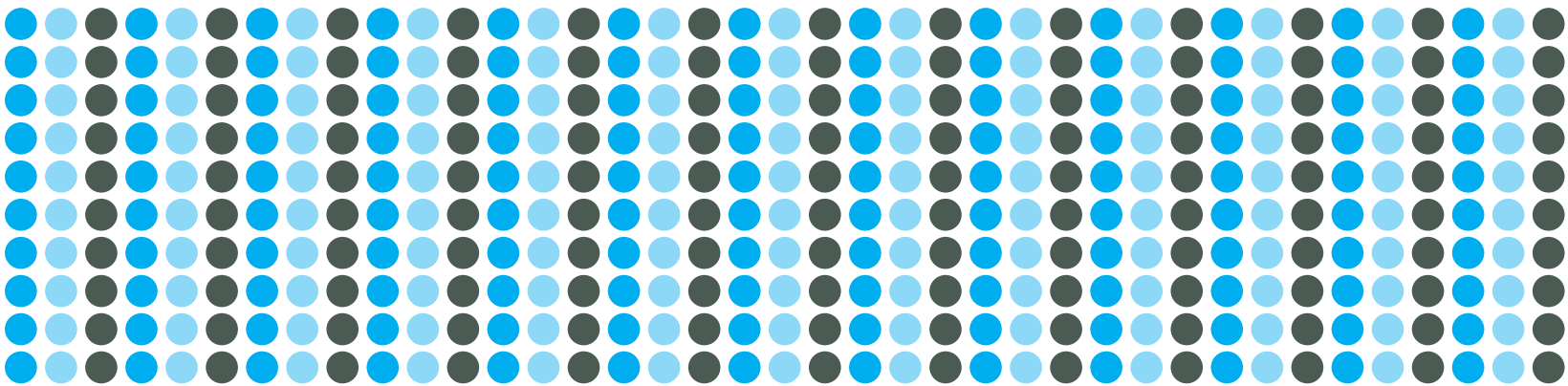

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