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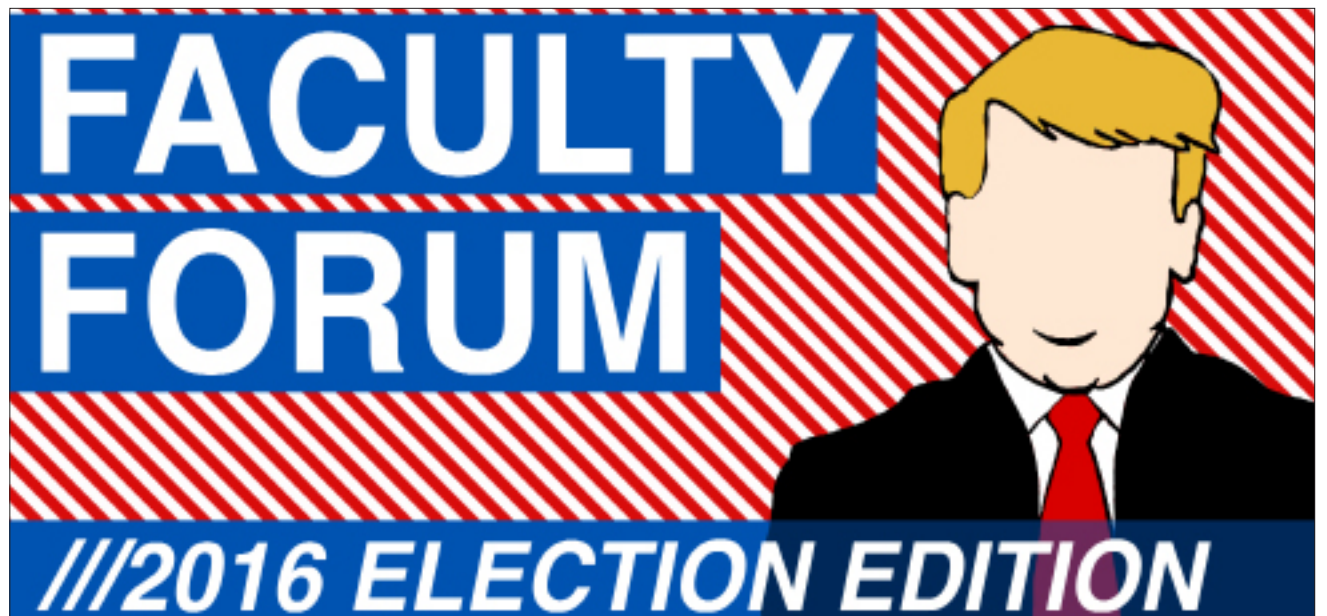
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Although the outcome of the 2016 presidential election has brought the time of candidate debates, campaign speeches, and voter discernment to an end, it remains a prominent and controversial topic. Across the nation, as well as here on Notre Dame's campus, various responses have arisen in the form of protest, prayer, discussion, and questioning. In this final issue of the semester, the *Rover* gives special attention to the reactions to the election results, particularly through this faculty forum.

The *Rover* contacted several Notre Dame professors, including faculty advisors and all faculty members listed on the Notre Dame News page "Experts: 2016 Presidential Election." All of those contacted were presented with the following question: **To what extent was Donald Trump's victory a win for the conservative movement? What should our outlook be moving forward?** In posing this question, the *Rover* strove to garner multiple perspectives from a mixture of political stances in order to present a comprehensive discussion.



An opportunity for humility

LAURA HOLLIS
Faculty Contributor

The election of Donald Trump can be seen not so much an endorsement of Trump himself as it is a rejection of what has been perceived as weakness by Congressional GOP House and Senate members who were given majorities in 2010 and 2014 specifically to tackle issues that are

of deep concern to conservative voters (and others): the exploding national debt (which has doubled under President Obama's administration), a refusal to enforce the immigration laws we already have, and a very unpopular healthcare law that was passed (by Democrats alone) on the basis of lies shamefully told to the American public by the president himself ("You can keep your doctor," "You can keep your plan," "The average annual

premiums for an American family will be reduced by 2500 dollars")—not to mention the deeply insulting characterization of American voters as "stupid" by Jonathan Gruber, one of the architects of the Affordable Care Act. And then there was the fact that not a single member of Congress had read the 2000-plus page bill—an omission which would be actionable malpractice in any other profession. On all of these issues,

Republicans did precisely nothing. And while the reality of a looming presidential veto cannot be ignored, voters have felt for some time that the GOP was more interested in being obsequious to a hostile press than in listening to their constituents. During presidential election years in particular, GOP leadership has tended to foist onto its grumbling, reluctant base candidates who were considered "centrist"

and therefore "electable." (See, e.g., John McCain and Mitt Romney.) Those choices were driven in large part by demands from the press—only to have these otherwise good and decent men later savaged by the same press as callous, greedy thugs, eager to profit on the backs of widows, orphans, minorities, and the poor. McCain and Romney were both soundly defeated. It only takes an instance or

two of that before the public gets wise to it, and the WikiLeaks email dumps this fall revealed what many of us have observed for decades—that much of the national press is in the pocket of the Democratic Party. Attempts by earnest, well-meaning GOP candidates to please the media were always doomed to result in ignominious defeat. Press is in the pocket of

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Trump and the conservative movement

GERALD V. BRADLEY
Faculty Contributor

I do not know anymore (if I ever did) what the "conservative movement" is. Is free trade or protectionism "conservative"? Neither? Both? Ditto for aversion to American military intervention abroad, for how to deal with Putin, and for more restrictive immigration policies (or, at least, for actually enforcing the policies we have—whatever they are)? Where is the "conservative movement" these days on sentencing for violent crimes?

Of nonviolent offenders? I have some idea of what sound policies on all these matters might be. But that is not the question which the *Rover* editors asked me.

I think I know what most people mean by "social conservatism." Apart from the depth and scope of Donald Trump's own commitments to its tenets, I think too that his victory is a win for social conservatism. That much is obvious. For if Trump is the president-elect, it means that Hillary Clinton is not. If Hillary Clinton is not going to be president, then social conservatism has survived a date with the firing squad. I am a social conservative if anybody is. I voted for Donald Trump because he was running against Clinton.

There is more than a sliver of difference between them on most of the issues about which social conservatives care most. On the Supreme Court, for instance, and thus in turn on those many issues (abortion, religious liberty,

same-sex marriage) which the Court has decided to manage for our democracy. Trump has unequivocally stated on several occasions that his Supreme Court nominee(s) will come from his published list of twenty-one possibilities. All of them would be fine choices, and some would be terrific. None would have been on even the very long list of potential nominees in a Clinton Administration.

Since his 2015 speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference, Trump has regularly denounced the latest "progressive" abomination in educational policy, the "Common Core" revision of K-12 math and English (and, soon, science) standards. (Trump even lambasted Common Core after midnight on Election Day, when he rallied his supporters in Michigan). Common Core would reduce education to acquiring the skill sets needed to be a cog in the

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Comments on Trump's victory

MICHAEL ZUCKERT
Faculty Contributor

The *Rover* editors have posed the question: "to what extent was Donald Trump's victory a win for the conservative movement?" My answer: it depends. It depends on what you mean by "victory,"

by "the conservative movement," and finally by "Donald Trump."

To start with the easiest of the three: Trump surely won the election in the Electoral College. I don't want to get into a debate about the Electoral College, an institution pre-election Trump thought was horrible, but which president-elect Trump thinks is "genius." Whichever Trump one agrees with, it is still worth noting that Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by 2.2 million and

counting. This is not to impugn Trump's victory, but it is to question the almost consensus view that Trump's was a resounding win.

In addition to Clinton's majority in the popular vote, the Democrats picked up a modest number of seats in both House and Senate, not what normally happens in a blowout election. The Trump victory looks large because it went contrary to expectations. But expectations are not the standard by which to judge the magnitude of an election outcome. It is worth noting, for example, that in the most battleground of the battleground states where Trump did astonish by winning far more than anybody believed possible (Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin), and in the major battleground state Clinton won (Virginia),

Trump won by a net total of about 50,000 votes, not a blow-out when those states together had a two party total vote of upwards of 30 million.

Another figure to consider: Trump ran ahead of Romney's 2012 vote total by about 1.5 million, but well behind Obama in the 2012 election by over 3 million votes. If we look at what actually happened in the battleground states, we get a sharper idea of what occurred to produce Trump's victory. In 2012, Obama won all six of the states we are looking at; in 2016, Trump won five, all but Virginia. The pattern of voting in the six varied a good deal. Perhaps the most significant finding is that in the five states Trump won, Clinton fell below the Obama vote in 2012, and in only one of the five cases was Trump's margin of victory greater

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Hollis

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Voters made it clear that they wanted a candidate who would stand up to the press. In Donald Trump, they got that, for certain.

And it wasn't just the press that voters were disgusted with. Republican primaries in earlier off-year elections had sent warnings (see, e.g., Eric Cantor, Virginia, 2014) of voter discontentment with party bosses. This year, they took that rebellion to a *national* level. I admit, it was amusing to watch the party lose complete control of the primaries. (It is also noteworthy that this happened in both national parties, and the way the Democrats handled the Bernie Sanders phenomenon is among the reasons that Hillary Clinton lost.)

Republican and conservative voters are also fed up with the Left's characterization of them as ignorant bigots consumed by hate, with the media's complicity in efforts to humiliate, denigrate, and silence them, and with the Democratic Party's obsession with "identity politics." Again, GOP candidates have tended to be timid and ineffective here.

For want of a better explanation, voters across the political spectrum gravitated to the idea that we have a "ruling class" made up of political elites of both parties, deceitful media, condescending academics, and smug Hollywood denizens. These groups, along with the ubiquitous "Wall Street," are perceived as doing quite well for themselves, thank you, while the rest of the country languishes in an economic "recovery" whose benefits have somehow never materialized.

Trump tapped into all of this. His campaign is denounced as one of negativity, fear, and every -ism the Left can conceive of. But the nerve I think he touched was Americans' *fatigue* with negativity and fear. They are tired of war, tired of violent inner cities, tired of a lawless border, tired of an ineffectual response to legitimate terrorist threats, tired of government waste and fraud, tired of an administration which doesn't count you as "unemployed" once you've despaired of ever finding a job again, and tired of being called names when they dare raise their voices.

Americans are looking for reasons to be positive. Trump gave them those reasons. Feeling otherwise voiceless, they voted.

Is Trump's victory a "win" for the conservative movement? That depends on what you care about, I suppose. Trump is a mixed bag. But then again, so are most of us. He's fine with gay marriage (though he very well might defend the rights of small, artisanal businesses to decline to participate in gay weddings). I'm sure he has no problem with contraception, but I'm also guessing that his administration wouldn't have sued the Little Sisters of the Poor for refusing to provide it. He claims to be pro-

life on abortion, and the names he has submitted as potential Supreme Court nominees appear to confirm that. He may very well be more protectionist on trade and isolationist on foreign conflict.

Are those "conservative" positions? Perhaps not. But they are—at least at present—"big tent" positions, as Trump's ability to draw Democrat voters demonstrates.

What *does* seem to be a "victory" for conservatives is the fact that the Left is now being hoisted on their own petard. Small government conservatives complained loud and long about President Obama's "I've got a pen and a phone" disregard for the limits of the executive branch's powers; the Left thought it was great. Now that it will be President Trump, they're reconsidering the benefits of checks and balances. That's a good thing.

Second, Congressional Republicans now have what they've claimed they needed: control of Congress *and* a Republican in the White House. At this point, the only thing stopping them from taking the actions they've promised their constituents is their own timidity and tendency to seize defeat from the jaws of victory.

Third, Trump's victory is also proof that "identity politics" is, short-term, a lousy way to run an election and, long-term, a lousy way to run a country. People long for statesmanlike leadership like that provided by JFK or Reagan, but neither spent their time running around the country calling people "bitter clingers" or "a basket of deplorables." The Democrats have become a splintered party of special interests, each clamoring for supremacy on the victimhood scale. The national conversation on the Left seems never to be about what great things are possible in the future, but always about what awful things have been done in the past. Worst of all, they have moved from *victimhood* on the basis of group identity, to *blame* on the basis of group identity. This is a recipe for electoral disaster. Need it be said again? People do not like to be blamed for things *they themselves did not do*. It does not go better for you when you tell them that their distress is nothing more than proof of their culpability.

What both parties got this year was a heapin' helpin' of humble pie. The "opportunity," as it were, is to see this as the gift that it is. Instead of demonizing half the country, politicians who want to win elections—and to lead a better country—need to have much more confidence in the great American experiment of self-governance. That means *listening* to people instead of assuming that you always know better than they do.

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Zuckert

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than Clinton's fall-off from Obama. This held true whether the total two-party vote in the state was greater than in 2012 (Florida, Pennsylvania.) or less (Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan.). What appears to have been decisive in these cases was the fall-off for Clinton—either to third party candidates, or to stay-at-homes or abstentions on the top of the ballot, or to Trump switchers (the famed white working class voter). Either way, it does not appear to be a victory of or by the conservative movement, because those who voted for Obama and then did not vote for Clinton are not likely to be members of "the conservative movement."

The exit polls, admittedly not completely reliable, give still more reason to

think this election was not a matter of a conservative movement victory, for the percentage of voters who identify as conservatives is just the same in 2016 as in 2012—and these voters split their votes in just about the same proportions as in 2012—with liberals going 84 percent for Clinton (versus 86 percent for Obama), conservatives going 81 percent for Trump (versus 82 percent for Romney) and moderates 52 percent for Clinton (versus 56 percent for Obama). So far as there was change, it was among the moderates, who clearly shifted away from Clinton.

If we are looking for evidence of where Clinton's fall-off came from, we might be surprised at the answer: though both Clinton and Trump show only small overall fall-offs from their party predecessor, the Clinton fall-off among African-Americans was rather

large, five percent, with a Trump pick-up of two percent over Romney—a seven percent shift toward Trump. Clinton suffered a somewhat larger fall-off among Hispanics, six percent, with Trump picking up two percent over Romney, an eight percent shift toward Trump.

One other finding from the exit polls is important to note. Voters were asked when they made up their minds on whom to vote for. Perhaps the most striking shift in all the polling data is in the number of those who decided for whom to vote within the week before the election: in 2016, 20 percent of the voters did that; in 2012, only nine percent decided so close to the election. In 2012, roughly 50.5 percent of late deciders went for Obama, with 44.5 percent going for Romney. In 2016, strikingly, 48 percent went for Trump and only 44 percent for Clinton, a shift

of about 10 percent toward Trump among the much larger pool of late deciders. It is difficult not to suspect a major causal role in this shift attributable to FBI Director James Comey's late breaking letter on Clinton emails. The amount of late decision making may also be responsible for much of the error in the pre-election polling.

In any case, it is again fairly clear that this election was not a *victory by* the conservative movement. It remains to be seen whether it will be a *victory for* the conservative movement. That will depend on which part of the movement we have in mind when judging winners and losers and which of the many vague and contradictory Trump policies the administration actually pursues.

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THE FINE PRINT

Founded in 2003, the *Irish Rover* is an independent, Catholic newspaper published fortnightly by students of the University of Notre Dame du Lac, and, as such, it receives no funding or official recognition from the University. Indeed, the ideas presented herein are not necessarily those of the University, although they probably should be.

The *Rover* was established by Notre Dame students who desired a strong and organized conservative voice on campus with the primary purpose of keeping the University true to its founding mission as a Roman Catholic institution. The *Rover* seeks to facilitate part of what the University's mission statement desires in its community: "a forum where through free inquiry and open discussion the various lines of Catholic thought may intersect with all the forms of knowledge found in the arts, sciences, professions, and every other area of human scholarship and creativity." To provide this forum, the *Rover* offers a distinctive kind of coverage that includes campus news, religion, politics, culture, history, humor and sports.

Out of civility, the *Rover* will not critically mention names of students, professors, or administrators, unless the person is either a well-known member of the community, or he or she has openly sought publicity. Unsigned editorials represent the majority opinion of the *Rover's* Editorial Board, while content in individual columns represents the views of each respective author and should not be construed as representing the views of the entire staff. All comments and questions regarding the *Rover's* policies and editorial content, as well as letters to the Editor, may be directed to the Editor-in-Chief, Sophia Buono, at NDIrishRover@gmail.com or PO Box 46 Notre Dame IN 46556. These letters may be printed anonymously, upon request. Also, please visit our website www.irishrover.net, where you can peruse archives and subscribe to the paper.

"Only if people change will the world change; and in order to change, people need the light that comes from God, the light which so unexpectedly [on the night of Christmas] entered into our night."
— Pope Emeritus Benedict XVI

The search for true dialogue

SOPHIA BUONO
Editor-in-Chief



After a turbulent election season, I enjoyed going home, escaping the noise, and spending a holiday with family. Still, I knew that not all cases were like mine—particularly as I recalled an article I had read that described people cancelling trips to Thanksgiving dinners or moving wedding dates in order to avoid the presence of those who voted a certain way. Clearly, tensions have run high. While those examples struck me as extreme, they did not seem terribly far from some of the actions on our own campus. I know of people who have "un-friended" Facebook friends, cursed and insulted others to their faces, and even, in the case of a certain student organization, threatened to ban club officers—all in response to those who have revealed that they voted for Donald Trump.

Of course, everyone is free to express his or her opinion—even if that opinion involves anger—but does that freedom entitle us to isolate ourselves from or condemn those who disagree? Some might call that a legitimate freedom of expression, but it strikes me as an abuse of that freedom.

Let me be clear: I do not intend to criticize these reactions on campus *because* of the opinions or feelings they express. Such behavior would be unacceptable in any situation. Had Hillary Clinton been elected President of the United States, would her opponents have the right to condemn those who voted for her as heartless people who

viciously support the murder of unborn (and even partially born) babies? Certainly not. (It is also likely that they would not have even tried such a response, knowing that it would instantly be labeled as ignorant bigotry.)

One conclusion I have drawn since the election is that Americans, myself included, do not understand one another. I know that not all those who are upset about the election's outcome are harassing those who feel differently. I *want* to understand why they voted (or abstained) the way they did and why they feel the way they do. Goodness exists in every human heart, and I want to see how it dwells, struggles, and grows in everyone around me.

I have found that many of my classmates share this desire—but also see the huge difficulty of fulfilling it. In most cases, people do not want to talk. They do not want to reveal their deeply held opinions and emotions or pry into others'. They close themselves off because of anger, fear of ruining a relationship, or just unwillingness to reach outside of their comfortable echo chamber of opinion.

I see the difficulty, and it is daunting, but how can we make any positive difference in society if we do not at least listen to each other? This is an essential element of *real* dialogue—an activity that is championed throughout our society and campus but that I still find sadly lacking.

Three days after the election, University President Father John Jenkins, CSC, sent an email to the Notre Dame community that called for an "Interfaith Prayer Service for Respect and Solidarity." According to the email, the event was to serve as a response to an "acrimonious election season" and a time to pray for "peace in our nation, wisdom for our leaders, and care for the most vulnerable." I sincerely admire the initiative to gather in prayer in the midst of widespread concern and uncertainty. At the same time, the event raised some questions.

Firstly, would the prayer

service have occurred regardless of the outcome of the election? A fiercely pro-abortion president—one who strongly opposes the Hyde Amendment, favors the HHS mandate, and champions Planned Parenthood—would certainly have ignited strong worries. In a similar vein, why has Notre Dame not hosted such prayer services in the past? In many areas of social justice, we have had great reason to pray for our leaders and our country.

In response to my questions, Assistant Vice President for University Communications Dennis Brown defended this particular prayer service's appropriateness by briefly quoting Father Jenkins' assertion that this election has "revealed and perhaps deepened divisions in our country and in this community" in an unprecedented way. He made no further comment about whether the service would have taken place regardless of the outcome or about Notre Dame's plans to pray for leaders, past or future.

It is true that legitimate worries—particularly regarding immigration—have arisen as a result of this election season, and I do want to continue learning about and discussing them and potential solutions. Still, those worries do not reflect every layer of the election.

While there is cause for worry, there is also great cause for hope. America has dodged a presidency that could have attacked unborn life more aggressively than ever and, furthermore, received a president that could potentially *help* the pro-life movement, such as through the Supreme Court appointments. It would have been more than appropriate for our Catholic university to acknowledge these hopes alongside the fears.

What I am going to mention next may upset some people, but I feel compelled to write truthfully, and I write with the greatest compassion for immigrants, women, and all minorities; I am Hispanic and the granddaughter of

immigrants. Both immigration and the defense of unborn life are important parts of Catholic social teaching, but unquestionably, the latter addresses an issue of more fundamental moral gravity. We must defend *all* of those who are vulnerable in any way—but *especially* those who are completely innocent and cannot speak for themselves *at all*.

Because of that duty, it is not only appropriate but also necessary for Notre Dame to be pro-life, support pro-life action, and acknowledge—however conditioned—victories in the pro-life movement.

This approach need not be partisan, and it may very well acknowledge valid claims on all ends of the political spectrum, but it does need to be *comprehensively* Catholic.

Unfortunately, Notre Dame's recent past has not seen prayer services for the leaders whose policies threaten the lives of unborn children—as well as the *real* health of mothers—but has instead seen a celebration of those leaders. Why? I think this goes back to a misunderstanding of real dialogue. Yes, we must listen to the opinion of all and actively try to understand those around us. But fundamentally, dialogue does not mean that we all say what we want, digest the others' statements, and then go on our merry way. Dialogue must be a quest for truth. When we have the gift of knowing something *true*, we must patiently listen to the other, agree with what is correct, and then charitably—but unwaveringly—uphold that truth.

Anything less would not only be a disservice to the building of a better society but also a failure to live an authentically Christian life.

Sophia Buono is a junior PLS major and ESS minor. She first fell in love with Notre Dame when she made her high school visit and heard on a tour that each graduate's diploma has a bit of gold from the Dome in it. Contact Sophia at sbuono@nd.edu.

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Students react to new core curriculum

KEVIN ANGELL
Webmaster

Mixed opinions about changes

University President Father John Jenkins, CSC, announced the university's adoption of new core curriculum requirements in an email to students and faculty on November 10. After over two years of curriculum review by the Decennial Core Curriculum Review Committee, Notre Dame's Academic Council unanimously approved the new core curriculum.

These changes will take effect with members of the Class of 2022, who begin their freshman year in 2018. The changes impact almost all areas of the core curriculum and alter how the university treats Advanced Placement examination credit.

The *Rover* spoke with Notre Dame students about their reactions to the new curriculum. Respondents included freshmen Chris Enabnit, Sarah Harper, Anna Scartz, Andrew Kim, and Anthony Stoner and seniors Frankie Wamsley and Louis Bertolotti.

Changes in Theology and Philosophy Requirements

Under the new core curriculum, students will still be required to take two courses in theology. Students will be able to choose among several foundations-level courses focusing on different fundamental aspects of Catholicism. Additionally, students with a significant background in theology will be able to place out of the foundations-level course and take a higher-level course instead. The philosophy requirement

has been changed to one introductory level philosophy course and one advanced philosophy course or a "Catholicism in the Disciplines" course.

Enabnit: It is interesting that they want to implement placement exams in theology, like one might have done in foreign language or math before. It may be harder to design a workable system for the theology department, where the curriculum isn't quite as linear.

Bertolotti: Thankfully, the two-class requirement of both theology and philosophy were kept, but the discussion of their removal should not have been on the table in the first place.

Addition of Integration Courses

The updated core curriculum also requires an Integration course, a course in a way of knowing such as history, art or literature. Integration courses will be team-taught by two professors and focused on "the pursuit of knowledge that integrates and synthesizes the perspective of two or more disciplines to address a particular issue that is too complex to be adequately addressed by a single field of study."

Harper: I think integration courses are a good idea. I often find myself thinking about how my biology class, Evolution in Society, connects to other classes I am taking this semester, so having a class where I would be able to explore the connections would be very interesting and help me understand both topics on a deeper level. I think the integration of ideas is important because it helps people understand topics other than their own field of study and can help people come up with new and better ideas.

Flexibility and AP Courses

Under the new core curriculum, Notre



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Dame will no longer allow students to use Advanced Placement (AP) credit to fulfill core curriculum requirements. Currently, many students use AP credit in order to add flexibility to their academic program at Notre Dame.

Wamsley: The Core Curriculum changes, in my opinion, merely pinch the workload that incoming students will face at Notre Dame. By no longer accepting AP credit, the review committee has all but eliminated the proposed impact of these changes on flexibility for students in completing coursework.

Scartz: For the most part, the changes seem to be moving in a positive direction and are a good way to provide students with a general knowledge base. Not allowing students to fulfill the requirements with AP credits would even the field somewhat as far as the different opportunities of classes that people can take. One risk with not taking AP credit is that high school students will feel that AP credit examinations were a waste of their money.

Moreau Requirement

Freshman students will continue to

take the Moreau First Year Experience course, which was implemented in the fall of 2015. In its first semester, the course received a mixture of reactions, many of them negative due to workload and vagueness in curriculum, and it has since gone through various modifications.

Stoner: I think they should get rid of Moreau, but other than that, the changes are a step in the right direction.

Kim: Like democracy, Moreau may not be perfect; however, it is the best possible way to communicate lessons that we want all Notre Dame students to know.

Bertolotti: The core curriculum did not review the Moreau FYE Seminar, but it is my hope that the class will be eliminated after its own review is concluded.

Kevin Angell is a freshman intending to major in economics and political science and living in Duncan Hall. He is also a proud member of the Knights of Columbus and is grateful for the very comfortable couches in the Knights' building. With questions, comments and reactions, contact Kevin at kangell@nd.edu.

Our blessed hope: On education, suffering, and faith

NICOLE O' LEARY
Managing Editor

Interview with Professor of Economics Timothy Fuerst

He is the father of four—Megan, Nathan, Kate, and Ben—and the husband of his beloved wife, Toni. He loves Tolkien and is an avid whistler. He is one of the most cited economists in the world.

He is the father of four—Megan, Nathan, Kate, and Ben—and the husband of his beloved wife, Toni. He loves Tolkien and is an avid whistler. He is one of the most cited economists in the world.

But, above all, he is a man whose Catholic

faith guides and illuminates everything he does, from his interactions with students to the attitude with which he and his family have confronted tremendous hardship.

Timothy Fuerst is the William and Dorothy O'Neill Professor of Economics at the University of Notre Dame. Many may recall seeing Fuerst, arm-in-arm with Toni, invited onto the field during the first home football game of the year to be recognized as an outstanding faculty member.

On April 1, 2016, Fuerst was diagnosed with a rare form of Stage 4 stomach cancer. At the time, he received the prognosis that he had six months to live. Now, however, nearly eight months have passed. Despite the undeniable suffering that the illness has brought upon Fuerst and his family, he provides an example of strength, hope, and faith for the Notre Dame community.

The *Rover* recently had the privilege of discussing Fuerst's journey, including many of the challenges of coping with a difficult prognosis, with him via email.

Irish Rover: Please tell us about a bit about how you came to Notre Dame.

Fuerst: I was contacted by ND econ faculty who are interested in finding high quality economists who are also Catholic. I am fairly well-known in my field. My daughter started at ND in 2011. This made them reach out to me because of the likelihood of being Catholic. So without looking for a job, God found me one. My wife and I prayed a lot about the move. With the help of our pastor, we discerned

that we should move to ND in 2012.

You are one of the most-cited economists in the world. What, in layman's terms if possible, are your primary interests within your field?

I am interested in monetary policy, business cycles, and financial crises.

As a professor of economics, how do you integrate faith and teaching?

I put Saint Thomas Aquinas' prayer for study at the beginning of my syllabus. We pray it at the beginning of the term and I encourage my students to pray it before each study session.

What is the most important message you hope to communicate to your students?

Students will hopefully see that there is no conflict between religion and science, including both physical and social science. Science seeks truth, and God is truth.

What role has prayer played in confronting and accepting the diagnosis?

TREMENDOUS. My family prays together regularly. We have so many friends, and even folks we do not know, praying for us. This all lifts us up. When you are in pain, it is difficult to pray. I turn to the simple prayer of the lepers: "Lord Jesus, son of David, have pity on me."

A memory that has been in my mind recently was my tenth year when I was seriously ill with respiratory problems, a long hospitalization and recovery that led

some to fear for my life. Pediatric wards were sparsely decorated back then, and all I remember in my hospital room was a crucifix at the end of my bed. I would fall asleep at night with the sure confidence that the Lord Jesus was watching over me, that I was not alone, and that all would yet be well. Now some four decades later, this same Lord Jesus walks with me and my family. He helps us to bear this very heavy cross. He reminds us that we are not alone, and that all will yet be well. It is our blessed hope that beyond the darkness of Calvary there is a swift sunrise and a rapid dawn, for "we are an Easter people and Alleluia is our song." Yes this is our blessed hope. And hope does not disappoint.

How have you and your family supported each other during this time of trial?

Constant prayer support; spending more time together; sharing the day's joys and sorrows.

How has your experience with the cancer influenced your understanding of the relationship between suffering and faith?

...Suffering is an evil. But God permits it because He can draw forth a great good from suffering, a good that we may not completely see in this life.

I've been thinking a lot about the great European cathedrals. My favorite is Chartres and the amazing stained glass windows. Before the craftsman formed them together

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Holding ourselves accountable

JOSEPH LAWLER

Managing Editor Emeritus

I'm worried that the instant communications available today have harmed our ability to be honest with ourselves.

Specifically, I fear that because nowadays we are rarely forced to spell out what we are thinking and experiencing, we can avoid the necessity of coming to terms with our circumstances and ourselves.

It's harder to evade reality in the kind of long-form correspondence that everyone took part in not too long ago. In other words, the fact that we can communicate with our families and friends without having to write out a letter telling them what's happening in our lives means that we can avoid ever leveling with them or ourselves.

Think of the difference between checking out someone's Facebook page and visiting them in person. Anyone can maintain a decent-looking public persona on Facebook. In real life, we are capable of living with a lot of disorder and slovenliness in our lives if we're left alone. If a parent or friend were to drop in and see the reality firsthand, though, we'd feel embarrassed at the way we're living.

The same is kind of true for a letter—it's like a substitute for an in-person visit. You can't hide everything about yourself in a letter. Omissions will stand out to your correspondent. You can keep up appearances forever through texts and tweets, though.

Maybe this is just my own experience, but I get the sense that we are doing a little worse in gauging our own hopes and fears, and that it's harder for all of us to maintain a sense of direction and purpose.

As Stony Brook sociologist Michael Kimmel has documented, there has been a massive shift within the U.S. toward delayed adulthood, especially among men. Compared to the 1960s, men today are far less likely to be married and starting their own families by the age of 30 and far more likely to be living with their parents, trends that appear to have accelerated since the financial crisis. Men are increasingly delaying adulthood for a prolonged stay in what Kimmel calls "guyland"—an extended adolescence in which young men trade the responsibilities of marriage for low-risk, low-reward comfortable lifestyles heavy on video games and hanging out with other guys. Guys lacking the advantages of strong familial or social networks or rewarding, meaningful work are at special risk of slipping into that rut, but it could even happen to privileged Notre Dame grads.

The causes of this mass delayed adulthood are probably complex and numerous. But maybe one of the factors is that young men rarely, if ever, are forced to be honest with themselves and with others about who they are and where they're going.

Maybe writing a letter could force a reckoning. One example from the past that has stuck with me, as a history buff and Massachusetts

native, is that of John Adams. Adams exchanged over 1,000 letters with his wife Abigail during the times that he was stationed in France, Holland, and England as a diplomat and in Washington as a politician, while she stayed behind in Massachusetts.

Skimming through their correspondence, it's possible to see key moments in which writing with Abigail forced John to examine his own intentions and think through the implications of his decision not just for his life but for the new country.

For example, in one letter sent while working in the Continental Congress in 1775, Adams acknowledged that his judgment about national affairs was clouded by his hometown pride in New England—a bias that he admitted was partly irrational. (Adams did argue, though, that New England was in fact better than other places, in part because it had "purer English blood," less mixed with Irish and other less-desirable ethnicities.)

Many of the letters that the Adams sent each other contained far more about their circumstances, hopes, and fears than could be captured in many text messages.

In fact, before the cost of communications dropped to almost nothing, a single piece of correspondence could easily provide the sole basis of a major life decision.

My great-grandmother, the daughter of Irish immigrants, was working as a nurse on the frontier in Saskatchewan when she received word that her sister in Boston was sick. She made the 2,000-plus mile



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journey by horseback, at one point getting caught in a blizzard outside Cleveland and knocking on random doors for shelter. She met my great-grandfather in Boston, and my dad's side of the family has been there since.

In comparison, I'll exchange 50 group texts with my siblings and we'll discuss ... nothing in particular.

Not that those messages or snaps or whatever are not meaningful, or that long-form letters are the only way to honestly describe what's going on in your life.

But maybe we need to start either writing letters or find other ways to hold ourselves accountable.

For me, maybe this column could be a start.

Joseph Lawler graduated from Notre Dame in 2008. He served as managing editor for the American Spectator, edited RealClearPolicy, and currently serves as the Economics Writer for the Washington Examiner.

Notre Dame, then and now

SHAD JEFFREY II

Staff Writer

A conversation with Dean Kevin O'Rear

When talking with Notre Dame alumni, one might hear them say, "This place has changed so much," or "None of these buildings were here back in the day." While it is easy to evaluate the physical changes on campus, as many new buildings are erected every year, it is significantly more difficult to evaluate the non-physical changes, such as student life, academics, and faith. Recently, the *Rover* sat down with someone having wisdom on that subject: Dean Kevin O'Rear.

O'Rear, an Assistant Dean of the Notre Dame Law School, is a 1985 graduate of Notre Dame and a parent of many who have passed through the community. Michael, his youngest son, is a freshman and resident of Alumni Hall; Connor is a graduate student studying psychology; Patrick, his oldest son, is a 2015 Law School graduate; and his twins, Margaret and Bridget, are Saint Mary's seniors. O'Rear was a resident of Howard Hall (pre-conversion, of course) and majored in economics and history. He went on to earn his law degree from the University of Virginia. O'Rear offered a unique perspective of Notre Dame as a student, parent, and administrator. Notre Dame's Catholic identity

has defined its education for the last 175 years, and still today, roughly 80 percent of the current student body identified as Catholics during the admissions process. O'Rear staunchly disagreed with the view that Notre Dame has sacrificed part of its Catholic identity to become a more prestigious university. He said that Notre Dame is promoting Catholic social teaching even more than in years past.

he recalled a moment from his first few weeks on campus in 1981, when he was a lector at Howard Hall Mass. He noted that the chapel was small, and they did not have many seating options, so many Howard men were seated on the floor during Mass. This was his first experience of the power of campus faith, and it helped instill in him a sense of community with his residence hall.

O'Rear spoke about academic changes as well. Although still a great institution, he observed, Notre Dame continues to become more exclusive as it gains prestige. This, however, is not necessarily a bad problem to have, said O'Rear. He noted that of the roughly 25 Howard men with whom he still maintains contact, not many (including himself) would have been accepted to today's Notre Dame. Still, he affirmed, they have all become successful people who have stable, fruitful lives. He also noted that many students who were not admitted would be able to succeed at Notre Dame, which could be because of the positive environment of the student body.

O'Rear has noticed a wave of more conservative influence in academic life at Notre Dame in recent years. Moving forward, he suggested that he would like to see students working in smaller groups as opposed to larger projects, and that he would like to see students from different majors mixing academically, such as engineering majors in classes with business majors, in order to promote diversity and expose students to different students within the Notre Dame community.

According to O'Rear's comments, student life has perhaps undergone the most drastic changes over the last 30 years. He said that the idea of moving off-campus was nearly unheard of while he was at Notre Dame, but it has become much more acceptable now. He says this could be a result of shifting dorm regulations but also due to development around campus. He added that, in general, going off-campus was not popular unless you were an upperclassman going out for a drink. The area around campus has become much safer, and with developments such as Eddy Street Commons, University Edge, Ivy Quad, and The Overlook, moving off campus is more plausible.

One thing that is impossible not to notice about campus, O'Rear commented, is the never-ending construction, which is something he did not encounter much as a student. He said that the newest buildings during his time were likely Grace Hall and Flanner Hall, which even



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then were over a decade old. The vast increase in donations over the last 30 years has largely contributed to this expansion across Notre Dame's campus.

Finally, O'Rear stated that he finds the current size of the student body appropriate and does not want to see much of an increase. Currently, he teaches a freshman Moreau class, where he regularly advises them to get to know people from different backgrounds.

Shad Jeffrey II is a freshman at Holy Cross College. He is studying pre-law and has a passion for low-budget Christmas movies. Contact Shad at sjeffrey@hcc-nd.edu.



Restlessness and rootedness

CAROLYN EBNER
Staff Writer

One midnight in October, eight friends, some of us groggier than others, piled out of a 12-passenger van and fumbled with poles, tarps, and canvas until two tents stood in the dark woods of Missouri. In the morning, the first few of us to wake began making a fire and cooking breakfast, so that when the rest awoke, there was bacon sizzling over the flames and coffee close to ready.

I learned in those minutes that I could best show hospitality by giving everyone space to contribute in some way rather than commandeering the project myself. I enjoyed strengthening friendships as we prepared the rest of the meal together, laughed at our cooking innovations, panicked when the fire almost sputtered out, and soon enjoyed a meal, all the richer for the occasional ash that had made its way into the eggs. I was unsettled, however, by our temporal concerns, namely, keeping a fire alive in a stiff wind and sleeping in a paper-thin tent that could do next to nothing against a woodland creature or mischievous miscreant.

In my time at Notre Dame, I have pondered the reality of restlessness with the help of Saint Augustine, and lately I have come to feel it more acutely. I came to understand restlessness, or perhaps more accurately, rootlessness, in a different context a few weeks ago at a professor's house for a class dinner. As I sipped coffee from a beautiful cup and saucer and bit into some rich chocolate cake, I sighed with the relief of being in a home. There was a beautiful set of "great books," which immediately drew my PLS-minded attention, side by side with a stack of picture books—one among various other signs of small children. The glass of water conveyed by the three-year-old upon my entrance and the little clues of her presence opened a life little-experienced on a college campus. I accepted the hospitality extended toward me and my classmates and enjoyed hours of interesting conversation. I realized on leaving that I hadn't looked at my phone all evening, something I can so rarely say, and a small smile crossed my face. I left that evening grateful to have rested in the hospitality of a home and refreshed for the week ahead.

In college, it sometimes feels like I'm pitching tents, one after another, enjoying every second, but trying not to notice the restlessness tugging on my heart. There's a yearning to call some place home, to be rooted in a history that is bigger than myself. When I return home to a family gathering where my uncles stand in flannels around the bonfire, and I hurl snowballs at cousins in an epic battle, and Mimi kisses each of us as we walk in the door, I kind of understand who I am. I belong in this crazy tapestry, and when I am rooted in my family, and more substantially, in God, I learn to love more radically.

At school, I hardly ever fight, I'm rarely upset at other people, and my life is relatively peaceful. I don't have to do the dishes, bear the annoying habits of a sibling, or accept my parents' rules. But neither do I go gallivanting through the snow on what was supposed to be a family walk, squeal at a stressful game as playing cards go flying off the table, and recount one baby story after another until the messy dinner table can no longer be ignored. At home, I can be unabashedly silly because I am rooted in my family. Being rooted, however, often makes it difficult to choose charity because it's not presented to me on my own terms. I'm independent at school and I can plan exactly when I'm going to get reading done, go to the dining hall, or grab coffee, but at home, the schedule doesn't revolve around me. I have to help my brother with homework, pick up my sister from ski practice, or make dinner—never on my own terms. Loving when it's inconvenient is practice for sacrificial love, which is the deepest form of love.

I have found that loving in the hiddenness of the family grounds me in my identity and reminds me that I am not rootless, and that I can always rest at home. I think it can be a problem that college initiates such a radical break from family life right before the crucial time that we begin our own adult lives, and yes, our own families. It is a necessary part of growing up (yay—I won't be living in my parents' basement!), but we can't forget what (and more importantly, who) grounds us. We can and should go on adventures with friends, study hard, become more cultured, cheer for Notre Dame football (too soon?), and flourish in many ways. When my strand of the tapestry is rooted in something greater than myself, however, I can reach out to others and build up the communion of saints by creating for others the hospitality of a loving home.

Carolyn Ebner is a junior majoring in PLS and minoring in Constitutional Studies and theology. She is exceedingly excited for snow and always loves discussing restlessness, beauty, chaotic families, and skiing. Please contact her at cebner@nd.edu.

Watching and waiting

SHAUN EVANS
Staff Writer

The Gospel for the first Sunday of Advent might have thrown quite a few of us for a loop, since it had nothing obvious to do with Christmas but was about the end times. In Advent, we are encouraged to await Christ's coming in the flesh, to await His ever fuller coming into our hearts through grace (which the Christmas coming allowed), and to await His coming at the end of time, or at the end of each of our lives (which His purifying presence in our hearts prepares us for). The fact that we are encouraged to engage in so much waiting during this season has got me thinking about what that entails.

Advent-waiting naturally suggests the topic of dreaming. If we wait for something that we are excited for, we tend to dream about it. We fantasize about how great it will be when it finally arrives, and this is not without its risks. Fyodor Dostoevsky wrote in *The Brothers Karamazov* that "love in action is a harsh and dreadful thing compared with love in dreams."

On the plane of human love, this is painfully true. In our dreams, we often idealize the object of our love—romantic or filial—and are disappointed by his or her imperfection. Real love is messy and sacrificial, two things that we don't often include in our daydreams. Nevertheless, it is precisely this messy love that is good for us, that, given the sorts of beings we are, lets us grow in self-gift.

On the plane of divine love, though, things are a little different. While an imperfect human person will always disappoint any idealized expectations, Christ won't. In fact, the opposite is the case, for, "What eye has not seen, and ear has not heard, and what has not entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him" (1 Corinthians 2:9). Any idealization of ours will necessarily fall short.

That said, while our hopes in Christ can never be high enough, they can fall off to the side in inaccuracy. Advent is a time for pondering the Word of God in our hearts, like Mary (see Luke's Gospel), so that we may have an accurate knowledge of the good Christ wants to bring us. But then we should remember that however good our conception is, what He will bring will always be better. And, of course, any notion that love in Christ won't involve sacrifice is shattered by the fact that the wood of the manger foreshadows the wood of the Cross.

In thinking about waiting, Christ's statement that His followers are in the world but not of the world also comes to mind (John 17). While we await Christ's coming, we are most definitely in the world. We're in the world today, and barring the Lord's return, we'll be in it again tomorrow. Christ's statement seems to me like an odd one, at least at first blush. It's odd because being in the world is precisely the sort of thing that tends to make one of the world.

To a degree, we choose our surroundings and influence them, but the opposite is also the case. Our family and our cultural and socioeconomic background all are given to us, and our personalities, tastes, and behaviors are in large measure formed by them. In many ways, they form us well, and we have much to be thankful for. At the same time, as we mature in our life of faith and grow closer to Christ, we are bound to notice ways in which these circumstances misform us. Being in the world will make us of the world in quite a few ways.

How do we respond to this? No one escapes this phenomenon entirely, and this perhaps is particularly the case for those called to remain as lay men and women. Even the best of circumstances will offer us a lot of good formation mixed with some ill. Ultimately, it is the idea that our growth in holiness is primarily our task that leads us to misread the situation and become frustrated.

While we avoid toxic circumstances and seek good ones, Advent reminds us that we otherwise must embrace many of the circumstances we find ourselves in, trusting that God's graced work will do the heavy lifting in what otherwise seems to be an impossible task: the work of sanctification, of not being of the world, has got to be primarily lots of grace, along with our vigorous cooperation. A strange sort of escapism that misunderstands the universal call to holiness and reveals a lack of trust in God can be the result of missing this point in a world that continues to pose increasingly difficult moral challenges.

As we beg Christ to arrive more fully in our hearts this Advent, it is also worth considering that while the line from Corinthians quoted above applies most properly to the beatific vision, I think it also applies to our temporal life. Our own expectations for our future are always limited by our imperfect conceptions of what sort of life it would be good for us to lead.

Christ will always be eager to lead us beyond those into a future that, because unknown, can be frightening, but because prepared by Him, is better for us than we could have hoped. While we walk on the wavy seas of life, like Peter, if we keep our eyes trained on Him, He will lead us to places we never expected. In our vocational discernment, our prayer lives, and our moral lives, I think this is a good point to keep in mind.

Let us pray, this Advent, that the Lord may hasten His coming to the world and in our hearts.

Shaun Evans is a junior who studies theology, philosophy, and classics and lives in Stanford Hall. He is currently getting ready for a semester abroad in Rome, and you can reach him with wine recommendations at sevens5@nd.edu.

What does the research on school choice really say?

KATE HARDIMAN

Campus Editor

University of Arkansas professor provides conclusions about latest research

The Institute for Educational Initiatives recently hosted Patrick Wolf of the University of Arkansas for its 2016 Notre Dame Lecture on Educational Policy. A well-respected and widely-published researcher on school choice policy, Wolf is a Distinguished Professor of Education Policy and a 21st Century Endowed Chair in School Choice in the university's Department of Education Reform.

In his talk, entitled "Private School Choice: What We Know and Don't Know," Wolf discussed the myriad of research papers published on private school choice initiatives such as vouchers, tax credit scholarship programs, and educational savings accounts.

These three types of choice programs continue to expand across the nation's educational landscape. To date, 25 voucher programs exist in 14 states. This form of choice gives power to parents by enabling them to use a portion of the public funds allocated for their child's education by the state to attend a school of their choice. Tax credit scholarships, which operate in the same manner as a voucher except use private money, have also become more widely implemented, and there are now 21 of these programs in 17 states. Wolf called the policy of education savings accounts—funds deposited in an account controlled by parents to be used for any educational expense, whether it be tuition, private tutoring, or textbooks—the "iphone of school choice" because of its newness.

Wolf acknowledged that published

research often presents contradictory conclusions about the relative successes and failures of these programs. Moreover, such research may be tainted by partisan bias from powerful special interest groups opposed to choice, such as teachers unions. Seeking to combat this uncertainty, Wolf conducted his own metadata analysis of 19 different studies to reach some verifiable and notable conclusions.

In terms of student achievement, Wolf's analysis shows a decline in test scores in the first two years that a voucher student switches from a public school to a participating choice school. Yet, the research also shows a clear benefit in math and reading after the third year, with gains that continue to increase exponentially after that milestone. Interestingly, Wolf said that student achievement is the "smallest positive" that private school choice currently offers, according to the research. This may be due to the adjustment time necessary for students switching schools, the schools adjusting to a new influx of students, or a variety of other undetermined variables.

Wolf noted that all of these studies are what researchers call "black box analyses;" they can only study directly what is happening without knowing the exact factors "in the box" making the results occur.

Wolf found other clear positives from private school choice programs not demonstrated by test scores. These include marked increases in high school graduation and college retention rates, crime reduction effects, an increase in civic value consciousness, and a strong parent network that vocally supports school choice.

In Wisconsin, a survey of publicly available criminal record data enabled Wolf to find that choice program

participation reduces the likelihood that one is convicted of any crime by 42 percent, and the likelihood that one is convicted of a drug-related offense specifically decreases by 93 percent. He noted that this analysis was only possible in Wisconsin due to their readily available crime statistics.

In terms of civic values, a survey of all published research on this topic displayed that three studies find public schools to be better at promoting the public purposes of education, such as voter participation, understanding of democracy, volunteerism, etc. Twenty-four studies found no difference between public schools and private schools, and 41 studies found private schools to be better at promoting the public purposes of education than public schools themselves.

Wolf also studied the parental response to school choice programs, especially the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship, in his book *The School Choice Journey*. He writes about the federal effort to close the voucher program to new students in 2009 and the adamantly opposed parental response that immediately followed. As a result, the program was reauthorized and expanded in 2011.

Wolf also mentioned some common criticisms of school choice policies, but emphasized that they have dealt with policy design issues, and therefore can be ameliorated. He noted the critique that children left behind in the public schools are harmed by school choice, and stated that no empirical study has actually reached this conclusion. On the contrary, studies have found that choice policies actually positively benefit the students that remain in public schools.

For the "What We Don't Know" portion of his talk, Wolf mentioned some of the issues contained within the black box of studies on school



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choice. "We do not know why some voucher programs have better test scores, why most see more gains in reading than in math, and we do not know the exact challenges of implementation," Wolf stated.

He also lamented that debates about school choice have not improved, despite the research displaying their positive effects. Affirming the need to be open to the arguments and concerns of both sides, Wolf noted that "the media has not been helpful in reporting accurate stories about choice."

Nevertheless, he seemed hopeful about the future outlook of choice programs and concluded by saying that, "the opponents of school choice have a tough job—freedom and market choice are imbedded within the American ethos, and it is going to be difficult to take these away from citizens."

Kate Hardiman is a senior majoring in the Program of Liberal Studies and minoring in the PPE (Politics, Philosophy, and Economics) Program. She is writing her senior thesis on school choice, specifically studying the morality of the Indiana Choice Scholarship Program, and hopes to teach with the Alliance for Catholic Education after graduation. Contact her at khardima@nd.edu.

Fuerst

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he simply had piles of broken colored glass, all of which seemed useless and with no purpose. But then the master took these pieces and formed them into something no one could have anticipated: the great rose window of Chartres. So it is with our experiences in this life. Many of these are times of happiness and contentment, but others are filled with great sadness and suffering. But the Master takes all of these pieces, both good and bad, and makes

something truly beautiful for God. Only when the window is done and filled with glorious light do we understand why each piece was needed, why each piece was essential for the glorious whole. It is with this confidence that we offer up all our sufferings to Him who brings light to our darkness.

What advice would you give to students who are seeking to do God's will in their lives?

Prayer is essential. Turn down the noise of electronics. Follow your heart ... This is often God's small voice. Stay close to Christ and His Church. Surround

yourself with friends who share this search.

* * *

In one of the updates posted regularly on Facebook for family and friends, Fuerst quotes J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Fellowship of the Ring*, in which Gandalf, upon hearing Frodo's lament over the evils he had witnessed, responds, "All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given us." Such a posture of hope, grounded in an unshakeable confidence in the love of Christ, resounds in the perspective with which Fuerst has confronted suffering. He and his family continue to ask for the intercession of the Congregation of Holy

Cross' founder Blessed Basil Moreau, whose cause for canonization, like Fuerst's illness, could arrive at a favorable conclusion with a single miracle. "Blessed Basil Moreau and I have something in common," Fuerst explains to his readers. "We both need a miracle. The motto of Holy Cross has now become my motto: *Ave Crux, Spes Unica*. 'Hail the Cross, our only hope!'"

Nicole O'Leary is a junior theology and history major living in McGlinn Hall. She will be lifting the "Fighting Fuersts" up in prayer, and she humbly asks her readers to do the same. Contact her at noleary@nd.edu.







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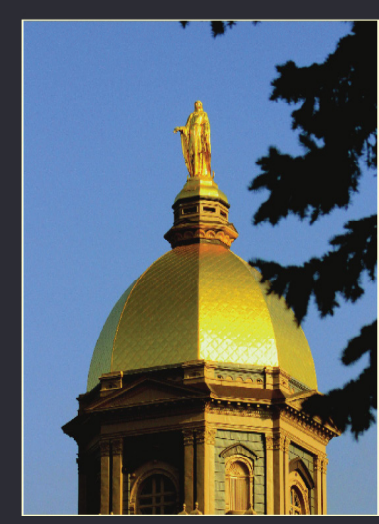
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CHEERS & Jeers

LACEY SILVESTRI
Humor Apprentice



Evil Kermit Meme. If somehow you have not encountered this wonderful meme yet, please go educate yourself. It hilariously captures the way we feel when we do things or make decisions that we would rather ascribe to our evil twin. If these memes have resonated with you more than you'd like to admit, know that you're not alone. And if you don't relate to this meme in any way, congrats on achieving earthly perfection.

CHEERS



Advent. Ah, Advent. The time where we prepare our hearts for the birth of Christ. It's pretty much like the Jesus version of waiting for the new *Gilmore Girls* episodes to drop on Netflix—you're excited, but you have to properly prepare for the ultimate celebration.



Christmas Music. It's probably good that it's Christmas music season because I'll now be forced to listen to something other than *Hamilton*.



Awkward Family Thanksgiving. There are a lot of wonderful aspects of Thanksgiving—family, fellowship, and the creation of lifelong memories. But all the family interrogation (“How’s that love life going?” “Who’d you vote for?” “What are you going to do after you graduation?”) can be suffocating, and when you’re a Bears fan, Thanksgiving football isn’t all that life-affirming. Still, giving thanks is good, and we should probably cheer for it instead of jeer at it. But we also should probably do it more than once a year. Just saying.



Finals. Now is about the time when we take stock of all the reading we didn’t do over the semester and start mentally calculating how much it’s going to take for us to scrape by with the grade we want in each class. But don’t fret, it will all be okay if we just remember this timeless adage: If we fail our finals, at least we’re failing at Notre Dame.

Jeers



Goodbyes. Not to be a Scrooge, but if you have friends going abroad, or if you yourself are going abroad, now is the time to start saying goodbye. There’s a bright side to this, though, so don’t spiral into despair. Now there are little pieces of your heart all over the world, living lives that have been forever changed in some way by your friendship. And while that’s hard, it’s also pretty beautiful.

Lacey Silvestri is a junior studying history and English who still loves the Cubs. She also isn't sure comparing Advent to Gilmore Girls is theologically sound. Catechize her at lsilvest@nd.edu.

Living in blissful ignorance

DECLAN FEELEY
Humor Guru



relatably.com

So it comes again. That special time of the year when students flock home from Thanksgiving, rosy-cheeked and full of joy, looking with hope to the arrival of Christmas. Already, present lists are being drawn up, full of ideas for new clothes and the latest trinkets and gizmos. Yet these outward faces of joy hide an inner fear, a fear of what is to come. For these students know in their heart of hearts that there can be no Christmas without finals. Every day that draws them closer to seeing Saint Nick draws them even closer to grappling with the fangs of the dreaded finals. Are you a part of the blissfully ignorant, or part of the knowledgeable scholars? Take our quiz below to find out if your upcoming weeks will be ones of peace and quiet, or horror and dread.

The Questions:

Have you gone to every class this semester? (Yes/No)

Ok, maybe you missed a couple, but most of them at least? (Yes/No)

Have you been to more than 10? (Yes/No)

More than 5? (Yes/No)

Please tell me you have been to at least 1??? (Yes/No)

Does the professor know your name? (Yes/No)

Ok, does he at least get the first letter right? (Yes/No)

Did you major in something where you get to write an essay about your feelings? (Yes/No)

If not about your feelings, at least something subjective like literature or poetry? (Yes/No)

Oh, you are saying you majored in math? The easy math? (Yes/No)

Well, you did that to yourself then, didn't you? (Yes/No)

Do you have a large group of studious friends who take copious notes, and who would like nothing better than to share those notes with you? (Yes/No)

Do you currently participate in a sport that you will be playing professionally? (Yes/No)

Are you a child prodigy and/or certified genius? (Yes/No)

If you answered no to more than 5 questions, than you better buckle up: your next two weeks will be a living hell. But don't be too scared. As long as you are nice and not naughty, Santa Claus will still put something good in your stocking.

Declan Feeley is a senior theology and finance double major whose interests include writing and investment theory. Declan can be contacted by email at dfeeley@nd.edu.



Campus Vocations: Father Jarrod Waugh, CSC

MAUREEN SCHWENINGER
Layout Manager

Vocations director shares his story and advice



holycrossusa.org

Father Jarrod Waugh, CSC, Associate Director of Vocations, is in his fourth year with the Office of Vocations. Fr. Waugh was ordained in April 2013 and first provided sacramental assistance at Christ the King Parish in South Bend, where he also served as a transitional deacon. Fr. Waugh grew up in Edna, Kansas, and he now lives in residence in Dillon Hall. The Rover recently had the opportunity to speak to Fr. Waugh about his work with vocations and his own story.

Irish Rover: What is your personal vocation story?

Father Waugh: Well, I'm originally from a very rural area of about 500 people near Wichita, Kansas. My home parish is St. Patrick's, in a town called Parsons (about 10,000 people). Both of my parents, Jerry and Caroline, are from the same small town

in Lebeck County. I'm the oldest of three and most of my family attended Pittsburg State, a big Division 2 sports school in Kansas. I'm the only one who didn't go there.

I had been discerning the possibility of the priesthood even in high school through a summer youth program called Totus Tuus, founded in Wichita. Some of my good friends were thinking about entering formation as sisters or priests, and as much as I respected that, something never quite fit with me, so I didn't pursue a diocesan vocation, as much as I really love my home diocese of Wichita.

I would credit my formation and discernment to the intercession of St. Thomas Aquinas. When I was being confirmed in high school, I was a pretty good student who wanted to go somewhere else for college. I chose St. Thomas because he was the patron saint for students. Then I decided I should probably learn something about him. I bought a copy of Dr. Peter Kreeft's book, *The Summa of the Summa*. I didn't understand most of it, but I understood enough to know I wanted to go to a Catholic school and study philosophy. So the first time I had ever been on a plane, we flew into Chicago and visited Loyola before seeing Notre Dame here. I just remember feeling this really strong sense of homecoming when I got to this campus, even though I'd never been there before.

So I came in the fall of 2004 and lived in Keough Hall for two years. I double majored in philosophy and theology, and I was really involved in Campus Ministry and the Knights of Columbus, where I was an officer all four years. After two years of being in Keough and meeting other priests around campus, I felt this strong desire to be a part of a religious community. I really had no exposure to male religious before my time in Keough. I was so impressed with my priests-in-residence, Fr. Pete Jarret and Fr. Mark Poorman. They weren't just coworkers, but they were family. After two years in Keough I applied to join Old College, and I started formation in Holy Cross in 2006.

What were some of the highlights of your Holy Cross formation? Were there any challenges?

When I was a postulant, going on a

pilgrimage to Montreal to St. Joseph's Oratory and the tomb of St. Andre Bessette, that was huge for me. It really developed my devotion to Br. Andre and further develop my devotion to St. Joseph, as well as an appreciation for the Holy Cross brothers and the way they seek to imitate St. Joseph. I've been one of the chaplains who leads that pilgrimage with Campus Ministry now.

As far the biggest challenge, there are a lot of feelings of unworthiness, and you don't feel worthy to minister at the altar. This is pretty common and born out by my experience in the vocations office. You have a keen sense of your own sinfulness, that you aren't perfect and you aren't as holy as you want to be to give honor to God's name. But I think the example of the Apostles in Scripture is a great comfort. Peter, and Paul in a way but especially Peter. Jesus knew exactly who he had called, and he didn't call Peter by accident. The answer to that question of feeling unworthy is a little paradoxical because it's "you're right, you aren't!" None of us are even worthy to receive the Blessed Sacrament, but God is the one who makes us worthy. We would never dare to do that unless we were sure that he wanted us to—in fact, he commanded us to. Discernment to holy orders has a lot of similarities to that. You would never presume that you were worthy, but through years of prayer and discernment you become confident that it is God's will that you do this. Not that you are going to be this great person by any of your own merits, but that this is possible because it's God's will. It's very humbling, but I think that's kind of the point.

What's been the most challenging part of living out your vocation since then?

Moving away from Kansas and being away from family—my parents, my siblings, and now my two young nephews. I just don't get to see them as much as I wish that I could. But I also know that if I had majored in something else or hadn't joined the seminary, realistically I wasn't going to move back to Edna after my education. I'm not away from my family because I'm a Holy Cross priest; I was probably not going to return regardless. But a week or more of home leave allows me to spend time at home, so

I normally go back around New Year's for that time. The community is very generous in providing guest rooms for family and friends who can come visit us at any time.

What have you learned from your time at the Office of Vocations?

While it's true that there is a "shortage" of priests, the numbers in the seminary almost everywhere, though certainly not everywhere, are up. Numbers are up for lots of places, and that includes the United States Province of Holy Cross. At the beginning of this year, we had over 50 men in formation. One of the things I've learned that's given me hope is that the Holy Spirit is continuing to call talented, hard-working, humble, passionate young people to live this life. The Holy Spirit is not done with the Congregation of Holy Cross. If there are still these talented and prayerful men who are joining the order, that's evidence that Holy Cross' mission to educate hearts and minds here and around the world isn't finished.

What advice would you give to college students discerning their own vocation?

I would say that if you have asked yourself that question more than twice, then you should probably go and visit. As Catholics we have this incredibly beautiful but also incredibly humbling mechanism that discernment of priesthood or religious life is not a solitary exercise. You turn over part of that discernment to a group who will help you discern. That is such a beautiful, Catholic way to understand discernment. It's not just my call; it's a call that comes through the Church. The Church has people to help you navigate that. Why not take advantage of those incredible resources? Visiting a community or visiting a seminary does not mean that you're joining it. Visiting is visiting. Go and visit and pray with them. You'll find out more from them in 48 hours of a visit than you'll get from months of private thoughts and prayer.

Maureen Schwenger is a sophomore living in Pasquerilla East and studying theology and sociology. She loves families, laundry rooms, and green bananas. Contact her at mschweni@nd.edu.

Conference on beauty highlights poetic imaginations

JAMES RAHNER
Staff Writer

Alasdair MacIntyre discusses poetry, modernity, Catholicism

Alasdair MacIntyre, Permanent Senior Distinguished Research Fellow at the Center for Ethics and Culture and Professor of Philosophy Emeritus, delivered a lecture on November 11 entitled "Poetic Imaginations, Catholic and Otherwise" as part of the Center's 17th annual Fall Conference, "You are Beauty: Exploring the Catholic Imagination."

MacIntyre began by quoting the poem "An Epitaph" by Walter De La Mare, which eulogizes the poet's beloved: "Here lies a most beautiful lady, / Light of stature and heart was she." MacIntyre noted De La Mare's worry that his beloved would eventually be forgotten. But, MacIntyre said, this did not happen; when a poet writes a poem and when we read it, there is an "act of remembering" present, "a shared expression of shared memory." This, for MacIntyre, helps illustrate a rather bold truth about poetry. "Without the poetic imagination," he stated, "memory

does not function as we need it to function."

Turning to Gerard Manley Hopkins' "The Wreck of the Deutschland," he commented upon the poet's ability to give insight into a tragedy such as the described shipwreck. MacIntyre said, "Hopkins, by giving us new means of expression, enables us to feel in new ways." Poetry not only helps us to remember, but allows us to discover things of which we would otherwise be ignorant. Thus, according to MacIntyre, poetry is also "revelatory."

He then discussed the specifically Catholic dimension of poetry. He noted that today, the power to express things and remember them in poetry is considered separate from the truth of the poem or the beliefs of its author. But, he claimed, this belief itself is "a social and cultural artifact of modernity," not necessarily the correct view. Perhaps, MacIntyre suggested, referring back to his description of the imaginative revelations, poetry is a key formational tool. He pointed out that at one time poets were authorities, and "it's only through listening that an audience can learn facts about themselves." In the case of Homer, we learn "what we owe to the living and to the dead" and "what it is to win and what it is to be defeated." Truth and poetry have often been closely linked.

It is perhaps for this or a related reason,

suggested MacIntyre, that Dante had Virgil guide him in his Comedy, aware of the authoritative nature of poets. Dante, as a poet, presents himself with the authority to guide his reader toward holiness and God through his vivid imagination. Without this imagination—both from Virgil's natural insight, and from Dante's grace-filled brilliance—MacIntyre stated, "We are in danger of seeing ourselves as other than we are." Dante's task is to shape our imagination poetically and to guide us away from those in Hell—who, as MacIntyre pointed out, have distorted and "self-indulgent" imaginations.

Next, MacIntyre described the state of poetry in modern life—a more postmodern time, where the truth so strongly upheld in older poetry has been replaced. In this time, MacIntyre said, instead of a Dante, we have James Joyce—"cheerfully blasphemous," subverting Homer and Dante alike, and emphasizing a world in which character and a lack of absolutes is emphasized. "Joyce," said MacIntyre, "shows us something important about the postmodern condition." The poetic imagination is still notably present, and even influenced by Catholicism, but it displays something to imaginatively reject. It shapes us by showing us the danger of losing ourselves.

MacIntyre next took up the question

of how, in this modern and poetry-scarce time, we must escape losing ourselves. He noted that even some aspects of the Church can be shaped by such modernism, and for some people, may not be able to establish a firm enough foundation. Poetry, he noted, remains essential: "we must be immersed in literature" to help shape the state of society. Until then, he concluded, we live in a "poetically-impooverished society with a poetically-impooverished language and a poetically-impooverished imagination. It is as simple and as complex as that."

James Rahner is a sophomore philosophy major in Alumni Hall. He also just added a tentative supplementary theology major. To congratulate/question his decision, contact him at jrahner@nd.edu.



poemsfromherlife.com



A pro-life vision of the world

MACKENZIE KRAKER
Staff Writer

Panelists discuss application of pro-life world view to current issues

Editor's Note: This article is an excerpt, the full version of which can be accessed online at irishrover.net.

Notre Dame Right to Life and the Catholic Social Tradition Program hosted the third and final installment of "A Pro-life Vision of the World" series on November 17. Five panelists spoke about the issues of women's healthcare, physician assisted suicide, prison reform, international development, and civic engagement.

The first panelist was Suzy Younger, a certified FertilityCare Practitioner at St. Joseph FertilityCare Center. She spoke on women's health and how natural family planning both empowers and educates women by helping them understand and respect their bodies and fertility. Through NaPro technology and charting, she has been able to assist women in addressing issues from hormonal imbalance to miscarriage prevention and even reversing chemical abortions, which have increased in the South Bend area after the closing of the Women's Pavilion abortion clinic.

She contrasted the NaPro approach to healthcare with the pill's approach, describing how birth control aims to "suppress and destroy [a woman's] system, masking the problems ... We are so focused on finding out what's the actual problem and going to fix it ... which is what women deserve ... to be healthy."

Carter Snead, Professor of Law and Director of the Center for Ethics and Culture, discussed the dangers of physician-assisted suicide laws and policy. He referred to a study performed by the New York Task Force on

Life and the Law which deemed physician-assisted suicide to be dangerous and opposed its legalization due to the negative effects it would have on vulnerable populations. He said that groups such as minorities, the poor, disabled, and elderly are more likely to be discriminated against if laws are passed legalizing physician-assisted suicide.

Although several states have followed Oregon in legalizing it, Snead remained optimistic about the large number of organizations and demographics opposing physician-assisted suicide. He said that compared to the current political polarity surrounding abortion and other life issues, "We are at a very healthy place where there are quite a few folks who regard themselves or identify themselves as progressive or liberal who recognize the deep problem of legalizing assisted suicide, which makes it easier to talk about in a pluralistic society."

Margaret Pfeil, who holds a joint appointment in the Theology Department and in the Center for Social Concerns, examined how a pro-life vision could be applied to prison reform. The United States has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, and minority groups are in prison at an increased rate compared to whites. Pfeil has researched this phenomenon known as hyperincarceration.

She also showed the connection between mental illness and imprisonment and spoke about the need to provide psychiatric help instead of prison sentences for the mentally ill who have committed crimes. Another trend she found concerning was the increase in private companies instead of the state running prisons since they, "would not be worried about life issues, but rather profits." Pfeil also emphasized the importance of a restorative approach to justice that focuses on those harmed, those who do harm, the circumstances surrounding the situation and their respective needs.

Paolo Carozza, Professor of Law



youtube.com

and Director of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, provided a framework for international development which keeps the inherent value of human life at its center. He identified key ideas revolving around human dignity and addressing poverty and gave examples of how those could be tangibly lived out.

Carozza contested the widespread belief that people are obstacles to development and the best way to eradicate poverty is to simply "get rid of poor people or prevent them from being born." He countered this claim by asserting that "people are the greatest resource in the world and are the engines of development." Like Pfeil, he identified genuine accompaniment as an integral part of being pro-life in all aspects.

Laura Hollis, who teaches in the Mendoza College of Business and the Law School, concluded the panel discussion by speaking about how to be pro-life within one's civic engagement, both in the public and private spheres. She referenced the danger in the recent shift from prohibitory injunctions to mandatory injunctions where an individual "says I have this right therefore you have to help me do it and are obliged

to participate in it." This type of philosophy has been used to stifle the work of pregnancy resources centers in California and Illinois by forcing them to refer to abortion clinics.

In the private sphere, Hollis sees that there is a heightened need for space for one-on-one engagement in imitation of Christ. She remarked, "You only convert one heart at a time. To the best of my knowledge, no penal code, no prohibition, no statute has ever converted anyone—ever." With this in mind, she recognized the great responsibility to be present to those in difficult situations and supply the necessary resources and support that only individuals—not laws—can provide.

All of the panelists agreed that people must change themselves and their understanding of the value of human life before laws can change. There must be a radical encounter with another and a looking outside of oneself to truly bear pro-life witness in the world.

Mackenzie Kraker is a sophomore studying biochemistry and theology. She recently changed majors and now needs to learn Spanish. If you have any foreign language learning talent or advice to share, contact her at mkraker@nd.edu.

"Half a millennium of Catholic imagination"

SOPHIA BUONO
Editor-in-Chief

Elizabeth Lev discusses history of Vatican museums

As one of the oldest and most popular art museums in the world, the Vatican draws throngs of people to gaze upon iconic works of art each year. As Elizabeth Lev pointed out, however, most of these people do not grasp the full history and meaning of what they see. Lev, an art historian and professor at the Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas, gave a presentation at the Center for Ethics and Culture's annual fall conference entitled "The Gift of the Magi: The Catholic Imagination and the Birth of the Modern Museum."

Lev addressed the question of how thousands of works of art from various times and regions came together in one place—and why their home happens to be the center of Catholicism. She examined three popes—Julius II, Pius VI, and Pius XI—who spearheaded art collections and who, over time, built up "the world's first modern museum." She compared their contributions to the biblical "gifts of the Magi." Lev explained, "They [gave] over a distance of centuries a series of different gifts that helped the museums to be put together, and it was this imagination that transformed

a very good art collection belonging to a well-connected cardinal into what was essentially going to be museums as you and I know today." She added that the method of organizing art collections during various papacies became the model for places like the Louvre and the British Museum.

The first pope of Lev's examination, fifteenth century Julius II, spurred what Lev called "a redemptive imagination to works of the past." Out of the Palazzetto Belvedere, a building originally meant for quiet meditation, Julius constructed his "octagonal garden," where he arranged his collection of classical statues—including the famous Apollo Belvedere. Lev commented, "In this space, you would find all the possibilities for artists to be able to springboard into great art; they'd be able to think of new designs." Among those new designs, she pointed out, were Christian works of art that drew inspiration from the ancient style. For example, she demonstrated how Michelangelo modeled the position of God the Father in his Separation of Light from Darkness after the contorted bodily position of the Laocoön. These inspirations, Lev argued, justified the pope's decision to bring pagan statues into the Vatican, and they emphasized the redeemable nature of all forms of beauty.

Lev then explored the actions of eighteenth century Pius VI, who she claimed used art in the Vatican to communicate the "overarching Christian narrative." This pontiff arranged areas

such as the Hall of the Muses so that viewers could experience art in a "plausible original setting" and connect past with present. In addition, this storytelling function of art, Lev claimed, worked to draw together a diverse population. "This museum was to be a Catholic collection in the most 'catholic' sense of the word," she said. "Everybody was invited. [In] 1784, the official dedication date, you find men, women, children ... pets ... [and even] Muslims from the Middle East."

In this diverse setting, Lev continued, the beauty of art served as common ground for those who disagreed in other ways. For instance, although Pius VI maintained a tense relationship with King Gustave III of Sweden, at the Vatican museums, art became an "instrument of dialogue" for the two, allowing for more conciliatory discussion.

As Lev demonstrated, Pius VI's arrangement of art emphasized the triumph of Christianity over paganism. In answer to the question of why the pontiff would display pieces from a world that persecuted Christians, Lev pointed to two items in the museum: Nero's bowl and the sarcophagi of Helena and Constantina. The first belonged to one of the most terrible persecutors of Christianity, and the second encased the bodies of Christian empresses and saints. Both are made out of the same material, porphyry. This similarity, Lev explained, places the art into a "bigger narrative" in which the persecutors do not have the final word.

In the final section of her talk, Lev discussed the contributions of Pope Pius XI, whose papacy saw the end of the First World War and the dawn of the second. When it came to art, Lev said, he envisioned "a community that would be brought together through art and beauty." In many ways, she explained, Pius XI spearheaded an "age of outreach" for the Vatican, from the launching of Vatican radio to the Missionary Exposition of art of 1925. Lev argued that, while he lacked the money and the far-reaching authority of the previously discussed popes, he still used art—especially through the construction of a new entrance and double helix staircase in 1932—as a way to promote unity and contemplation in the face of violence and fear.

As she concluded, Lev noted the disappointing transition from the Vatican museums as a place of aesthetic dialogue to a bustling zone of tourists seeking entertainment and photos. Still, she left her audience with the hopeful wonder of what the next "gift of the magi" for the museum will be. This reason to hope, according to Lev, comes from the conviction that among the modern audience, "They are all still looking for enchantment and grace."

Stophia Buono is a junior PLS major and ESS minor. She had the great pleasure of visiting the Vatican museums nearly four years ago and plans to return this spring during Holy Week. If you are dying to join her quest, contact her at sbuono@nd.edu.

Campus reacts to presidential election

MATT CONNELL

Politics & Economics Editor

Trump's victory spurs protests and prayer service

With the end of an intense and divisive presidential election came a strong reaction to the results on campus. Various informal student gatherings, as well as a university-sanctioned prayer service, took place in the days following Donald Trump's victory as a response to the statements, events, and potential policies that have characterized this presidential election season.

Early Wednesday morning following Election Day, a crowd consisting primarily of students gathered outside the north entrance to DeBartolo Hall in reaction to Trump's victory. Protesters held signs and flags and chanted, "Love trumps hate," among a number of other phrases, into the early afternoon.

One participant, sophomore Jacqui Aguirre, shared with the *Rover* what motivated her to partake in the protest.

"I participated to show support for people who have been frightened by the rhetoric that Trump used during his campaign," she said. "Some of the things he said about women and minorities and sexual assault was really troubling to me as a Mexican woman and sexual assault survivor." Aguirre later continued, "I guess I went to let my fellow students know that I see them."

As for the overall purpose of the protest, Aguirre said, "It isn't to say that we're refusing to acknowledge this man as president. For me, the purpose of the protest was to put faces to the people that Trump's campaign targeted while galvanizing his supporters."

A Facebook page named "We Stand For" was created soon after the protest. According to a post from November 10, the page was "created to provide a platform for

sharing resources [and] support for Notre Dame students in light of the election."

The post continued, "We stand for members of the Latinx and Black community, Immigrants, refugees, POC [people of color], LGBTQ+ community, Muslims and people of all faiths, people with disabilities, women and sexual assault survivors, the indigenous, the environment, and the human dignity of those marginalized in our national politics."

In addition to informal protests, the university hosted an "Interfaith Prayer Service for Respect and Solidarity" on Monday, November 14. University President Father John Jenkins, CSC, emailed students three days prior to invite them to the service, writing "After an acrimonious election season, we see in our nation signs of deep divisions, uncertainty, anger and even fear. I invite the campus community to come together for a brief interfaith prayer service to ask for peace in our nation, wisdom for our leaders and care for the most vulnerable."

In his remarks at the service, Fr. Jenkins urged all in attendance to pray for our leaders and cooperate with them to serve the common good as much as possible while adhering to one's principles. He then outlined three guiding principles for the university community: respect for human dignity, work towards the common good, and solidarity with all peoples.

In a direct statement to undocumented students at Notre Dame, Fr. Jenkins then said, "I assure you of our special concern for you at this time. The University will spare no effort to support you, just as we will do for every student at Notre Dame."

He continued, "You accepted our invitation to come to Notre Dame, you are now part of our family, and we will do everything we can to ensure that you complete your education at Notre Dame."

Sophomore Chris Mulholland was in attendance and reflected on the event to the



Photo taken by Saskia Hennecke

Rover. "My biggest takeaway was something that was already on my mind, but I was glad to hear it restated: an attitude of openness and recognition of one another's human dignity ought to be the starting point of how we go about relations between different races, nationalities, faith beliefs, or whatever it may be."

On the day following the prayer service, a Facebook event titled "SanctuaryCampusND-Walkout" hosted by "We Stand For" had begun circulating. The event page explained that the walkout, planned for November 16 at 1:35 p.m., was part of a nationwide "Sanctuary Campus" movement focused on providing sanctuary to DACA students on college campuses.

DACA, which stands for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, is a policy ordered by President Obama via executive action in 2012. The action allows certain undocumented immigrants who came to the United States before turning 16 years old to receive work permits and exemption from deportation.

The goal of the walkout, as described on

the event page, was to "call on [Jenkins] to show public solidarity with all campuses who have declared or are fighting to declare themselves Sanctuary Campuses [...]" as well as to "invite Fr. Jenkins to work with us, DACA students and allies, to create specific protocols that will concretely support both DACA students and mixed-status families of ND students in the case of any and all changes made to their status in the future." In addition, a petition outlining five specific measures for Fr. Jenkins to take was delivered to the administration with over 4,000 signatures.

Hundreds of students and other community members participated, convening in front of the steps of Main Building. The walkout lasted approximately an hour.

Matt Connell is a sophomore studying business and constitutional studies. He is stoked about Christmas. You can reach him at mconnell6@nd.edu.

Notre Dame students launch campaign against Islamophobia

EVAN HOLGUIN

Religion & Ethics Editor

Go Forth ND linked to Senate initiative

Nicholas Roberts, a graduate student in the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace, has initiated a new social media campaign in response to violent extremism. The program, entitled "Go Forth ND," is a participation in the "Peer to Peer: Challenging Extremism" competition hosted by Facebook and the United States Department of State.

The "Peer to Peer" competition is a global program which provides budgets for university students to plan and execute a social media campaign to counter violent extremism. Finalists from three universities are flown to Washington, D.C., to present their projects and results to representatives of Facebook and the Department of State, who decide the winner, according to the Peer to Peer program website.

According to Roberts, Go Forth ND decided to take a creative approach to the competition: "Most CVE [Challenging Violent Extremism] programs focus exclusively on Muslims. But 'violent extremism' is a reaction, and we know that every action has a reaction. So we take a unique view that Islamophobia is a major cause of violent extremism."

In light of their approach to the problem of violent extremism, the campaign kicked off with a panel event on November 17. The panel, simply titled "Islamophobia," explored the topic by addressing the causes and discussing potential solutions.

The panel began with introductory remarks by Ameena Jandali, a founding member of Islamic Networks Group, who explained a bit of the history of American Islamophobia. According to Jandali, the rise of anti-Muslim rhetoric can be traced back to 1993, with some experts claiming that anti-Muslim sentiment started in 1989 in response to the Iranian revolution.

Since then, the rise in anti-Muslim hate crimes has increased astronomically—between 2014 and 2015, there was the second greatest increase in hate crimes against Muslims since hate crimes began being reported in 1990, according to Jandali.

Jandali then continued to explore what she believed to be the cause of the increase in anti-Muslim ideology: a "general ignorance about Islam and Muslims" fueled by negative media.

She said, "If the media is the main source of information about Muslims, most of the information will be negative." Jandali stated this not as a blame or attack on news media, but as a reminder to the audience that media is a business. "If it bleeds, it leads," she said, expressing the idea that violence and crime sells newspapers and advertisements.

The panel of Notre Dame students Justine Uy, Francesco Tassi, and CJ Pine followed

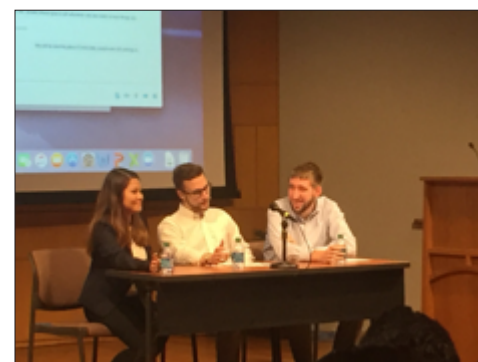
Jandali's remarks by explaining ways in which students could begin making an impact.

Pine summarized the message of the panel: "Just become aware." Uy pointed the audience to visit and share the Go Forth ND website, which includes a section called Islam 101, which attempts to dispel common misconceptions about Muslims.

The panel also discussed the importance of the creation of an integrated society in America. Tassi explained the problem of "parallel society" by referencing his research in France and stated that in France, Muslim applicants to jobs are two and half times less likely to be offered the job. Employers use traditionally Muslim names and neighborhoods to employ this discrimination. The result, according to Tassi, is two parallel societies—one consisting of French nationals, the other of Muslim citizens and immigrants.

Tassi described parallel societies as dangerous and conducive of radicalized extremists angry with the opposite society. Uy expressed that the creation of parallel societies are ways in which Middle Eastern extremist groups recruit young people, calling it "a narrative ISIS utilizes that makes this clash of civilizations ... something to take personally."

Notre Dame professor Mahan Mirza closed the event by telling two stories in which he and his wife were surprised by kindness from white men they had assumed would treat them poorly because they were Muslim. "It was a



wake-up call," Mirza said, "because here I was, the one who was judging."

"Don't get me wrong, I have other stories too," Mirza stated, referencing times he had been discriminated against for his faith. He also referenced the three Muslim students who were killed in Chapel Hill in 2015: "One wrongful death is one too many," he said in reference to this event.

Mirza closed by saying, "If you want to be afraid, be afraid of being randomly murdered ... Be afraid of getting out of your car. Meanwhile, go hug a Muslim and make peace."

Upcoming events include t-shirt distribution across campus and a white board campaign. To follow the news of the campaign, or to learn how to get involved, students can visit goforthnd.com.

Evan Holguin is a junior in the Program of Liberal Studies. He was once told he had too many books; he responded that he had too few bookshelves. Contact him at eholguin@nd.edu.



What's right for this relationship?

JULIA MCKEON
Staff Writer

A married couple offers students their wisdom

Two weeks ago, students gathered close in the lounge of the Coleman-Morse Center to hear husband and wife Josh and Stacey Noem present "What's Right for this Relationship?" In this third and final session of the "SEXuality and Faith" series, sponsored by Campus Ministry and the Gender Relations Center, the Noems shared personal experiences to advise students about maintaining healthy relationships during college.

After a brief introduction from Father Pete McCormick, CSC, the Noems quickly put the audience at ease with the topic "right relationships" by recounting their own drastically different first impressions of the topic to show that there are no simple answers. The Noems began transforming the audience into participants. First, students were asked to draw three concentric circles of intimacy and populate them with the names of loved ones, friends, acquaintances, and anybody in between. The general consensus after the exercise was that it was relatively easy to list those people in our innermost circle, but more difficult to distinguish between friend and acquaintance. In another interactive exercise, the Relationship Attachment Model, audience members privately evaluated one of their personal relationships to see if it followed healthy progression levels of "know-trust-rely-commit-touch."

Josh turned the group towards a more explicit discussion of the

hook-up culture, saying "It's a falsehood. It's an aberration. It's an outlier from our normal experience." As "ensouled bodied and bodied souls," Josh argued, what we do affects who we are. In our everyday relationships, physical touch, such as hugging a friend, typically increases in proportion to how emotionally attached we are to a person. In pursuit of a "distorted notion of freedom," however, the hook-up culture tells us we can do whatever we please with our bodies without consequences for our souls. The hook-up culture breaks the norms of healthy relationships, instead substituting alcohol and the cover of night. Josh concluded his segment on an optimistic note, pointing to the regret often felt after partaking in the hook-up culture as "an invitation" from ourselves to foster better relationships which respect to the link between our bodies and souls.

Stacey's portion of the talk focused on justice's mandate to keep ourselves in right relationships. Defining justice as "rendering each person their due with constant and perpetual will," Stacey emphasized, "it is effortful to choose to give someone their due." She explained how when practicing the virtue of justice, there can be no neutral interaction. To illustrate her point, she spoke of how when passing a stranger in an otherwise empty hallway, we make the positive choice to smile or the negative choice to avert our eyes or be embarrassed. No matter how much we wish it could be so, we cannot leave no impression. Stacey then led the group in a guided meditation examining our relationships before opening the floor to questions.

One student gave voice to a common conundrum facing today's

young adults: how to reconcile sexual abstinence before marriage and pressures to delay marriage until a more socially acceptable and economically stable time. In response, Josh first acknowledged his and Stacey's unusual position in regards to that question. The Noems married each other the day after finals in the Basilica of the Sacred Heart. Josh continued with his belief that the new tendency to delay marriage into one's thirties is "inherently misguided." He explained that people want to have their lives perfectly planned, but if you have found someone you want to spend your life with there is no sense in putting off marriage. Josh did add, however, that people must have a good grasp of themselves, which can be gained during college, before being formed enough as persons to commit themselves entirely to a spouse.

Stacey agreed with Josh's assessment, reminding the audience that the "What's enough?" questions about readiness for marriage and children will persist throughout life, and that we cannot have certainty. On the practical dilemma of finding employment in the same city after graduation, Stacey said it becomes very clear when you are in love with someone that you may have to make sacrifices. She reiterated the tug of commitment to one's partner over a career opportunity, suggesting that one's mentality ought to be, "The job isn't first, you're first. We'll figure the rest out."

The Noems offered a great deal more practical advice over the course of the question and answer segment. For example, some committed couples worry that they spend too much time together during college and miss out on a period of life when they are supposed to try as many



new friendships and experiences as possible. The Noems advised that couples should have some friends and ways to spend a Saturday night independently of each other, but they did not say it was necessary to invoke those independent routes for appearance's sake. The couple emphasized the mutuality of a romantic relationship and how couples should help each other grow to be better people, which requires a great deal of time together.

After the talk, the Noems and most of the audience lingered for smaller informal discussions. There was a great deal more energy in the room as a result of the Noems' presentation, and the event was well received by the student audience. Sophomore Carlos Grosso reflected to the *Rover*, "It's a good dialogue to have. It's good for people to expose themselves to this talk because it seems to be a view that's dying out in popular culture."

Julia McKeon is a freshman studying theology and political science. She is a proud resident of Ryan Hall. Contact Julia at jmckeon1@nd.edu.

Hollywood producer speaks about beauty, power of film

CRYSTAL AVILA
Culture & Thought Editor

Stephen McEveety highlights value of storytelling to move an audience

Film producer Stephen McEveety of Mpower Pictures visited Notre Dame to speak at the Center for Ethics and Culture's Fall Conference on November 12.

After working for Mel Gibson's Icon Productions, where McEveety executive produced films such as *Anna Karenina* and *Braveheart*, he went on to launch Mpower Pictures with David Segal, John Shepherd and Todd Burns. Many of Mpower's films have won awards at multiple film festivals: *Bella* (Toronto Film Festival), *Snowmen* (Tribeca Film Festival), and *The Stoning of Soraya* (Toronto Film Festival).

Irish journalist John Waters led the relaxed conversation with McEveety, which began with a reel of films the producer has worked on, including *Braveheart*, *Anna Karenina*, *Bella*, *The Stoning of Soraya*, and *The Passion of the Christ*. Following the presentation of his impressive oeuvre, McEveety explained to the audience that for him, entertainment goes beyond

amusement and distraction; it is meant to evoke emotion in the observer, such as sadness, happiness, or shock. A truly good film simply tells a good story.

Waters asked McEveety if he is ever categorized as a "Catholic" filmmaker and, if so, how that affects his work. The producer made it clear that although he is Catholic, he is first and foremost a film producer at work because that is his job, working to the best of his abilities and striving to learn and grow. Being Catholic is something internal that cannot be turned off or on; it is a holistic reality. He does not need to "think Catholic" at work in order to produce quality, entertaining films; he simply needs to do what he does best: produce films.

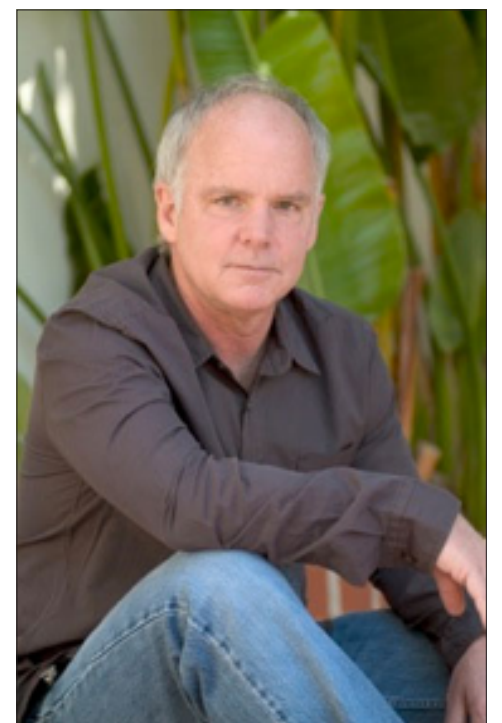
McEveety went on to explain that in order to make films that convey positive messages and that are also entertaining, a filmmaker needs to "manipulate" members of his audience to a certain extent in order to move them. He continued that a film cannot change a person's mind or even affect them deeply if it preaches at them. A truly good film can say everything without saying a lot. Visual, musical, and character choices made within a film can profoundly affect an audience member.

When audience members had

the opportunity to ask McEveety questions, many young people were eager to enter into dialogue with the producer. One college student asked how the millennial generation could go about making good films with moral messages while avoiding a recreation of the many poorly constructed and received Christian-branded films currently on the market. McEveety responded that although there is a niche for those types of films, there is an even wider audience for films that tell a good story: "Ultimate success is telling a story that changes a culture or a person ... We all have an appetite for a story, but it is hard to create one."

Thinking about which films have actually positively affected your life as a viewer, McEveety demonstrated, you may notice a pattern. No matter what genre or length of the film, it somehow struck a chord within you, told you a story in a way you have never thought of viewing it, and remained in you so long that its underlying values have begun to intermix themselves with your everyday thoughts. A moving film gently shows you a direction that you could move in and could develop in.

McEveety ended the engaging conversation by briefly discussing his newest film, *Man Down*, which will be released December 2016. Starring



christiancinema.com

Shia LaBeouf and Kate Mara, *Man Down* explores the reality of PTSD in American soldiers returning from war.

Crystal Avila is a senior studying film and television. She highly recommends that you see Man Down. If you need a movie suggestion or want to help her edit her documentary, email her at cavila3@nd.edu.

Rover Film Reviews: Doctor Strange and Arrival

CRYSTAL AVILA
Culture & Thought Editor

Recent releases feature super-heroes and UFOs



Doctor Strange (PG-13)
On November 4, Marvel released its newest superhero movie, *Doctor Strange*. With the recent saturation of Marvel films released, *Strange* needed to be impressive and, even more so, innovative. Overall, the film presents a mixture of successes and failures. The protagonist, Doctor Stephen Strange (Benedict Cumberbatch), is unlike many of the other superheroes who tend to be rich, unbelievably talented, and smooth with women. Rather, Dr. Strange is a genius neurosurgeon who has a big ego and trouble

relating kind words to his romantic interest, Christine Palmer (Rachel McAdams). The entire story revolves around Dr. Strange's tragic injury to his hands. After going to failed extreme lengths to try restoring them to their proper use, he decides to journey to Nepal to seek the help of the Ancient One (Tilda Swinton). He unexpectedly finds himself under her tutelage and is shown and taught things that make no logical scientific sense. These include the possibility of entering another bodily realm or using magic to protect another dimension of the world—which even the Avengers cannot do. although the film gives its audience some fascinating CGI visual landscapes and concepts, it seems to reuse certain cinematic experiences from other films like *Inception*. The narrative is entertaining and includes many entertaining fight scenes, but it still lacks a sense of originality and even reality. For example, Dr. Strange's ability to grasp magic so quickly makes the audience aware that they are very much watching a film, and Palmer's acceptance of Strange's new magic powers seems highly unlikely. The film's villain, Kaecilius (Mads Mikkelsen), not only has typical "villain lines," but even his makeup is conventional. Despite the lack of creativity in both his physique and desires, one of the strongest scenes occurs when he (Kaecilius) and Dr. Strange first meet and battle. He tells Strange to come to the "dark side," where he would gain eternal life. Whether intentional or not, Kaecilius seems to represent the Fallen Angel trying to persuade a man full of goodness always to desire more and even to become stronger than natural law. Overall, *Doctor Strange* is a fun, charming film that will entertain. However, it lacks what many Marvel movies have tended to lack: creativity and depth.

Rover Rating: 2.5/4 Stars



Arrival (PG-13)
Released November 11, *Arrival* tells the story of a linguistics professor, Louise (Amy Adams), and her encounter with 12 globally spread out and unidentified objects hovering earth's orbit. Called in by the United States government to work with the scientist Ian (Jeremy Renner), Louise begins to think of how to communicate with the objects rather than take action. After "working" with the objects and teaching them how to communicate in the English language through their own interstellar way of writing, Louise asks the fateful question, "What are you doing here?" During different parts of the film, the viewer sees that Louise is dealing with a heavy past: the death of a child, what might be depression, and solitude. The more she communicates

with the objects, the more memories from the past flash into her mind and onto the screen. Adams' impeccable acting is so subtle and gentle that one may even forget that she is acting and that this "invasion" is purely fictional. The way Adams looks at the objects as they send her signs is more memorable than what the objects themselves actually look like. The signs of the objects look like inky black circular writings that seem to mean nothing. However, Louise discovers that they actually say more things and deliver more meaning than a single word would. As Louise continues to decipher what the objects are trying to tell her, the audience enters more deeply into her head, memories, and future. Eventually, Louise must come to recognize that because she realized that communication is more important than war in maintaining harmony in the world, the objects chose her to spread that message. The film's white, grey, and blue cinematic tones match well with its purpose and message and serve to give its audience a means to view a complicated human problem with a serene and simplistic background. *Arrival* asks its viewers to think about time, grief, communication, decisions, and understanding. Although the film is well made and worthy of a watch, the objects' purpose in the film remains a bit unclear at the end and may be seen as pointless. However, the beauty of the narrative is that viewers are left thinking and deciding what the meaning is and how it directly applies to their own lives.

Rover Rating: 4/4 Stars

Crystal Avila is a senior studying film and television. She is very excited for the new Scorsese film, *Silence*. She plans to watch many movies this December. If you need a suggestion or review, email her at cavila3@nd.edu.

Who's Who at Notre Dame: Joanie May

TIERNEY VRDOLYAK
Staff Writer

Getting to know a familiar face at Geddes Hall

Like many coffee-minded students, my favorite little spot for rejuvenation is Geddes Hall. From the moment you step out of the now not-so-warm outdoors and into either set of double doors, you are bound to be greeted by not only a soothing aroma of Breakfast Blend, but also the friendly face of Joanie May. Joanie May is an administrative assistant at the Center for Social Concerns. She can be found typing at the front desk of Geddes, coordinating activities and requests for the CSC as well as the duties of student workers under her direction. I had the chance to chat with Joanie among the comfy couches this week and, for the first time in personally recalled history, have had not the slightest inclination to fall asleep. Although Joanie humbly stated that there is not much to her aside from talking, she had a lively story to tell. She was born and raised in the San Francisco Bay Area, a populous area encompassing several major cities in Northern California, including her hometown of San Jose. "I was right there in the booming and bustling atmosphere during the 1960s and '70s," Joanie explained, "and went to grade school, high school, and college all by the Bay." After school, Joanie and her husband wanted a change from a deeply urban lifestyle. She said, "When my son was little, we decided to move to Idaho. We wanted a simpler way of life," one in which her son could grow and thrive. So, Joanie and her husband, son, mother, and brother packed up shop and headed even further north.

"When we moved to northern Idaho, we made our home by Lake Coeur d'Alene," she said. Intrigued primarily by the fancy French-sounding name, I also asked about the geography surrounding it. Joanie's eyes lit up even brighter than usual, and, using much-needed hand motions, she said, "It's in a valley surrounded by hills. Real hills. And in the lake is real water. This is where I first learned to ski and recognized my love of being by the water." She went on, "I went back to Idaho to see my brother recently. I wanted to see him, sure, but also to just sit there and be surrounded by real hills and real water. The whole experience is therapeutic and very spiritual." Immediately, I wondered how Joanie had the spark of curiosity to live and work in the (almost always) sunny city of South Bend, Indiana. "Well, it wasn't until my son graduated college. After that, he coached softball in Washington for the Moses League. Actually, he met his future wife at a softball convention." She paused and smiled, "It was love at first sight. Then they moved here and I tagged along later for the ride." Before moving to Indiana, Joanie worked in California, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. She began working in the telephone industry for the company US West. Later, she worked as an administrative coordinator of First Year Studies for Lewis and Clark College in Portland. She spoke of Portland's beauty, "I never knew there were that many colors of green." I thought Joanie might not have been to Ireland. Yet not only is Joanie a natural, national road-tripper, but she is also an international traveler. She has visited several countries, including England on a castle tour and the Emerald Isle of Ireland itself. "My dream trip is to go on a grand church tour through Germany, but,"—she joked—"my travel buddy, who

just-so-happens to be my niece, got married and had kids." I suppose they will do that. But Joanie's son moving away didn't stop her from traveling. In fact, she went to join him, his equally softball-loving wife, and their two daughters in South Bend. Joanie spoke about her family, "I have 2 granddaughters, Devin and Hayden, who I affectionately call my 'monsters.'" More scared than curious, I wondered as much as you whence the quaint title came. "Oh," she said as if it were nothing, "because they would try and sneak up the stairs of my apartment and scare me. It sometimes worked." Joanie loves spending time with the "monsters," whether it's watching their softball and soccer games, cooking a meal together, or going on road trips. She told the *Rover*, "My two monsters and I went on a road trip together. Destination: Appomattox Courthouse. Since Devin was learning about it in history class, we made an educational trip out of it. My one rule, aside from not using cell phones except for an emergency, was no sleeping in the car. Otherwise, I'd get bored! So we played games and sang the whole way there and back." Joanie followed up with sounds that suggested that she hasn't lost the Shirley Temple in her. After moving in by her son's family, Joanie wanted a smaller job than before. She came across the opening at the CSC. She spoke of her first experience with the Center for Social Concerns staff: "Just meeting them was meeting family. I saw the heart of the Center and all of their individual faces." She continued, "It wasn't coming to meet a new family, just a bigger one." Perhaps this community effort is why she has decided to stay in one place these past five years. But Joanie stated specifically, "I love being here because I get to work with 40 student workers.



socialconcerns.nd.edu
They are all so positive: no one has a frown, and everyone speaks as they come in. It's a very energizing environment. And I try to keep up the energy and thank them by throwing our annual Christmas party, which is coming up soon!" Although I wanted to hear all details about this party of sorts, time only allowed us one more question. What's Joanie's snippet of advice to students? "Don't take yourself too seriously. If an opportunity comes up, take it ... Take a year of service, a gap year, pack a backpack and go across the country or world. I've heard students who from the start get a serious job miss the freedom, so take advantage of the world before you become serious. The life experiences that you have will be worthwhile. And you'll come back with so many stories to tell." She added, in conclusion, "Always reach out to anyone in need." Tierney Vrdolyak is a junior studying the greatest of books and theology. She enjoys playing a multitude of sports, but alas, has recently and temporarily lost mobility in her left foot. To shower her with board games and gifts of your mere presence, visit her at her home of Breen-Phillips Hall or via tvrdolya@nd.edu.



Education toward consensus

WALTER NICGORSKI
Faculty Contributor

As was widely noted over the past year, what is sometimes called “the conservative movement” was strongly divided about Donald Trump as a prospective President. In the run-up to his election, even before, and especially now, he has been busy trying to heal the wounds of those divisions while being true to his goals for America and those of the people who supported him along the contentious path to the Republican nomination. The president-elect has an immensely difficult task, and his supporters, past and present, if not all Americans, need to understand the importance of his being successful in laying the groundwork for leadership of the conservative coalition and the nation. He has a great opportunity to distinguish himself through such leadership.

There is a lot of diversity within “the conservative movement”; so much so that one would have to say that there are movements within that “movement” that have stronger popular attachments to certain public policies than to anything simply conservative. I refer to the pro-life movement and the school choice and charter school movements. In these cases, the conservative tag has more often than not been put on them by those opposed to their objectives: assuring legal protection to innocent human life and giving a fairer and enlarged role to parents in the education of their children. The conservative tag is often a way of demonizing and creating a climate where not allowing or not listening to speakers and writers is a style of political action. Each of these movements, however, can be seen as liberalizing if not revolutionary in the light of dominant legally protected practices. In many communities, persons usually associated with the Democratic Party and various liberal causes have had leadership roles in developing right-to-

life organizations and charter schools; such is the case here locally with respect to the influential St. Joseph County Right to Life, and its cause still holds attraction even for some Democratic officeholders despite the Party’s tyrannous opposition to freedom of discussion of this matter.

The Trump victory was over an opponent who promised

Constitution. It will, of course, depend in large part on his actions, but it has for a time set back the aggressive agenda of an opposition party that welcomes judicial overreach and encourages and practices executive overreach. The cause of the Constitution is an undeniably conservative one; it seeks to preserve and always work from this gift

qualities of Supreme Court appointments, to federalism and what might be legally and justly handled in the states, and even to the working of the electoral college in the election’s final phase has drawn attention to the importance to all citizens of understanding the Constitution, the role of the Declaration of Independence, and the history of fundamental

to curtailing and reducing the practice of abortion in America. In the light of hostile caricatures and much fog thrown up by its opposition, the pro-life movement and its scholarly wing must make renewed educational efforts that emphasize its support for adoption, its allowance of exceptions for medically necessary abortions on behalf

victim of abortion. And so it is a grievous sin in the teachings of the Catholic Church as is complicity with such killing and unnecessary tolerance of it.

Much more education is necessary regarding school choice and enhanced parental participation. The education must not only be, as has been the case, about the favorable impact on the quality of education but also on the basic right of parents to choose an education in accord with and infused with their religious convictions. This right is seriously compromised when such parents are financially penalized for exercising it through double taxation. There must always be a public option in education, but it is a falsehood, needing fuller exposure, that vouchers and charter schools take away public school funding, for only that proportion of funding is lost that belongs to the families who choose non-public options. Vouchers are used more widely in other countries, even countries less religious and less religiously pluralistic than the United States. It is in disadvantaged areas and often Afro-American and Hispanic sub-communities that the pressure of double taxation cannot be borne by churches and their schools. Notre Dame’s magnificent ACE Program is one of the most notable national efforts working against the liberal legal tide to bolster education that can be religiously informed and inspired. This is a matter of fairness, religious liberty and overall justice about which there has been too much silence in the past.

There is much to be grateful for in a political victory that helps secure important freedoms to act. These include the action of revitalizing and extending the education and efforts toward consensus on life issues, school-choice issues and our very Constitution as a nation.

Walter Nicgorski is an emeritus professor in the Program of Liberal Studies and emeritus editor of The Review of Politics.



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an enlargement of abortion availability and public funding and who was also locked into opposition to expanded school choice. That victory now provides an opportunity, above all, to check the inclinations of the opposition and thus to give additional time for increased educational efforts on behalf of the objectives of the pro-life and school choice movements. Those objectives have always been more appealing than simply being conservative causes, and the issues related to them call out for fresh examination independent of the lobbies that have dominated the Democratic Party’s stance. I want to return shortly to consider some of the mischaracterizations and misunderstandings of those movements, but first a few words about another potentially significant opportunity that has been provided by the Trump victory.

The Trump victory could well be a victory for the

of the Founding generation and this glue of the American nation for two and a quarter centuries. Thoughtful liberals do see the point when they emphasize to all their followers and others that respect for the Constitution and respect for law, which is closely associated with it, is a necessary foundation for the exercise of all of our liberties, for the very life blood of civil dialogue embracing both conservatives and liberals. If such respect for the Constitution seems just now to be especially a conservative cause, it is because the Democratic party and its candidate have chosen not to mention the Constitution and contending traditions for interpreting it in responses to questions on potential Supreme Court nominees. Their emphasis is quite invariably on political results congenial to the “progressive agenda” they expect of their legislators.

This presidential campaign with its attention to the

and ordinary law in this nation. There is an alarming deficiency of understanding of all these matters among American citizens as well as their political leaders. Attending to these matters is a necessary task for more than political science majors and those concentrating in constitutional studies. Notre Dame provides rich resources for something more than just information; namely for an informed thinking through of the rationale of the Constitution, its various provisions and many of the important developments that have followed. Here too the Trump victory has provided the time and, let us hope, the impetus for enhanced efforts toward a consensus on fundamental matters.

Education has always been at least one-half of a two-pronged defense of human life in much of the pro-life movement. It has been very successful with the American public and already has contributed greatly

of the life of the mother, its compassion for those who have fallen into abortion and are now needing forgiveness and help, and its assistance for those who have chosen life and have little means of caring for and raising a child. At the same time, the movement needs even more boldness in its educational efforts to show the continuity of fetal life pre and post birth, the very emphasis of the American Medical Association that led to nearly all states outlawing medically unnecessary abortion such as those for sex selection and for enjoying greater convenience in life. These are the state laws that were overturned by the overreaching decision in the *Roe v Wade* case. Renewed education must lead more to see that abortion is not just another political issue or difference like those involving tax and immigration policies. It is a crime against humanity, both against one’s own human nature and that of the very existence of the

Bradley
continued from front

machine. Clinton has long been captive of the pressure groups which midwived this bastard reform, namely, the education establishment, and business oligarchs who want docile, shovel-ready workers. About Common Core the most critical observations she could muster is that it was “poorly implemented.” There is some reason to wonder about how deep and

abidingly pro-life Donald Trump is. But he says that he is pro-life, and he has surely committed himself to governing as if he is pro-life (which in the end is all that matters). There is no reason to doubt Hillary Clinton’s contempt for the pro-life movement, which she has opposed at every turn during her long career in government. She even elevated her “pro-choice” game during the campaign, when she pandered shamelessly to abortion supporters and resolved to

repeal the Hyde Amendment (which has since 1976 blocked federal funding of elective abortion). Donald Trump was not the first (or second or third or fourth) choice in the Republican primaries for any social conservative I know. But he was the choice of most of them in November, and there is ample reason why.

Gerard V. Bradley is Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame and faculty advisor to the Irish Rover.

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Religious freedom: for thee, for me, for America

DANIEL PHILPOTT
Faculty Contributor

Donald Trump's victory on November 8 has elicited deeper divisions than perhaps any U.S. election result since 1860, when the Civil War loomed. Furious demonstrations, calls for violence from both sides, and a surge of assaults on minorities ignited by Trump's campaign rhetoric make clear that if the Republic is going to function civilly as a democracy for the next four years, Americans who are bitterly divided must find a basis on which to live and deliberate together. No mere truce will do. We are divided by principles, so only a principle that we can all endorse can help us contest our positions peacefully.

One principle, kneaded into the American founding, long regarded as part of our collective heritage, yet called into question as of late, can help us a great deal: religious freedom. Religion is far from the only source of our divisions. Class, race, and the status of immigrants obviously featured prominently in the election. Religion, however, persisted as a fault line, much to the surprise of analysts

who thought its relevance had faded. At stake in the election were not only religious concerns but the very freedom of Americans to express and practice their religion.

Both left and right rued compromises of this freedom. Among the minority groups against whom Trump stoked resentment through his skillful demagoguery, Muslims stood out. Shunning the United States' heritage, exemplary among Western countries, of integrating Muslims into our common life as citizens and economic actors, an achievement enabled in no small part by our tradition of religious freedom, Trump promised to bar Muslims from entry into the United States and thus expanded Americans' legitimate worries about terrorism into a fear of all Muslims. His proposal was a form of discrimination that violated the spirit, if not the strict letter, of religious freedom and instigated acts that violated religious freedom directly. An FBI report of mid-November showed that hate crimes in the U.S. have surged as of late and most acutely against Muslims. Among people who did not vote for Trump—like myself—his incitement of such animus was chief

among our objections.

Religion and religious freedom, though, were also on the minds of those—like myself—who did not pull the lever for Clinton. Trump received a record 81 percent of white evangelical votes and won 56 percent to Clinton's 40 percent among weekly churchgoers. In Clinton, these voters perceived a commitment to continue the Obama administration's aggressive secularism. This perception offers an explanation for why Clinton lost the commanding lead that she enjoyed among Catholics in summer 2016, only to lose to Trump among Catholics, 52-45 percent, on Election Day. In the interim, emails hacked from the Democratic campaign revealed cynical and condescending plans to divide and conquer Catholics voters, while Trump wrote a letter to Catholics speaking to their concerns about life and freedom that played well in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the other Rust Belt states critical to his victory.

At the core of the Obama Administration's aggressive secularism have been its sharp curtailments of the religious liberty of Americans in the realms of life, marriage, and sexuality. Through

administrative decrees, judicial appointments, and the pedagogical power of the presidential podium, the administration imposed and inculcated restrictions of the sort that Pope Francis has termed "polite persecution," implying that they are similar in kind, if not in degree, to far more serious persecution. Motivated by a secular ideology, they involve the imposition of serious material costs on Christian believers on account of their commitment to traditional Christian teachings. The costs have been borne by merchants, universities, schools, hospitals, charities, campus fellowships, students, public officials, employees, and citizens, who have been variously fired, fined, denied accreditation, evicted from campuses, seen their businesses ruined, and otherwise barred from living out their convictions.

While the mandate of the Health and Human Services Department, challenged by the Little Sisters of the Poor in the U.S. Supreme Court, stands as the most famous of these impositions, many others have been applied at other levels of government and by a wide range of institutions. Combined, the

restrictions amount to the largest curtailment of religious freedom in the history of the Republic, a judgment derived from factoring together the number of these restrictions, their frequency, the number of people to whom they apply, and the scope of affairs that they restrict, including norms of marriage and sexuality held by every society, every religion, until 11:59 p.m. on the clock of history.

Americans who disregard the religious freedom of other Americans, or of citizens of other countries, are afflicted with amnesia. They have forgotten that religious freedom is in the First Amendment to our Constitution, and in our heritage. Religious freedom has enabled religious people who were persecuted elsewhere to find not only refuge but also equality of citizenship in the United States: Mennonites, Amish, Mormons, Muslims, Methodists, Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses. In other times and places, too, the principle of religious freedom has been instrumental in ending strife and establishing peace among people divided by religious convictions. The Emperor Constantine,

influenced by the great Christian philosopher, Lactantius, declared religious freedom in the Roman Empire just following the colossal Diocletian Persecution. Theologians and philosophers in Europe and colonial America in the 17th and 18th centuries articulated religious freedom as a principle by which Catholics and various and fractious Protestants could live together in peace.

A principle that establishes peace among people who differ over what they believe to be most important is one that Americans would do well not to forget at this moment. Citizens wanting to make America great again should remember that welcoming religious (and other) minorities is what made America great in the first place. Citizens wanting to advance new norms of marriage and sexuality should affirm that those who believe traditional norms to be the contours of God's love must not be fired or fined for conducting their lives accordingly. If religious freedom is for anyone, it must be for everyone.

Daniel Philpott is Professor of Political Science and faculty advisor of the Irish Rover.

Victory is not vindication

MICHAEL C. DESCH
Faculty Contributor

The Republican Establishment may think that Donald Trump's unexpected victory in the Presidential election somehow vindicates them. To be fair, confusion is rampant these days. Nearly all of the pundits (myself included) expected that structural Democratic advantages (a strong economy and an increasingly diverse electorate) plus idiosyncratic elements particular to each candidate (Trump's lack of government experience combined with his penchant for alienating lots of people almost every time he opened his mouth or took to Twitter) would usher in a second Clinton administration this year.

What we all missed was the deep anger at the Establishment among many voters which both diminished Trump's peccadillos and tarnished Clinton's gold-plated resume. Popular dissatisfaction with Washington business-as-usual spans the political agenda, but I want to highlight the international components of it.

Since the end of the Cold War, both political

parties have shared two core assumptions about America's role in the world: first, there has been bipartisan support for the notion that the United States should play the leading role in shaping and maintaining the post-Cold War international order. Second, the blueprint for this order should be roughly liberal: it should be constituted by democratic states whose domestic economies and the global economic system are guided the free market.

To be sure, there were tactical differences between Democrats and Republicans about how America should play its leading role on the global stage. The former were more inclined to hide American dominance behind a multilateral fig leaf while the latter did not conceal the mailed-fist of U.S. power in the velvet glove of international institutions. But these differences should not obscure the broad Establishment consensus on liberal hegemony as the script for America's leadership.

The Trump Revolution represents a repudiation of this conception of America's role in the world. You can see this clearly in the president-elect's deep reservations about free trade and easy immigration, two premises widely shared



among the Republican (and Democratic) elite. His alternative view that free trade has thrown American workers out of their jobs and unrestricted immigration has opened the door to terrorists and criminals clearly ties international engagement with core domestic concerns of many Trump voters.

But unhappiness with an activist American foreign policy goes well beyond trade and immigration. Resentment about the unwillingness of U.S. allies to pay their fair share for their own defense is longstanding. What's changed in recent years is a growing sense that with the end of the Cold War,

Uncle Sucker no longer has any interest in paying more to defend rich countries than they are willing to pony up themselves.

And at the Republican primary debate at the Reagan Presidential Library last fall, the majority of the Establishment Republicans were quick to hop on the bandwagon to Baghdad, joining Jeb Bush in defending his brother's disastrous Iraq War. But overwhelming majorities of Independents, Democrats, and even Republicans had long-since concluded that the war was not worth the cost in American blood and treasure. Whether Trump really opposed it at the

time as he claimed, Senator Clinton's well-documented vote for it did not endear her to war-weary voters in 2016.

Finally, while many Establishment Republican national security experts see ex-KGB officer Vladimir Putin as the second coming of Soviet strongman Joseph Stalin, most voters may have little love for his politics but do not think that containing Russia in Syria merits any risk of war, especially since Putin and his Syrian ally Bashar al-Assad are also fighting our enemy ISIS there.

So rather than vindicating the Establishment Republican (and Democratic) foreign policy of assertive

international leadership, Trump's victory is a clear repudiation of significant elements of it. Conservative foreign policy mavens at the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and other Beltway perches for out-of-power politicians may think that they will be back in the driver's seat come January. But if they do, it is based on a serious misreading of the public mood which seems ready for a major change of course by America's ship of state, including in our foreign policy.

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