

Free Expression and Intellectual Diversity

*How Florida Universities
Currently Measure Up*

William Mattox

Director of the J. Stanley Marshall Center for Educational Options

Middlebury College. University of California, Berkeley. Evergreen State. Claremont McKenna. Yale. The list of academic institutions rocked in recent months by (sometimes violent) speech-squelching protests is not pretty. And combined with growing concerns about high student debt and sagging job prospects for many new graduates, these efforts to thwart campus discourse are causing many people – for the first time ever – to question whether higher education is truly worth the investment it requires.

For example, a 2017 survey by the Pew Research Center found that 58 percent of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents now believe colleges and universities are having a negative effect on the direction of our country. This represents a whopping 21 percent shift since 2015 (when 37 percent of center-right Americans viewed the performance of higher education institutions negatively).¹

Growing skepticism about the current direction of American higher education isn't just found among those on the center-right. For example, a center-left New York University professor named Jon Haidt teamed with Greg Lukianoff, a former ACLU attorney who now heads the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), to write a 2015 article for *The Atlantic* magazine entitled, "The Coddling of the American Mind." The essay, which became the second-most-cited article in the long history of *The Atlantic*, directed heavy criticism at "microaggressions," "safe spaces," "trigger warnings," "speech codes," and other attempts to narrowly define the boundaries of acceptable discourse in higher education.²

Similarly, New York Times columnist Michelle Goldberg recently decried the abandonment of free speech protections on college campuses, saying that today's students are naïve to think that the left will always "be allowed to define what is hateful and what is not."³ And progressive columnist Catherine Rampell of *The Washington Post* recently took aim at the increasingly-common campus practice of "conflating mere words with physical assault," noting that "if speech is violence, then violence becomes a justifiable response to speech."⁴

Against this backdrop, it would be a mistake to think that Florida's public universities are in no way threatened by the rise of speech-bullying nationwide. For these problems are not confined to elite private schools or to public universities in "blue" states. Indeed, the fact that Missouri's flagship state university became the scene of a highly-publicized 2015 speech-squelching incident ought to give pause to Florida leaders – especially since the university's mishandling of this controversy spawned a dramatic decline in admissions applications, alumni giving, faculty morale, and student enrollment (and led to the closure of two student dormitories and the elimination of numerous course offerings).⁵

At the same time, it would be an even bigger mistake for Florida higher education leaders to approach this topic with fear and trembling. Even though it may seem counter-intuitive, all of this

campus craziness presents an opportunity for our state. For if the Florida higher education system were to become a haven for free expression and viewpoint diversity – and to become known as such – our universities would be very well positioned to meet the growing demand for intellectually-serious academic study at an affordable cost.

In fact, a major 2013 report said as much.

In 2013, the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) produced a comprehensive report on the state of higher education in Florida (with assistance from The James Madison Institute). This 67-page report, entitled "Florida Rising: An Assessment of Public Universities in the Sunshine State," followed a template ACTA had used in evaluating higher education systems in a number of other states. Specifically, ACTA evaluated 10 different

areas related to academic requirements, intellectual diversity, cost, effectiveness, and governance.

As the report's main title – "Florida Rising" – suggests, ACTA found the Sunshine State's system of higher education to be moving swiftly in a positive direction. It concluded:

Overall, Florida public universities are on a prudent and successful course during these difficult economic times. Significant challenges and difficult decisions over priorities remain. It is clear, however, that Florida has the potential to be a model for other states (emphasis added).⁶

According to ACTA, Florida deserved high marks in governance, cost, and effectiveness – findings which no doubt help to explain why several Florida universities regularly appear on "best value" lists compiled by Forbes, Kiplinger, and other college ranking services.⁷ And while ACTA exposed some gaps in the general education requirements of most Florida universities, it saved its strongest criticism for Florida's record on intellectual diversity. Here, our state's institutions of higher learning were found to be "failing to protect legitimate expression and free speech and actively discouraging a robust exchange of ideas."⁸

Given this glaring weakness identified in the 2013 report, and the fact that public concerns about viewpoint diversity on college campuses have risen significantly in the few short years since ACTA's review, this report will take a fresh look at the state of free speech on Florida campuses today.

It will do so not just because First Amendment protections

■ If the Florida higher education system were to become a haven for free expression and viewpoint diversity – and to become known as such – our universities would be very well positioned to meet the growing demand for intellectually-serious academic study at an affordable cost.

matter generally, but also because freedom of expression and the vigorous exchange of ideas are particularly important to the truth-seeking mission of higher education. Without the back and forth of scholarly challenge and debate – without the rigorous testing of both commonly-accepted and seemingly-outlandish ideas – intellectual weaknesses and “blind spots” rarely get exposed. Consequently, students enter post-college life with a warped understanding of the world and an inability to deal constructively with intelligent criticism and dissent.

As John Stuart Mill famously wrote in *On Liberty*:

He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that. His reasons may be good, and no one may have been able to refute them. But if he is equally unable to refute the reasons on the opposite side, if he does not so much as know what they are, he has no ground for preferring either opinion... Nor is it enough that he should hear the opinions of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. He must be able to hear them from persons who actually

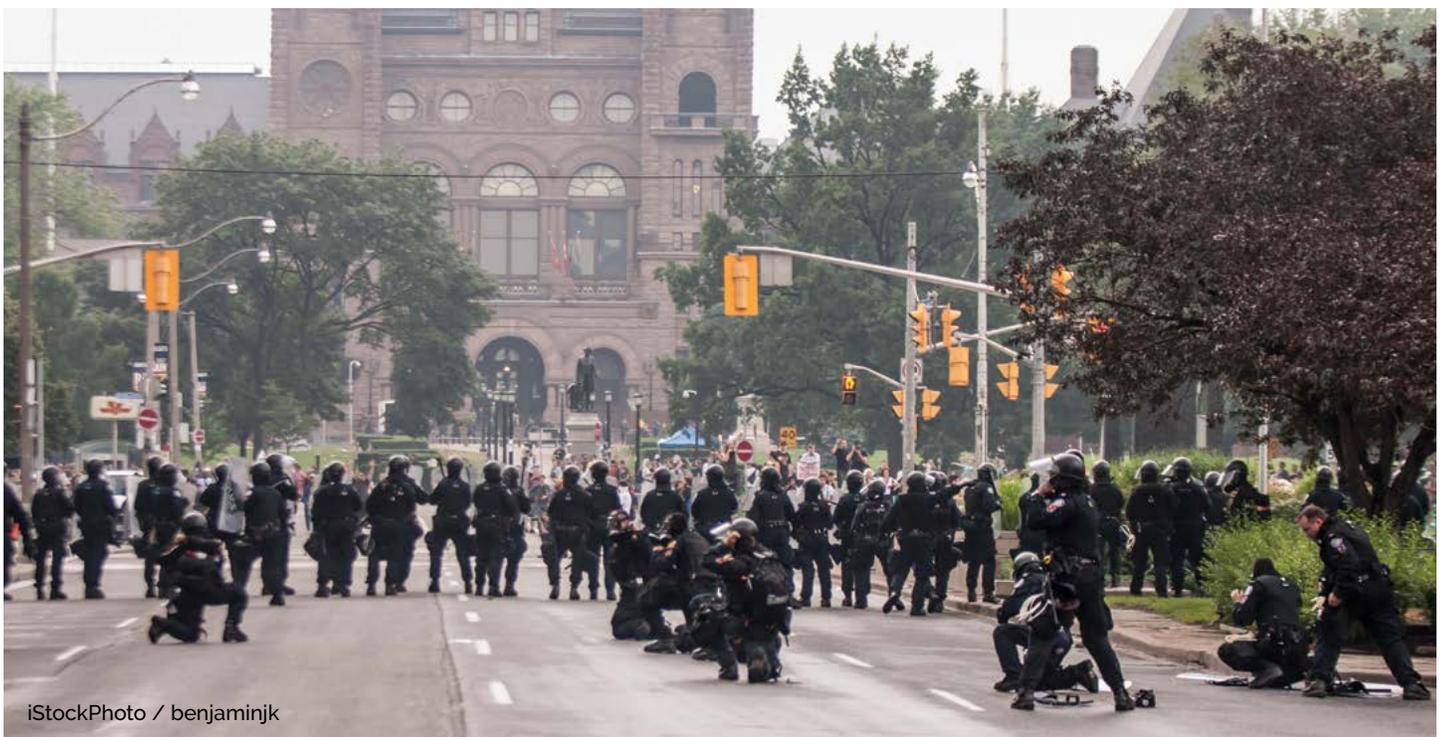
*believe them...he must know them in their most plausible and persuasive form.*⁹

■ When it comes to measuring the true quality of a learning institution, conventional measures of academic quality are relatively useless if the intellectual life of the university is skewed in a manner that (intentionally or unintentionally) suppresses unfashionable ideas and alternative points of view.

In updating – and building upon – the 2013 ACTA report’s findings on intellectual diversity, this report will present some new Florida-specific data designed to address four key questions:

- How well do Florida universities protect free speech?
- How well do Florida universities cultivate a campus culture that is truly open to diverse viewpoints?
- How well have Florida universities responded to serious threats to free expression on their campus, most especially the use of intimidation to silence others?
- How committed are Florida universities to higher education’s primary mission: truth-seeking?

As we will see, these four questions align with four different metrics used in an emerging college ranking system devised by Heterodox Academy (HA), an ideologically-diverse consortium of scholars working to improve viewpoint diversity in their aca-



iStockPhoto / benjaminjk

The Yale Problem Begins in High School

by Jonathan Haidt

A month before the Yale Halloween meltdown, I had a bizarre and illuminating experience at an elite private high school on the West Coast. I'll call it Centerville High. I gave a version of a talk on "Coddle U vs. Strengthen U," that I first gave at Yale a few weeks earlier. Around 450 students, from grades 9-12, were in the auditorium. There was plenty of laughter at all the right spots, and a lot of applause at the end, so I thought the talk was well received.

Then, the discussion began; and it was the most unremittingly hostile questioning I've ever had. I don't mind when people ask hard or critical questions, but I was surprised that I had misread the audience so thoroughly. My talk had little to do with gender, but the second question was "So you think rape is OK?" Like most of the questions, it was backed up by a sea of finger snaps. I had never heard snapping before. When it happens in a large auditorium it is disconcerting. It makes you feel that you are facing an angry and unified mob — a feeling I have never had in 25 years of teaching and public speaking.

After the first dozen questions, I noticed that not a single questioner was male. I began to search the sea of hands and I did find one boy, who asked a question that indicated that he too was critical of my talk. But other than him, the 200 or so boys in the audience sat silently.

After the Q&A, a line of boys came up to me to thank me and shake my hand. Not a single girl came up to me afterward.

The next session involved 60 students who had signed up for further discussion. We moved to a large classroom. The last thing I wanted to do was to continue the fruitless arguing, so I decided to take control of the session and reframe the discussion:

Me: What kind of intellectual climate do you want here at Centerville? Would you rather have option A: a school where people with views you find offensive keep their mouths shut, or B: a school where everyone feels that they can speak up in class discussions?

Audience: All hands go up for B.

Me: OK, let's see if you have that. When there is a class discussion about gender issues, do you feel free to speak up and say what you are thinking? Or do you feel that you are walking on eggshells and you must heavily censor yourself? Just the girls in the class, raise your hand if you feel you can speak up? [about 70% said they feel free, vs about 10% who said eggshells]. Now just the boys? [about 80% said eggshells, nobody said they feel free].

Me: Now let's try it for race. When a topic related to race comes up in class, do you feel free to speak up and say what you are thinking, or do you feel that you are walking on eggshells and you must heavily censor yourself? Just the non-white students? [the group

was around 30% non-white, mostly South and East Asians, and some African Americans. A majority said they felt free to speak, although a large minority said eggshells] Now just the white students? [A large majority said eggshells]

Me: Now, let's try it for politics. How many of you would say you are on the right politically, or that you are conservative or Republican? [6 hands went up, out of 60 students]. Just you folks, when politically charged topics come up, can you speak freely? [Only one hand went up, but that student clarified that everyone gets mad at him when he speaks up, but he does it anyway. The other 5 said eggshells.] How many of you are on the left, liberal, or Democrat? [Most hands go up] Can you speak freely or is it eggshells? [Almost all said they can speak freely.]

Me: So let me get this straight. You were unanimous in saying that you want your school to be a place where people feel free to speak up, even if you strongly dislike their views. But you don't have such a school. In fact, you have a school in which only people in the preferred groups get to speak, and everyone else is afraid. What are you going to do about this? Let's talk.

After that, the conversation was extremely civil and constructive. The boys took part just as much as the girls. We talked about what Centerville could do to improve its climate, and I said the most important single step would be to make viewpoint diversity a priority. On the entire faculty, there was not a single teacher that was known to be conservative or Republican. So, if these teenagers are coming into political consciousness inside a "moral matrix" that is uniformly leftist, there'll always be anger directed at those who disrupt that consensus.

That night, there was a reception with some of the parents. Several came up to me to tell me their sons had told them about the day's events. The boys finally had a way to express and explain their feelings of discouragement.

Centerville is not alone. Last summer I had a conversation with some boys who attend one of the nation's top prep schools, in New England. They reported the same thing: as white males, they are constantly on eggshells, afraid to speak up on any remotely controversial topic lest they be sent to the "equality police" (that was their term for the multicultural center).

You might think that this is some sort of justice — white males have enjoyed positions of privilege for centuries, and now they are getting a taste of their own medicine. But these are children. And remember: most students who are in a victim group for one topic are in the "oppressor" group for another. So all students at Centerville High learn the twin habits of defensive self-censorship and vindictive protectiveness.

And then... they go off to college and learn new ways to gain

status by expressing collective anger at those who disagree. They curse professors and spit on visiting speakers at Yale. They shut down newspapers at Wesleyan. They torment a dean who was trying to help them at Claremont-McKenna. And in all cases, they demand that adults in power DO SOMETHING to punish those whose views offend them. Their high schools have thoroughly socialized them into what sociologists call victimhood culture, which weakens students by turning them into “moral dependents” who cannot deal with problems on their own. They must get adult authorities to validate their victim status.

So they issue ultimatums to college presidents; and, as we saw at Yale, the college presidents meet their deadlines, give them much of what they demanded, commit their schools to an ever tighter embrace of victimhood culture, and say nothing to criticize the bullying, threats, and intimidation tactics that have created a culture of intense fear for anyone who might even consider questioning the prevailing moral matrix.

The only hope for Centerville High — and for Yale — is to disrupt their repressively uniform moral matrices to make room for dissenting views. High schools and colleges that lack viewpoint diversity should make it their top priority. Race and gender diversity matter too, but if those goals are pursued in the ways that student activists are currently demanding, then political orthodoxy is likely to intensify. Schools that value freedom of thought

should therefore actively seek out non-leftist faculty, and they should explicitly include viewpoint diversity and political diversity in all statements about diversity and discrimination. Parents and students who value freedom of thought should take viewpoint diversity into account when applying to colleges. Alumni should take it into account before writing any more checks.

The Yale problem refers to an unfortunate feedback loop: Once you allow victimhood culture to spread on your campus, you can expect ever more anger from students representing victim groups, coupled with demands for a deeper institutional commitment to victimhood culture, which leads inexorably to more anger, more demands, and more commitment. But the Yale problem didn't start at Yale. It started in high school. As long as many of our high schools are turning out students who have only known eggshells and anger, whose social cognition is limited to a single dimension of victims and victimizers, and who demand safe spaces and trigger warnings, it's hard to imagine how any university can open students' minds and prepare them to converse respectfully with people who don't share their values. Especially when there are no adults around who don't share their values.

Jonathan Haidt is a professor at New York University. This article first appeared on November 24, 2015 at www.HeterodoxAcademy.org.

demic fields and institutions. (See sidebar on page 6.)

Accordingly, the data provided in this report should help university officials identify areas needing more attention and improvement, help parents and students compare Florida schools to those in other states, and help policymakers determine how to weigh future performance funding (since we should be rewarding institutions that distinguish themselves as citadels of free thought).

Most importantly, these new metrics should help underscore the importance of intellectual freedom in the pursuit of truth. Because when it comes to measuring the true quality of a learning institution, conventional measures of academic quality — such as highly-credentialed professors and small class sizes and low faculty-student ratios — are relatively useless if the intellectual life of the university is skewed in a manner that (intentionally or unintentionally) suppresses unfashionable ideas and alternative points of view.

Protecting Free Speech

The 2013 ACTA study based its assessment of “intellectual diversity” at Florida public universities on a widely-used rating sys-

tem developed by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE). This rating system measures the extent to which each university employs “speech codes,” which FIRE defines as “any university regulation or policy that prohibits expression that would be protected by the First Amendment in society at large.”¹⁰

As FIRE explains:

Many speech codes impermissibly prohibit speech on the basis of content and/or viewpoint. An example of this type of policy would be a ban on “offensive language” or “disparaging remarks.” Other speech codes are content-neutral but excessively regulate the time, place, and manner of speech. A policy of this type might limit protests and demonstrations to one or two “free speech zones” on campus and/or require students to obtain permission in advance in order to demonstrate on campus.¹¹

The first type of prohibitions — those that overtly regulate content — present major First Amendment problems. They hinder free expression and run contrary to the time-tested truism that “the best response to offensive speech is more speech.”

To be sure, speech codes of this kind can have seductive appeal

Heterodox Academy Methodology

Here is how Heterodox Academy explains its process of converting various ratings into a quantitative score for each institution:

In developing the scoring method and weights, we converted each source into a number ranging from 0 (most inimical to viewpoint diversity) to +1 (most supportive of viewpoint diversity). We then multiplied each number by a weight (a number between 10 and 25, showing the percent of the total score represented by this component). We then added up these weighted components to create a "Heterodoxy Score" that runs from 0 to 100.

Schools with high scores are the ones you should apply to if you want to maximize your odds of attending a school that welcomes intellectual diversity and dissent. A score of 50 means we can't tell which way the school's culture is likely to lean.

The information sources used in our guide, with their weights, are:

1. ENDORSED CHICAGO: Whether the university has endorsed the Chicago Principles on free expression (Yes = +1, No = 0). The Chicago score contributes a 10 point bonus if a school has endorsed these guidelines, but schools lose no points if they have not endorsed them.

2. FIRE RATING: Obtained from the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE).

RED: At least one policy clearly and substantially restricts freedom of speech and expression. (0 points)

WARNING: Values other than the right to free speech and expression are prioritized. (0)

YELLOW: Policies that restrict a more limited amount of protected expression or, due to vague wording, could restrict protected expression. (.25)

GREEN: No serious threats to speech. (+1)

UNRATED: No FIRE rating of speech policies. (.5 points)
The FIRE rating contributes 30% of the overall Heterodoxy score for each school.

3. ISI RATING: Obtained from the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) guide to Choosing the Right College 2014-15.

RED: Unsafe zone (0 points)

YELLOW: Potentially unsafe (.25 points)

GREEN: Generally safe (+1)

UNRATED: No ISI rating (.5 points)
The ISI rating contributes 25% of the overall Heterodoxy score for each school.

4. RELEVANT EVENTS SINCE 2014:

Schools start with a rating of .5. Events on campus that indicate a commitment by faculty, administration and/or students to protect free inquiry and viewpoint diversity are labeled GREEN (+.25 each). If events indicate a restriction or punishment of dissenting opinions or speakers, they are labeled RED (-.25 each). The relevant event scores range from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 1.

The three Relevant Events scores contribute 45% of the overall Heterodoxy score for each school. The Student score is weighted as 20%, Administrators are 15% and Faculty are 10%.

VIOLENCE PENALTY: We subtract 3 points from the Heterodoxy score for each instance where there is an assault on individuals (as defined legally) or clear physical intimidation, or significant property damage, if that violence is intended to stop or shut down an event or is otherwise directed at a speaker or in response to a particular campus policy or event. (If it is clear that students played no role in the violence, then no penalty is levied. But if students were a significant part of a mob that used violence or physical intimidation, then we levy the penalty.)

when “extreme” views are expressed. But it is important to keep in mind that many of the “pariahs” that were once considered “outside the mainstream” – such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders – are now viewed, rightly, as heroic figures in American life. Their ideas ultimately withstood the challenge of “more speech” from those that disagreed with them.

Moreover, speech codes regulating what viewpoints can and cannot be expressed often have a chilling effect on intellectual inquiry and the quest for truth. As the 2013 ACTA report observed:

Like so many things in life, overly broad speech and sensitivity codes emerge because of good intentions. As some thinking goes, we should not offend; we should not make people uncomfortable. We need to get along. But in mounting this argument, those who look favorably upon speech codes miss an important point: speech codes often create a chilling atmosphere, effectively empowering the institution to silence students and faculty on the grounds that a person, or even a group, has been, or may be, “offended.” When faced with speech codes or harassment policies (whatever the name and whatever the guise), students will hold back from expressing controversial opinions or making forceful arguments, worried that they might face administrative or disciplinary repercussions for constitutionally protected speech.¹²

The second type of speech codes – content-neutral restrictions that excessively regulate the time, place, and manner of speech – may not at first glance seem that oppressive. Indeed, initially, they do not appear to contain the same sort of overt “censorship” problems that the first type of restrictions present. But these restrictions can, at times, be just as problematic. Indeed, because of their stated “content-neutrality,” they can be even more pernicious, giving university administrators “plausible deniability” in deliberate attempts to hinder certain viewpoints from gaining wide exposure.

This is not to say that all time, place, and manner of speech restrictions are inherently problematic. As George Mason University’s Institute for Humane Studies (IHS) notes in its 2017 free speech guide:

Regulations on the appropriate time, place, and manner of speech are not only permissible, but important for preserving the integrity of the marketplace of ideas. Examples include limiting the level of noise near classrooms and libraries; [and] requiring advance notice of events

in which police might be needed to maintain order... but three fundamental rules apply to their application. First, they must be applied in an even-handed manner regardless of the viewpoints or content of the speech. Second, they must not serve as pretexts for discriminating against speech. Third, they must not limit speech more than is necessary to achieve the legitimate purpose of order and protecting the rights of others.¹³

On this last point, IHS (like FIRE and many others) takes aim at campus policies that create oxymoronic “free speech zones:”

Appropriate time, place, and manner regulations should not permit free speech zones that limit student speech or demonstration to a certain narrow area of campus, or that require students to obtain prior approval before engaging in public speech or assembly. The limit of public discourse to such zones has at least two problems: it implies that free speech is the exception, not the default rule, and should be sufficiently quarantined, and it restricts the availability and quantity of free speech on campus.¹⁴

FIRE translates these concerns about both overt and “content-neutral” speech codes into regular assessments of how well universities are doing in protecting the First Amendment rights of individuals on campus. In compiling its ratings, FIRE mimics commonly-used traffic signals. That is, FIRE gives a red light to any institution that “has at least one official policy that clearly and substantially restricts freedom of speech.” It gives a yellow light to any institution that has policies which “restrict a limited amount of protected expression or could too easily be used to restrict protected expression.” And it gives a green light to institutions with



iStockPhoto / vasiliki

policies which “do not seriously imperil free speech.”¹⁵

As Table 1 shows, no Florida public university had a “green light” rating from FIRE – and seven of 11 had “red light” ratings – when ACTA did its 2013 comprehensive review of higher education in the Sunshine State.¹⁶ (It is no wonder, then, that ACTA offered such a stinging critique of Florida higher education’s commitment to free expression.)

Yet, much has changed in Florida in the few short years since that ACTA study. As Table 1 shows, five public universities – Florida Gulf Coast, Florida International, South Florida, West Florida, and New College – have raised their FIRE rating from red to yellow. One institution, the University of Florida, has increased its rating from yellow to green. And another, the University of North Florida, has leapt all the way from red to green.

At the same time, only one school has regressed, going from yellow to red (the University of Central Florida); while three others have stayed in place, either at yellow (Florida A & M and Florida Atlantic) or at red (Florida State University).

In summary, two Florida universities now boast FIRE’s best rating (UF and UNF); seven now have FIRE’s middle rating, and two have FIRE’s worst rating (FSU and UCF).

For perspective, only eight percent of the 450 schools evaluated nationwide by FIRE have earned “green light” status; and while the number of universities receiving “red light” ratings has declined over the last five years, higher education’s “red light” district still includes a wide array of prominent institutions. For example, FIRE’s 2017 list of the “Ten Worst Colleges for Free Speech” includes Harvard, Fordham, Cal State Long Beach, and the University of South Carolina.¹⁷

As one might expect, FIRE ratings have had a significant impact on the intellectual diversity rankings compiled by Heterodox Academy (HA). These annual rankings, which began two years ago, weigh data in four different categories to develop a composite “viewpoint diversity” score for each of the schools ranked in the U.S. News Top 150. The FIRE ratings account for 30 percent of a school’s overall Heterodox Academy score and are often a bellwether for one’s overall HA ranking. Indeed, each of the “Top Ten” schools in the overall Heterodox Academy rankings boast a “green light” rating from FIRE for protecting free speech.¹⁸

Cultivating a Campus Culture Open to Diverse Viewpoints

Given the importance of intellectual inquiry, of subjecting ideas to rigorous back-and-forth testing, it is critically important for universities to cultivate a campus culture that welcomes diverse thought and open discussion – even, or perhaps especially, on controversial topics. And while eschewing any and all restrictive speech codes is an important first step towards cultivating such

Table 1: Campus Free Speech Ratings by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE)

School	2013	2017
Florida A & M University (FAMU)	● Yellow light	● Yellow light
Florida Atlantic University (FAU)	● Yellow light	● Yellow light
Florida Gulf Coast University (FGCU)	● Red light	● Yellow light
Florida International University (FIU)	● Red light	● Yellow light
Florida State University (FSU)	● Red light	● Red light
New College of Florida	● Red light	● Yellow light
University of Central Florida (UCF)	● Yellow light	● Red light
University of Florida (UF)	● Yellow light	● Green light
University of North Florida (UNF)	● Red light	● Green light
University of South Florida (USF)	● Red light	● Yellow light
University of West Florida (UWF)	● Red light	● Yellow light

a culture, FIRE’s ratings don’t tell us everything we might like to know about the intellectual “openness” of any school.

After all, just because a particular university has no speech code restrictions does not necessarily mean that its students will feel free to exercise their First Amendment rights – especially if they sense that viewpoints other than their own are “privileged” on campus. Accordingly, it may be useful to think of campus speech having a “hierarchy of needs” similar in some ways to those Abraham Maslow identified for the individual. That is, at the most basic “survival” level, students need legal protections that ensure their right to free expression; but building on this, students need an intellectually-rich environment that fosters respect for diverse viewpoints and allows them to engage in spirited intellectual debate without feeling like they must constantly “walk on eggshells.”

Sadly, Jon Haidt reports that a growing number of the college students he encounters say they pointedly avoid engaging in such spirited discourse – and that this self-censorship often begins in high school. (See sidebar on page 4)

David French of National Review says that some of these “campus culture” problems are a byproduct of viewpoint discrimination in the college admissions process. He writes:

Our elite colleges and universities are overwhelmingly populated by politically progressive students. Yet does anyone think that a random sample of high SAT scores would yield pools that are

90 percent or greater progressive? And just like the proverbial fish that doesn't know it's wet, members of the [admissions] committees are often unaware of their own biases. They live so deeply in the progressive cocoon that they often have no clue about the lives of top-achieving conservative applicants — how their lives often just look different from those of the young progressives who've been aiming for Harvard since birth.¹⁹

In addition, French says viewpoint discrimination often works against ethnic minorities interested in pursuing work in certain fields:

I saw this firsthand when I taught at Cornell Law School and served on the admissions committee. A black applicant with ambitions to join the world of finance was treated as “less diverse” than black applicants who wanted to pursue work in social-justice-related fields. Cuban applicants were “less diverse” than Mexican Americans who proclaimed solidarity with illegal immigrants. Time and again, there was a clear preference for applicants who exhibited some sort of “social conscience.”²⁰

Haidt and his colleagues at Heterodox Academy are not surprised by such reports. Indeed, countering campus “groupthink” is part of what led to the creation of Heterodox Academy. “When nearly everyone in a field shares the same political orientation, certain ideas become orthodox, dissent is discouraged, and errors can go unchallenged,” they write.²¹

Apparently, ideological “groupthink” isn't just confined to the student admissions process; it also appears to pervade the faculty hiring and tenure-granting processes as well. According to longitudinal nationwide data collected by UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute, a dramatic leftward shift in the composition of university faculty occurred between 1989 and 2014. Whereas progressives comprised roughly 40 percent of the professoriate in the late 1980s, they comprise 60 percent today. Moderates (at 28 percent) and conservatives (at 12 percent) not only account for a smaller share of today's faculty, but conservatives have practically reached “endangered species” status (a mere 5 percent) in the humanities and social sciences.²²

The leftward tilt of today's academic life hurts scholars – and would-be scholars – of a more conservative bent. But it also hurts progressives, who, like all of us, benefit from thoughtful intellectual challenge and exposure to alternative perspectives. Moreover, campuses that are overwhelmingly dominated by one ideolog-

ical perspective are much more vulnerable to violations of free speech (and the embarrassing public relations problems that go with them) since the absence of viewpoint diversity can lead to the trampling of First Amendment rights. Put another way, free speech is more likely to be defended vigorously when more viewpoint diversity is present – the latter is perhaps the best guarantee of the former's defense.

Thus, when the scholars at Heterodox Academy went to find a metric for their composite rankings that would measure (as well as possible) the openness of a campus culture, they turned to a rating system devised by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI). These ratings – which follow the same “red light,” “yellow light,” “green light” pattern found in FIRE's free speech ratings – are included in ISI's periodic guide, “Choosing the Right College.”²³ Designed to aid high school students in making decisions about which colleges to attend, ISI's ratings pay particular attention to how welcoming different schools are to students who come from a conservative, libertarian, and/or religiously orthodox background.

Heterodox Academy explains its decision to use the ISI ratings forthrightly: “We presume that open-minded progressive students would prefer not to attend a school at which students who are not on the left are hesitant to speak up.”²⁴ And its scholars indicate that their concerns about academic orthodoxy would be every bit as strong if the shoe were on the other foot: “If academics were predominantly conservative or libertarian, a very different set of unjustified orthodoxies would likely be prevalent. Such orthodoxies [would] forestall scholarly inquiry”²⁵

(and would presumably make it important to assess how welcoming a school's culture is to political progressives).

The inclusion of the ISI ratings – which are weighted 25 percent in the Heterodox Academy rankings – proves beneficial to Florida's flagship institutions. As Table 2 indicates, both the University of Florida and Florida State University earn “green light” ratings from ISI for their openness to conservatives.²⁶ Notably, ISI reports that FSU's “College Republicans are very active, boasting large membership rolls” and that “political expression on campus is surprisingly balanced” at the University of Florida where “both conservative and liberal perspectives are regularly aired on a range of topics.”²⁷

Some of this openness to diverse political expression is no doubt a reflection of the fact that Florida (like the rest of the southeast) has a larger conservative population than that found in some other regions of the country. Yet, campus leadership also appears to

■ The leftward tilt of today's academic life hurts scholars – and would-be scholars – of a more conservative bent. But it also hurts progressives, who, like all of us, benefit from thoughtful intellectual challenge and exposure to alternative perspectives.

Table 2: Campus Politics Ratings by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI)

ACC Schools		SEC Schools	
Boston College	● Green light	University of Arkansas	● Yellow light
Duke University	● Red light	Auburn University	● Green light
Florida State University	● Green light	University of Alabama	● Green light
Georgia Tech	● Red light	University of Florida	● Green light
University of North Carolina	● Green light	University of Georgia	● Green light
N.C. State University	● Green light	University of Kentucky	● Green light
Notre Dame	● Yellow light	Louisiana State University	● Green light
University of Virginia	● Green light	University of Mississippi	● Green light
Wake Forest University	● Green light	University of Missouri	● Red light
		University of Tennessee	● Green light
		Vanderbilt University	● Red light

The Real Story Behind The B-CU Graduation Protest

By William Mattox

When U.S. Education Secretary Betsy DeVos spoke at Bethune-Cookman University’s 2017 graduation recently, the all-too-familiar tactics of students protesting her appearance sparked a new round of all-too-familiar media stories about “Campus Snowflakes Squelching Free Speech.”

Which actually was quite a shame.

Because the real story at Bethune-Cookman’s graduation wasn’t the students’ boorish noisemaking to try and drown out DeVos (after initially waging a campaign to have her speaking invitation rescinded).

No, the real story at Bethune-Cookman’s graduation was the grown-up reaction of the campus leaders in charge of the event. Unlike many college administrators today, B-CU President Edison O. Jackson didn’t cower in the face of student protests. Instead, Jackson directly confronted the unruly students, telling them that if their disrespectful behavior continued, he’d have no choice but to mail them their degrees rather than continuing the ceremony.

As a result, DeVos got to finish her speech. And Jackson got to show college administrators around the country that it’s possible to successfully resist today’s campus protesters, whose efforts to squelch free speech are antithetical to the mission of higher education.

“Students don’t benefit when they are only limited to perspectives that are broadly sanctioned by a specific community,” Jackson wrote in an Orlando Sentinel op-ed about B-CU’s commencement. “If our students are robbed of the opportunity to experience and interact with views that may be different from their own, then they will be tremendously less equipped for the demands of democratic citizenship.”

In arguing for intellectual engagement between people with diverse views, Jackson invoked the memory of his school’s founder, Mary McLeod Bethune. “She did all she could during the nascent stages of this institution to equip her students with the necessary skills to navigate the precarious waters of fundamental disagreement,” Jackson noted. “She modeled this by interacting

with and uniquely engaging those who had to be convinced of her mission to provide education to her people.”

Interestingly, one of Mary McLeod Bethune’s most loyal and enthusiastic backers – James N. Gamble of Proctor & Gamble fame – had a demographic profile and philanthropic focus eerily similar to that of Betsy DeVos. Like DeVos, Gamble was a Midwestern Protestant Republican who used monies inherited from a family cleaning products fortune to help give educational options to disadvantaged children being neglected by their local school system.

Had the vocal minority of B-CU students protesting at graduation been more aware of this history, they might have thought twice about turning their backs on DeVos – especially since Mary McLeod Bethune herself was once the target of a malicious campus protest.

In 1930, Bethune received an invitation to speak to a student assembly at nearby Rollins College in Winter Park. By then, Bethune had made quite a name for herself. She had successfully built up her Daytona

matter here. As Table 2 indicates, some of the schools grouped with UF in the Southeastern Conference (such as Mizzou), or with FSU in the Atlantic Coast Conference (such as Georgia Tech), do not fare as well as Florida's flagship institutions in the ISI ratings, despite having state populations at least as conservative as Florida's.

Still, there are some cautionary notes for FSU from the ISI narrative surrounding its ratings. Reflecting on FSU's requirement that students take both a "cross-cultural studies" course and a "diversity" course, ISI reports, "Students are not fooled and see these courses for what they are: concessions to current leftist trends in academics" – or as one student put it, "nothing more than indoctrination courses ... taught from an ideological point of view."²⁸

Regrettably, ISI does not yet rate any of Florida's other public universities. Like a number of other review services, ISI's college

guide focuses primarily on "elite schools" and "outstanding lesser-known institutions" (most of which are small private liberal arts colleges). Indeed, many of these "outstanding" schools are also featured in a thinner ISI volume, "All-American Colleges: Top Schools for Conservatives, Old-Fashioned Liberals, and People of Faith."²⁹

Responding to Specific Challenges

In addition to protecting free speech and cultivating a campus culture that welcomes wide viewpoint diversity, it is important for campus officials to respond appropriately to specific challenges to free expression that will inevitably arise if a university is true to its mission.

School for Negro Girls, from its modest beginning in 1904 to its eventual merger with the Cookman Institute. And Bethune had garnered the attention of many people in Washington, thanks in part to her leadership of the National Association of Colored Women. (She would go on to serve as an advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a member of FDR's famous "Black Cabinet.")

Nevertheless, when the Rollins College board learned that Bethune had been invited to address a student assembly, it balked. The board told the school's president that Rollins had never had a black leader speak on its campus – and that it had no interest in seeing Bethune become the first.

When the Rollins president went to Daytona to inform Bethune that her speaking invitation was being rescinded, he told her he was so ashamed of the board's decision that he planned to resign his position. Bethune urged him to reconsider, telling him that the Rollins students needed his leadership more than they needed to hear her speak. Nearly 20 years later, in 1949, Bethune received an honorary degree from Rollins in what she later described as one of the most satisfying tributes ever paid to her.

Now, I'm sure there are some who'll want to argue that today's Bethune-Cookman protesters appear to be as close-minded as that Rollins College board was back in 1930. But, again, this misses the larger story. Because all of us, if the truth be known, tend to be wary of people who have a perspective different from our own unless someone teaches us that there is wisdom in engaging with diverse points of view.

And the real story from the B-CU graduation is that someone did just that. President Edison O. Jackson used the graduation protest as a teachable moment to remind all current (and prospective) members of the "Bethune-Cookman family" what B-CU stands for – and with whom it stands. Indeed, in comparing the B-CU protest to a similar controversy that once arose over an invited speaker at the University of Chicago, Jackson quoted then-UC president Robert Hutchins, who said, "The cure for ideas that we may oppose lies through open discussion rather than through inhibition – free inquiry is indispensable to the good life, universities exist for the sake of such inquiry, and without free inquiry, they cease to be universities."

Surely, it is lamentable that Jackson's

defense of B-CU's commitment to free inquiry had to come in response to a protest staged by a vocal minority of its graduating seniors. As Morehouse College alum Justin McClinton observed in *The Federalist*, "That a college administrator had to address a group of recent graduates as if they were raucous high schoolers illustrates how infantilized American college students have become."

Nevertheless, it is important that we not miss the real story here. For what makes the 2017 Bethune-Cookman graduation notable isn't that some B-CU students proved that they could behave just as badly as college students elsewhere. What makes the 2017 Bethune-Cookman graduation notable is that B-CU's president unapologetically confronted student boorishness with a stirring reminder of why free inquiry remains central to the mission of any legitimate university.

William Mattox is the director of the Marshall Center for Educational Options at The James Madison Institute in Tallahassee. His center's namesake, J. Stanley Marshall, served for many years on the Bethune-Cookman Board of Trustees.

That last phrase may strike some risk-averse campus officials (and school boosters) as odd because it pointedly challenges the idea that universities should seek to avoid controversy at all costs. As the 2017 IHS free speech guide observes:

*There is no single or simple way to inoculate a campus against controversy resulting from the clash of ideas ... [and] it would be shortsighted to attempt this, as inoculating a campus against a clash of ideas would undermine the very purpose of higher education in a liberal democratic society.*³⁰

The IHS guide goes on to say that the goal of college leaders should be creating a campus culture “where a ‘verbal cacophony’ is heard and seen as a sign of strength and vibrancy ... and as a sign of hope for American civic life.”³¹

To be sure, our overly-politicized culture has a hard time viewing any “verbal cacophony” as a sign of strength and vibrancy. And perhaps nowhere is this truer than on many college campuses where political correctness is rampant, groupthink is common, and social media “mobs” arise in a flash to intimidate anyone who openly strays from the prevailing orthodoxy.

Yet, university officials do their students – and the surrounding community – a great service when they stand up to speech-squelching bullies, when they refuse to give in to those seeking to use a “heckler’s veto” against invited speakers, and when they point people (perhaps especially during trying times) to the importance of free expression and intellectual diversity. This, in many ways, is what Bethune-Cookman University’s president did earlier this year when faced with such a challenge. (See sidebar on page 10) And his example is one from which Florida’s public universities can certainly learn, because it helps bring to life some of the ideas contained in a key passage from the IHS college guide:

The principles of intellectual diversity and the Open University require that a wide range of viewpoints should be not only allowed on campus, but also encouraged. These principles do not oblige an institution to provide a forum for views that have no academic credibility. Further, in practice, limits on resources, space, and time mean that no campus can provide a platform for every speaker or viewpoint. Within these limits, though, it is advisable

*for administrators to take seriously their role as curators of a public forum on their campus in ways that broaden and strengthen the intellectual lives of the campus community.*³²

In addition to illustrating what it means to take seriously one’s role as curator of a public forum, Bethune-Cookman University President Jackson’s actions are notable because they represent the kind of bold leadership apt to be rewarded by Heterodox Academy. That’s because 45 percent of a university’s composite HA score is derived from an assessment of events on campus that positively or negatively affect an institution’s commitment to free inquiry and viewpoint diversity.

In explaining their scoring, Heterodox Academy scholars report that they break out events by source (students, faculty or administration), weighting student actions (20 percent) more than administrators (15 percent) or faculty (10 percent) because their research indicates that “students walk on eggshells primarily out of fear of their fellow students.”

Schools gain points when they affirm free expression – as, say, when a university administrator defends the student newspaper’s right to publish a controversial op-ed. And they lose points when they violate principles of free expression – as, say, when the University of Missouri police asked “individuals who witness incidents of hateful and/or hurtful speech to immediately call the campus police station (or 911).”³³

Incidents that result in a violent assault on individuals, or clear physical intimidation, or significant property damage, receive additional point deductions if that violence is perpetrated by students seeking to stop or shut down an event or speaker they oppose.³⁴

Importantly, the Heterodox Academy scholars readily acknowledge the limitations of their data: “Culture varies enormously within each university (e.g., humanities are most at risk of political orthodoxy; natural sciences much less so), and the undergraduate culture can change over the course of a few years.”³⁵ Moreover, they readily acknowledge their inability to evaluate specific incidents at every major university at this point in their development. (To date, HA primarily focuses on the Top 150 national universities in the U.S. News rankings.) Still, the Heterodox scholars recognize that quantifying campus openness to viewpoint diversity serves a useful purpose, perhaps especially for high school seniors trying to determine which college to attend.

■ University officials do their students – and the surrounding community – a great service when they stand up to speech-squelching bullies, when they refuse to give in to those seeking to use a “heckler’s veto” against invited speakers, and when they point people to the importance of free expression and intellectual diversity.

Florida's flagship universities aren't apt to complain, given that Heterodox Academy's 2017 rankings do not dock either school for any specific incidents undermining campus free speech. Some of this "clean record" no doubt stems from the fact that Heterodox (appropriately) ignores minor events involving only a handful of students or professors, opting instead to "focus on events indicating broader sentiment, norms, or policy."³⁶

Thus, when a lone resident advisor in an FSU dorm created a bulletin board display last October advising her hall mates on how to avoid "cultural appropriation" when choosing a Halloween costume, the entire university didn't suffer any point deductions for "pretending to be as juvenile as the students at Yale."³⁷

Hopefully, Florida's flagship universities not only will continue to stay out of hot water with the Heterodox Academy reviewers, but also will earn some positive accolades in future rankings for deftly balancing the free speech and public safety concerns surrounding Richard Spencer's controversial appearance on campus (at UF) and for proactively initiating an innovative series of "shared spaces" forums featuring an ideologically-diverse array of scholars (at FSU).

Moreover, hopefully, Florida's up-and-coming universities will seek to position themselves for success in future reviews by groups like Heterodox Academy. While many of these emerging institutions have improved their FIRE ratings in recent years (as we saw in Table 1), some have experienced problematic campus incidents in recent months. For example:

- During last fall's presidential election campaign, the University of South Florida Student Government sent out a message to students that read: "Join us as we welcome Hillary Clinton back to Tampa! She'll discuss why our nation needs a steady, experienced leader who is ready on day one." This official message rankled many Republican students, who noted that when Donald Trump visited USF



This plaque on the FSU campus pays tribute to Dr. Marshall's commitment to campus free speech.

earlier in the year, the message sent by USF Student Government officials struck a much different tone, emphasizing the need for student protestors to "be safe."³⁸

- During the most recent presidential campaign, some Cuban-American students protesting an on-campus appearance by Hillary Clinton at Florida International University were told to move their protest to an FIU-sanctioned "free assembly area" or face arrest by FIU police. Unfortunately, there were no such "free assembly areas" adjacent to the building where the Clinton event was being held – a clear illustration of how "speech zones" are sometimes used by campus officials to hinder students' ability to gain a wide audience.³⁹
- A month after Donald Trump's election, the student body president at FIU sent out a campus-wide "Holiday Message of Hope" that contained a not-so-thinly-veiled attack on the president-elect: "Due to the recent elections, you may be increasingly concerned about how potential federal policy changes may affect you or your peers ...regardless of your legal status, sexual orientation, country of origin, or ethnicity: YOU belong at FIU. YOU are valued at FIU. YOU will be supported at FIU." No mention was made as to whether those Cuban-American students supporting Trump were covered by FIU's spirit of "inclusion" and respect for "diversity."⁴⁰
- Several months after Trump took office, the new "Diversity

Chair” for the University of Central Florida’s student government publicly declared that Trump supporters are “not welcome” on UCF’s campus. The statement set off an uproar on campus and eventually led to the Diversity Chair’s voluntary resignation.⁴¹

These incidents appear to confirm Heterodox Academy’s contention that the greatest threats to free expression on campus are often from one’s fellow students. And while some youthful indiscretions can be chalked up to students’ exuberance and immaturity, it is nevertheless vitally important that campus administrators recognize that students often take their cues on matters of speech from professors and administrators. This is why it is so important for university officials to leave no doubt about where they stand on campus free speech and intellectual diversity. Which leads us to the final area of measurement included in the Heterodox Academy rankings.

Affirming Higher Education’s Primary Mission

In addition to protecting free speech, fostering an “open” campus culture, and responding to specific challenges that will inevi-

tably arise if a university is true to its mission, it is also important for college leaders to affirm their truth-seeking mission – and the indispensable role that free expression and viewpoint diversity play in this.

For this reason, the Heterodox Academy rankings grant 10 bonus points to any institution that has officially endorsed the “University of Chicago’s Principles on Freedom of Expression,” which state in part:

The University’s fundamental commitment is to the principle that debate or deliberation may not be suppressed because the ideas put forth are thought by some or even by most members of the University community to be offensive, unwise, immoral, or wrong-headed. It is for the individual members of the University community, not for the University as an institution, to make those judgments for themselves, and to act on those judgments not by seeking to suppress speech, but by openly and vigorously contesting the ideas that they oppose. Indeed, fostering the ability of members of the University community to engage in such debate and deliberation in an effective and responsible manner is an essential part of the University’s educational mission.⁴²

Institutions that do not sign the University of Chicago statement do not lose any points; but those that officially endorse these principles gain 10 bonus points. As Heterodox explains:

This is not about what policies regarding free speech are on the books; the FIRE rating takes care of that. Nor is it about whether the President has said something positive about free speech in a lecture or an op-ed. This item is about whether the faculty senate or some other official body has made a strong affirmative commitment in the last few years to protecting free speech, including the expression of very unpopular views.⁴³

Regrettably, no public university in Florida has made such a commitment, although one private college -- Eckerd -- has done so. (See Table 3.) Yet, this would be an easy way for Florida schools to boost their future Heterodox scores – and, more importantly, to affirm their institutional commitment to free expression and intellectual diversity.

Remarkably, adding 10 bonus points to

■ **Table 3:** Institutions Officially Endorsing the University of Chicago Statement

American University	Michigan State University
Amherst College	Princeton University
Appalachian State University	Purdue University
Chapman University	State University of New York - University at Buffalo
The Citadel	University of Chicago
City University of New York	University of Denver
Claremont McKenna College	University of Minnesota
Columbia University	University of Missouri system
Eckerd College	University of Montana
Franklin & Marshall College	University of Southern Indiana
Georgetown University	University of Virginia College at Wise
Johns Hopkins University	University of Wisconsin system
Kansas State University	Vanderbilt University
Kenyon College	Washington University in St. Louis
Louisiana State University	Winston-Salem State University

the University of Florida's composite score would catapult UF into the #2 overall spot in the Heterodox Academy rankings (behind only the University of Chicago). As Table 4 indicates, UF is currently tied for #5 nationally (out of more than 100 schools) with a score of 78, thanks in large part to its "green light" ratings from both FIRE and ISI and its "clean" record on handling specific incidents.

Florida State University currently tallies a 48, a middling score that could be significantly improved by officially endorsing the University of Chicago principles and by lifting its restrictions on free speech (which are responsible for FSU's "red light" rating from FIRE). Similar moves by many of Florida's up-and-coming institutions could also greatly improve their scores, which are held down by poor-to-fair FIRE ratings and by the failure to endorse the University of Chicago statement.

In sum, the Heterodox Academy rankings appear to support the 2013 ACTA study's observation that Florida's higher education

system is in a position to become a "model" for other states – particularly as concerns about high student debt, low viewpoint diversity, and rampant political correctness continue to plague many "elite" institutions elsewhere.

Accordingly, Florida's public leaders would be wise to give priority to each of the areas of concern that make up the new Heterodox Academy rankings: protecting free speech, fostering a campus culture that affirms viewpoint diversity, responding appropriately to campus incidents that threaten intellectual freedom, and forthrightly affirming the important role that free expression plays in the truth-seeking mission of higher education. And they should do so not just for high-minded philosophical reasons, but for very practical reasons as well – to help overcome the fact that most Florida universities face a considerable disadvantage in many of the traditional college ranking systems.

Specifically, most college ranking systems have a profound "old school" bias (in the worst sense of the word) because they tend

■ **Table 4.** 2017 Heterodox Academy Composite Scores

98	University of Chicago	51	North Carolina State University	40	Johns Hopkins University	30	George Washington University
81	College of William and Mary	51	University of Nebraska - Lincoln	40	Brandeis University	30	Indiana University - Bloomington
81	George Mason University	50	Louisiana State University	40	University of Iowa	30	St. Louis University
81	University of Tennessee - Knoxville	50	Pepperdine University	39	American University	30	SUNY - Buffalo
78	Carnegie Mellon University	50	University of Wisconsin - Madison	39	Colorado State University	30	University of Alabama - Tuscaloosa
78	University of Florida	49	Columbia University	38	Case Western Reserve University	30	University of California - San Diego
78	University of Mississippi - Oxford	48	Baylor University	38	Loyola University - Chicago	30	University of Vermont
78	University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill	48	Boston College	38	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	29	Rice University
78	University of Utah - Salt Lake City	48	Florida State University	36	Iowa State University	29	University of Notre Dame
78	University of Virginia	48	Tulane University	36	Stanford University	29	Tufts University
69	Arizona State University	48	University of California - Santa Barbara	36	Temple University	29	University of Texas - Austin
69	University of Maryland - College Park	48	University of Georgia - Athens	36	University of Arizona - Tucson	28	Brown University
68	Purdue University	48	University of Kansas - Lawrence	36	University of Arkansas - Fayetteville	28	Emory University
68	Washington University - St. Louis	48	University of Michigan - Ann Arbor	36	University of Colorado - Boulder	28	Marquette University
63	Villanova University	48	University of Pittsburgh	36	University of Delaware	28	University of California - Riverside
61	Oregon State University	48	University of Oklahoma - Norman	36	University of Washington	28	University of Tulsa
59	Princeton University	48	Wake Forest University	35	University of California - Irvine	26	Yale University
59	Texas A & M University	46	Michigan State University	35	University of California - Santa Cruz	25	Cornell University
59	University of Pennsylvania	44	Duke University	35	University of Massachusetts - Amherst	25	Fordham University
59	Auburn University	44	Syracuse University	35	DePaul University	25	Georgia Tech
55	California Institute of Technology	44	University of Minnesota - Twin-Cities	34	Georgetown University	24	Rutgers University - New Brunswick
55	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	44	Virginia Tech	34	University of California - Davis	24	University of California - Los Angeles
55	Southern Methodist University	43	The Ohio State University - Columbus	33	University of Illinois - Urbana-Champaign	23	University of California - Berkeley
55	SUNY - Binghamton	43	Vanderbilt University	33	University of Missouri - Columbia	20	New York University
55	University of Connecticut	43	Washington State University	31	Drexel University	19	Northwestern University
55	University of Kentucky - Lexington	41	Dartmouth College	31	Pennsylvania State University	16	Harvard University
55	University of New Hampshire	40	University of Rochester	31	University of Southern California	15	University of Oregon - Eugene

■ The best way for Florida to become a national leader in higher education is for our youngish system to go thoroughly “old school” (in the best sense of the word) by boldly reaffirming the pursuit of truth as education’s primary mission – and by fostering the diversity of thought and free expression that this pursuit requires.

sions “selectivity” (a metric largely driven by academic reputation, since the “best” schools attract the most applicants). And 15 percent is devoted to financial resources and alumni giving (factors which tend to favor older schools with longstanding familial and home-state ties).⁴⁴

In such a ranking system, it’s hard for a school like the University

to favor established brands over young upstarts – even when schools with storied histories are no longer living up to their vaunted reputations. Take, for example, the much-celebrated U.S. News rankings. Nearly 25 percent of the formula U.S. News uses to rank colleges and universities is devoted to “academic reputation” (a factor impervious to short-term positive change). Another 12.5 percent is devoted to admis-

of Central Florida (which is younger than Barack Obama) to compete with the hallowed reputation of, say, the College of William and Mary (which counts Thomas Jefferson among its graduates).

Thus, in developing a strategy to improve the academic reputation of our state schools, Florida leaders should seek for our public universities to gain comparative advantage in the higher education marketplace by becoming distinguished in certain areas – such as fostering intellectual diversity and freedom of thought – that are rapidly increasing in value even though they’ve been largely ignored by U.S. News.

If that sounds like a call to concede academic superiority to others, it isn’t. In fact, it’s just the opposite. Because the best way for Florida to become a national leader in higher education is for our youngish system to go thoroughly “old school” (in the best sense of the word) by boldly reaffirming the pursuit of truth as education’s primary mission – and by fostering the diversity of thought and free expression that this pursuit requires.

Policy Recommendations

How might today’s policymakers help Florida’s universities fulfill such a mission? Here are four policy recommendations (which correlate with the four areas of concern that Heterodox Academy measures) that Florida leaders ought to consider:

1. Protect Free Speech. In recent months, several states – perhaps most notably, North Carolina – have adopted new “campus free speech” legislation; and another dozen or so states plan to take up such bills in their next legislative session. Most of these initiatives

are based on model bills drafted by the Goldwater Institute⁴⁵ and/or the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC).⁴⁶ Both of these model bills eliminate speech codes, “free-speech zones,” and other impediments to free expression at state universities, including the practice of blocking speakers invited to campus by student groups.

Both model bills would give those denied their First Amendment rights a cause of action to recover court costs and attorney’s fees. And the Goldwater model would also establish some guidelines for student discipline in cases where a student repeatedly tramples upon the First Amendment rights of others (by preventing speech, not merely count-



iStockPhoto / DenisTangneyJr



er-protesting).

In explaining the rationale behind the Goldwater bill (which he helped draft), Stanley Kurtz of the Ethics and Public Policy Center told the Florida House Education Committee last February:

Freedom is not a license to attack your foes. License of that sort is the opposite of freedom. If you want to understand freedom, consider what Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court famously said in 1929: “If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.

If true freedom of speech is “freedom for the thought that we hate,” then freedom is actually a form of self-mastery. Far from being license, true freedom is an act of self-control, a refusal to physically extinguish even the speech we abhor. Freedom is a refusal to attack our opponents with everything we’ve got.⁴⁷

Kurtz went on to say:

Campus demonstrators too often mistakenly elevate what they think of as sensitivity and civility over the principle of free expression. Yet the truth is, freedom of speech itself is the ultimate act of civility. This means that the minor passing offenses that are

the price for our tolerance of free speech are well worth putting up with, because in the long run a society that practices freedom is a society that promotes civility. In the long run, free speech is our most certain path to mutual respect and civil peace, while the rejection of free speech almost guarantees descent into civil strife.⁴⁸

■ Most college ranking systems have a profound “old school” bias (in the worst sense of the word) because they tend to favor established brands over young upstarts – even when schools with storied histories are no longer living up to their vaunted reputations.

2. Cultivate a Campus Culture Open to Diverse Viewpoints – Beginning at New Student Orientation. Both the Goldwater and ALEC model bills call upon universities to educate students about their First Amendment rights and responsibilities, especially in view of the fact that many students have a warped understanding of the First Amendment.⁴⁹

Freshman orientation would seem to be a most appropriate time for students to receive such instruction – and to be challenged to “think for yourself” (see sidebar on page 21). It would also be a good time for college leaders to encourage students to begin to think seriously about what types of invited speakers would be most apt to advance the causes students care about. (Jon Haidt believes some student groups do harm to the causes they believe in by inviting “trolls” and “provocateurs” to come to campus to speak

rather than calling upon thoughtful advocates who might be more apt to win over skeptics to their way of thinking.⁵⁰) Freshman orientation would also be a good time for college leaders to point students to protesters who have led successful campaigns in previous generations (such as the Florida A & M students featured in the

What Today's Collegians Could Learn From Student Protesters of Old

By William Mattox

I have a suggestion for college students tired of being ridiculed as emotionally-fragile “snowflakes” constantly in need of “safe spaces” – and for their elders who often think of themselves as more thick-skinned than they really are.

Why don't they – why don't we – all consider some very important First Amendment lessons a group of courageous students taught the citizens of Tallahassee, Florida more than a half-century ago. But first a “trigger warning:” what follows is apt to offend those who think they've always had perfect judgment about every social conflict.

Golden Rule Not Here

In December, 1960, a group of students from Florida A & M University (FAMU)

led a sidewalk protest in front of McCrory's, a Tallahassee department store that only served whites at its lunch counter. The protests were led by a spunky young co-ed wearing sunglasses named Patricia Stephens, who is perhaps the Greatest Civil Rights Heroine of Whom Most Americans Have Never Heard. (The sunglasses were necessary because Patricia's eyes had been badly damaged by some tear gas sprayed in her face at an earlier protest.)

Undaunted, Patricia carried signs along with other student protesters. Or perhaps I should say they sought to carry signs. Because during the protest, a young hooligan broke their line, ripped up some signs, and ran away.

Ironically, this action only confirmed the message of one undamaged sign: “The Golden Rule Does Not Apply Here.” But it didn't deter the student protesters. In fact,

at one point, they refused to post bail after being arrested on questionable charges, thereby starting a seven-week “jail-in” to call attention to the evils of racial discrimination.

In the face of such macro-aggressions, one might imagine that the FAMU students would have raged against the white establishment. Yet, curiously, they did the exact opposite. Trained in the methodology of non-violent protest, the FAMU students carried signs that had a carefully-calibrated mix of messages that were simultaneously bold and non-threatening. Sweet and spicy. Conscience-pricking and winsome.

Put another way, the FAMU students exercised their free speech rights in a manner foreign to many protesters today. Rather than venting their frustrations with outrageous messages designed to amuse or one-up their comrades, these students humbly

■ Tying future performance funding to each institution's Heterodox ratings and rankings would help ensure that fostering intellectual diversity truly becomes a priority at Florida universities.

sidebar on page 18). Upholding such examples might be particularly helpful since many people in our day perceive that protesting is primarily about *venting* one's frustrations in public rather than *persuading* others to think differently about a public issue.

3. Tie Higher Education Funding to Each Institution's Performance in Promoting Viewpoint Diversity. Both of the major model bills include provisions requiring state universities to report annually to the public, the trustees, the governor, and the legislature on how well they are upholding free expression on campus. While self-reporting certainly is of some benefit, objective assessments by outside reviewers (like the FIRE ratings and other

measures aggregated in the Heterodox Academy rankings) would seem to be of greater benefit.

Moreover, tying future performance funding to each institution's objective ratings and rankings would help ensure that fostering intellectual diversity truly becomes a priority at Florida universities. It also would provide a financial reward to those institutions that take the lead in this area – and help them offset any additional “public safety” or “security” costs associated with controversial speakers and the protesters they attract. (Asking student groups to foot the bill for added security when protesters threaten to cause a disturbance empowers hecklers to “veto” such appearances by driving up the “security” costs that the spon-

sought to win over people with appeals to reason and goodwill.

And persuade people they did. During the 1950s and 1960s, FAMU protests helped integrate Tallahassee's city buses, lunch counters, movie theatres, and swimming pools.

Quelching Speech

In recent years, I've had many opportunities to tell this story to students, thanks to the Village Square, a Tallahassee-based organization that seeks to bridge political, religious, and racial divides. I've relished these opportunities partly because I want today's students to wrestle with a question which ought to challenge all of us:

Can you imagine yourself ever behaving like the young hooligan in this story?

At first blush, most cannot. But the sad reality is that many college campuses today have become hotbeds of bullying and intimidation. Speech which challenges "politically correct" doctrine is often shouted down. Or relegated to tightly-restricted "free speech zones." Or deemed unworthy of respectful consideration – even if pre-

sented by someone who grew up under Jim Crow (see, for example, the protests against Condoleezza Rice's invitation to be Rutgers' 2014 commencement speaker).

The point here is that all of us (whether on the Left or the Right) are capable of trampling on the freedoms of others. And the danger appears to be particularly great when one holds considerable power – as the white supremacists did in the Jim Crow South and as progressives do on today's college campuses.

Now, none of this would surprise our nation's founders (who had their own shortcomings, lest we forget). As James Madison famously said, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." And part of the reason Madison penned the First Amendment is so that the public square could be filled with the vigorous exchange of (both popular and unpopular) ideas.

To be sure, few Americans have ever exercised their free speech rights as effectively as Patricia Stephens and her fellow FAMU students. Which is why all of us should seek to learn from – and follow – these college students' courageous example.



Patricia Stephens Due, foreground in black dress, picketing with others at the State Theatre in Tallahassee, May 29, 1963

William Mattox served on the Tallahassee Civil Rights Landmark Committee. This article first appeared in the February 5, 2017 edition of the South Florida Sun-Sentinel.

soring group must pay. Accordingly, state universities with such policies ought to reconsider them.⁵¹)

In making assessments about how well various public universities are doing, the Goldwater model bill includes a provision affirming the "principle that universities, at the official institutional level, ought to remain neutral on issues of public controversy to encourage the widest possible range of opinion and dialogue within the university itself."⁵² This would presumably preclude much of the progressive activism that is officially sanctioned by certain state universities currently, such as UCF's "Social Justice Week" and "Diversity and Inclusion Certification"⁵³ and FSU's free training workshops on "how to be a social justice ally" and "social justice peer educator."⁵⁴

4. Demonstrate a Commitment to Viewpoint Diversity in Faculty Hiring and Student Admissions. Both of the model bills call upon state universities to affirm the importance of free expres-

sion and viewpoint diversity in their official policy pronouncements. And while such statements are surely important, they are only as good as their ultimate impact on decisions about faculty hiring and student admissions. Or so at least some observers argue.

For example, David French of National Review writes:

To be blunt, there will be no lasting academic reform without reform to the hiring and admissions process. Yes, you can protect the free-speech and due-process rights of students through law-making and litigation (and that's valuable), but the academy will continue to be broken so long as the gatekeepers keep breaking it. The bias starts from the beginning. It's time to diversify hiring and admissions committees. It's time to end ideological bias at the front end. Any other solution is a band-aid on an academic wound that will never heal.⁵⁵

Arthur Brooks, president of the American Enterprise Institute, shares French's interest in bringing greater intellectual diversity to the faculty ranks. Writing in *The New York Times*, Brooks notes:

[A]cademia is right to rank candidates based on their expertise and intellectual commitment. But should professors' political philosophies factor into how welcome they are or the likelihood of their leading departments and institutions? Only if the fundamental goal of the university is more political than scholarly.

*So which is the primary goal of universities today? ... [If] the answer is scholarship, they must work harder to form communities that do not just tolerate conservatives but actively embrace ideological diversity.*⁵⁶

Brooks follows this with a direct appeal to progressives in academia:

*It is up to you to make campuses more open to debate and the unconstrained pursuit of truth. This is partly because liberals are an overwhelming majority on campus. But more important, the task fits perfectly the progressive movement's ethical patrimony. American liberalism has always insisted it is the duty of the majority to fight for the minority, whether or not it suits one's own private interests. Welcoming the stranger is arguably the greatest moral tradition that liberals have...there is [now] a golden opportunity to demonstrate this.*⁵⁷

Florida's Opportunity

For many years, Florida's public universities have suffered from a problem commonly associated with Rodney Dangerfield and Aretha Franklin. They get no respect. Or at least they don't get the kind of R-E-S-P-E-C-T that many Floridians believe they deserve.

U.S. News and World Report's annual rankings consistently place no Florida schools among the Top 40 national universities.⁵⁸ And only one state school (the University of Florida) makes the Top 20 in U.S. News' rankings for public universities.⁵⁹ Similarly, the highly-prestigious, invitation-only Association of American Universities (AAU) includes only one school from big-state Florida, while itsy-bitsy Iowa is home to two AAU members and middle-sized Massachusetts boasts four.⁶⁰

The failure of state universities to place among the nation's top echelon in academic prestige understandably causes a lot of hand-wringing among Florida policymakers, university officials, and business leaders. Among other things, they worry that the Sunshine State's ability to attract new business opportunities and high-wage jobs, especially in economic sectors that require a well-educated workforce, will continue to suffer from a perception that Florida has a shortage of top talent trained at leading universities.

Against this backdrop, the campus unrest at many "elite" universities around the country gives Florida's institutions of higher learning an opportunity to distinguish themselves as citadels of free expression, intellectual diversity, and academic excellence. We ought to seize this opportunity. For if institutions like Yale no longer wish to give priority to intellectual freedom, there is no reason why Florida's schools cannot become known for upholding the ideas contained in Yale's 1974 report on free expression:

*The history of intellectual growth and discovery clearly demonstrates the need for unfettered freedom, the right to think the unthinkable, discuss the unmentionable, and challenge the unchallengeable ... to curtail free expression strikes twice at intellectual freedom, for whoever deprives another of the right to state unpopular views necessarily also deprives others of the right to listen to those views.*⁶¹



Think for Yourself

Editor's Note: A group of 28 professors from three Ivy League universities sent an open letter at the beginning of the 2017 fall semester to their new students and to other students around the country heading off to college for the first time. The brainchild of Princeton professor Robert George, this letter represents the kind of message every Florida public university ought to deliver to new students during the orientation process.

We are scholars and teachers at Princeton, Harvard, and Yale who have some thoughts to share and advice to offer students who are headed off to colleges around the country. Our advice can be distilled to three words:

Think for yourself.

Now, that might sound easy. But you will find—as you may have discovered already in high school—that thinking for yourself can be a challenge. It always demands self-discipline and these days can require courage.

In today's climate, it's all-too-easy to allow your views and outlook to be shaped by dominant opinion on your campus or in the broader academic culture. The danger any student—or faculty member—faces today is falling into the vice of conformism, yielding to groupthink.

At many colleges and universities what John Stuart Mill called “the tyranny of public opinion” does more than merely discourage students from dissenting from prevailing views on moral, political, and other types of questions. It leads them to suppose that dominant views are so obviously correct that only a bigot or a crank could question them.

Since no one wants to be, or be thought of as, a bigot or a crank, the easy, lazy way to proceed is simply by falling into line with campus orthodoxies.

Don't do that. Think for yourself.

Thinking for yourself means questioning dominant ideas even when others insist on their being treated as unquestionable. It means deciding what one believes not by conforming to fashionable opinions, but by taking the trouble to learn and honestly consider the strongest arguments to be advanced on both or all sides of questions—including arguments for positions that others revile and want to stigmatize and against positions others seek to immunize from critical scrutiny.

The love of truth and the desire to attain it should motivate you to think for yourself. The central point of a college education is to seek truth and to learn the skills and acquire the virtues necessary to be a lifelong truth-seeker. Open-mindedness, critical thinking, and debate are essential to discovering the truth. Moreover, they are our best antidotes to bigotry.

Merriam-Webster's first definition of the word “bigot” is a person “who is obstinately or intolerantly devoted to his or her own opinions and prejudices.” The only people who need fear open-minded inquiry and robust debate are the actual bigots, including those on campuses or in the broader society who seek to protect the hegemony of their opinions by claiming that to question those opinions is itself bigotry.

So don't be tyrannized by public opinion. Don't get trapped in an echo chamber. Whether you in the end reject or embrace a view, make sure you decide where you stand by critically assessing the arguments for the competing positions.

Think for yourself.

Good luck to you in college!

References

- 1 Fingerhut, Hannah. Republicans Skeptical of Colleges' Impact on U.S., but Most See Benefits for Workforce Preparation. Pew Research Center, 20 July 2017, www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/07/20/republicans-skeptical-of-colleges-impact-on-u-s-but-most-see-benefits-for-workforce-preparation/.
- 2 Haidt, Jonathan, and Greg Lukianoff. "The Coddling of the American Mind." *The Atlantic*, Sept. 2015. www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/09/the-coddling-of-the-american-mind/399356/.
- 3 Goldberg, Michelle. "The Worst Time for the Left to Give Up on Free Speech." *New York Times*, 6 Oct. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/10/06/opinion/liberals-free-speech.html?emc=eta1&_r=0
- 4 Rampell, Catherine. "A Chilling Study Shows How Hostile College Students are Toward Free Speech." *Washington Post*, 18 Sept. 2017, www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-chilling-study-shows-how-hostile-college-students-are-toward-free-speech/2017/09/18/cbb1a234-9ca8-11e7-9083-fbdfdf6804c2_story.html?utm_term=.20f376b03ef0.
- 5 Hartocollis, Anemona. "Long After Protests, Students Shun the University of Missouri." *New York Times*, 9 July 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/07/09/us/university-of-missouri-enrollment-protests-fallout.html?_r=0.
- 6 Florida Rising: An Assessment of Public Universities in the Sunshine State. American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), June 2013, p. 4.
- 7 Howard, Caroline. "America's Best Value Public Colleges 2016." *Forbes*, 29 Mar. 2016, www.forbes.com/sites/carolinehoward/2016/03/29/americas-best-value-public-colleges-2016/#21180d7c1cff. See also: <http://news.fsu.edu/news/university-news/2016/12/15/florida-state-named-best-college-value-kiplingers-personal-finance/>
- 8 Florida Rising, p. 12.
- 9 Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty*. Cambridge University Press, 1989. ISBN 9780521379175.
- 10 "What are Speech Codes?" www.thefire.org, Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), 27 June 2013, www.thefire.org/?s=any+university+regulation+or+policy+that+prohibits.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Florida Rising, p. 14.
- 13 Downs, Donald A., et al. *A Framework for Campus Free Speech Policy*. Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University, 2017, p. 27.
- 14 Ibid, pp. 27-28.
- 15 "FIRE's Speech Code Ratings." www.thefire.org, Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), www.thefire.org/spotlight/using-the-spotlight-database/
- 16 Florida Rising, p. 13.
- 17 "Ten Worst Colleges for Free Speech 2017." www.thefire.org, Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), 22 Feb. 2017, www.thefire.org/fire-announces-americas-10-worst-colleges-for-free-speech-2017/.
- 18 "Heterodox Academy Guide to Colleges: Top 150 Universities in the U.S." www.heterodoxacademy.org, 19 June 2017, heterodoxacademy.org/resources/guide-to-colleges/top150/.
- 19 French, David. "To Defeat Campus Crazyism Don't Just Treat Symptoms, Cure the Disease." *National Review*, 18 Sept. 2017, www.nationalreview.com/article/451468/college-political-correctness-left-wing-ideology-bias-admissions-tenure-free-speech-conservatives-ben-shapiro. This article provides some very useful examples of how conservative student applicants often differ from progressive student applicants – and how these differences are frequently perceived by admissions officers.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Haidt, Jonathan, et al. "The Problem." www.heterodoxacademy.org, heterodoxacademy.org/problems/.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Zmirak, John, editor. *Choosing the Right College: The Inside Scoop on Elite Schools and Outstanding Lesser-Known Institutions*. ISI Books, 2015. While ISI's ratings are similar to FIRE's (using traffic light distinctions), ISI's methodology is much more qualitative and interpretive (relying heavily on interviews with students, professors, parents, alumni, and other observers) because it is attempting to evaluate something less concrete and less measurable than official university policies and speech codes. Together, the two ratings complement one another well since there is sometimes a difference between "letter" and "spirit," between "written" and "unwritten," and between "design" and "implementation."
- 24 "Heterodox Academy Guide to Colleges." www.heterodoxacademy.org, 19 June 2017, heterodoxacademy.org/resources/guide-to-colleges/.
- 25 Haidt, Jonathan, et al. "The Problem." www.heterodoxacademy.org, heterodoxacademy.org/problems
- 26 Zmirak, John, editor. *Choosing the Right College*, p. 325.
- 27 Zmirak, John, editor. *Choosing the Right College*, p. 335.
- 28 Zmirak, John, editor. *Choosing the Right College*, p. 324.
- 29 Zmirak, John, editor. *All-American Colleges: Top Schools for Conservatives, Old-Fashioned Liberals, and People of Faith*. ISI Books, 2013. ISBN 1932236880.
- 30 Downs, Donald A., et al. *A Framework for Campus Free Speech Policy*, p. 39.
- 31 Ibid, p. 39.
- 32 Ibid, p. 23.

-
- 33 “Guide to Colleges Methodology.” www.heterodoxacademy.org, 19 June 2017, heterodoxacademy.org/resources/guide-to-colleges/guide-to-colleges-methodology/.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Athey, Amber. “FSU Display: Harambe Costumes are Cultural Appropriation.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 17 Oct. 2016, www.campusreform.org/?ID=8268.
- 38 Athey, Amber. “USF Student Gov Promotes Hillary Event, Posts Warning about Trump.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 6 September 2016, www.campusreform.org/?ID=8100.
- 39 Burgin, Letty. “Police Surround Protesters during Clinton Speech at FIU.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 31 July 2015, www.campusreform.org/?ID=6702.
- 40 Cooley, Lauren. “FIU Student Body Prez Circulates Anti-Trump ‘Holiday Message’.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 4 January 2017, www.campusreform.org/?ID=8598.
- 41 Sabes, Adam. “Trump Supporters ‘Not Welcome,’ Says New UCF ‘Diversity Chair’.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 31 July 2017, www.campusreform.org/?ID=9509.
- 42 “Statement on Principles of Free Expression.” www.uchicago.edu, University of Chicago, July 2012, freexpression.uchicago.edu/page/statement-principles-free-expression.
- 43 “Guide to Colleges Methodology.” www.heterodoxacademy.org, 19 June 2017, heterodoxacademy.org/resources/guide-to-colleges/guide-to-colleges-methodology/.
- 44 Morse, Robert, et al. “How U.S. News Calculated the 2018 Best Colleges Rankings.” *US News and World Report*, 11 Sept. 2017, www.usnews.com/education/best-colleges/articles/how-us-news-calculated-the-rankings.
- 45 Butcher, Jonathan, et al. *Campus Free Speech: A Legislative Proposal*. Goldwater Institute, 30 Jan. 2017.
- 46 “Forming Open and Robust University Minds (FORUM) Act.” www.alec.org, American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), 23 June 2017, www.alec.org/model-policy/forming-open-and-robust-university-minds-forum-act/.
- 47 Florida, Education Committee. *Workshop on Campus Free Speech. Testimony of Stanley Kurtz*. 23 February 2017. House of Representatives.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Villasenor, John. *Views among College Students Regarding the First Amendment: Results from a New Survey*. Brookings Institute, 18 Sept. 2017, www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2017/09/18/views-among-college-students-regarding-the-first-amendment-results-from-a-new-survey/ Note: The methodology of this study has come under challenge since its publication; nevertheless, its findings about high levels of civic illiteracy are consistent with other studies on this topic that The James Madison Institute has reported on in the recent years.
- 50 “What’s at Stake When We Don’t Teach Free Speech.” www.wsj.com, Dow Jones, 12 Sept. 2017, www.wsj.com/video/opinion-video-what-at-stake-when-we-dont-teach-free-speech/E06C16BC-EAEB-4431-878A-694EEC7A066C.html.
- 51 “Our Opinion: Campus Speech Policy Should be Simple.” *Tallahassee Democrat*, 7 Oct. 2017, Editorial sec.
- 52 Butcher, Jonathan, et al. *Campus Free Speech: A Legislative Proposal*. Goldwater Institute, 30 Jan. 2017.
- 53 Hirn, Abigail. “UCF Hosts ‘Social Justice Week’ to Address Racism, Deportation.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 10 January 2017, www.campusreform.org/?ID=8617. See also: Perisic, Kyle. “University Certifies Students as ‘Inclusion Champions’.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 19 September 2017, www.campusreform.org/?ID=9796.
- 54 Vladimirov, Nikita. “FSU Offers Free Trainings on How to be a ‘Social Justice Ally’.” www.campusreform.org, Leadership Institute, 18 August 2017, www.campusreform.org/?ID=9606.
- 55 French, David. “To Defeat Campus Crazyism Don’t Just Treat Symptoms, Cure the Disease.” *National Review*, 18 Sept. 2017, www.nationalreview.com/article/451468/college-political-correctness-left-wing-ideology-bias-admissions-tenure-free-speech-conservatives-ben-shapiro.
- 56 Brooks, Arthur. “Don’t Shun Conservative Professors.” *The New York Times*, 15 Sept. 2017, Opinion sec., www.nytimes.com/2017/09/15/opinion/conservative-professors.html.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 “National University Rankings.” *US News and World Report*, Sept. 2017, www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities.
- 59 “Top Public Schools.” *US News and World Report*, Sept. 2017, www.usnews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-liberal-arts-colleges/top-public.
- 60 “Our Members.” Association of American Universities (AAU), www.aau.edu/who-we-are/our-members.
- 61 Woodward, C. Vann, chairman. *Report of the Committee on Freedom of Expression at Yale*. Yale University, 23 Dec. 1974.



 The James Madison Institute
The Columns
100 North Duval Street
Tallahassee, FL 32301

 850.386.3131

 www.jamesmadison.org

Stay Connected

 [The James Madison Institute](https://www.facebook.com/TheJamesMadisonInstitute)

 [@JmsMadisonInst](https://twitter.com/JmsMadisonInst)

 [youtube.com/user/JamesMadisonInstitut](https://www.youtube.com/user/JamesMadisonInstitut)

 [flickr.com/photos/jmsmadisoninst](https://www.flickr.com/photos/jmsmadisoninst)

 [pinterest.com/jmsmadisoninst](https://www.pinterest.com/jmsmadisoninst)