HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

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House Resolution 177

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House Select Committee On Student Academic Freedom Pursuant to H.R. 177

Main Capitol Building Room 140, Majority Caucus Room Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Monday ,September 19, 2005 - 3:00 p.m.

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BEFORE: Honorable Tom Stevenson, Majority Chairperson Honorable Gibson Armstrong Honorable Patrick Fleagle Honorable Lynn Herman Honorable Thomas Quigley Honorable Lawrence Curry, Minority Chairperson Honorable Richard Grucela Honorable John Pallone Honorable Dan Surra Honorable Peter Zug

ALSO PRESENT: Honorable James Roebuck

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1			SUPPORT	INDEX		
2						
3		DIRECTION	TO WITN	ESS NOT T	O ANSWER	
4	Page	Line	Page	Line	Page	Line
5	(None)					
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11	REQUEST FOR PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS					
12	Page	Line	Page	Line	Page	Line
13	53	8-20				
14						
15						
16						
17						
18	Ç	UESTIONS MA	RKED or	CERTIFIED	QUESTION	S
19	Page	Line	Page	Line	Page	Line
20	(None)					
21						
22						
23						
24						
25						

CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: If people could 1 2 take their seats, I'd like to start the hearing. 3 I'd just like to welcome everybody to this first 4 of at least five hearings, including this hearing, 5 that we're going to hold on the topic. 6 This really is designed -- this first hearing is designed to educate the members and 7 hopefully the members of the audience as to what 8 academic freedom and intellectual diversity mean. 9 10 Before I go any further, because I tend to forget to do this, I'd like the members to go 11 around and introduce themselves. Why don't we 12 13 start with Rich in the back? 14 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Rich Grucela from the 137th 15 Legislative District, Northampton County. 16 17 REPRESENTATIVE FLEAGLE: Pat Fleagle 18 from Franklin County. 19 REPRESENTATIVE QUIGLEY: Tom Quigley from Montgomery County. 20 21 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: Gibson Armstrong, Lancaster County. 22 23 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Lawrence Curry, 24 Montgomery County. 25 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: And, of course,

1 I'm Tom Stevenson from Allegheny County.

2 Really, the House Resolution 177 3 commands this Committee to study and inform the House on academic freedom issues and intellectual 4 5 diversity issues at our state-owned, state-related state system community colleges in Pennsylvania. 6 7 I want to make it clear that our focus is going to be on the institutions, not the 8 professors. There's been a lot of misinformation 9 floating around out there. 10 11 Before the hearings are held, I just felt that this Committee needed to hear from an 12 13 expert on First Amendment rights to get us off on 14 the right foot. And I could think of no one better than David French from The Foundation for 15 Individual Rights in Education, for short, FIRE, 16

17 as it's called.

18 If you want to go on their web site, 19 it's thefire, dot, org. I pulled David's bio off 20 that web site. And David is a native Kentuckian, 21 graduated with honors from Harvard Law School. He 22 has been a lecturer in Cornell Law School and was 23 a partner at a 200-lawyer firm with offices in 24 Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

25 David also has written a book, FIRE's

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1 Guide to Free Speech on Campus. I'm not trying to 2 plug the sale of this thing, but I just started to 3 read it and am getting into it. 4 And the way I'd like this hearing to 5 run is, David's going to speak and tell us a little bit about his organization and himself and б really the issues in hand and then we're gonna 7 open it up for questions of just the subcommittee 8 members only. 9 10 So David, without further adieu, you're 11 on. MR. FRENCH: Mr. Chairman, members of 12 13 the Committee, thank you very much for this 14 opportunity to address you. 15 Let me begin with a quote from the Supreme Court of the United States. It is not the 16 quote that begins the report that has been issued. 17 It is a different one. It's from the case of 18 19 Sweezy versus New Hampshire. 20 And that begins, The essentiality of 21 freedom in the community of American universities 22 is almost self-evident. No one should 23 underestimate the vital role in a democracy that 24 is played by those who guide and train our youth. 25 To impose any straightjacket upon the intellectual

1 leaders in our --

2 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: David, let me 3 stop you just there for a minute. Can you pull 4 the mike a little closer? 5 MR. FRENCH: Oh, I'm sorry. 6 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: You almost have to put your mouth up to it. 7 8 MR. FRENCH: Now I can hear myself. All right. 9 10 To impose any straightjacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and 11 universities would imperil the future of our 12 13 nation. 14 Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study, to evaluate, to 15 gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise, 16 17 our civilization will stagnate and die. 18 Those are very powerful words from the 19 Supreme Court. And, in fact, those words were, in 20 part, the inspiration for the founding of FIRE, 21 the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. 22 Very briefly, what we are is a 23 nonpartisan, secular, civil liberties organization that defends free speech, religious liberty, 24 25 freedom of conscience and due process on campuses

1 across the country.

2 We are based in Philadelphia. We have 3 offices in the Curtis Center overlooking 4 Independence Hall, which is appropriate for the 5 defense of free speech. 6 Our agenda is very simple. Our agenda is to preserve the marketplace of ideas on campus 7 and, where the marketplace of ideas has been 8 destroyed for whatever reason, to restore the 9 marketplace of ideas on campus. 10 11 To that end, the investigation of this Committee is central because the Committee 12 13 obviously plays a central role in defining how 14 higher education is run in this state and has a 15 central role in defining what is and is not academic freedom in this state. 16 17 So my goal here is really quite simple. I want to discuss what academic freedom is and, 18 19 importantly, what it is not, what the 20 constitutional rights of students and professors 21 are and are not; and what are the institutional 22 responsibilities of Pennsylvania public 23 universities.

24 What are the responsibilities that 25 these arms of the state have towards their

citizens: The students who attend; the professors
 who teach.

3 Quite simply, the best place to begin
4 is with the First Amendment. The First Amendment
5 -- this comes sometimes as a, unfortunately, as a
6 surprise to

7 administrators -- it applies to students and it 8 applies to faculty.

9 There's a very good short rule of thumb that if speech is constitutionally protected 10 outside of the academy, it's generally 11 constitutional protected inside of the academy. 12 13 There is no zone in the academy -- or 14 the academy is not a unfree zone and it's not an area where those who have responsibility for the 15 academy have a greater latitude to restrict 16 17 speech.

18 In fact, the Supreme Court has long 19 recognized that our school -- our institutions of 20 higher education, as distinct from secondary 21 schools or elementary schools, are supposed to be 22 marketplaces of ideas.

23 They're supposed to be places where the 24 uncomfortable questions are asked; where 25 traditional notions of truth are challenged; where students can expect to sometimes be offended,
 sometimes be encouraged by the things that they
 hear and see on campus.

4 The goal of the university is to be a 5 place where truth can be discovered through inquiry, through debate, through exchange, not 6 7 just scientific truth, but also historical truth, arguments about political truth -- I'm not sure 8 it's accurate to use the phrase political truth. 9 10 But in the -- the goal of the university is to create a place, a marketplace 11 12 where you can debate and you can discuss, you can 13 disagree, and you can even offend in the goal of 14 exchanging ideas and the goal of advancing human 15 knowledge and the goal of advancing our culture. Unfortunately, our universities across 16 this country -- and, unfortunately, Pennsylvania 17 is no exception -- have to a large degree 18 19 abdicated that responsibility. 20 For the interest of larger goals, or 21 presumed larger goals, there are now speech codes 22 that govern student conduct on campus. A speech 23 code, if you would like a definition, is any 24 policy or practice that prohibits speech that the

25 First Amendment would otherwise protect.

way that's not disruptive and doesn't prevent the
 ability of the teacher from conducting the class.
 So students have very broad First Amendment
 rights.

5 Teachers do as well; although, there are some limits that have been defined 6 7 traditionally and have been defined by the American Association of University Professors. 8 9 On page 3 of our report, the AAUP has -- we quote from the AAUP statement, which I 10 think, stands to this day. It was written in 1940 11 and stands to this day. It's still the single 12 13 best statement of professors' academic freedom. 14 College and university teachers are citizens, members of a learned profession, and 15 officers of an educational institution. 16 17 When they speak or write as citizens, they should be free from institutional censorship 18 19 or discipline; but they should at all times be 20 accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, 21 and should show respect for the opinions of others 22 and should make every effort to indicate that they 23 are not speaking for the institution. 24 Moreover, teachers are entitled to

25 freedom in the classroom in discussing their

1 subject; but they should be careful not to

2 introduce into their teaching controversial matter 3 which has no relation to their subject. 4 What does this mean? What it means is 5 that a teacher who is teaching, for example, sociology or political science or history has an 6 enormous amount of latitude in determining the 7 curriculum, the readings of the class, the precise 8 topics covered within the subject of the class; 9 10 they have an enormous amount of freedom in the 11 classroom discussion so long as the classroom 12 discussion remains germane to the topic of the 13 class; and that they in truth should be free from 14 state oversight into those kinds of decisions. Because that is the core academic freedom function 15 16 of a professor. 17 What is a professor not free to do? A 18 professor is not free to use a class, for example, 19 let's say a mathematics class for -- to advance a 20 particular political agenda. 21 That is something that a university, an institution, can properly restrict without 22 interfering with that professor's First Amendment 23 24 rights.

Their First Amendment rights do not

25

1 extend to the ability to use the state-provided 2 platform to advocate for personal political goals 3 if those personal political goals are not -- the 4 subject are germane to the topic of the class. 5 This is a source of enormous controversy on campus. But we need to be clear: б There is a difference between a teacher teaching 7 something that a student gets upset at, that a 8 student is offended by. 9

10 A student does not have a right not to 11 be upset or not to be offended in the teacher 12 misappropriating the use of a classroom for a 13 partisan political end. Those are different 14 things.

Now, institutionally, a university has an ability to shape its own message and curriculum to a large degree. In fact, federal courts - if there's one kind of academic freedom that the federal courts have been virtually unanimous on finding is that there is institutional academic freedom.

22 Private universities have an enormous 23 amount of institutional academic freedom. If you 24 want to in this country, you have a constitutional 25 right to set up a religious college where you only

allow people to attend that college who agree with
 the statement of faith of the religion and then
 can actually exclude teachers and fire teachers
 who don't agree with the basis of faith of the
 college. That's for a private university.

6 Secular private universities have an
7 equivalent level of freedom. They can decide to
8 define themselves in a particular -- according to
9 a particular agenda.

Public universities are different.
 They do have a degree of academic freedom,
 certainly, to advocate for certain kinds of ideas;
 but that is strictly limited by the Constitution
 of the United States.

15 For example, a state university can't advocate for or against religion. A state 16 university's academic freedom doesn't extend to 17 endorsing or condemning any particular religious 18 19 point of view, whereas a private academic university does extend that far. 20 21 State universities can put forward 22 things like mission statements. State universities can advocate for particular cultural 23 24 solutions to societal problems.

25 However, in furtherance of their

1 mission, they cannot, they cannot impose litmus 2 tests on employees, on students. In other words, 3 it is unconstitutional for a state university to 4 condition the receipt of a state benefit, such as 5 employment or a degree from the school, on the 6 abandonment of certain constitutional rights such 7 as free speech or freedom of association. 8 Now, with that very broad overview -- and I'm going to welcome any 9 10 questions -- we get to two fundamental issues that 11 I think are being addressed by the Committee. One is free speech: Mostly free speech 12 13 by students, but also free speech from professors. Free speech has two -- there's two primary sources 14 15 of censorship. One is censorship by policy. Those are 16 written policies in university handbooks, in 17 student catalogs, in faculty handbooks that 18 19 actually on their face restrict free speech. 20 On their face, they say to students, 21 your free speech rights are contingent upon, for 22 example -- contingent, for example, to the extent 23 to which another individual is offended or they 24 are contingent upon the subjective feelings of 25 another person.

1 There's two primary ways that speech 2 codes work. One is by being overbroad. An 3 overbroad speech code is one that prohibits -- it 4 does actually prohibit unlawful behavior. But it 5 prohibits more than just the unlawful behavior, it 6 prohibits lawful behavior as well.

7 An example of a overbroad speech code, 8 here's one from the Indiana University of 9 Pennsylvania which prohibits behavior of a sexual 10 nature that is directed toward another individual, 11 based on their gender, which is demeaning or 12 diminishing to their character.

13 The fact of the matter is that no one 14 has a right not to feel demeaned. Because what 15 does it mean to feel demeaned? I may say 16 something to one person and it doesn't feel 17 demeaning to them. And I may say the exact same 18 thing to another individual and it feels demeaning 19 to them.

Have I in the one instance committed a Have I in the other instance committed an unlawful act in spite of the fact that I did the same thing both times?

24 This kind of subjective uncertainty is25 absolutely unconstitutional. It is absolutely and

 $1 \ \ has$ long been the case that you cannot test, you

2 cannot test free speech based on subjective

3 listener reaction.

4 Now, does that mean that there are some 5 demeaning things that I could say that could 6 constitute harassment? Certainly there are some demeaning things that one could say that could 7 8 constitute harassment. But that term is overbroad. 9 10 Millersville University of Pennsylvania prohibits the transmission of electronic messages 11 and materials deemed offensive by university 12 13 policy and by local, state, and federal laws. 14 Now, who is deeming what offensive? Does any state official have the right to deem 15 16 written material or communicated material 17 offensive? No, absolutely not. The state does 18 not have the ability to deem words offensive and,-ramrltsw 16 writsofearwho is deeming what offensive? 16 deew(12 and matwdne0013 Tc(15 Does any state official have)TjrTDniPa(npr*0and by loc

If you don't know what's prohibited, it
 begins to have a chilling effect on speech as
 you -- to go on the safe side, say less than what
 you might think so as to not run afoul of the
 vague rule.

6 For example -- a classic example and 7 one from this state that was found to be 8 unconstitutional as vague, is a prohibition on 9 acts of intolerance.

10 Shippensburg University had a speech 11 code which, among other things, prohibited acts of 12 intolerance on campus. The problem was, that's a 13 term that's virtually impossible to define.

14 If you ask a hundred people what is an 15 act of intolerance, you may get a hundred 16 different answers.

And, in fact, at the oral argument when the judge on the case, when the judge directly asked the attorney representing Shippensburg, What is intolerance, there was no good answer

Edinborough University of Pennsylvania 1 2 prohibits offensive or inappropriate sexual 3 behavior. What is inappropriate sexual behavior? 4 That's an excellent question. 5 I mean, I have my own moral sense of what would be inappropriate sexual behavior. I'm б sure it differs with many people in this room. 7 Everyone has their own moral sense regarding what 8 is or is not inappropriate. 9 10 But what this does is it delegates the decision of what is not inappropriate to state 11 officials; and state officials, using their own 12 13 subjective terms and their own subjective beliefs, 14 then decide for members of the community. 15 That's vague. If you asked a hundred 16 people, What is an inappropriate -- what are -- list all the examples you can think of, of 17 inappropriate sexual behavior, you would get quite 18 19 a few different answers. 20 Further, public universities, in 21 addition to enacting rules that are overbroad and 22 vague, tend to also enact rules that prohibit free 23 exercise of religion on campus. And they do it in a very subtle way, but in a way that dramatically 24

25 restricts free expression of religious ideas.

It is very typical now for large 1 2 universities to have expansive nondiscrimination 3 rules that they apply to their student 4 organizations. 5 Now, in the abstract, there's nothing wrong with applying a nondiscrimination rule to a 6 7 student organization to say that you shouldn't discriminate on the basis of race or gender, for 8 example. 9

10 But some of these nondescrimination 11 rules include nondescrimination on the basis of 12 religion and they ask religious organizations to 13 sign on to that.

14 The upshot of that is that religious 15 organizations are no longer able to use religious 16 principles when making their decisions if they 17 expect to be a student organization on a public 18 campus.

19 Religion -- nondiscrimination on the 20 basis of religion or creed ironically, although is 21 undoubtedly designed to protect religious 22 individuals, ends up restricting religious 23 freedom. 24 For example, at Penn State, no

For example, at Penn State, noorganization can obtain or maintain university

1 recognition if it discriminates on the basis of,

2 amongst other things, religious creed.

3 Innumerous groups, from the Muslim 4 Student Association to Campus Crusade for Christ 5 to, you name it, make religious decisions. That's 6 their reason for being; yet they face the 7 possibility of expulsion from campus just by being 8 religious.

9 Across the United States, there have 10 been at least 60, 60 instances where this exact 11 kind of policy has been used to restrict religious 12 expression on campus or to evict from campus 13 religious organizations.

14 Currently, such policies are enjoined 15 by federal courts in North Carolina and in the 7th 16 Circuit Court of Appeals; yet Pennsylvania's 17 public universities have some of these very 18 policies on their books.

19 Another way that students' freedom is 20 restricted is not just by policy, but by practice; 21 in other words, someone -- there may be no speech 22 code in place, but in spite of the lack of speech 23 code, the university will take action anyway. 24 Now, this is -- this is a category that

quite common for students to be punished for their
 speech even when they haven't violated any
 university rule.

But I would suggest for this Committee
it would be an interesting line of inquiry to
determine whether that is, in fact, happening
here; although, Pennsylvania is so laden with
speech codes that you can almost always find a
policy restricting free speech to punish a student
in this state.
But by practice, the problem with
determining the extent of that -- there's a
difficulty with determining the extent of that

14 problem in that it relies on self-reporting.

15 Students who are censored must, (A),

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1013 Tin that it relies on self-reporting.

Whether that is a function that
 Pennsylvania public universities are protecting
 free speech in reality or just that students don't
 know to complain, we don't know the answer to
 that.

6 Moving from student free speech to professors' free speech -- moving from student 7 free speech to intellectual diversity-- I'm 8 sorry -- there is a powerful and almost 9 10 self-evident argument that a broad range of ideas on campus is a desirable thing; that, in fact, a 11 university that's supposed to be a marketplace of 12 13 ideas can and should have a broad range of ideas 14 on campus to foster debate, to test hypotheses, to 15 test theories, to challenge historical assertions. A broad range of viewpoints is a good 16 thing. It's a noncontroversial statement. 17 The 18 American Association of University Professors, in 19 fact, made that clear in its own arguments to the 20 Supreme Court of the United States when arguing to 21 preserve race-based Affirmative Action policies in 22 the University of Michigan, declaring in their own brief that universities should provide a broad 23 24 range of ideas and a broad range of viewpoints, that that is part of the function of the 25

1 university and the university is enhanced by that.

2 So it's really not controversial to say 3 that there should be a broader range of ideas in 4 the university. What is controversial is the 5 answer to this question: Does a broad range of 6 ideas exist?

7 There are national studies that would tend to indicate that universities are rather 8 ideologically monolithic. There are a variety of 9 studies indicating that those who self-identify on 10 11 the left side of the political spectrum outnumber those who self-identify on the right side of the 12 13 political spectrum by a substantial margin; in some cases, 9-to-1, 10-to-1, 30-to-1 in some 14 15 departments, according to recent studies. Now, the question is, Does that matter 16 17 from a standpoint of intellectual diversity? And,

1 There's a case called Perry versus 2 Sinderman that involved an at-will, untenured 3 professor at a university who was terminated; and 4 he, allegedly, has been terminated as a result of 5 his free speech rights.

6 The university said, Well, he was an
7 at-will employee. We can terminate him for any
8 reason or no reason at all.

9 In response, the Supreme Court said 10 very clearly that you cannot condition the receipt 11 of a state benefit on the abandonment of basic 12 free speech or free association rights.

13 There exists a very real and very live 14 question now based on multiple recent studies is, 15 Is that happening in university hiring, firing, 16 promotion, and retention? The answer is hotly 17 disputed and I would say not -- not firmly 18 established at this point.

So from the standpoint of intellectual diversity, it's critical to -- the state's responsibility with regards to intellectual diversity is I think important to define. One is, the state has -- in this case, the State of Pennsylvania has an institutional

25 academic freedom itself running its school system.

1 And the State of Pennsylvania, if it 2 believes that intellectual diversity is a good 3 thing in the university and helps to foster the 4 marketplace of ideas, may have -- would certainly 5 have an interest in making sure that intellectual 6 diversity exists and discovering the reasons why 7 it may not.

8 However, what the State of Pennsylvania should not and cannot do is to go to individual 9 10 professors in individual departments around the state and say to -- just take a name -- pick a 11 name out of the hat -- Professor Jones or 12 13 Professor Smith, what we want you to do is to 14 teach your class in a different way so as to be 15 more diverse.

That violates that individual 16 professor's academic freedom and should not be 17 done. But what a state can do is say, in an 18 19 economics department, Do we have a broad range of 20 ideas present here? And if we do not, should we 21 be seeking a broad range of ideas? 22 If we do not have a broad range of 23 ideas present, is it because of any actual unconstitutional or illegal activity; for example, 24 25 prohibitions on discrimination on the basis of sex

1 or race or religion?

2 State universities violate those 3 prohibitions on occasion. Is that happening here? 4 Or are there de facto ideological litmus tests 5 being applied to candidates for a particular job? Are they being forced to adhere to a particular б 7 ideology? 8 So what I would suggest as the true constitutional obligation of a university going 9 forward is to, No. 1 -- this is very 10 basic -- protect the constitutional rights of your 11 students. Make sure they have a right to free 12 13 speech, the same right they'd have to free speech 14 if they stepped off the university campus; 15 Number 2, in addressing any perceived constitutional violations against the students, do 16 not violate the constitutional rights of 17 professors, who do have a right to challenge 18 19 students, who do have a right to even offend students on occasion; 20 21 And No. 3, in the quest for 22 intellectual diversity on campus, since I would presume that intellectual diversity in a 23 broad -- differing viewpoints on campus is a good 24 25 thing and the quest for intellectual diversity on

campus, do not violate the academic freedom rights
 of any individual.

And look hard at the reasons for the disparity. Is self-selection at play? Are there actual unconstitutional actions being taken? Take a close look at not just what exists, but why it exists.

8 With that, I'll open the floor to any9 and all questions.

CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Thank you. 10 11 We have one person that I'm going to ask to go first because he has to leave; but 12 13 before I do, there are a number of people here 14 that came in after you started. 15 First and foremost, I'd like to recognize the Chairman of the Education Committee 16 Jim -- Jim, just raise your hand. 17 18

18 Who else came in? Dan, do you want19 to...

20 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: Representative21 Surra from Elk and Clearfield County.

22 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: John.

23 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Representative
24 John Pallone. I represent northern Westmoreland
25 County and southern Armstrong County.

REPRESENTATIVE HERMAN: State 1 2 Representative Lynn Herman from Centre County. CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Great. Thank 3 4 you. 5 Representative Grucela has another appointment, so he has to leave. I'd like him to 6 7 go first. Rich. 8 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate you giving me the 9 10 opportunity to go first due to the other 11 commitment. I sort of have two questions. One I'm 12 13 really -- what's the relationship to the Patriot 14 Act in the Federal Patriot Act? Is there any relationship, I guess is my question, given the 15 current climate, shall we say, in the United 16 States versus free speech, does the Patriot Act 17 18 apply in any way to any of these things? 19 MR. FRENCH: It is my belief that the 20 Patriot Act, in practice, should not have any 21 bearing on the academic freedom dispute. 22 Now, saying that, I will tell you that 23 there have been circumstances where professors who 24 have made what many would deem to be very 25 inflammatory remarks about the war on terror,

1 there have been individuals who have tried to 2 creatively think of ways to apply various national 3 security statutes to restrict that speech. 4 But to the extent they've -- I have 5 never seen any actual application of Patriot Act provisions or any other national security-based 6 provision to -- to restrict an individual person's 7 speech that would otherwise be constitutionally 8 protected. 9 Because, bear in mind, the First 10 11 Amendment would trump even the Patriot Act. If 12 there was any sort of speech that was 13 constitutionally protected but somehow prohibited by a provision in the Patriot Act or by 14 implication from the Patriot Act, the First 15 Amendment would be supreme. 16 17 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: And, 18 secondly -- and I'm going to bring up a couple 19 sensitive areas here and they are by no means 20 meant to be facetious in any way, shape, or form, 21 because they truly exist. 22 I'm curious about that statement that 23 says Penn State cannot -- or can prevent any organization that -- you listed a whole bunch of 24 25 things and emphasized religious creed.

So my question is, If I belong to a 1 2 religious group that believes in torturing 3 animals, if I belonged to a religious group that 4 believes as part of an initiation or part of my 5 tribal, whatever, believes in smoking marijuana or the use of any illegal drugs, or if I belong to a 6 religious group that believes in polygamy or same 7 sex marriage, you're telling me that I can 8 start -- Penn State can't stop me from starting a 9 10 group like that on their campus? 11 MR. FRENCH: A lot of the specific 12 examples you mentioned such as torturing animals 13 or polygamy or same-sex marriage are acts that are 14 prohibited by statute and by constitutional -- I 15 mean, to this point, constitutional statute. So the answer is, somebody could start 16 a club that advocated, based on religious beliefs, 17 the torturing of animals; but the actual torturing 18 19 of animals would be prohibited by statute, and 20 lawfully prohibited by statute. 21 Someone could start a religious club 22 that advocated for polygamy and stated as part of 23 its beliefs that polygamy was acceptable, but to 24 actually engage in polygamy is prohibited by 25 constitutional statute.

1 So it's not an anything-goes scenario. 2 The argument is that an organization that's formed 3 around a certain belief, whether that belief is 4 political or religious or cultural, has a right to 5 advocate for that belief and to have members and 6 leaders who share that belief. 7 You know, the Democratic Party has 8 every right to exclude individuals who advocate 9 for every plank in their public and party platform

10 or to exclude self-identified Republicans and 11 vice-versa.

12

So what this provision does is say to

a person's status as a white person that says they
 couldn't agree with every single part of the
 NAACP's platform. But if they were a White
 Supremacist, then the NAACP could certainly
 exclude them.

6 There's nothing about, say for example, a person's gender that says they couldn't enjoy 7 the game of chess. But if they hated chess, the 8 chess club could rightfully exclude them. 9 10 What these provisions do is they basically say to religious organizations, On those 11 12 core principals that matter the most to you, you 13 may not utilize them in determining leadership and 14 membership and stay on this campus.

15 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: Could Penn
16 State or any other state institutions prohibit the
17 Ku Klux Klan?

18 MR. FRENCH: Almost certainly they 19 could not prohibit any particular organization on 20 the basis of its perceived ideology. They could 21 prohibit an organization that was engaged in 22 otherwise unlawful activity.

23 So if the Ku Klux Klan was engaged in 24 terrorism or violating existing state and federal 25 laws, certainly it could exclude them; but they

1 could not exclude the Klan on the basis that it

2 has a point of view that is horrific.

3 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: One last
4 thing: What if my group had the -- this is
5 probably not in existence, at least I hope not.
6 But what if the religion advocated the overthrow
7 of the government? As long as we didn't do it
8 inside the group?

9 MR. FRENCH: Actually, that's pretty 10 well-established constitutionally. It used to be, 11 in fact, that you couldn't even get a driver's 12 license in some states without swearing an oath of 13 allegiance to the United States Government.

All these loyalty oaths have been struck down. They're gone. So you cannot say to a student organization, You can -- you must swear off any advocacy of, you know, any advocacy of violent overthrow of the U.S. government as a condition for being on campus.

Although, I haven't seen that situation come up. There's some case law dating from the Vietnam War relevant to that. But in recent years, I have not seen circumstances like that student chapter of the Klan or student chapter of the group that was seeking the violent overthrow

1 of the government.

2 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: Thank you very 3 much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 4 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Thank you. 5 Representative Herman. 6 REPRESENTATIVE HERMAN: Thank you very 7 much. 8 I have just two questions, Mr. French. If either a faculty member of a university or 9 10 student felt that their constitutional rights were 11 abridged or offended or academic freedom 12 suppressed, what should they do? 13 MR. FRENCH: That's a very good 14 question. Unfortunately, most universities do not explain to students either what their rights are 15 or what they can do in the event that they're 16 17 violated. So a student has to come at that 18 knowledge through outside sources. And the vast 19 majority of students, quite frankly, you know, 20 21 don't get that knowledge. 22 So I think institutionally what a 23 university should do is do a better job of informing students their constitutional rights and 24 25 providing them for an avenue, a formal avenue of

1 complaint in the event that they perceive that 2 their constitutional rights are violated, short of 3 running to a lawyer and filing a lawsuit. 4 With respect to the students, at the 5 present time, FIRE has an enormous education 6 effort. We tried to reach the students and explain to them what their rights are. But what 7 they should do if their rights are violated, one 8 thing is -- to put in a plug for FIRE -- is 9 contact FIRE. 10

11 Another thing is, if they feel like 12 their rights are being violated by a professor or 13 by a member of the administration, they should 14 closely look their school's own policies, because 15 hidden within some of these policies will be 16 sometimes some procedures that can give them 17 protection.

So they should take a look at their own
student handbook, take a look at the catalog.
But, unfortunately right now, students are in a
vast sea of ignorance regarding their rights and
often have a tendency when someone lbve-0.g TcIeee2cIe vine s at57 T

1 an act of intolerance because that's unlawful; 2 instead of going back and thinking, Hum, is that 3 unconstitutional? I don't even know what that is. So what should they do I think is 4 5 contact appropriate officials as outlined in the student handbook or catalog; but, unfortunately, 6 7 that's not often an avenue available to them. 8 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Representative 9 Fleagle. 10 REPRESENTATIVE FLEAGLE: Thank you, 11 Mr. Chairman. You had mentioned that Pennsylvania did 12 13 not -- I guess the numbers were not as great as in 14 other states for contacts for FIRE? 15 MR. FRENCH: Correct. REPRESENTATIVE FLEAGLE: And I know you 16 backed it up by saying that that's not really 17 indicative of the fact that there may not be 18 abuses of academic freedom. 19 20 Have you seen in your travels 21 throughout the country -- and I always try 22 to -- when they say the states are the 23 laboratories of democracy, have you seen any state 24 universities or public universities in a 25 particular state who seem to have their act

1 together?

25

2 I know you probably only see the downside of the question, but surely you've seen 3 4 some examples of a good policy? 5 MR. FRENCH: I have seen examples of good policies. As far as any individual б university that stands out as better than the 7 others or any individual university system that 8 stands out as better than the others, none are 9 coming to mind. 10 You're right; we receive complaints. 11 I do know of universities that have been very 12 13 responsive once we have made the complaints known 14 to the universities. 15 But as far as a specific policy that stands out nationally, there is -- there is not a 16 university policy that I'm aware of that I would 17 say is better than all the others and worth 18 19 emulating. 20 In fact, I would say that the AAUP's 21 1940 statement on academic freedom, which has been 22 around for a long time, is still one of the best, if not the best, articulations of academic 23 24 freedom, particularly from the professor's level.

And universities have adopted this

1 1940's statement as a rule; however, they also 2 adopt speech codes often. So they contradict some 3 of their own policies. 4 You mentioned the states as a 5 laboratory of democracy. One of the things that we have found is universities are often like small 6 European countries: They tend to be very 7 bureaucratic. Often the right hand doesn't know 8 what the left hand is doing. Policy documents can 9 10 be extremely confusing and labyrinthine. 11 So there -- at Pennsylvania schools there are some very good academic freedom 12 13 statements, but you go to a policy book and you'll 14 find a speech code. 15 So at FIRE we have -- to give you an understanding of the extent of the problem, we 16 have rated the speech policies of approximately 17 350 leading universities in the United States. 18 19 70 percent have at least one policy that is constitutionally problematic. The ones 20 21 that do not have constitutionally problematic 22 policies tend to have a statement like the AAUP 23 statement and then nothing else. They tend not to 24 have a affirmative free speech statement so much 25 as they just don't have prohibitions.

REPRESENTATIVE FLEAGLE: The complaints 1 2 that you get from other states versus 3 Pennsylvania, do they tend to be a homogeneous 4 type or does one state have -- does Texas have 5 more of a problem? 6 MR. FRENCH: It's the same type of complaint we get all over. When there's one case 7 publicized in one state, what tends to happen is 8 that there are several other complaints that will 9 10 come because of the publicity and the awareness. 11 But they tend to involve -- I would say 12 the most -- the most common type of complaint is 13 the misunderstanding of what discrimination and 14 harassment is. 15 Universities have been for a very long time telling their students that discrimination or 16

harassment is an act that offends you or that 17 makes you upset on the basis of race, gender, 18 19 sexual orientation.

20 So many of our cases involve 21 individuals who are upset on the basis of one of 22 these factors and believe that, because they're upset, someone needs to be punished. And they get 23 a lot of comfort in that from of their policies. 24

So one of our efforts is to try to

25

1 educate people as to what harassment actually is.

2 It's not actually a state of just being upset. 3 In fact, in our materials that we 4 distributed, there is federal law that says that 5 for something to be harassment in a 6 student-on-student circumstance, the pattern of behavior must be so severe, pervasive, and 7 8 objectively offensive that it effectively bars the victim's access to the educational opportunity or 9 benefit. 10 11 So, in other words, it has to be so bad the person can't get an education, not that it's 12 13 so bad that I feel really mad about it. 14 And, in fact, in July of 2003, the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights 15 issued a letter, a "dear colleague" letter, and 16 said that some colleges and universities have 17 interpreted OCR's prohibition of harassment as 18 19 encompassing all offensive speech regarding sex, disability, race, or other classifications. 20 21 Harassment, however, to be js-act, in.3fenterpby-0.hs Tc(s-aiondT*-0.001jur

1 person finds offensive.

2	To give you two concrete
3	examples again, this is not from these are
4	not Pennsylvania examples, but very recent
5	examples.
б	In a public community college in
7	Florida, an individual was prohibited from handing
8	out fliers protesting the treatment of animals in
9	slaughter houses because the administrator was
10	offended by the content of those fliers.
11	So because the administrator was
12	offended, it obviously violated policy banning
13	offensive speech and, therefore, could be
14	suppressed.
15	Other examples would include
16	conservative protests of Affirmative Action,
17	usually done through something called an
18	Affirmative Action bake sale where they sell baked
19	goods at different prices based on race or gender
20	of the purchaser as a protest against Affirmative
21	Action.
22	In many schools, those protests have
23	been suppressed or prevented or punished because
24	they made people angry. Not because the speech
25	wasn't protected, but because they made people

1 angry.

2 So if there's one category that trumps 3 all others, it's a misunderstanding regarding what 4 is or is not harassment and the misinterpretation 5 of anything that offends me, that makes me upset, б is harassing. 7 REPRESENTATIVE GRUCELA: Thank you, Mr. French. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 8 9 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Thank you. 10 John. 11 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 12 13 In the materials that you provided, you 14 cited a number of examples of what you're claiming to be constitutionally-protected or 15 unconstitutional, overbroad, vague, whatever. 16 17 Have these policies been litigated? 18 MR. FRENCH: These specific policies 19 have not. If they had been litigated, they most 20 likely wouldn't be on the books anymore. 21 The policies -- there have been 22 multiple policies with either exact same language 23 or strikingly similar language that had been 24 struck down nationwide. 25 Speech codes have been struck down at

1 Shippensburg here in Pennsylvania, at the 2 University of Wisconsin, at the University of 3 Michigan, at Stanford University, Northern 4 Kentucky University, Texas Tech University -- the 5 list could go on. 6 And if there's -- they have language 7 that is either identical to this or tracks very 8 closely to this. 9 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: So only the 10 Shippensburg --MR. FRENCH: Pardon? 11 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Only the one 12 13 Pennsylvania school had the speech code struck, 14 right? 15 MR. FRENCH: To my knowledge, there's only been one speech code lawsuit filed in 16 Pennsylvania, and that was the Shippensburg, yes. 17 18 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: And there have 19 been no others, to the best of your knowledge? 20 MR. FRENCH: To the best of my 21 knowledge, there have been no others. 22 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: And this only 23 involves the public universities, correct? 24 MR. FRENCH: Public universities, 25 right.

1	REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: And does that
2	include the, for lack of any other term,
3	semi-public universities? There are a number of
4	universities in Pennsylvania that have that
5	MR. FRENCH: We evaluated the public
б	universities in Pennsylvania that have been held
7	by courts to be state actors. So that would
8	include Temple and Pitt.
9	REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Penn State?
10	MR. FRENCH: Penn State as well.
11	Any school that where a court has held
12	that, for example, section 1938 applies, which
13	allows an individual to sue for a civil rights
14	violation committed under color of state law, we
15	have evaluated.
16	The private universities, although
17	we've evaluated some of them, we have not
18	presented that to the Committee, because my
19	understanding is the Committee is not looking at
20	the private universities.
21	REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Your
22	organization, FIRE, is it based in Pennsylvania?
23	Or where is it based?
24	MR. FRENCH: Philadelphia.
25	CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: In

1 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania --

2 MR. FRENCH: Yes. 3 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: -- agency? 4 When you're contacted by a student, 5 presumably who feels offended or whatever, do you 6 generally -- what's your process? Do you instruct 7 them to go back to the university and follow the 8 procedure? Or do you --9 MR. FRENCH: What we do is, when a 10 student contacts us claiming that their rights are 11 violated, we first ask for a complete account of the events, including any and all supporting 12 13 evidence such as emails, documents, etc. 14 We then also simultaneously research 15 the school's own policies: Was this done under a speech code? Is there an academic freedom policy 16 that applies? At that point, what we will do is 17 we will advise the student to pursue any and all 18 19 remedies they have in the school, whether it's a 20 complaint process or a grievance procedure in the 21 school. 22 But at the same time, if we're

23 satisfied that a violation did, in fact, occur by 24 use of documentary evidence -- we do not take "he 25 said/she said" cases. If the evidence is only one 1 person's word against another, we don't take that
2 case.

3 Once the evidence is documented, we 4 will write the university and give the university 5 an opportunity to respond with its side of the 6 story. We tell the university, These are the 7 facts as we understand them. Please correct any 8 errors in our account. 9 And, on occasion, universities will 10 correct us and bring additional facts to our 11 attention. More frequently, we've got the facts 12 correct.

13 And at that point the question is, Will 14 the university protect the student's rights or not? And, if not, then we will publicize the 15 abuse and, on occasion, refer the issue to a 16 17 network of pro bono legal attorneys. 18 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: And how long has your organization been in existence? 19 20 MR. FRENCH: The organization began in 21 October of 1999. 22 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: In 23 Philadelphia? 24 MR. FRENCH: In Philadelphia. REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: And where do 25

1 you derive your funding from?

MR. FRENCH: It is about -- in 2004, we
had about 55 percent of our funding from almost
4,000 individual donors and 45 percent of our
funding from multiple private foundations.
REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Do the
complainants have to provide any kind of funding
or fee-for-service to you?
MR. FRENCH: No. No. Anything we do

1 average, I would say five to six times per year

2 that we refer a case to litigation.

3 Now, we do have a project called our 4 Speech Codes Litigation Project in which we are 5 systematically challenging speech codes in 6 jurisdictions across the country. 7 Thus far we've challenged speech codes at California, Texas, Pennsylvania, New York. 8 There will be another challenge coming any day now 9 in the southeast. 10 11 So we have only one affirmative litigation project, and that is the Speech Codes 12 13 Project where we refer -- we seek pro bono

14 attorneys to challenge speech codes across the 15 country so that there's a uniform level of 16 precedent across the country.

17 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: So you've been in court about 25 times? 18 19 MR. FRENCH: FIRE does not litigate. FIRE has not been in court. People who are pro 20 21 bono attorneys for other law firms or other 22 organizations have been in court about 25 times on cases we've referred them. 23 24 But I do not -- before I came to FIRE

25 as FIRE's president, I was an attorney who would

1 sometimes litigate cases that FIRE referred to me. 2 But I do not, nor do the other attorneys on the 3 FIRE staff, actually litigate cases. 4 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Do you have a 5 list of the studies you referred to on intellectual diversity lacking on college б 7 campuses? 8 MR. FRENCH: I do not have a written list. There have been recent studies by Rothman 9 and Lichter and printed in Forum Magazine, Daniel 10 Kline (phonetic) from UC Santa Clara -- these are 11 12 two of the most --REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Can you provide 13 14 these to the Committee --15 MR. FRENCH: I can certainly provide 16 them. 17 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Are there any institutions that you know of that do not explain 18 19 to students how they can proceed if they feel 20 their rights are abused? 21 MR. FRENCH: I know that institutions have typically been good about explaining to 22 23 students how they can proceed if they feel they've 24 been abused in certain contexts, certainly if they 25 feel like they've been harassed.

1 So universities have been very good 2 about telling students, Well, you have a right not 3 to be harassed. 4 What they have not done a good job of 5 explaining is, (A), what harassment is; or, (B), 6 what you can do if you feel like your actual First 7 Amendment rights are being violated, such as your 8 right to free speech or right to free association. 9 So with part of the spectrum of student 10 rights there has been massiTD-lvd comprehen massj0 R Sj0educ to fm* vour bsolu-0.y m-Omun-0.n Wxist 2 the spectrum of studeot led --.w.0013as your

1 to students -- you have to understand, students

2 may very well not read it.

3 They very well may get the instruction 4 and it goes like this (indicating) because they're 5 not confronted with that at their first exam or 6 first --

7 MR. FRENCH: Right.

8 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: -- and then
9 they're afloat and go for help.
10 MR. FRENCH: There are in some of

11 the -- there are on occasion some rather vague assurances of academic freedom and free speech. 12 13 But the contrast between the level of 14 information and the detail of that information 15 regarding preventing harassment or reporting on incidents that are allegedly harassment, compared 16 to the free speech side, it's truly a massive 17 18 disparity.

But that is not to say that there isn't some language in a few of the student handbooks that say, you know, or perhaps we welcome the diversity of ideas, we welcome free speech, we welcome debate. In fact, that's a common statement the universities will make; but they're often then contradicted by the speech code.

So if a student is going by university 1 2 policy, the natural implication is, well, there's 3 free speech except for these acts of intolerance, 4 which is to say there's not truly free speech. 5 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: But in the orientation sessions for the freshmen or students б 7 coming in, they generally are exposed to what the 8 university policy is? 9 MR. FRENCH: I would not say that they're generally exposed to university policies 10 11 on free speech and free association. I would say they probably get quite a 12 13 few laudatory comments regarding diversity and 14 differences; but concretely about free speech, concretely about free association, free exercise 15 of religion, no. 16 17 Now, the reason why I mentioned distinctly diversity as opposed to free speech, 18 19 although diversity would, I would think, include a 20 variety of different ideas, is that often 21 diversity is used as a justification for limiting 22 free speech or limiting free speech on the basis 23 of protecting diversity. 24 So I think the Committee's resources

25 could be -- one good use, to be incredibly

1 presumptuous, would be to discover what exactly 2 are the Pennsylvania public universities teaching the students about the First Amendment? 3 4 We have limited resources. We can get 5 what we can get from the Internet and other publicly-available documents. But as far as 6 actually going to the university and experiencing 7 a freshman orientation, experiencing what it's 8 like to be introduced to life at Penn State, 9 unfortunately, I don't get to do that. 10 11 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Do you find that most of the free speech issues come up in 12 13 connection with a grade and sometimes a lower 14 grade than expected? 15 MR. FRENCH: I would say that's 16 infrequent. 17 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Infrequent? MR. FRENCH: Infrequent, from our 18 19 perspective. We do not frequently receive 20 grade-based complaints, in part because we're very 21 clear about this threshold and standard of proof 22 that we seek. 23 Grade-based disputes can be very 24 subjective. It's not uncommon for students and 25 professors to believe they're far more brilliant

1 than they actually are.

2 And to attribute lower grades to 3 something else, whether it's personal animosity, 4 whether it's ideology -- the only time that FIRE 5 gets involved in a grade dispute is if the б evidence is unmistakable that the grade is based on ideology; in other words, something to the 7 virtual equivalent of, Great paper, but since 8 you're a liberal, F. 9 10 But you just don't see that. Grading, again, is very subjective. And we try to avoid 11 12 those disputes unless there's incontrovertible 13 evidence. 14 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Every student that was interviewed in the press in connection 15 with this made reference to a lower grade because 16 17 of the issue, and there's no exception for that. MR. FRENCH: There is a widespread 18 19 student perception that they're not graded objectively. And there is undoubtedly a 20 21 widespread student perception that they receive 22 lower grades based on ideology, or being out of 23 step with the ideology of the professor. 24 I do not deny that is a widespread 25 student perception; but very few students take the

1 step of contacting us on that basis, perhaps 2 because our mission is much more clearly in the 3 civil liberties area whereas the grading disputes, 4 as I said, the evidence is often very difficult. 5 If you look at our Submit a Case form on our web site, you'll see that we ask for a lot б 7 of information. And I think that can sometimes turn away people who's -- the sum total of the 8 information is I got a B and I really deserved an 9 10 Α. 11 So I do not deny that there is, in fact, a widespread perception that grades are 12 13 based on ideology, at least in part. 14 The ironclad evidence to back up that 15 perception, FIRE does not have. REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Okay. Thank 16 17 you. 18 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Representative 19 Armstrong. 20 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: Thank you, 21 Mr. Chairman. 22 Mr. French, shouldn't students be 23 responsible for themselves if those rights are supposedly violated in the class? Isn't it up to 24 25 them to know their rights and to stick up for

1 themselves?

2 As a citizen outside of a university, I 3 don't rely on my township, you know, citizen handbook to know what I should be -- what I should 4 5 do. I mean, are we coddling them by having to go back and educate them on their basic rights? 6 7 MR. FRENCH: Well, I think the education regarding your basic rights is what a 8 civil society should be doing, period. 9 10 A democracy that thrives on free speech, free association, and open debate should 11 be educating its elementary school students, the 12 13 secondary students and, yes, its college students 14 on what these rights are. They're central to a 15 function of a civil society. So I think the university should be 16 educating students regarding their rights as part 17 of its educational mission and function. 18 19 Now, do you go beyond the basic educational mission and function to provide, for 20 21 lack of a better term, a super education on 22 rights? 23 Well, I would say in a circumstance 24 where student rights are systematically deprived 25 and where speech codes exist on a systematic basis

there may be a need for additional education of
 students regarding their rights to challenge these
 unconstitutional policies.
 Ideally, the universities would simply

Ideally, the universities would simply
eliminate their unconstitutional policies and you
wouldn't have to -- you wouldn't -- you wouldn't
face quite the challenge.

8 But, students should be educated on 9 their First Amendment rights. I mean, these are 10 the basic foundations of our civil society.

11 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: So you're saying that it should be part of -- necessary 12 13 orientation that some freshman class or 14 maybe -- should it be part of orientation? 15 MR. FRENCH: I'm not going to make any 16 curriculum suggestions regarding what precise form the individual university's education should take. 17 I think the -- I think, though, it's 18

19 safe to say that students who graduate from high 20 school, who graduate from college barely conscious 21 of the First Amendment are not getting the 22 education they need.

How a university goes about providing the education that is needed, including one that encompasses this basic culture-defining right is 1 up to them; but I think it should happen.

2	REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: Thank you.
3	My second question is, You mentioned
4	balance in some of our faculty makeup. If faculty
5	representation in a certain department is
6	two-to-one or ten-to-one, I mean, so what? Is
7	that necessarily a problem? Or why does it
8	necessarily say there's some kind of lack of
9	diversity or free speech?
10	MR. FRENCH: It's a potential problem
11	constitutionally and legally if that imbalance was
12	accomplished through illegal; in other words, if
13	there was actual discrimination employed to create
14	the imbalance, that's a problem from a
15	constitutional or legal standpoint.
16	From the academic standpoint, the
17	utility and the value of a wide range of ideas has
18	long been taken for granted, that the wide range
19	of ideas is supposedly part of the goal of the
20	university so that you can learn economics from
21	people who vehemently disagree with each other;
22	you can learn English from people who have widely
23	different readings of various classics, both new
24	and old; that the value of the marketplace of
25	ideas and differing viewpoints has heretofore not

1 been terribly controversial.

2 But it's actually something that is valued. The AAUP itself has said to the Supreme 3 4 Court of the United States that this is valued, 5 that this is something that should exist. 6 So the question isn't, I think, really is intellectual diversity a good thing. I think 7 all sides of the debate would say that 8 intellectual diversity is a good thing. But as 9 with so many things, the devil is in the details. 10 11 Many people would say that in spite of -- these have been crude measurements 12 13 undertaken so far and that there really is 14 intellectual diversity beyond that, that could be measured by some of these surveys. 15 Others would say, Well, this 16 intellectual -- this ideological uniformity 17 doesn't imply anything regarding what's happening 18 19 in the classroom because teachers can teach 20 however they want to teach, regardless of what 21 their ideology is. 22 And others would say, however you want 23 to phrase this, this is the natural state of things, that people on one side of the political 24 25 spectrum tend to like the academy more than people

on the other side of the political spectrum and
 that's just the way it is.

3 So any measures to address that, you're 4 addressing something that's not a problem. This 5 is the marketplace in action. This is people 6 choosing their professions and that's how it's 7 shaken out.

8 However, I would submit that in the event of demonstrated dramatic -- dramatically 9 demonstrated differences between the composition 10 of the academy and the composition of the wider 11 12 culture, it leads to a question, Why, and leads to 13 a question of, Is it possible that this exists 14 because of unconstitutional or illegal actions? 15 It's a reasonable question and a question worth knowing the answer to. 16 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: But how 17 18 would we as a Committee try to answer that 19 question? MR. FRENCH: Well, I think -- first, I 20 21 think as a Committee it might be worth 22 knowing -- I don't know if there's any studies 23 done in Pennsylvania specific to Pennsylvania. It might be worth knowing what is the intellectual 24 25 diversity of our Pennsylvania public institutions.

1 Once you know the answer to that 2 question -- and at that point we don't really 3 know, there's no particular reason to believe it's 4 terribly different from the rest of country; but, 5 again, these are institutions who do their own hiring. They don't take hiring orders from the 6 state university system in New York or California 7 or anywhere else. 8 9 So these are independent institutions. I think it might be worth determining is there an 10 11 issue. And then, if there is an issue, there are 12 quite a few ideas about what to do about it. 13 I don't have the time to go into all of 14 them, but there are quite a few different ideas, some of which I think are constitutionally sound, 15 some of them not, to deal with the issue. 16 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: Okay. And 17 finally, do you have any advice for this Committee 18 19 in general as to how to proceed? MR. FRENCH: Well, it sounds -- you're 20 21 asking me to be presumptuous with the Committee. 22 But since you asked --23 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: If this were 24 your committee. MR. FRENCH: If this were my committee, 25

I think it is critically important that any state
 investigation be an investigation of potentially
 unconstitutional or unlawful acts as opposed to an
 investigation into the exercise -- into lawful
 acts that are done in a way that is not
 politically popular.

7 The question here is not whether any 8 individual professor is a radical or not in their 9 classroom. The question isn't whether any 10 individual professor is teaching English or 11 history or geography or whatever subjects in a way 12 that irritates students or makes some students 13 angry.

14 It strikes me that the question here in 15 an academic freedom investigation, Are the public 16 institutions in the State of Pennsylvania which 17 are supported by the taxpayers and responsible to 18 the citizens discharging their constitutional 19 responsibilities? And is there evidence that they 20 are not?

21 Well, I can tell you from the speech 22 code example, they are not in that respect. In 23 the some of the other areas, I do not have those 24 answers. I don't have that information.

25

So investigations can be quite chilling

if what you're investigating is a lawful activity.
 I know there's been cries of McCarthyism regarding
 this investigation. I've read 'em in the paper
 and even answered questions about them on the
 radio.

6 And the thing that I've told anyone 7 who's asked is that an investigation into potentially unlawful behavior is what legislative 8 9 committees do all the time. Investigations into 10 lawful behavior that is being done, behavior -- lawful speech done in a way that is 11 politically unpopular or unpalatable, now, that's 12 13 chilling. 14 So there are -- if I could summarize it basically, it would be to keep the focus on the 15 16 constitutional and statutory responsibilities of the public institutions of higher education in 17 18 this state. 19 REPRESENTATIVE ARMSTRONG: Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 20 21 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Representative 22 Surra. 23 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: Thank you, 24 Mr. Chairman.

25 Mr. French, I really enjoyed your

1 testimony. And just so you know, I am vehemently 2 opposed to the formation of this select committee; 3 and your testimony pretty much verifies what my 4 concerns were. This is a colossal waste of time, 5 of staff, members.

6 As I heard your testimony, it basically sounded, what FIRE does is two things: Make sure 7 there are -- free speech rights are protected and 8 dealing a little bit with intellectual diversity. 9 10 And throughout your statement, you've mentioned a couple of times that the State should 11 12 not dictate what is appropriate as free 13 expression. And I think that's tantamount in our 14 First Amendment rights, from not only students, but also professors should be free from state 15 oversight; is that correct? 16 17 MR. FRENCH: Certainly. You are --REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: It protects 18 19 both? 20 MR. FRENCH: Professors who are 21 behaving in a lawful manner. If professors 22 violate the law, then, of course, they're not free 23 from oversight and shouldn't be.

24 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: What would be an 25 example of a professor violating a law then? I'm

1 not sure -- today I was speaking with my 2 colleagues, We're having a hearing on something 3 with academic freedom. What is this? If you 4 think we should investigate professors, what are 5 these law breaking professors doing? 6 MR. FRENCH: I'm not saying we should investigate individual professors. You asked me 7 if professors should be immune from any oversight. 8 And I was saying --9 10 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: They can't break 11 the law, okay. MR. FRENCH: I'm just saying that 12 13 professors don't have a free hand to do whatever 14 they want. 15 But I've been very clear in saying that my advice is the Committee should not focus on 16 what individual professors are doing in the 17 18 classroom. 19 I think that that has a potential to be 20 chilling and that that has a potential to cause 21 people to moderate or change their behavior on the 22 thinking that the hammer of the state is to come 23 upon them. 24 Whether that's a reasonable or 25 unreasonable belief, you know, a legislative

1 committee that focuses on individual professors

2 engaging in lawful activities is quite chilling.

3 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: Your
4 organization is national, which are located in
5 Philadelphia?

6 MR. FRENCH: We work nationally. We7 don't have offices all over the country.

8 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: But this huge 9 problem that we have to have a standing committee 10 from, your organization nationally deals with five 11 or six cases that actually go to trial and only 12 one ever in Pennsylvania; is that correct?

MR. FRENCH: You have to understand, we do not receive all information regarding issues on campus. What we receive is the unknown percentage of actual reports of violations from across the country, which number in the hundreds every year and that we are very successful at resolving short of litigation.

Because often what we've found is that universities cannot justify in public the things they do in private. So a university that says, for example, to a religious student group in Florida, you cannot show the passion of the Christ but we are going to permit a university employee

1 to put on a play where she masturbates to pictures 2 of Jesus Christ, that kind of thing doesn't go to 3 litigation; but it's so absurd the university 4 can't justify it. 5 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: I would agree. 6 MR. FRENCH: So we don't have to 7 litigate that. 8 Whereas there are cases where the university will dig in its heels and we have to 9 10 litigate. But -- I don't want to say that we get 11 all of the complaints that are out there and all 12 13 of the meritorious complaints. We get a lot of 14 them. We get a number that is far 15 exceeding -- far exceeds the threshold to declare a national crisis in other areas. 16 For example, if you look at Tolerance, 17 dot, Org's list of alleged racial incidents on 18 campus for a multiyear span -- and these are just, 19 20 for example, allegations. And sometimes they

Interesting is you mentioned 1 2 intellectual diversity where the majority of 3 college professors are more left leaning than 4 right. 5 I don't frankly find that as a surprise, because I think people who are right 6 leaning go in the business world and make money. 7 How would you deal with that? Would you suggest 8 some Affirmative Action hiring practice for 9 college professors? 10 MR. FRENCH: Oh, goodness no. 11 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: I didn't think 12 13 you would. 14 MR. FRENCH: Goodness, no. My view is you're making a ideology-based hiring decision; in 15 other words, we're hiring someone because they are 16 or they are not liberal or because they are or 17 they are not --18 19 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: Do you think that occurs? 20 21 MR. FRENCH: I do believe that occurs. 22 The extent to which it occurs explicitly is -- explicit ideologically-based hiring 23 decisions do occur. When they do occur, they are 24 25 sometimes litigated, though not typically.

The question is -- there's really two 1 2 issues here: (1), how often are explicitly ideologically based hiring decisions being made? 3 4 There's a couple of pieces of evidence that you 5 can look to, to see whether that happens. 6 One is, is there any testimony 7 that -- for example, I relate my own experience. 8 I interviewed to teach at Cornell Law School and I was asked in the interview, I notice from your 9 background that you have -- you have a Christian 10 11 background. Do you think you can teach gay students? 12 13 Which was an unlawful question, to 14 bring up my religion specifically in the context 15 of my fitness for the job. I answered the question and didn't make a complaint. And I 16 think -- hopefully, I think, I actually won the 17 18 interviewer over in the process. But that was not 19 a lawful question. eng cei- ynume1 - thports lik evide happens. 13

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13 If examaisdn'twfuy, Iwiat Ie -- yonestion.

opportunity to go apply somewhere else? is a
 concern.

The other issues is, Has the job been 3 4 redefined so much that it essentially excludes 5 other points of view? You will often see in 6 faculty hiring announcements a call for a 7 particular kind of scholar with the use of 8 particular words that are heavily laden with ideological meaning. 9 10 You will also find that university 11 officials -- Roger Bowen (phonetic), who's the president AAUP, recently at a forum said, Well, 12 it's obvious that conservatives -- and I'm 13 14 paraphrasing. 15 But he said, much like what you said,

16 conservatives wouldn't be interested in these 17 subjects. For example, what is history but the 18 study of inequality over time? What is 19 anthropology but the study of the role of

Those are certainly things that are 1 2 encompassed within sociology or history or 3 anthropology and should be studied; but to say, 4 that is, the discipline does exclude -- and, as I 5 say, you can often see this in job announcements. 6 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: You raise a great point. If a gay student was in a classroom 7 and a professor refused to teach him, would not 8 his academic freedoms be violated? 9 MR. FRENCH: Absolutely. Absolutely. 10 If the teacher refused to teach someone because 11 12 they're gay, because they're black, because 13 they're white, because they're conservative, 14 because they're liberal -- for any reason other 15 than the student has given independent legitimate justification such as disrupting class --16 17 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: I really want to thank you for your testimony, although it really 18 19 doesn't make me feel like I want to go out and 20 travel the state to do this; but I will, believe 21 me. 22 I find it interesting that throughout 23 your statement how you talked about they should be free from state oversight, the state should not 24 25 dictate what's appropriate, and here we are with a

1 standing committee talking about what's

2 appropriate.

3 MR. FRENCH: What I was saying was that 4 the content of your language, what you say, my 5 political positions, my position on gay rights, on 6 abortion, on the war, on economics should be free 7 from oversight.

8 Unfortunately, what the universities 9 have done is by policy -- and I can provide the 10 Committee with the policies and discussion of why 11 each one of them is unconstitutional -- by policy, 12 the state universities, which are arms of the 13 state, which are part of the government, have done 14 this.

15 They have said there are classes and 16 categories of speech for which we're going to have 17 extra scrutiny that is beyond the constitution. 18 You know what that does?

19 That means that every single student 20 that attends that university is having their 21 constitutional rights violated at this moment in a 22 place that is supposed to be a marketplace of 23 ideas.

24 There's a couple of ways to deal with 25 that: Run around and file a lawsuit every time

something like this comes up hoping you can find a
 lawyer willing to do it for free, hoping you can
 find a student who's willing to stick their neck
 out;

5 Or you can say, Well, wait a minute. 6 There's other parts of the government that have 7 responsibility for this that should say to a 8 subordinate part, in essence, behave in a 9 constitutional manner.

10 And when it comes to something as vital 11 as the marketplace of ideas, as vital as a free 12 exchange of ideas, I think it's worth maybe a few 13 days at least.

14 REPRESENTATIVE SURRA: Interestingly, I agree with you. However, just a few years ago 15 Penn State had some type of a student function 16 dealing with sex and this General Assembly got 17 their britches real tight about it. So I guess it 18 19 depends on where you're coming from and whose 20 rights are being violated. 21 Again, I want to thank you.

22 And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Thank you.

24 Representative Quigley.

25 REPRESENTATIVE QUIGLEY: Thank you,

1 Mr. Chairman.

2 Mr. French, based on the criteria that you -- a wish list, I guess, that Representative 3 4 Armstrong asked what you think this Committee 5 should focus on, the constitutionality and are laws being broken now, do you suspect that that б 7 activity is taking place in Pennsylvania? MR. FRENCH: From the speech policy 8 standpoint, absolutely. It's absolutely happening 9 and it's widespread. An interesting question is 10 11 how much are these speech policies being enforced? 12 So the policy existing by itself is a 13 constitutional violation. The frequent 14 enforcement of the policy just magnifies the 15 violation. So from the standpoint of speech 16 protected policies, we already know that the 17 universities are no doing what they should be 18 19 doing. 20 With regard to the other arenas, 21 because of the importance of free speech, of 22 intellectual freedom, of the marketplace of ideas, 23 it's worth finding out if, in fact, the 24 Pennsylvania public universities are meeting their 25 constitutional and statutory obligations.

I suggest that the inquiry should be
 narrowly focused so that there is not the chilling
 effect that many fear.

4 But on the point regarding intellectual 5 diversity, if this is a value that the university believes in and the State of Pennsylvania -- or б the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is tasked with 7 putting together a first-class state university 8 system, these are questions that are worth asking. 9 From the FIRE standpoint, what we would 10 ask is that the search go primarily for 11 constitutional and statutory responsibilities, not 12 13 something, like many have feared, that a professor 14 who's a radical professor on either side of the spectrum will now not feel as free to teach 15 because, if they share their ideas, then there's 16 going to be a legislature that's calling for their 17 18 heads. That's not the scenario that I think is 19 optimal.

20 And I'm familiar with the Penn State 21 sex controversy because what was interesting is, 22 around the same time that the sex controversy was 23 occurring and there was calls for sanctions or 24 action against Penn State for allowing a 25 controversial sex forum, the Penn State

1 going to make them feel like they're on the

2 outside looking in.

3 That's a virtuous and good motivation. 4 But the fact of the matter is you don't violate 5 the Constitution to further that interest, to advance that good and virtuous motivation. 6 7 And that, in fact, violations of the Constitution often have unintentional 8 consequences. 9 10 One of the stories from the University 11 of Wisconsin when they enacted their speech code, which was designed to make Wisconsin a more 12 13 hospitable place for women and minorities, one of 14 the first complaints was made by someone who 15 complained of being called a redneck. I know the code wasn't enacted to 16 protect rednecks. The code was enacted to protect 17 other people. But there's unintended consequences 18 19 when you begin to -- when you begin to regulate 20 speech on subjective listener offense, it isn't 21 free anymore. And if there's one place it should 22 be free, it's in the academy. 23 So I took your question and --REPRESENTATIVE QUIGLEY: That's okay. 24

25 Based on the way -- the criteria that,

1 your wish list for this Committee, how they would 2 conduct themselves, there's three or four 3 hearings, what would you hope that would come out of -- as a result, what would you think that the 4 5 Legislature should do, if anything? 6 MR. FRENCH: That's a very good 7 question. So much of it depends on what is 8 discovered. 9 But with respect to what we know, for example, the speech codes, I don't see any -- we 10 know for a fact that the Pennsylvania -- the 11 nondiscrimination rules enacted by the 12 13 Pennsylvania Legislature that apply, for example, 14 to the workplace are constitutionally appropriate. 15 What's the impediment to making sure that the nondiscrimination rules of the State 16 university system mirror, for example, the 17 constitutional nondiscrimination rules that apply 18 19 to everyone else in the state? 20 That would by itself eliminate 21 virtually every speech code. So, you know, that's 22 just one thing that I think would be of enormous 23 value, a way to end the violation of the constitutional rights for thousands of 24 25 Pennsylvania citizens.

Regarding the other issues, so much of 1 2 it depends on what is discovered. Is it, in fact, 3 that job descriptions or job performance 4 evaluations are ideologically tinged in any way? 5 You know, not knowing what exactly will be б discovered if anything, it's hard to project 7 beyond that. 8 REPRESENTATIVE QUIGLEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 9 10 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Representative 11 Curry. 12 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Thank you, 13 Mr. Chairman. 14 You know, we have something in the speech code on the floor of the House in our 15 debate; so you may want to look at our rules and 16 17 maybe even make some suggestions. 18 In response to a question on rights 19 violated in the class, you were primarily talking 20 about speech codes though, weren't you? You 21 weren't talking about a student not being able to 22 speak in class or... MR. FRENCH: I believe -- if I'm 23 recalling the question, I'm -- I think in that 24 25 response I was primarily talking about speech

1 codes.

2 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: And your whole 3 approach is about speech codes on campus, not on 4 an instructor/student dialogue in class? 5 MR. FRENCH: That is not the focus of what we do. Because I think, in fact, that absent б evidence that the instructor/student dialogue is 7 being actually restricted in an unconstitutional 8 manner by the instructor -- for example, if a 9 10 professor's talking about the Israeli-Palestinian issue, to take an example from a recent 11 12 controversy at Columbia University, and make some 13 assertions regarding what did or did not happen in 14 Zanine (phonetic), and a proIsraeli student raises 15 their hand to dispute the assertion and the professor says, I will not allow anyone to dispute 16 evidence of Israeli atrocities in my class, that's 17 an unconstitutional act. 18 19 The reports that we get of things like

20 that are a tiny fraction of the reports that we 21 get. Much more of what we get is regarding 22 application of a complaint by a student that 23 another student has offended them, which results 24 in a process at the school that punishes the 25 offending student, the student engaged in the

1 initial offending speech.

2 That is what we face quite a bit, as 3 well as the religious liberty issue of religious 4 student organizations being rejected from campus 5 because they discriminate on the basis of religion or creed or ideology. б 7 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: Although schools I think do have some sense that they need to 8 maintain an atmosphere of civility on campus, and 9 10 that's a real challenge sometimes. 11 MR. FRENCH: It certainly is. And we do not say that a school can't consistently preach 12 13 civility. The problem is when the civility 14 advocacy turns into a civility code. 15 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: You don't know of any college or university in the interview 16 process or on the application form asks for a 17 individual's political registration or --18 19 MR. FRENCH: No. 20 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: -- who they 21 voted for in the last election? 22 MR. FRENCH: No. 23 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: You 24 answered -- you were asked in an interview if you 25 would teach gay students. When I was interviewed,

1 I was asked if I could teach art students. Were

2 my constitutional rights violated?

3 MR. FRENCH: Depends on the context.4 If they said --

5 REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: I got to go back6 45 years.

7 MR. FRENCH: If they said, I see that 8 you're a white male, can you teach art students, 9 because it would implicate your race, that's an 10 unfounded assumption based on race, that would 11 implicate your rights.

If you were applying for a math 12 13 position and they said we also would like you to 14 teach art students, can you do that? That's 15 certainly not -- it's all depends on the context. REPRESENTATIVE CURRY: All right. 16 17 Thank you. 18 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Thank you. Any other questions from the members of the Committee? 19 20 (No audible response.) 21 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Mr. French, I 22 want to thank you. You've been very patient with 23 us and, you know, I know you volunteer your

24 services too.

25 If we need you when our hearings do

1 start, I just -- as a housekeeping matter, we're 2 going to be holding possibly four hearings. One 3 will be in the west, one will be in the east, one 4 will be in the central part of the state, and one 5 somewhere else in the Commonwealth.

6 Representative Curry and I will be
7 getting together next week to start laying out the
8 plans for these hearings.

9 It, I think, will be beneficial for all 10 in attendance to just contact either 11 Representative Curry's office or my office if you 12 want an update. But, really, the first hearing 13 which I hope to hold out west won't be probably 14 now till the end of October, beginning of November 15 at the earliest.

And if you all remember, through the 16 resolution, we have to have our report done and 17 into the House by the end of November of 2006. So 18 19 once we start the hearings, hopefully they'll get 20 rolling, because it will take some time to 21 assimilate the data and put it into report form. 22 Can you, Mr. French, stick around after 23 the hearing -- actually, it's really not a hearing. It's an informational meeting. I'm not 24 25 referring to it correctly. Maybe some of the

1 members of the audience have some questions for

2 you too, and I'd appreciate it if you've had stick 3 around. 4 MR. FRENCH: I'll stick around and 5 answer questions as long as they exist. 6 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: Great. Thank 7 you. And thank you all for attending. 8 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Mr. Chairman, real quick question for the Chair in terms of 9 10 housekeeping for the Committee. Are we ever going 11 to be a body to discuss the direction we're going 12 with this or what information we're going to have 13 provided to us and things to that effect? 14 CHAIRPERSON STEVENSON: That is one of 15 the purposes of our meeting next week. 16 REPRESENTATIVE PALLONE: Okay. Thank 17 you. 18 (Proceedings adjourned at 4:40 p.m.) 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

1	CERTIFICATE
2	I, Deirdre J. Weyer, Registered
3	Professional Reporter, Notary Public, duly
4	commissioned and qualified in and for the County
5	of York, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, hereby
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9	supervision, and that this copy is a correct
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