Lessons in Academic Freedom

Linda S. Gottfredson University of Delaware June 16, 2009

Festschrift for Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr. Behavior Genetics Association Meeting Minneapolis, MN

Preview of Early Lessons Learned

Academic freedom, like free speech, is:

- 1. Not free
- 2. Not self-enforcing
- 3. Not harmless (nor should it be)
- 4. Often violated by academic institutions
- 5. Not often defended by academics
- 6. Does <u>not</u> take heroic efforts to defend, just routine, daily exercise

What is Free Speech (USA)?

?

Free speech

- An individual right guaranteed by <u>First</u> Amendment to US Constitution
- Freedom to speak, express, publish own views
- Views may be hurtful, wrong, extreme, offensive, evil

How Broad?

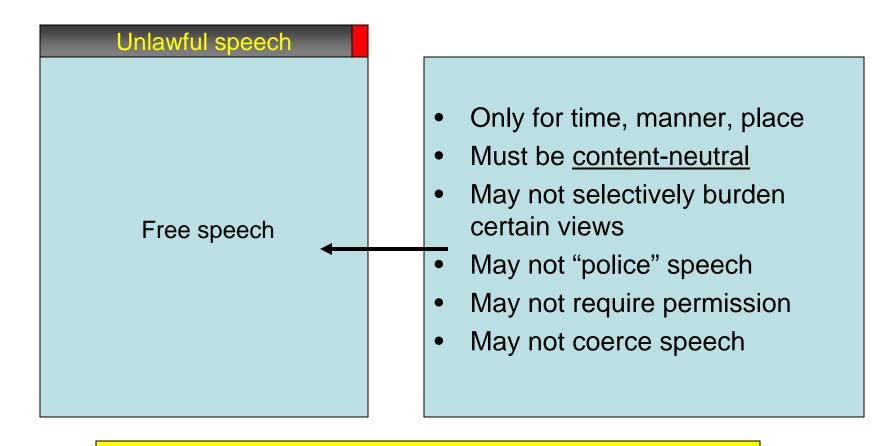
Unlawful speech

Free speech

- Freedom is the rule
- Exceptions rare. Unlawful to:
 - Incite (fighting words)
 - Libel/slander
- Unlawful speech may be punished <u>after</u> the fact, but not prevented
- National security the only cause for prior restraint

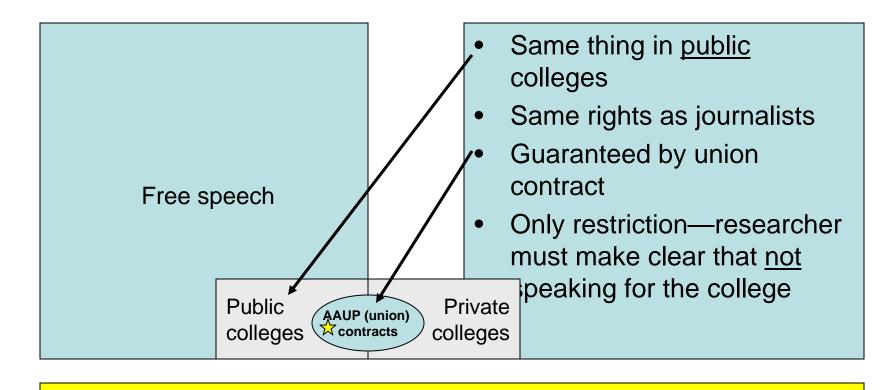
No legal redress against lawful speech.

Can Gov't Restrict It?



Free speech is <u>not</u> a privilege that institutions bestow, but a right they must observe.

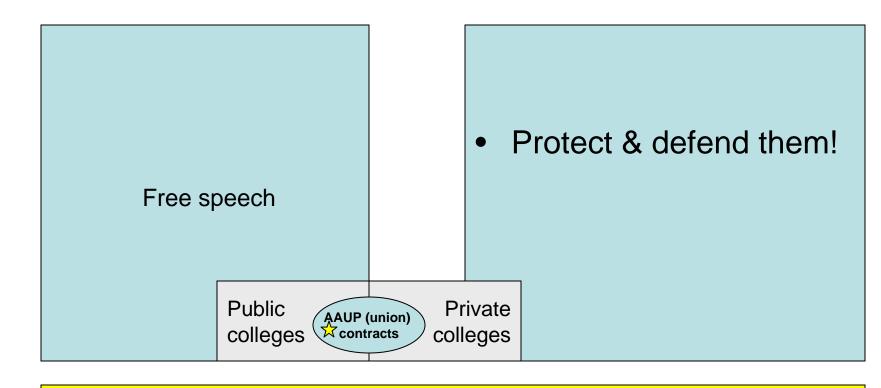
Relation of Academic Freedom to Free Speech?



U.S. Supreme Court: "Our nation is deeply committed to safe-guarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us...

That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment..."

Top Responsibility with Both?



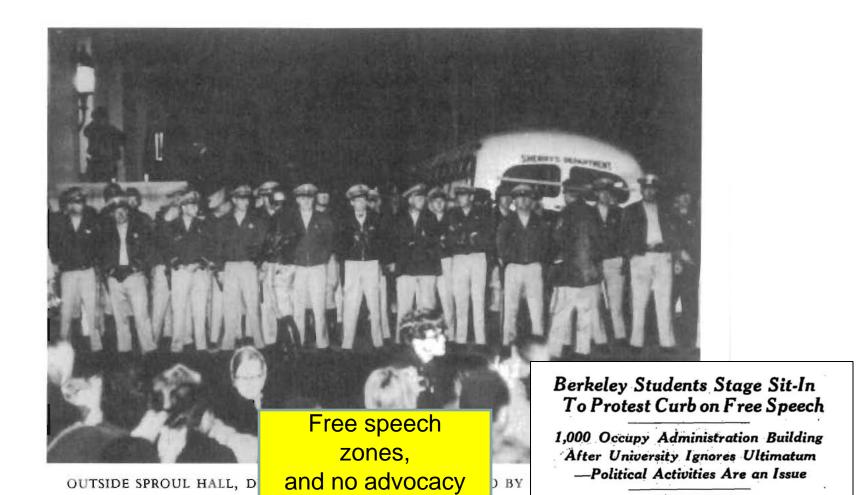
AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics: "Professors recognize the special responsibilities placed upon them. Their primary responsibility to their subject is to seek and to state the truth as they see it."

1. Free speech is not free (never has been, never will be)

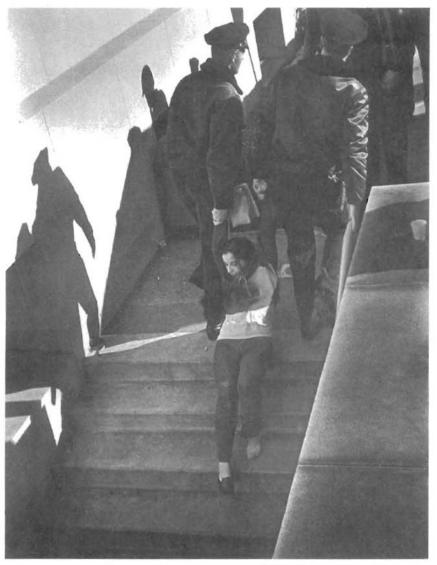
University of California at Berkeley, 1964

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

allowed

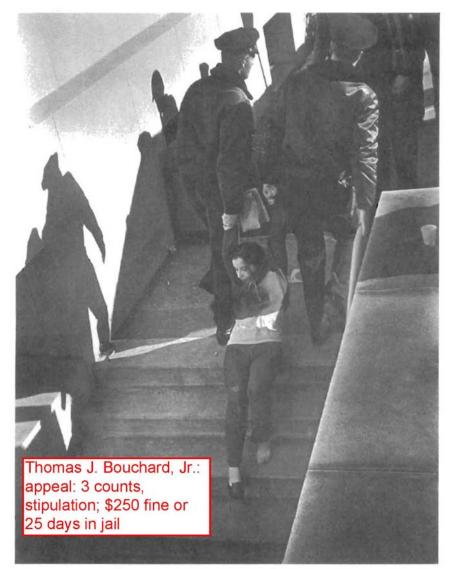


By WALLACE TURNER



ON DECEMBER 3, 1964, EIGHT HUNDRED PARTICIPANTS IN THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT WERE ARRESTED IN SPROUL HALL ON THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS. THE ARRESTS TOOK SIX HUNDRED POLICE OFFICERS THIRTEEN HOURS.

PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN.



\$250 in 1964 =

\$1703 or €1,216 today

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2. Right to free speech is <u>not</u> self-enforcing

Freedom of Speech Always Under Threat

- Tendency of authorities is always to suppress "bad" ideas
 - That's why we have First Amendment
- Open and free speech necessarily threatens someone's interests
 - Democracy is the negotiation of those interests
- Burdening speech more common than banning it
 - "Death by 1,000 cuts"

Violation is easy, But redress is difficult

Constitutional rights:

- allow legal redress only after violated
- seeking legal redress is <u>very</u> costly in time, money, stress
- violation has to be severe
- success still uncertain
- so, deterrence value is minimal
- Same for contractual rights

Have to be harmed first

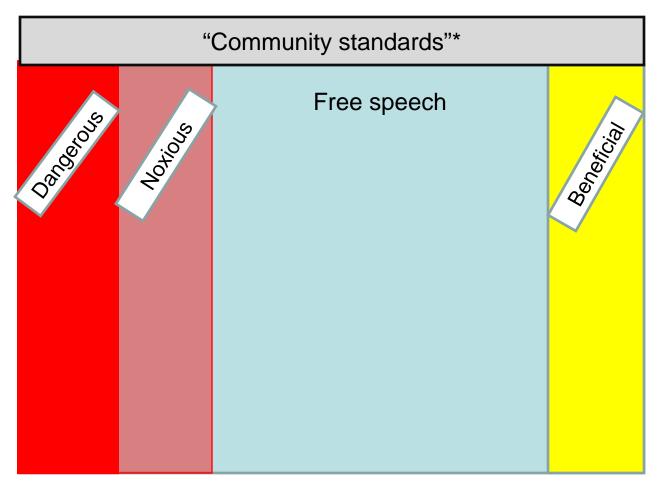
3. Free speech is <u>not</u> harmless (nor should it be)

Free speech was revolutionary idea Speech undermines orthodoxy Ideas can have revolutionary effects

- Galileo & Copernicus—nature of God
- Bacon & Descartes—scientific revolution
- Locke & Mill—relation between individual & gov't
- Darwin & behavior genetics—nature of man

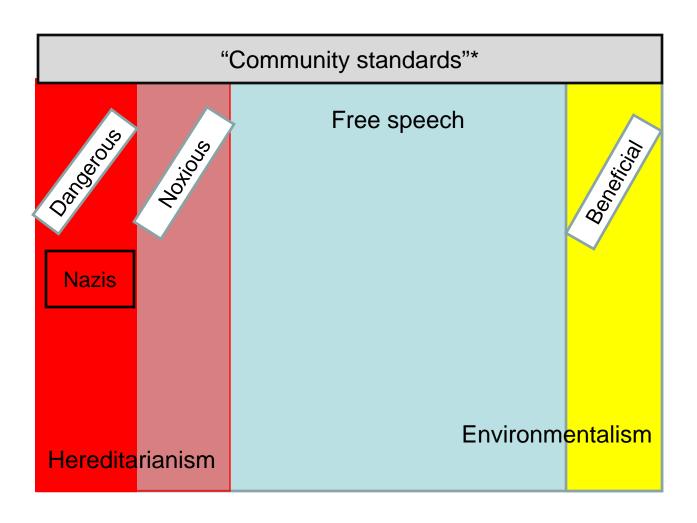
The tensions inherent in free, democratic republics

Standards often used to selectively burden or favor research

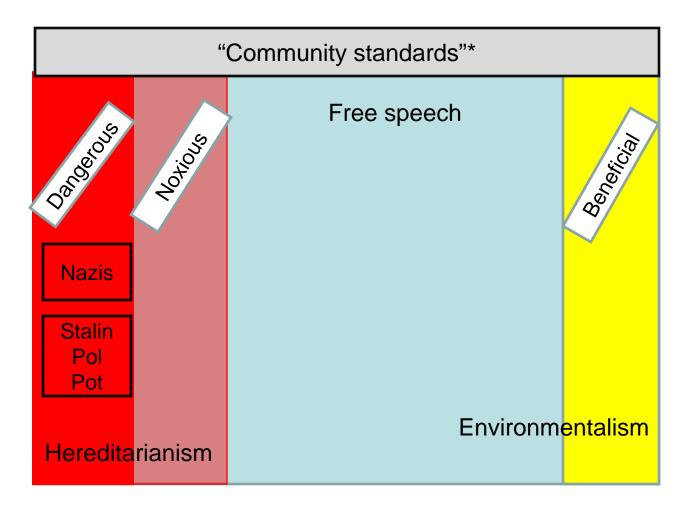


^{*} Classic censorship

But what about history of harm!?

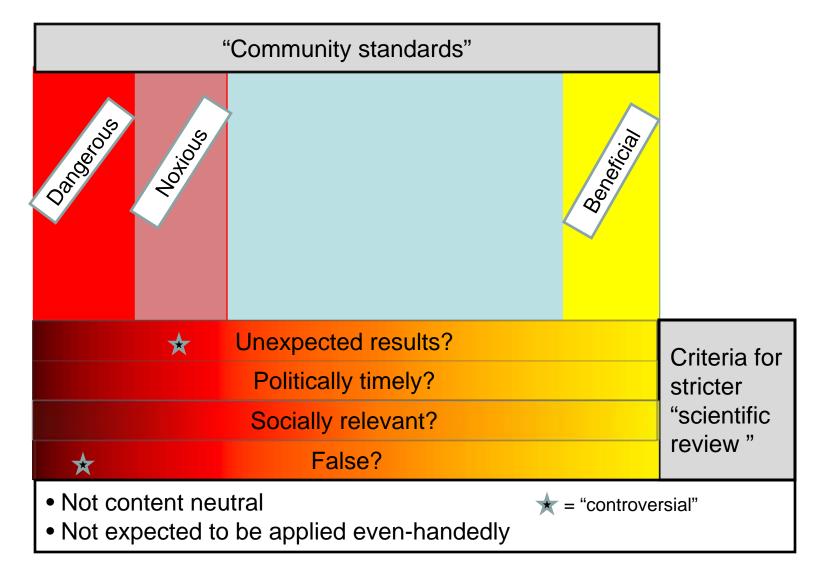


But what about history of harm!?



Need even-handed accounting

Scientific criteria also suggested for "increased scrutiny"



Example

Vol. 22, No. 1 January 1991



By Tina Adler Monitor staff

hat two people who don't know each other would marry in the same year, chose the same hairstyle and glasses and work in similar jobs? Identical twins raised apart—the characters in psychologist Thomas Bouchard's fascinating and controversial study of the heritability of intelligence and personality.

Studies by Bouchard and his colleagues at the University of Minnesota have provided additional evidence that identical twins raised apart are almost as similar in their personality—and to a lesser degree their intelligence—as identical twins raised together. This, Bouchard and others claim, demonstrates that these traits are highly heritable and that home environment has less effect than psychologists have been saving all these years.

Meanwhile, however, some behavioral geneticists and psychologists doubt that genetic influence plays as large a role as Bouchard argues. Others question why the study, published in the Oct. 12 issue of Science and picked up by the major media in this country, has received so much attention.

Seeing double?

Controversial twins study is widely reported, debated





Zachary and Nathan Scally



major domains of personality and intelligence. The twins also described the home environments in which they grew up.

Heredity accounted for 64 to 74 percent of the differences seen in IQ between the identical twins, the researchers concluded. They collected IQ data for only 48 sets because some of the twins couldn't speak English, and the researchers also had some computer failures and couldn't reschedule the tests, Bouchard said in an interview.

Previous studies found that heredity explained 47 to 58 percent of the variance in intelligence, but virtually all the previous studies were limited to children and adolescents, the article stated. The data on the children might be different because, as other studies have found, social and economic status affect children's IQ, but the effect diminishes with age, the article stated.

The twins reared apart were less similar than twins reared together on the IQ tests. Identical twins raised apart have a .69 correlation on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) IQ—full scale, and twins reared together have a .88 correlation.

Both reared apart and reared

influenced, they want to back up a few steps and quantify it before they throw in the debate towel on degree.

Bouchard's study is "very important," but "he's arguing for more genetic influence than is the case," said Robert Plomin, a psy-

University. Other studies, including his own, find that genetic influence accounts for about 50 percent of the variance, and that, he said, is significantly different from 70 percent.

"Tom [Bouchard] would like to say it's all genetic and I don't believe that's the case," said Plomin, who is studying 26,000 pairs of twins in Sweden, including 500 pairs who were separated early in life. Plomin speculated that Bouchard may be getting such a high percent because his twins may be more similar than twins in more randomly selected samples. As he collects more data, Bouchard's 70 percent figure might go down, Plomin said.

Moreover, Plomin added that he believes the pendulum has swung too far away from psychosocial research and towards genetics, particularly in alcoholism research.

"That 70 percent is an estimate," based on Bouchard's subjects and his tests, said Adam Matheny, a psychologist at the University of Louisville. The role of genetic influence is different for different age groups, he said. "In and of itself [the study] isn't conclusive, but it adds signifi-

cantly to studies on adoptive children and other twin studies."

In his own studies on 600 pairs of twins reared together, Matheny said he has found that genetic influence accounts for about 50 percent of the variation in adult twins. However, Bouchard's data are more power-

ment" to helping people, because it focuses attention on making comparisons between people and not on learning about the processes that help people learn, he said.

Other researchers argued that these findings only replicate other studies.



Nine-year-old twins in Matheny's U. of Louisville Twins Study.

ful because they are from rearedapart twins, he said.

Some psychologists question the whole field of behavioral genetics and its use of IQ and personality tests. Asa Hilliard, ar education psychologist at Georgia State University, disagrees that anyone can measure intelligence or personality precisely enough to determine the heritability of either.

Bouchard's "study doesn't have any basis because he doesn't have a device" to measure intellect, he said. "What he's measuring may be genetic but he's not measuring intelligence,"

He also believes the pursuit of whether intelligence is inherited is misguided. "It is an impedi"There's surely nothing new here," said Richard Rose, a professor of psychology and medical genetics at Indiana University.

"I'm surprised they published it in Science." The IQ data is based on 48 pairs, but the literature on the genetics of intelligence is in the tens of thousands and reports similar findings. "These 96 people don't really add anything to what we already know."

Since research has already shown that genes are very influential, "if I were doing the research, I'd put my focus on the environment" to find out how a lifetime separation has changed what would have happened if the twin pairs had been raised together, he said.

Bouchard defended the significance of his study. One of only three such studies ever done on reared-apart twins, his is the largest and includes many more tests, he said. Also, he and his colleagues collected more information on the home life the twins grew up in, he said. education and the families' material possessions had slightly above a .4 correlation, the article stated.

There is also the possibility that the amount of time the twins spent together may have affected the results. However the authors wrote that "degree of social contact... accounts for virtually none of their similarity."

In the paper, the researchers make a strong pitch for reared-apart twin studies, which some took issue with Reared apart twin studies "provide the simplest and most powerful method for disentangling the influence of environmental and genetic factors on human characteristics," they wrote.

"I certainly don't think that's true," Rose said. It is too difficult to get a representational sample, and there are too few twins to be able to generalize the findings to the whole population, he said. In addition, the age of the twins in the study differs considerably and that, no doubt, affects test performance, he said.

Bouchard disagreed, saying that "age has been regressed out of the data," and "our sample is as good as any other that's ordinarily obtained."

Bouchard said they waited to publish the IQ data until now "so people would know the scope of our study," and so they would have a large enough number of subjects to make it more credible.

Findings showing strong heritability of intelligence have social implications because they "can be used for mischief and it makes some people edgy," said Matheny. "But the public needs to be educated" about their real meaning, he said.

The researchers attempted to



Democratic sensibilities

Democracy IN AMERICA By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

THE HENRY REEVE TEXT
AS REVISED BY FRANCIS BOWEN
NOW FURTHER CORRECTED AND EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, EDITORIAL NOTES,
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES BY
PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Volume II

VINTAGE CLASSICS
VINTAGE BOOKS
A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
NEW YORK

Equality Loved More than Liberty

social system, long menaced, is overthrown after a severe internal struggle, and the barriers of rank are at length thrown down. At such times men pounce upon equality as their booty, and they cling to it as to some precious treasure which they fear to lose. The passion for equality penetrates on every side into men's hearts, expands there, and fills them entirely. Tell them not that by this blind surrender of themselves to an exclusive passion they risk their dearest interests; they are deaf. Show them not freedom ex-

caping from are blind, or in the univer

What I ha am about to nations, and the taste and oped only a equality and kings were t jects. Among was therefor novelty; the belonging to into actual a opinion and I think that democratic communities have a natural taste for freedom; left to themselves, they will seek it, cherish it, and view any privation of it with regret. But for equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, incessant, invincible; they call for equality in freedom; and if they cannot obtain that, they still call for equality in slavery. They will endure poverty, servitude, barbarism, but they will not endure aristocracy.

habits of the people, possessed particular turn to the sm wondered at that the prother?

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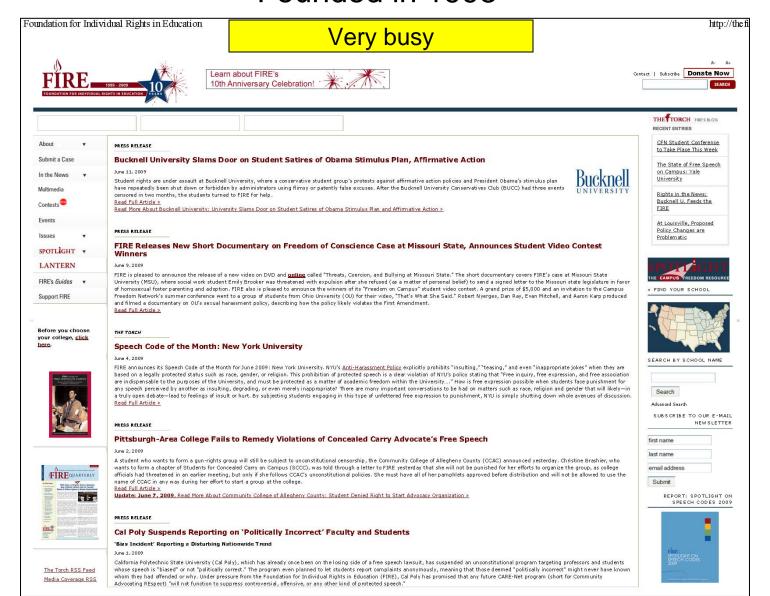
This is true at all times, and especially in our own day. All men and all powers seeking to cope with this irresistible passion will be overthrown and destroyed by it. In our age freedom cannot be established without it, and despotism itself cannot reign without its support. Especially genetic ones.

Suppression comes from both Left and Right

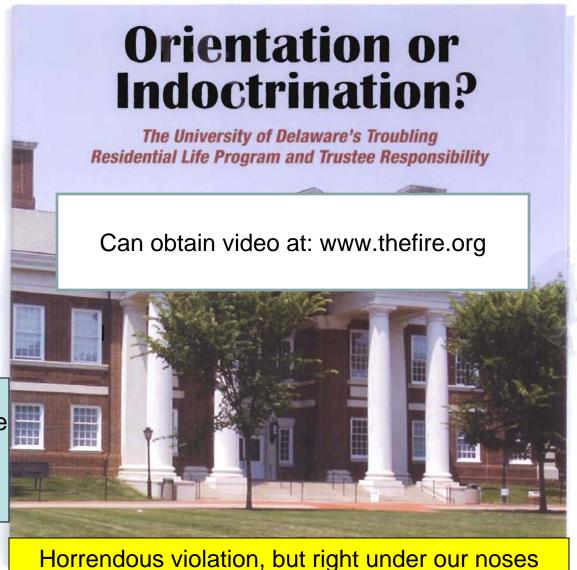
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4. Academic freedom is often violated by academic institutions (usually with impunity—see 1. and 2. above!)

Foundation for Individual Rights in Education Founded in 1998



FIRE's Biggest Case (2007-08)



Students
required to state
allegiance to
political
orthodoxy

Why so many violations by academic institutions?

Pretexts:

- The greater social good (social justice, diversity, citizenship, sustainability)
- Improve education (be prepared for global world, learn to be change agent)
- Protect academic freedom (of minority students)
- Still free to speak (elsewhere)
- Essential working conditions only a privilege, not a right (office, phone, allowing grant applications)

Usual motives:

- Institutional self-interest (appease external political forces or strong internal lobbies)
- Personal advancement (in professional organizations or own institution)

5. Free speech is <u>not</u> often defended by academics

Disincentives to protest violations of principle or persons

- Violations seem small—or deserved
- Institution controls perks
- Fear of same fate
- Too much trouble
- Fear of being tainted by association with disapproved activities

Incentives are to keep quiet, distance self, acquiesce—even join in

But THIS man has defended our rights his entire adult life



Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr., Ph.D. University of Minnesota

Chapter 23

Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr.

Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr. (born 1937) has been one of the leading researchers to demonstrate that genetic influences have important effects on intelligence and a number of personality traits. His method has been to study the degree of similarity of identical and non-identical twins separated shortly after birth and reared in different families. The results of his studies have both consolidated and extended existing evidence showing that genetic factors are important in the determination of these attributes. His work has also shown that the relevant environmental influences are unique to the individual rather than operating as family effects arising from shared or common family influences such as parental styles of upbringing, discipline, role models, encouragement, and the like.

Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr. was born in 1937 in Manchester, New Hampshire. On leaving high school he served in the United States Air Force for

Thank you! A lesson for us all