### College Guide

#### Best Bang for the Buck - Northeast Rankings

Welcome to the Best Bang for the Buck rankings from the book *The Other College Guide: A Roadmap for the Right School for You*. The chart below shows you which schools in the Northeast are the best value for your money based on "net" (not sticker) price, how well they do graduating the students they admit, and whether students go on to earn at least enough to pay off their loans.

You can sort the list alphabetically, by state, or by ACT/SAT scores. Use the dropdown menu to see rankings of colleges in other regions.

Northeast Schools - Best Bang for the Buck

See charts from our public good-banged Rankings with this drop-down menu.

* * indicates a public school, + indicates a for-profit school.

<table>
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<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Overall Score</th>
<th>Student loan default rate</th>
<th>Graduation rate</th>
<th>Students receiving Pell grants</th>
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<th>Net price (annual family income above $75,000)</th>
<th>Percent of applicants admitted</th>
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<th>ACT/SAT 75th percentile score</th>
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**Northeast schools - Best Bang for the Buck:**

Site chart from your public good-based rankings with this drop-down menu.

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### Rankings Table

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>School Name</th>
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<th>Graduation rate</th>
<th>Graduation rate performance</th>
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| Institution                      | Overall Score | Student last accepted 12th rate | Graduation rate | Graduation rate performance | Students receiving Pell grants | Net price per student ($10,000) | Net price per annual family income below $30,000 ($10,000) | Net price per annual family income above $30,000 ($10,000) | Percent of applicants admitted | ACT at 50th percentile score | ACT at 70th percentile score | 2015  
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NASA Selects Winners for Minority University Research and Education Project Grants

- By Joshua Bolkan
- 08/24/15

NASA has selected five higher education institutions to share in $6 million as part of its Minority University Research and Education Project (MUREP), an initiative that aims to provide educator training and expand science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) course offerings.

Four schools, Baltimore City Community College, Napa Valley College, Queensborough Community College and Santa Monica College, were selected to receive MUREP Community College Curriculum Improvement (MC3I) grants. Those schools will receive up to $250,000 per year for as many as three years to increase the number of STEM classes offered.

Texas State University was named a MUREP Educator Institute and will receive $1 million each year for three years to "create learning opportunities at NASA's ten field centers for future teachers," according to information released by the space agency.

About the Author

Joshua Bolkan is the multimedia editor for Campus Technology and THE Journal. He can be reached at jbolkan@1105media.com.
Readers’ Turn: Eliminate Fafsa?

AUG. 25, 2015

The Upshot Staff

Many economists have pointed out that simplicity or little nudges can go a long way in bettering people’s lives.

Last week, Susan Dynarski wrote an article endorsing an effort by lawmakers to simplify the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, known as the Fafsa, so that more lower-income students could go to college. Then she went one step further. She made the case that we’d be better off on balance without the Fafsa at all.

A large number of readers disagreed strongly. As one reader put it: “Why should we dumb down the first hurdle to make college easier? You don’t deserve a high school diploma if you can’t fill out the Fafsa.”

That led to a discussion that touched on empathy, coddling and fraud.

Rhea Wong, Executive Director, Breakthrough New York (btny.org)

When it comes to narrowing the gap in college attendance between rich and poor students, advocates and policy makers often propose large-scale solutions that never get implemented due to politics, lack of funding, or both. Susan Dynarski’s proposal to simplify the financial aid process would be not only quick and painless, but also effective. My organization, Breakthrough New York, successfully shepherds 100 percent of our low-income students to college, but each year we have to devote hours...
— including an annual daylong workshop — to helping students and parents navigate the Fafsa and other financial aid forms. Unfortunately, most low-income families don’t have the benefit of such programs. Any step we can take to eliminate small obstacles that keep our kids from being successful is a step worth taking.

India

The C.S.S. is the form used by the most competitive colleges for financial aid. And yes, they want to know what brand/model/year car each family member drives and how much they give to their church. Getting rid of Fafsa will do little to help students applying to schools that require C.S.S.

Matthew M, Chicago

As a somewhat recent college graduate, I am pretty familiar with the Fafsa. It’s not that complicated. If potential students are unable to complete this basic form, are they really college material? All too often, we hear of the dumbing down of American students, yet we insist on holding their hands as they complete a multipage form.

Blue State

Most of the reasons not to move to a tiny or nonexistent Fafsa involve preventing fraud. Having worked in a state financial aid office, I know the people who tried to make their children emancipated to avoid paying for college, who tried to get state scholarships based on need so that they could buy their kid an SUV for their occasional trip back home instead of paying tuition. If there’s free money for poor people, rich people will work the angles. Every rich kid who gets need-based scholarships instead of paying tuition not only steals from taxpayers, but they also encourage tuition inflation as schools chase that scholarship money.

Syoh, Chapel Hill, N.C.

After reading this article, ask yourself this simple question: From whose perspective did you consider the difficulty of completing the Fafsa? In other words, were you thinking from the point of view of someone who regularly files their taxes, owns assets, has a checkings/savings account, and even has a retirement plan? Were you thinking from the point of view of someone who is financially literate? Did you
ever consider the families who do not file taxes regularly because of reasons like unemployment or homelessness, or the families who do not have checkings and savings accounts? Before you criticize this article and say, “Well, if you can’t fill out the Fafsa, then you shouldn’t go to college,” ask yourself another question: What kind of student do you think has the right to attend college? A student from a family who knows it all or a student from a family who’s trying to figure it out?

Dr. Meh

Fafsa requires students to track down the financial records of their parents. If there is an absentee parent, the student must prove it. If there is an abusive parent or the parents refuse to help pay for college, the student must prove it. Can you imagine that? A hopeful student who is able to flee abusive parents needs to demonstrate that he filed police reports and pursued legal action. That’s a tall order for the average adult, yet alone the average 18 year old!

An angry, resentful, mentally ill, abusive, etc. parent can easily derail Fafsa by refusing to provide info, leaving the student to flounder and hope. If lucky, the student will get help from a financial aid officer. More likely, an overwhelmed counseling staff will be unable to spend the required time to help the student. He leaves the college path and wastes talent.

Jim Davis, St. Louis

Thank you for this article. I hate filling out the Fafsa. It’s especially irritating if you have more than one student in school. While we’re in the cutting mode, why don’t we take a look at those bloated administrations at our colleges and universities that are making it necessary to have a Fafsa in the first place? We could kill two birds with one stone!

Concerned, Chatham, N.J.

What about people who do not need to file an income tax form?
Taking Another Look at the Reconstruction Era

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER  AUG. 24, 2015

BEAUFORT, S.C. — Growing up in Kingstree, S.C., in the 1960s, Michael Allen never knew the town had elected a black mayor in the years after the Civil War. There was no monument dedicated to the man’s memory. He was never mentioned in school.

“I had to become an adult to learn that history,” said Mr. Allen, a community partnership specialist with the National Park Service. “It was never presented to me.”

In more than three decades with the park service, Mr. Allen, 54, has helped revise historical interpretations at sites like Fort Sumter, where the first shots of the Civil War were fired, and arrange new historical markers noting neglected African-American figures, like that mayor, throughout South Carolina.

Now, he’s the on-the-ground coordinator for what may be an even more ambitious project: improving public understanding of the complex, poorly understood and still hotly contested period known as Reconstruction.

The park service has played an important role in shaping, and reshaping, popular historical awareness. During the past two decades it has overhauled its Civil War sites, incorporating material on slavery into exhibits that had long been criticized by scholars for avoiding discussion of the root causes of the conflict.

But its 408 properties nationwide still do not include a single site dedicated to the postwar struggle to build a racially equal democracy.
"It's the biggest gap in the park service by far," said Robert Sutton, the service's chief historian, adding that too many Americans still regard Reconstruction as "a disaster" best left forgotten.

To fill that gap, the service has hired two historians to conduct its first comprehensive survey of "nationally significant" sites connected with Reconstruction — the first step toward possible designation of a new site by Congress.

The initiative was announced in May. Since then, the massacre of nine African-Americans at a church in Charleston, S.C., in the midst of continuing debates over the Black Lives Matter campaign, has only underlined the enduring relevance of an era that saw both the dramatic expansion of rights for African-Americans and their violent rollback.

"We have just finished commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, and now some people have jumped to various civil rights anniversaries," Mr. Allen said. "But how do you make that jump without dealing with what came in between?"

Historians have traditionally defined Reconstruction as lasting from 1865 until 1877, when most federal troops had withdrawn from the South and white supremacist Democrats gained control of state governments. The park service, echoing scholarly recalibrations, is taking a broader view, looking at sites dating from 1861, when slaves began fleeing to Union encampments, until 1898, when Jim Crow laws were fully in place.

The high-water years of Reconstruction included passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, which granted equal citizenship and voting rights to 4 million formerly enslaved African-Americans, as well as the creation, for both blacks and whites, of the first statewide public school systems in the South, the first significant public hospitals, new labor policies and other transformations.

"It was an amazing period in the history of American democracy," said Kate Masur, a professor at Northwestern University who is one of the authors of the report for the park service. "It's when you really see these ideas about equality and human rights that America had put on the table being understood in a new way."

That wasn't always the view among historians. In keeping with the hunger for
national reconciliation, early-20th-century scholars depicted Reconstruction as a time of corrupt "carpetbag rule." The view was driven deep into popular culture with help from films like "Gone With the Wind" and "The Birth of a Nation," with its scenes of noble Ku Klux Klansmen helping "redeem" the South from incompetent black politicians and their Northern manipulators.

In recent decades, historians, most notably Eric Foner, have discredited such stereotypes, painting a more inspiring picture of a hopeful if difficult era. But that work has been slow to seep into the public consciousness.

"There may not be any field of history where the gap between what historians know and what people believe is as vast," said Gregory P. Downs, Ms. Masur's co-author, who recently moved from the City University of New York to University of California, Davis. (He and Ms. Masur have also edited a park service collection of essays on Reconstruction by leading historians, to be distributed in all its shops starting in September.)

The park service is looking at sites across the country. But if there's a logical place to center an uplifting story of Reconstruction, many say, it's the area around Beaufort, a picturesque city of 13,000 that sits between several popular tourist destinations: Charleston and Hilton Head Island in South Carolina and Savannah, Ga. (The team toured the area in May.)

It was here that Union forces took control in November 1861, setting the stage for what the historian Willie Lee Rose called the "rehearsal for Reconstruction." On vast sea island plantations whose owners had fled, soldiers worked with missionaries, teachers and former slaves to create a workable society.

New churches and schools, like the Penn School on St. Helena Island, sprung up. At Mitchelville, founded on Hilton Head in 1862, about 3,500 freed people built houses, worked for wages, established mandatory education and elected a government.

Beaufort was also home to Robert Smalls, an enslaved ship's pilot who in 1862 sailed a Confederate vessel out of Charleston Harbor to join the Northern fight. After the war, he bought his former master's house and won election to the state
Legislature and to Congress.

“If you ask any historian, they’re going to say there’s more in Beaufort than anywhere else that is tangible and can be documented,” said Billy Keyserling, that city’s mayor, who is trying to create a “Reconstruction hub” downtown.

Beaufort was also the scene of what may turn out to be a dress rehearsal for future battles. In December 2000, in the last days of the Clinton administration, Bruce Babbitt, then the interior secretary, visited the area as part of a personal push to create a park service site dedicated to Reconstruction.

A bill allocating preliminary financing passed the United States Senate in 2003 but died in the House after opposition by the Sons of Confederate Veterans, who denounced Reconstruction as a period that “victimized many South Carolinians.”

The memory of that fight is fresh on both sides. “If the park service is talking about opening a site to celebrate Reconstruction, we’re going to have a hard time with that,” said Jeff Antley, a Sons of Confederate Veterans member from Charleston who helped organize the group’s Civil War 150th commemorations, including a controversial “secession ball.”

“What was done to the South was horrible,” he said.

Mr. Allen, who brokered a conversation between the Sons and the N.A.A.C.P. during the dispute over the secession ball, said that the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the state capitol had created “a new climate.”

But Representative James E. Clyburn, a Democrat who represents part of Beaufort County in Congress, said a park service site, while “long overdue,” could meet “some resistance, maybe some significant resistance.”

“I don’t think it’s been poorly understood,” Mr. Clyburn, a former high school history teacher, said of Reconstruction. “I think it’s been intentionally misrepresented.”

Some institutions in South Carolina are already working to change the picture. The Woodrow Wilson Family Home in Columbia, which reopened last year as a
“museum of Reconstruction,” uses Wilson, who lived in the house between 1871 and 1874, to highlight the period’s positive achievements and the “political terrorism,” as the exhibition puts it, that helped roll them back.

“It’s not like we hit people over the head and tell them, ‘Everything you’ve heard about Reconstruction is wrong.’” said Fielding Freed, director of house museums for Historic Columbia. “But as people move through, you can see them thinking.”

Still, the period is a powerful negative charge for many white Southerners, including some who find inspiration in the tale of African-Americans moving to freedom.

Leading a reporter around the mostly unexcavated Mitchelville site, Randy Dolyniuk, president of the Mitchelville Preservation Project, called the town “an incredible American story that hasn’t been told,” but noted, “I personally don’t like Reconstruction.”

“In some cases, the Southern white was persecuted,” Mr. Dolyniuk said. “I’m not a historian, but I think we could’ve done it better.”

Mr. Downs, the historian, said that such sentiments underscored both the importance, and the difficulty, of presenting a better public story.

“It took a lot of time and effort to establish the myths of Reconstruction,” he said. “It’s going to take a lot of time and effort to tear down those myths.”

A version of this article appears in print on August 25, 2015, on page C1 of the New York edition with the headline: Reconstruction, Reconstructed.
Puerto Ricans Seeking New Lives Put Stamp on Central Florida

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ  AUG. 24, 2015

KISSIMMEE, Fla. — When Manuel Hernandez, a teacher in Puerto Rico, looked at the reasons to stay home or to take a chance on joining the ever-growing Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida, it was not a hard call.

"I was fed up," Mr. Hernandez said of his life in San Juan, "and my wife was fed up; frustrations were building."

So last October, Mr. Hernandez got off a plane and arrived here, a place best known for hosting Mickey Mouse and rodeos, but also increasingly seen as a faraway suburb of Puerto Rico, a trend that has quickened with the island’s deepening economic morass.

Florida is now poised to elbow out New York as the state with the most Puerto Ricans — close to one million, according to the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at the City University of New York. Nearly 400,000 Puerto Ricans have settled in the Orlando area, and by some estimates, thousands continue to arrive monthly, a marked increase from a decade ago.

Not all the newcomers are from the island; a large number also hail from the Northeast and Chicago, spots they traded for the warm weather and more affordable lifestyle of Central Florida.

The migration — the third and largest wave here in four decades and one that began several years ago — is transforming a corridor of Central Florida that is
increasingly viewed as economically powerful, culturally diverse and politically pivotal.

“Puerto Rico has 78 municipalities,” said Art Otero, a Kissimmee city commissioner who was born in San Juan and is running for mayor here, as he sat amid the bustle of the Melao Bakery, a popular pit stop for mallorcas, the sugartopped Puerto Rican sweet rolls. “Now they say we will be the 79th.”

As United States citizens, Puerto Ricans from the island, who generally favor Democrats but are less party conscious than their mainland brethren, can easily register to vote. And in the past two presidential elections they have turned out in large numbers, helping hand President Obama his victories in Florida. But they also helped elect Charlie Crist as governor when he was a Republican.

Their turnout and willingness to consider both parties make them a highly coveted group, a crucial swing vote in the nation’s largest swing state.

“There is a large number of independents and people who vote on a candidate’s appeal; party affiliations mean less to them,” said Edwin Meléndez, the director of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, which analyzed the most recent census data on the latest migration. “The Puerto Rican vote here is not just captured by one party. The candidates have to talk to us.”

Their growing numbers — about 15 percent of the area’s population in 2013 — have also made it easier for them to organize and mobilize on issues that affect Puerto Rico, including a push for equity in Medicare and Medicaid on the island, and for changes that would provide for some debt relief through bankruptcy laws.

And they are gradually gaining a political foothold of their own in local commissions and the State Legislature, where there are six lawmakers of Puerto Rican descent, half of them Republicans. One state senator, Darren Soto, is running for an open seat in Congress.

The Puerto Rican stamp on the area’s culture and work force is unmistakable. Typically bilingual to varying degrees, Puerto Ricans are often recruited for jobs, including those as doctors, teachers and engineers, but also to work at Disney World and in hotels.
Just two years ago, the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration, seeing the growth in population, opened an office here to help Puerto Ricans resettle in the area.

Restaurants dishing out mofongo are no longer hard to find in this once low-key city, where Disney World rose from the swamp. Puerto Rican universities and companies, including those specializing in food, aviation and language training, are also moving into the area to cater to the newest arrivals.

But the surge of Puerto Ricans does not always make for an easy transition. Increasingly, it is also having an impact on schools and government service agencies, both of which are working to help absorb the latest arrivals, particularly those with children in schools.

As a result, schools are scrambling to hire more bilingual teachers (some of them also from Puerto Rico) and expand dual-language programs that can best suit Puerto Ricans. In the last month alone, the Osceola County School District, which is home to Kissimmee, registered more than 1,000 new students, many of them Puerto Ricans, said Dalia Medina, the director of the multicultural department for the school district.

"We are a mini-Puerto Rico here," she said. "We are now 58 percent Hispanic in the schools, and every year we have increased."

But in their rush to move to the Orlando area, complications sometimes arise, particularly for those with no jobs waiting for them, no invitations from relatives and insufficient cash to see them through. Finding affordable housing in the area, where rents are higher than in Puerto Rico, and ponying up deposits can pose a problem for many.

Some Puerto Ricans find themselves living week to week in run-down motels that line Kissimmee's main artery because that is the only option, Mr. Otero said.

And many realize that their English, while passable in Puerto Rico, needs refining here, making it tricky to find jobs, said Betsy Franceschini, the head of the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration office here. Her advice: Enroll in English classes.

Reports of people packing up and moving back to Puerto Rico appear to be on
the rise, she said. “Those that plan have better success,” she said. “It’s a shock to those who did not do the research ahead of time.”

Even when someone arrives with a good job and perfect English, the transition can be rocky. Mr. Hernandez, who was recruited from Puerto Rico, where he trained teachers to work for Osceola High School because of his specialty in teaching English language learners, wound up first sharing a mobile home with a stranger, then in two motels (including one with bedbugs) with his wife and child. He said other Puerto Ricans were also living in the motels.

His Osceola job offer had arisen unexpectedly, and he had just returned from an expensive vacation with his family, leaving little cash for deposits. Ultimately, he got help through a program called Families in Transition.

“The living conditions were horrible in the motel,” said Mr. Hernandez, who is originally from New York and has participated in a TEDx talk on teaching English as a second language.

But returning to Puerto Rico, where his career seemed frozen, raises were nonexistent and taxes were escalating, seemed unthinkable.

Now he is in a two-bedroom “beautiful apartment” across from the school, and the family is settling in nicely and his teaching career glimmers with promise.

“I really believe that I am in the right place in the right time,” he said.

A version of this article appears in print on August 25, 2015, on page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Puerto Ricans Seeking New Lives Put Stamp on Central Florida.
CUNY: Fossil fuel divestment would 'lower expected returns'

By Conor Skelding

6:38 p.m. | Aug. 24, 2015

A CUNY spokesman all but said on Monday that the university system's endowment would not divest from the fossil fuel industry.

"The majority of spending derived from the University's investment pool is utilized for student scholarships," spokesman Mike Arena wrote in an email to POLITICO New York. "We are concerned that a restructuring of current investments would restrict diversification, lower expected returns, and result in higher transaction costs."

"The investment pool itself originates from funding provided by benefactors. CUNY conducted a thorough review of this matter in consultation with its investment firm, Cambridge Associates," he wrote. "CUNY does not choose individual companies but rather relies upon its managers to advise on investments that limit liability and enhance performance. As stewards of the University, we must fulfill our responsibility to protect and maximize the returns to the direct benefit of students and the University."

Arena sent his statement after about 20 members of CUNY Divest rallied Monday afternoon outside the university's administrative offices. The group has called for divestment of both direct and indirect holdings in fossil-fuel companies.

Anthony Gronowicz, the group's advisor, a professor of American politics at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, and the Green Party candidate for mayor in 2013 was present at the rally. Also in attendance were Darsen Hover, a sophomore at Hunter College's Roosevelt House, and Ian Trupin, an organizer at the Responsible Endowments Coalition who is working on several campaigns at city colleges and universities.

"Students and others were provided with numerous opportunities at public hearings and meetings to express their views and offer suggestions," Arena wrote in the email.

"In addition, CUNY has a responsibility to its students, faculty and staff as well as to all of New York's citizens, to prepare society for a sustainable future. ... CUNY has successfully put in place a multiyear framework for achieving our goal of limiting carbon emissions by reducing our own energy consumption and stimulating the generation of clean, renewable energy, throughout New York," he wrote.

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CUNY Divest to rally outside central office

By Conor Skelding

1:23 p.m. | Aug. 24, 2015

CUNY Divest will rally for the divestment of CUNY’s endowment from fossil fuels this afternoon.

Protesters will meet at 3:30 p.m. outside of CUNY’s central administrative office on East 42nd Street.

The group has been active since March 2013.

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Brooklyn Education Innovation Network launched to strengthen local talent pipeline

Monday, August 24, 2015, 4:27 PM

Sponsored content provided by Downtown Brooklyn Partnership

Got jobs you need filled or want to hire an intern or two for your local company? Are you looking to partner with an academic institution on research? Or perhaps you’re a college student in Downtown Brooklyn who wants to get plugged into the larger community.

If any of these apply to you, look no further than the newly created Brooklyn Education Innovation Network (BE.IN). Recently launched by the Downtown Brooklyn Partnership, BE.IN is an alliance of nine area colleges, universities and a law school to work together on collaborative student, faculty, administrative and alumni programs. BE.IN represents more than 60,000 Downtown Brooklyn college, university and professional students majoring in academic disciplines such as engineering, law, communication, business and nursing, just to name a few.

BE.IN’s main focus is to connect with local industry to secure internships, jobs and academic partnerships, and there are many ways to get involved. If you’re an employer and need interns to fill tech and innovation jobs, BE.IN can help get you the talent you need. If you’re a student who has a good idea for a new business or innovation, BE.IN plans several events throughout the year — including pitch contests and a mentorship hackathon every spring — that can offer platforms to test your work. Are you a faculty member who would like to partner with local industry? BE.IN hosts regular meetups for you to meet with local companies.

BE.IN’s work builds off efforts over the past several years to strengthen the local ecosystem in the Brooklyn Tech Triangle and better connect local industry to Downtown Brooklyn’s college population. Those efforts included the creation of Tech Triangle U, an annual week-long entrepreneurship symposium that drew more than 900 people and 50 participating companies last March. Next year’s Tech U will be held April 6–10.

BE.IN programs will work to enhance programs like Tech U and the strong higher-education sector in Downtown Brooklyn, which includes Berkeley College, Brooklyn Law School, Empire State College (SUNY), LIU Brooklyn, NYC College of Technology (CUNY), New York University, Pratt Institute, St. Francis College and St. Joseph’s College. Each member institution has their own existing brand, identity and culture, but working together to build a strong collaboration will make Brooklyn a magnet for the best faculty, students and talent anywhere. To learn more, visit www.downtownbrooklyn.com.
A Piece of the Earliest Baboon Ever Found

AUG. 24, 2015

Observatory

By SINDYA N. BHANOO

A two-million-year-old skull fragment comes from the earliest baboon ever found, a new study reports. The fossil was found in Malapa, a cave in South Africa and a Unesco World Heritage site where specimens of Australopithecus sediba, an early ancestor of modern humans, were discovered in 2010.

The ancient baboon, Papio angusteices, is the first nonhominin primate found at the site.

The baboon bore a strong resemblance to its modern descendants, said Christopher C. Gilbert, an anthropologist at Hunter College in New York and an author of the study, published in PLOS One.

"You'd be hard pressed to figure out the difference between this fossil and a skull of a living baboon," he said.

Little is known of the origins of modern baboons. Previous molecular studies suggested that baboons diverged from their closest ancestors about two million years ago, and the fossil skull seems to confirm that. The finding will help researchers to more accurately date fossil sites where remains of the ancient baboon are found, Dr. Gilbert said.

The finding also adds to the intrigue of Malapa — namely, why the cave became
populated with so many early ancestors of humans and so few monkeys.

"It suggests that this was a very well-covered hole, and maybe people were falling in," Dr. Gilbert said. "Maybe the monkeys were more in the trees."

A version of this article appears in print on August 25, 2015, on page D2 of the New York edition with the headline: Fossils: Piece of a 2-Million-Year-Old Baboon Is Found.
Earliest Baboon Skull That Is Likely Over 2 Million Years Old Sheds Light On Primate Evolution

An ancient skull turned out to have belonged to the most ancient baboon known to science.

The new findings back up past suspicions that the *Papio angusticeps* fossil represents the earliest known member of the modern baboon species *Papio hamadryas*, the University of Witwatersrand reported. The skull was discovered at the Malapa fossil site, and is believed to date back to two million years ago.

"Baboons are known to have co-existed with hominins at several fossil localities in East Africa and South Africa and they are sometimes even used as comparative models in human evolution," said Christopher Gilbert, of Hunter College, CUNY.

Modern baboons are generally divided into populations recognized as either species or subspecies that live across sub-Saharan Africa and spread into the Arabian Peninsula. The origin of these well-known species has remained poorly understood, and these new findings could provide some insight.

"According to molecular clock studies, baboons are estimated to have diverged from their closest relatives by 1.8 to 2.2 million years ago; however, until now, most fossil specimens known within this time range have been either too fragmentary to be definitive or too primitive to be confirmed as members of the living species *Papio hamadryas*," Gilbert said. "The specimen from Malapa and our current analyses help to confirm the suggestion of previous researchers that *P. angusticeps* may, in fact, be an early population of *P. hamadryas."

The estimated age of the specimen from Malapa almost completely lines up with the previous molecular clock analyses of baboons, and its anatomy is in close agreement with what is seen in baboons today.

"If you placed a number of *P. angusticeps* specimens into a modern osteology collection, I don't think you'd be able pick them out as any different from those of modern baboons from East and South Africa," Gilbert said.

The findings were published in a recent edition of the journal *PLoS One*. 
Unusual Suite of “Women in Science” Initiatives Hailed: Special Report

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by Cynthia Fox, Science Writer

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Scientists are hailing an Australian institute’s unusual raft of initiatives aimed at wiping out science gender gaps.

Walter and Eliza Hall Institute of Medical Research Director Douglas Hilton’s battery of new policies include “hot desks” for scientists’ children; a breastfeeding room; conference travel pay for scientists’ children and minders; grants for female lab heads; technical help and potential job sharing for post-doc moms; accelerated post-doc tracks. Some new policies are so aggressive they aren’t allowed in the US because they support women
with kids, but not men. When Hilton came on board five years ago, he saw none of his 20 department heads and senior professors were women, despite a female director, he wrote in Nature. The remedy was “simple,” he wrote: he upped the number to four, and asked his women post docs what to do next.

“Policies like this are essential,” Nancy Hopkins, Ph.D., told Bioscience Technology. Hopkins, an MIT biologist, led a landmark study finding gender gaps at MIT.

“I just returned from Australia’s annual conference on women in astronomy,” Yale University astrophysicist Meg Urry, Ph.D. told Bioscience Technology. Urry is president of the American Astronomical Society, and founder of Women in Astronomy. “I was struck by how advanced Australians were in addressing gender equity. To read Hilton’s article solidifies that opinion: at least some Australians are true leaders.”

“Hilton is a hero,” said Emory University anthropologist and “Women After All” author Melvin Konner, Ph.D., M.D. “I went to a conference last year that asked me to nominate a young person to attend. When she wanted to bring her baby, they balked, although the conference was about parenting. Hilton’s policies deserve wide imitation.”

Some noted the policies could be even better.

“Heartening and slightly depressing,” Hunter College psychologist and gender-equity expert Virginia Valian, Ph.D., told Bioscience Technology. She and others noted the Australian program might want to give similar breaks to fathers, and actively address implicit biases research says all scientists—male and female—possess.

But the bottom line, said many: Hilton has surpassed many US institutes and companies.

“A great example of how one person in leadership can make an extraordinary difference,” Ben Barres, Ph.D., told Bioscience Technology. Barres, Stanford University Neurobiology Department chairman, speaks often on gender issues. “I think [US] academia will get there. The question is when will startup, pharma and VC worlds diversify?”

“American universities are way, way behind,” former US National Science Foundation (NSF) president, and current American Institute of Biosciences president, Rita Colwell, Ph.D., told Bioscience Technology. Colwell is also former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and former president of the American Society for Microbiology (ASM).

“We talk the talk. We don’t walk the walk.”

The US

The US science gender gap is narrowing. A recent Cornell University experiment found hypothetical women were chosen over hypothetical men for tenure track science jobs 2:1. This is potential good
news for (real) women with bachelor's degrees in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM), as they have been earning PhD's at similar rates as men since the 1990's.

But "huge" problems remain, said Hopkins. Women are still hired before tenure track—for post doc positions et al—in far fewer numbers out of school. So, as was noted in a 2014 study, even in female-friendly biology, she said: "The pipeline has already leaked before women apply for faculty jobs...Labs are already way below 50 percent."

*Nature* put it thusly: "Universities in the United States employ many more male scientists than female ones. Men are paid more, and, in fields such as mathematics, engineering, and economics, they hold the majority of top level jobs." Reasons have as much to do with bias, say watchers, as crippling (read: non-existent) child-care policies.

**See Bioscience Technology article on a study targeting bias in both male and female scientists.**

**Helping scientists—and presidential candidates—stop viewing women as "other"**

Colwell told *Bioscience Technology* Hilton attacks the problem from "multiple approaches." But one thing he and others miss is "the targeting of innate bias. Many steps Hilton took are appropriate and useful, among them putting women on committees to select speakers and award promotions." The ASM has addressed this, too, she said.

"Hilton is also ensuring key meetings are held within the normal workday for people with children. He is providing nursing mothers a necessary place to breast feed or collect milk."

But it is key, she said, to "get at the most difficult part, which is evolutionary or tribal." In prehistoric times, "if you were 'other,' for safety, you were excluded." This ancient fear, Colwell said wryly, perhaps explains Donald Trump's recent bizarre public fixation on Fox anchor Megyn Kelly's "menstrual" state.

"We should not forgive innate biases like this," Colwell told *Bioscience Technology*, "but we should not ignore them either. We all have biases. A 2012 study found that, handed identical CV's, both men and women researchers gave 'Johnny' higher marks and salary than 'Jane.' An initiative called Project Implicit out of Harvard University has found we can be made to recognize our own biases, and remove them from decision-making."

Still, she said, while some US institutes are tackling "innate bias" through programs like Project Implicit, more aren't. This month's *Harper's* describes, she said, an engineering student whose mentor keeps telling her to wait for male scientists to build her inventions, and a Ph.D. addressed by her first name while male colleagues are called "doctor." "These things say to women: we still don't take you seriously."
Hilton’s program “is a good start, and US all university departments should be interested. But I am sure one of my colleagues will say, ‘Good luck with the school of engineering, of architecture, the physics department.’” A study showing women were hired for orchestras only after all candidates auditioned behind screens—and on carpets, to muffle high heels—indicates all disciplines “need to understand their biases.”

Catherine Didion is director of the National Academies of Science’s (NAS) Committee on Women in Science, Engineering, and Medicine. She praised Hilton’s balance of kids and post docs. “The US community is also discussing the way dragging out serial post doc jobs has a negative impact on women and men. It’s a big issue, discussed in an NAS report. I agree we need to look at this.”

Didion said financially helping women—not men—with kids may not be the best route, according to a Sloan Foundation report. A University of Pennsylvania study found women are wary of such woman-only approaches, fearing they signal “lack of commitment.” The NIH “included both men and women in a re-entry program, for example.”

But Didion said Hilton’s support for mothers at conferences is key. Groups in Boston and Georgia have found women have fewer international collaborators and smaller networks, she said. “Given the global nature of research, this is important. Perhaps foreign sabbaticals could be shorter, to accommodate caretaking parents.”

In the US, school rules and handbooks are more explicit about proper hiring. Still, the NAS’s “Beyond Bias and Barriers” has found women do fine once on the tenure track, but “getting them into the applicant pool” can be a big problem. Mentors are critical for grants and tenure. “More procedures are needed to lead people to double-check assumptions. We have a need-it-yesterday mentality which leads to snap judgments. We need to pause more and ask if we are making too many assumptions. Even Facebook is looking at this.”

**No silver bullet**

Valian said “what’s unusual about Hilton’s policies is the way he directly takes on the issue of giving women a chance to shine by ensuring they will be 50 percent of speakers. It’s also unusual for one person to make efforts on so many fronts at once. It is heartening he has asked people (especially women) for ideas, and instituted a broad range of improvements. If more directors took such steps, gender equity would be closer to reality.”

Hilton’s policies are both novel and time-tested, Valian said. “Dan Sperber and I have a ‘petition’ and blog addressing the underrepresentation of women among invited speakers at conferences. The Central European University has taken a similar step.” Day meetings were launched by Johns Hopkins in 1996. “Underrepresentation of women among award winners and invited speakers has been highlighted in several places; I had a short piece on it in a 2013 Nature.” Many US schools have received NSF ADVANCE awards for gender-friendly innovations.

Still, many Hilton initiatives are novel, like younger faculty appointments, and financing conference travel. “A mix of initiatives like his is necessary: there is no silver bullet. His attitude is encouraging. He is spending the money.”
Reinventing the wheel—again

Hopkins applauds Hilton as there "is no question that progress in the US is highly uneven. Some universities are doing a fabulous job. Some have scarcely changed. Progress can stop. You can go backwards, when administrators stop paying attention, or an unsympathetic administrator comes in."

She continued: "After MIT's 1999 bias report" that she led, "I was asked to give well over 1000 talks. MIT invited presidents of eight other universities to come to MIT and discuss the issue, commit to studying it, making change, and meeting every year or so to exchange data. The group was the MIT 9. Some of these schools did an incredible job. The University of Michigan. Berkeley. The University of Wisconsin." MIT wrote new family leave policies. "They put day care on campus. They aggressively recruited women to the administration. These things had huge impact. So when I read this article about Australia, my first reaction was, "Where have they been?"

But, she said, "Then I thought: many US schools also need change." It is important this keeps happening; that "some hero - like this man - comes in and makes things happen."

Even MIT is "slipping in some areas, while staying ahead in others. Our president is very supportive, but it takes so much attention to keep moving ahead. It takes the leadership this man in Australia has shown, then oversight to maintain progress. You can slide back—fast! It seems each generation has to re-invent the wheel."

Policies—if not yet practice

Barres told Bioscience Technology many US institutions have gender-equity policies that don’t "go far enough for real change."

Not enough resources go to child care. And primary care givers with kids, "particularly assistant professors, desperately need a salary supplement for child care. The tenure clock is such an unfair barrier to women with kids. The solution is not to do away with tenure, which is a vital protection, but to grant tenure the day they start their first job." Today, "a successful Ph.D., a successful postdoc, and then winning a competitive job search... all this should be enough to prove you have the 'stuff.' Success will then depend on whether there is a supportive environment. It is patently absurd to put talented people in a risk averse (tenure-clock) mode at the start of their careers. And there is a very big difference between leaders saying they care—and actually caring."

Barres' "hat is off" to Hilton "for hiring so many women faculty in such a short period, and for all his actions to help women with child-care. Any leader could do these things, but they rarely do, even when they are women. Although when Shirley Tilghman became president at Princeton, almost immediately, new faculty hires were half women."

Things are worse in biotech, he says. "As the co-founder of a startup, I have been more than a little amazed at how few women are represented."

Impressing even skeptics
Still, even Cornell University psychologist Steven Ceci, co-author of the above study finding women may soon be hired 2:1 over men, likes the Australian package. "Many (most?) of the recommendations are sensible. Meetings during school are very reasonable. No mother of school-aged children ought to be disenfranchised from faculty meetings." Reduction in post doc length, and travel funds to let mothers (if also fathers) present at conferences "is also very reasonable," he said. "My university does this and I suspect others do, too."

Ceci worries "mandating 50 percent of speakers be female" could lead to "anti-merit" perceptions. He, too, prefers parent-friendly to mom-only policies. "The conversion of over-generous recruitment packages for well-established (usually male) scientists to female-friendly expenditures could result in missing out hiring" talented men.

**Catalyzing science change**

Urry noted all Hilton's policies "may not be absolutely necessary, but they catalyze change on a much faster time scale. This is important for students who spend four years in college and four to six years in grad school. Waiting 50 years or longer for "gender equity" is too long." (Fifty years is the earliest current gender-equal policies would bring a 50 percent equal faculty gender ratio to physics. Now the ratio is 20 percent: "pathetic.")

Urry says the part-time lab head idea is "extremely interesting." And it is "great" Hilton's ideas came from women postdocs. "Some of the policies are familiar--like supporting family costs for meetings--some are new, like fellowships for female lab heads. This is analogous to funds used to attract (mostly male) faculty to university jobs in fields that pay big salaries, like economics or computer science. Dr. Hilton's policies have simply done the same for women, making jobs attractive to people who put a high premium on combining family and career."

Urry also thinks parental benefits should extend to men. But Hilton's policies now "reflect the present reality that women do more than their share of family-related work....Probably the most important policy is child care which is convenient, affordable, and reassuring, a big draw for women and men."

**Amazing response**

Regardless, said Gail Gasparich, Ph.D., of the Association for Women in Science (AWIS), gender policies need universal acceptance to survive. Many of Hilton's policies "are proven best practices for recruiting and retaining women, as AWIS research has shown. However, policies won't bring about institutional transformation without a change in institutional culture. Leaders throughout the institution must also buy in to the idea that gender equality is valued and needed."

Such change may not be too far off. For, Hilton told *Bioscience Technology*, the response to his *Nature* article has been "amazing." See the upcoming *Bioscience Technology* Hilton interview.
Today's Activists Have Much to Learn From Bayard Rustin, the Man Behind the March

Bayard Rustin, the trailblazing organizer and activist, had four strikes against him. He was a pacifist, a radical, black and gay. Controversy surrounded him all his life. He believed in the use of militant confrontation and protest to bear witness to injustice, inject issues into the public arena, and pressure powerful people and institutions to respond. But he also believed in coalitions and compromise to win victories that improved people's lives, strengthened movements, and changed society. In the current political moment -- where workers are engaged in the Fight for 15 to raise the minimum wage, people are mobilizing to insist that Black Lives Matters, and LGBT activism is on the rise -- we have much to learn from Rustin's life.

From the 1940s through the 1960s, Rustin marshaled his considerable talents -- as an organizer, strategist, speaker and writer -- to challenge the economic and racial status quo. He helped catalyze the civil rights movement with courageous acts of resistance. Rustin was a brilliant thinker and strategist, but given his political liabilities as a gay, black, radical pacifist, he also relied on his incredible charm to win converts to the causes of peace and civil rights.

But what's remarkable is how Rustin -- the ultimate outsider -- has been honored and celebrated since he died, 58 years ago this week. In 2002, the Republican-dominated school board in West Chester -- a conservative district that is 89 percent white -- voted...
new high school after Rustin: Bayard Rustin High School, where a huge photo of him adorns one wall, teachers incorporate aspects of his life into their classes. Dr. Phyllis Simmons, the principal, told me, "Our students know who Bayard Rustin is."

In New York City, the Bayard Rustin Educational Complex housed several public schools. There's a Bayard Rustin Library at the Gay/Lesbian Community Center in Ferndale, Michigan, a Bayard Rustin Social Justice Center in Conway, Arkansas, and a Bayard Rustin Center for LGBTQ Activism, Awareness and Reconciliation at Guilford College, a Quaker school in North Carolina. A full-length documentary about Rustin, "Brother Outsider," was broadcast on PBS in 2003 and has garnered more than 25 awards. In 2012, the 100th anniversary of his birth, a number of civil rights and gay rights groups honored Rustin with conferences, museum exhibits and other events.

Two years ago, President Barack Obama posthumously awarded Rustin the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award in the United States. The announcement was timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, for which Rustin was the key organizer. At the White House ceremony Obama presented the award to Walter Naegle, Rustin's partner of ten years.

Rustin is not as well known as other civil rights leaders in large part because of his homosexuality and his brief flirtation, during his twenties, with Communism. Although highly respected in labor, pacifist, and civil rights circles, he was typically a behind-the-scenes organizer rather than a public figure. But he did not hide in the shadows. He spoke from the podium at the 1963 March on Washington. In its story about the historic march, LIFE magazine put Rustin's photo, along with that of his mentor A. Philip Randolph, on the cover.

Who was Rustin, what did he accomplish, and what is his legacy?

Born in 1912, the youngest of eight children, Rustin was raised by his grandparents in West Chester, Pennsylvania. Although they attended his grandfather's African Methodist Episcopal church, Rustin was strongly influenced by the Quaker faith of his grandmother, who was an early member of the NAACP. Some NAACP leaders, including W. E. B. DuBois, stayed with the Rustins when they were on speaking tours.

Rustin was a gifted student, an outstanding athlete, a skilled orator and poet, and an exceptional tenor. Early in his life he revealed a strong social conscience. In high school he was arrested for refusing to sit in the West Chester movie theater's segregated balcony, nicknamed "Nigger Heaven."

Rustin attended two black colleges (Wilberforce University and Cheyney State) before moving to New York City in 1937. He enrolled briefly at the City College of New York, where he got involved with the campus Young Communist League. He was attracted by their antiracist efforts — including their fight against segregation in the military — but he broke with the Communist Party after a few years.

A remarkable tenor, Rustin frequently sang gospel and blues songs for his audiences. He sang in nightclubs to earn money, and once appeared with Paul Robeson in the Broadway musical John Henry. Had he not become an organizer, he could have become a popular entertainer, but he found other ways to channel his prodigious energy, his outrage against racism and his growing talent as an activist.

He found two mentors who shaped his philosophy and employed him as an organizer. One was A. Philip Randolph, a socialist who founded of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first African-American labor union. Randolph was the nation's most militant civil rights leader. The other mentor, A. J. Muste, was a radical minister and former union organizer. Time magazine called him the "No. 1 U.S. pacifist." He introduced Rustin to the teachings of Gandhi. Rustin's commitment to Gandhi's principles, along with his Quaker beliefs (he officially joined the church in 1933), shaped his activism for the rest of his life.

Randolph hired Rustin in 1941 to lead the youth wing of the March on Washington, designed to push President Franklin Roosevelt to open up defense jobs to black workers as the United States geared up for World War II. After FDR agreed to issue an executive order forbidding racial discrimination in defense industries, Randolph called off the protest, angering Rustin and opening a temporary breach between them.

Then, under Muste's guidance, Rustin began a series of organizing jobs with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (a Christian pacifist group), the American Friends Service Committee, and the War Resisters League. These were small, mostly white organizations that provided Rustin with a home base, a title, a newsletter, and a network of activists around the country.

As a pacifist speaker, Rustin kept up a hectic travel schedule, preaching the gospel of nonviolence and civil disobedience on his travels.
As a Quaker and conscientious objector, Rustin was legally entitled to do alternative service rather than military service during World War II. But on principle, objecting to war in general and the segregation of the armed forces in particular, he refused to serve even in the Civilian Public Service. "War is wrong," he wrote to his draft board in 1943. "Conscription for war is inconsistent with freedom of conscience, which is not merely the right to believe but to act on the degree of truth that one receives, to follow a vocation which is God-Inspired and God-directed."

In 1944 Rustin was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and served two years in federal prisons in Kentucky and Pennsylvania. In Kentucky he protested the pervasive segregation within prisons, facing violence from prison guards and white prisoners. In Pennsylvania, prison officials kept Rustin away from other inmates so he wouldn't influence them with his radical ideas. As Rustin wrote after his release in June 1946:

"We were there by virtue of a commitment we had made to a moral position; and that gave us a psychological attitude the average prisoner did not have...We had the feeling of being morally important, and that made us respond to prison conditions without fear, with considerable sensitivity to human rights.... It was by going to jail that we called the people's attention to the horrors of war."

After leaving prison, Rustin rejoined the Fellowship of Reconciliation and resumed his career as a peripatetic organizer. In April 1947 he led the group's interracial Journey of Reconciliation, engaging in nonviolent acts of civil disobedience through four southern and border states. These demonstrations served as a precursor to the Freedom Rides of the early 1960s. He and others were arrested in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and Rustin spent twenty-two days on a chain gang.

The Journey of Reconciliation was not without controversy, even among civil-rights groups. Thurgood Marshall, who led the NAACP's legal division, warned that the "disobedience movement on the part of Negroes and their white allies, if employed in the South, would result in wholesale slaughter with no good achieved."

In 1948 Rustin went back to work for Randolph in order to push President Harry S. Truman to enforce and expand FDR's anti-discrimination order. They organized protests in several cities and at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Their work paid off: Truman desegregated the military and outlawed racial discrimination in the federal civil service later that year.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, while still working for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Rustin visited India, Africa and Europe, where he made contact with activists in various independence and peace movements. Increasingly, he viewed the struggle for civil rights in the United States as part of a worldwide movement against war and colonialism.

It was at this time -- when homosexuals were considered "deviant" and gay sex was a crime in every state -- that Rustin's sexual preference became a public problem for him. In 1953 he was found having sex with a man in a parked car in Pasadena, California, and was arrested for "public indecency." Although Rustin was unusually open with his friends about his homosexuality, this was the first time it had become public. Mute fired him for jeopardizing the Fellowship of Reconciliation's already controversial reputation. But Randolph got him a similar job with the War Resisters League, a pacifist group founded in 1923, where Rustin worked for the next twelve years.

Over the next decade, Rustin receded from public view, but he continued to play a critical behind-the-scenes role as an organizer within the civil rights movement. At Randolph's behest, he went to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 to help local leaders organize a large-scale bus boycott. There Rustin began advising Martin Luther King Jr., who had no organizing experience, on the philosophy and tactics of civil disobedience.

Rustin was "the perfect mentor for King at this stage in the young minister's career," observed John D'Emilio, author of Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin. Over "the ensuing months and years," D'Emilio wrote, "Rustin left a profound mark on the evolution of King's role as national leader."

Much of Rustin's advice would be given from a distance, in phone calls, memos and drafts of articles and book chapters he wrote for King. He had to cut short his first visit to Montgomery because, as a gay man and a former Communist, he was a political liability. Just at the moment when Rustin might have helped lead the mass movement for which he'd been working his entire adult life, he had to retreat to the shadows.

At the end of 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that Montgomery's segregated bus system was unlawful. The victory could have remained a local triumph rather than a national bellwether, but Rustin, along with Ella Baker and Stanley Levinson (another King adviser), had an idea for building a "mass movement across the South" with "disciplined groups prepared to act as nonviolent shock troops," as Rustin put it. This was the genesis of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference -- conceived by Rustin and founded with King as its first president -- which would catapult King to the national stage. Baker was hired to build the organization, and Rustin became King's strategist, ghostwriter, and link to northern liberals and unions.

To many Americans, the civil rights movement was a confusing mosaic of organizations -- NAACP, SNCC, CORE, the Urban League, SCLC --
The leaders Randolph gathered endorsed the plan. But NAACP president Roy Wilkins objected to putting Rustin in charge of the march, because of his radicalism and his homosexuality. Randolph outmaneuvered Wilkins by announcing that he would be its director and choose his own deputy: Rustin, of course.

Kennedy tried to dissuade them from holding the march, contending that it would undermine support for the Civil Rights Act. But Randolph would not be cowed. Nor would he be bullied by other civil rights leaders who voiced objections to Rustin's role.

Three weeks before the August 28 march, Sen. Strom Thurmond, a South Carolina segregationist, publicly attacked Rustin on the floor of the Senate by reading reports of his Pasadena arrest for homosexual behavior a decade earlier — documents he probably got from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Randolph bravely defended Rustin's integrity and his role in the march, but, as biographer John D’Emilio noted, thanks to Thurmond, "Rustin had become perhaps the most visible homosexual in America."

The march was a huge success. It was not only the highlight of Rustin's career but perhaps the high point of the movement itself. More than 250,000 people attended. King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech, one of the great orations in American history. Ten months later, in the aftermath of Kennedy's assassination, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act.

The final 24 years of Rustin's life was something of an anti-climax. He continued his organizing work within the civil rights, peace and labor movements. He was in demand as a public speaker, and he was still valued for his strategic brilliance. But he never again had the same influence he had when organizing the Washington march. King -- whose opponents were planting stories that he was under the influence of Communists -- continued to rely on Rustin's advice, but always at a safe distance, fearful the movement would be tarnished by Rustin's liabilities.

After Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965, Rustin wrote a controversial article, "From Protest to Politics," in the then-liberal magazine Commentary. In that piece he argued that the coalition that had come together for the March on Washington needed to place less emphasis on protest and focus on electing liberal Democrats who could enact a progressive policy agenda centered on employment, housing, and civil rights. Rustin drafted a "Freedom Budget," released in 1967, that advocated "redistribution of wealth." His ideas influenced King, who increasingly began to talk about the importance of jobs, unions, and wealth redistribution.

Rustin's ideas, however, were controversial among the young Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) radicals. They did not trust the unions or the Democratic Party. The group had become a major advocate of "black power," an idea Rustin opposed because it undermined his commitment to coalition politics and racial integration.

But the two biggest obstacles to Rustin's program were the war in Vietnam, which drained resources and attention away from LBJ's Great Society and War on Poverty, and the urban riots that began in 1965 in Los Angeles and triggered a backlash against the civil rights movement. Rustin was among the first public figures to call for the withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam, but as LBJ escalated the war, Rustin muted his criticisms. He wanted to avoid alienating LBJ, key Democrats and union leaders who supported the war — and who funded the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which had been created in 1964 to provide Rustin with an organizational home. When King announced his opposition to the war in 1967, it caused a rift between the two men. As a result, Rustin -- who had for decades been one of the nation's most important pacifists -- was absent from the antiwar movement, which cost him credibility among New Left student activists.

Ironically, Rustin's homosexuality became a centerpiece of his final few years. He had been wary of the burgeoning gay rights movement, which exploded after the Stonewall riot in New York City in 1969. But at the end of his life, when he was involved in a stable relationship, he began speaking publicly about the importance of civil rights for gays and lesbians. Thanks in part to the "Brother Outsider" documentary, Rustin has become an icon for gay rights activists.

In 1986, a year before he died of a burst appendix, Rustin was asked by Joseph Beam, a writer and gay rights activist, to contribute an essay to a volume on the experience of gay black men. Rustin declined. But his reply to Beam provides an eloquent summary of the foundation of his life's work.

"My activism did not spring from my being gay, or, for that matter, from my being black. Rather, it is rooted fundamentally in my Quaker upbringing and the values that were instilled in me by my grandparents who reared me. Those values are based on the concept of a single human family and the belief that all members of that family are equal.... The racial injustice that was present in this country during my youth was a challenge to my belief in the oneness of the human family. It demanded my involvement in the struggle to achieve interracial democracy, but it is very likely that I would have been involved had I been a white person with the same philosophy. Needless to say, I worked side-by-side with many white people who held these same values, some of whom gave as much, if not more, to the struggle than myself."
How Should Sexual Assault Be Managed on Campus? Two Bills’ Different Approaches

Andrew Kloster / Evan Schrage / August 24, 2015

There is no doubt that American colleges should be safe for all students.

A recent University of Virginia case is any example, however, of the difficulty college communities often face dealing with those accused of crimes, as well as those who are victims.

In the recent Virginia case, allegations of sexual assault were repeated in a national magazine and led to widespread outrage, even though the case turned out to be a hoax. Similarly, in 2006 a number of Duke lacrosse players were falsely accused of rape—this also turned out to be a hoax and led to the eventual resignation and debarment of the district attorney.

These players were pilloried in the media and on campus, even while protesting their innocence.

At Washington and Lee University, another case has landed in court, where the expelled student alleges a host of due process violations on the part of the university.

Yet even while false accusations do occur, criminal acts also occur on college campuses. It is certainly the case that colleges should take such allegations seriously.

This means all members of university communities should be on guard to help keep each other safe.

In effort to combat this, lawmakers last month introduced two similar pieces of legislation in the House, aimed at reforming the way colleges and universities handle claims of sexual violence on their campuses.

The Safe Campus Act (H.R. 3403), introduced by Reps. Matt Salmon, R-Ariz., Pete Sessions,
R-Texas, and Kay Granger, R-Texas, and the Fair Campus Act (H.R. 3408) introduced by Rep. Sessions were offered as amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 and would apply to any such institution receiving federal funding.

Both are similar in composition and attempt to leverage federal funding to mandate various procedures be followed on college campuses whenever an allegation of “sexual violence” is made.

This method of regulation is used because Congress does not have general Constitutional authority to regulate the nation’s education system; however, it can attach strings to federal money, and it often does so.

Thus, one major theme of future legislation in this area will be how to appropriately leverage the federal spending power while also respecting local oversight of schools.

Both pending acts would allow the “standard of proof” to be set by the individual institution.

Currently, colleges receiving federal funds are mandated by the Department of Education to use the “preponderance of evidence” standard in adjudicating allegations of sexual assault, which means a reviewing board need only conclude that it is “more likely than not” that someone was committed a sexual assault in order to “convict” and even expel an accused student.

This low standard of proof has been in place ever since the Department of Education issued a “Dear Colleague” letter back in 2011. However, this centralized approach clashes with the federalism values in the Constitution and has led for many to call for more local management of sexual assault proceedings.

These two bills would explicitly allow each “institution” to set its own standard, rather than following Department of Education mandates.

The two acts do differ in one important way.

Under the Safe Campus Act, institutions would be required to report claims of sexual violence to a local law enforcement agency.

If the alleged victim does not agree to allow the school to report the crime reported to a local law enforcement agency, the institution would not be permitted to conduct its own investigation into the alleged incident.
The Fair Campus Act does not include this provision. Currently, it is an open question whether or not colleges are well-equipped to adjudicate issues of sexual assault, or whether requiring mandatory referral to law enforcement makes more sense.

When Congress returns in the fall, the issue of campus sexual assault will undoubtedly be a part of the discussion, and it is certainly a serious issue worthy of a measured response.

*The Heritage Foundation will be hosting a discussion on this important issue — “Due Process Goes to School: How to Handle Campus Sexual Assault Cases” — as part of its “Preserve the Constitution” series featuring three experts on the subject: Heather MacDonald of the Manhattan Institute, KC Johnson of Brooklyn College, and Samantha Harris of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. The event will be on October 8 at noon, and is open to the public.*