Open Letter Regarding
Inequitable Victim-Centered Practices

“The great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie—deliberate, contrived and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic.” -- John F. Kennedy

The undersigned professors and legal experts write regarding the use of investigative “victim-centered” practices that threaten to subvert the objective collection and presentation of evidence in administrative, civil, and criminal sexual assault proceedings. These guilt-presuming methods include “victim-centered” investigations, “trauma-informed” theories, and the admonition to always “believe the victim.”

Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter once wrote that “the history of American freedom is, in no small measure, the history of procedure.” That “procedure” is the constitutional guarantee of due process, rooted in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. “Without due process for those we hate and fear—even those whose guilt is obvious—we will all lose our freedoms.”

To enforce this guarantee of due process, our criminal justice system has been refined over the years to strike a delicate balance between the interests of the government and its citizens. To ensure the thorough and unbiased discovery and production of evidence, law enforcement ethics codes have required diligence, integrity, and impartiality in the conduct of investigations. “Investigators do not determine the suspects to be guilty; they remain objective in their investigation.”

Over the last decade, however, policies that direct investigators to “believe the victim” have come to the fore. These policies undermine neutrality in campus Title IX disciplinary processes as well as in the criminal justice system. This trend is disturbingly reminiscent of the 1980s and 90s satanic daycare child abuse “witch hunt” during which investigators were instructed to “believe the children” without scrutiny.

Ideological Origins of Victim-Centered Practices

The movement to prioritize belief over truth can be traced back to the early 1990s when advocates began to call for “swift and unquestioning judgments about the facts of [sexual] harassment without standard

---

1 This Open Letter, dated February 7, 2018, is sponsored by Stop Abusive and Violent Environments: http://www.saveservices.org/sexual-assault/investigations/ For more information, contact Christopher Perry, Esq. at cperry@saveservices.org.
evidentiary procedures with the chant ‘always believe the victim.’” Within the realm of psychological treatment and care, the need for the therapist to believe the victim is necessary and appropriate. But in the investigative or adjudicative contexts, it is decidedly not.

The central “believe the victim” concepts are recited in a 2006 End Violence Against Women International (EVAWI) manual titled Effective Report Writing. The manual is expressly designed to train investigators to prepare an investigative report that “support[s] the charges filed” and undermines “potential defense strategies,” with the explicit goal of achieving a “successful prosecution.” Investigators are cautioned to focus on “suspect” and witness statements that “corroborate the victim’s account” and highlight only inconsistencies in witness or “suspect” statements that support the allegations.

Conspicuously absent from Effective Report Writing is any discussion about how to reconcile misleading or implausible statements. Instead, the manual ascribes inconsistencies in witness statements to investigator errors in documentation. Moreover, the manual advocates “making sure” the incident does “not look like a consensual sexual experience” by making the complainant “appear more innocent.”

Effective Report Writing meticulously avoids use of the words “complainant” or “accuser.” Instead, it refers to complainants as “victims,” even though District Court Judge F. Dennis Saylor wrote it was presumptuous to assume someone is a “victim” in the investigative context because “[w]hether someone is a ‘victim’ is a conclusion to be reached at the end of a fair process, not an assumption to be made at the beginning.”

Ideological biases in favor of alleged sexual assault victims are particularly ubiquitous in the campus setting. Harvard Law professor Jeannie Suk Gerson describes the “believe the victim” mantra as attaining the status of a “near-religious teaching.” Writers KC Johnson and Stuart Taylor further explain, “[T]he ideological regimes used on many campuses are designed more to stack the deck against accused students than to ensure a fair inquiry.”

---

9 Id. at 4.
10 Id. at 4, 26.
11 Id. at 3.
12 Id. at 3, 19.
13 Id. at 20.
14 Id. at 23.
15 Id. at 14.
16 Id. at 11.
17 John Doe v. Brandeis University, Memorandum and Order on Defendant’s Motion to Dismiss, J. Saylor (March 31, 2016).
Victim-Centered Investigations

On college campuses, “believe the victim” ideology is evidenced by the widespread use of “victim-centered” investigations. According to a Human Rights Watch report, a “victim-centered” approach means the investigator assumes “all sexual assault cases are valid unless established otherwise by investigative findings.”

The University of Texas School of Social Work’s *Blueprint for Campus Police* takes the “victim-centered” concept a step further. The manual instructs investigators to anticipate legal defense strategies and urges that inconsistencies be downplayed by not recording “a detailed account of prior interview statements.”

The utilization of victim-centered investigations on campus has given rise to numerous lawsuits by accused students alleging incomplete or faulty collection of evidence. Eric Rosenberg, who has represented many accused students, notes that “systemic bias” in training materials essentially “mandat[es] adjudicators shield accusers from exculpatory evidence” because such evidence may “re-victimize the victim.”

Understandably, the use of victim-centered investigations in university settings has been roundly criticized:

- The Federalist Society: “Many of the professors and campus officials who adjudicate campus sexual assault claims are ‘trained’ to believe accusers and disbelieve accused students, and barely feign impartiality.”
- The Heritage Foundation: “Extreme care must be taken to avoid having either investigators or members of a tribunal with preconceived biases or conflicts of interest.”
- The Association of Title IX Administrators: recognized that certain Title IX investigators have taken victim-centered investigations too far, thereby placing their “thumb on the scale” on the side of guilt.

---

21 Noel Busch-Armendariz, Caitlin Sulley, & Kathleen Hill, *Blueprint for campus police: Responding to sexual assault*, Institute on Domestic Violence & Sexual Assault, University of Texas at Austin, p. 68, Table 7.3 (2016) [https://utexas.app.box.com/v/blueprintforcampuspolice](https://utexas.app.box.com/v/blueprintforcampuspolice)
22 *ld.* at 68, Table 7.4.
24 KC Johnson and Stuart Taylor, *supra* note 19.
Trauma-Informed Theories

While “victim-centered” investigations rest upon an easily discernible ideological foundation, “trauma-informed” theories represent an attempt to impute a veneer of scientific respectability to the broader “believe the victim” movement.

Trauma-informed behavioral theories originated with anecdotal reports of how victims of forcible rape responded to their experiences. The concept of “rape trauma syndrome” (RTS) stemmed from a 1974 survey of 92 forcible rape victims’ self-reported symptoms. Authors of the survey classified the symptoms into two stages: “fear or terror,” followed by efforts to “reorganize” their lives. The 1974 survey has been the focus of sharp criticism, highlighting “definitional problems, biased research samples,” and unreliability because “the inherent complexity of the phenomenon vitiate all attempts to establish empirically the causal relationship implicit in the concept of a rape trauma syndrome.” The survey’s credibility is also compromised by its “failure to distinguish between victims of rapes, attempted rapes, and molestation.” One legal expert concluded rape trauma syndrome is not “generally accepted by experts.” Another found it “troubling” that theories of traumatic memory “continue to thrive as tenacious cultural memes” despite “very minimal” scientific support.

But these criticisms have not deterred the accretion of even more symptoms putatively encompassed by “rape trauma syndrome,” creating a veritable chicken soup of quasi-diagnoses like “tonic immobility,” “fragmentation of memories,” and “factual inconsistencies.” One author predicted, “[i]f virtually any victim behavior is described as consistent with RTS, the term soon will have little meaning.”

Despite research concluding that extreme stress may actually enhance the subsequent recall of stressful incidents, rape trauma theories have spawned an industry to teach investigators “trauma-informed” approaches. Rebecca Campbell, PhD, long-time victims’ advocate and psychology professor at Michigan State University, has popularized the “trauma-informed” approach through numerous publications and presentations to professional audiences across the country.

31 Robert R. Lawrence, Checking the Allure of Increased Conviction Rates: The Admissibility of Expert Testimony on Rape Trauma Syndrome in Criminal Proceedings, 70 Va. L. Rev. 1657, 1678-1680 (1984)
38 See, for example, Campbell, R., Shaw, J., & Fehler-Cabral, G., Evaluation of a victim-centered, trauma-informed victim notification protocol for untested sexual assault kits (SAKs), Violence Against Women (April 24, 2017).
Campus investigators stand at the epicenter of trauma-informed concepts. Guidance from the Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights directed Title IX training to include “the effects of trauma, including neurobiological change” — a phrase pregnant with hidden meaning. Although this guidance has been rescinded, many college Title IX programs continue to follow its admonitions.

The illusory evidence for trauma-informed theory is found in various training regimes, including a program on trauma-informed sexual assault investigation offered by the National Center for Campus Public Safety (NCCPS). NCCPS’s Why Campuses Should Conduct Trauma-Informed Sexual Assault Investigations webinar repeats the same unsupported “trauma-informed” theories on memory fragmentation, and suggests it is normal for victims to engage in counterintuitive victim behavior such as communicating and “consensual sexual or social activities” with the alleged perpetrator.

Journalist Emily Yoffe has characterized trauma-informed approaches as emblematic of “junk science:”

The result is not only a system in which some men are wrongly accused and wrongly punished. It is a system vulnerable to substantial backlash. University professors and administrators should understand this. And they, of all people, should identify and call out junk science.

Harvard law professor Janet Halley has ridiculed the trauma-informed training employed by her university, noting the materials provide a “sixth grade level summary of selected neurobiological research” and are “100% aimed to convince them to believe complainants, precisely when they seem unreliable and incoherent.”

In sum, under the umbrella of “trauma-informed” theories, victims’ advocates not only recommend disregarding complainants’ inconsistencies or behavioral anomalies; they also insist such inconsistencies should be viewed as probative evidence of trauma. Illogically, this interpretation precludes any consideration of a complainant’s incongruous statements or inconsistent behavior as evidence, resulting in an irrefutable argument that the victim’s fragmented or lost memories are certain evidence of trauma, with the implication that therefore the allegations are true.

Start by Believing Campaign

The Start by Believing campaign, launched in 2011 by End Violence Against Women International, has been touted as a “global campaign transforming the way we respond to sexual assault.” Funded by

---

numerous federal grants, the *Start by Believing* philosophy has been disseminated to law enforcement and other professionals throughout the country, including detectives, criminal investigators, and college administrators.

According to Stuart Taylor and K.C. Johnson, “campus-training materials are permeated by highly debatable psychological theories, spawned in part by the Obama administration’s directive that Title IX training incorporate information on ‘neurobiological change.’” Taylor and Johnson report, for example, that Middlebury College’s training urges adjudicators to ‘start by believing’ the accuser:

> The training further suggests that in order to be “objective,” investigation reports must not use the word “alleged” before “victim” or “sexual assault” and must avoid concluding a victim’s account is inconsistent, “not believable or credible,” based on “her actions during and after the encounter with the suspect.”

An expert panel consisting of investigators, attorneys, and others analyzed investigative methods such as those endorsed by *Start by Believing*, and concluded these approaches “violate ethical requirements for impartial and honest investigations, are inconsistent with basic notions of fairness and justice, and give rise to wrongful convictions and determinations of guilt.”

In 2016, the Arizona Governor’s Commission to Prevent Violence Against Women issued a letter advising Arizona’s criminal justice agencies to reject the investigative methods proposed by *Start by Believing* because their use “creates the possibility of real or perceived confirmation bias.” The Commission’s letter highlighted the distinction between respecting the victim versus allowing a presumption of guilt to taint the overall criminal justice system:

> While investigations and interviews with victims should always be done in a respectful and trauma-informed manner, law enforcement agencies, and other agencies co-located in advocacy centers, are strongly cautioned against adopting *Start By Believing*.

Citing an Iowa case in which a detective testified the *Start by Believing* campaign required him to believe the victim, “no matter what,” the governor’s commission reminded Arizona law enforcement agencies that they must conduct an “un-biased investigation of allegations of sexual assault.”

While interviews of complainants should always proceed in a respectful and nonjudgmental manner, investigators must be instructed to refrain from adopting policies like those advocated by the *Start By Believing* campaign.

---

45 EVAWI has received over $7.5 million in grant funding, mostly from the Department of Justice. [http://www.evawintl.org/grants.aspx](http://www.evawintl.org/grants.aspx)

46 KC Johnson and Stuart Taylor, *supra* note 19.

47 Id.


50 Id. The Commission’s letter is embedded in the article.

51 Id.
Call to Restore Due Process and Fundamental Fairness

By their very name, their ideology, and the methods they foster, “believe the victim” concepts presume the guilt of an accused. This is the antithesis of the most rudimentary notions of justice. In directing investigators to corroborate allegations, ignore reporting inconsistencies, and undermine defenses, the “believe the victim” movement threatens to subvert constitutionally-rooted due process protections.

Canadian Justice Anne Molloy recently recognized the subversive impact of “believe the victim” policies:

Although the slogan “Believe the victim” has become popularized of late, it has no place in a criminal trial. To approach a trial with the assumption that the complainant is telling the truth is the equivalent of imposing a presumption of guilt on the person accused of sexual assault and then placing a burden on him to prove his innocence. That is antithetical to the fundamental principles of justice enshrined in our Constitution and the values underlying our free and democratic society.\(^\text{52}\)

The undersigned professors and criminal justice experts hereby call upon lawmakers, federal agencies, criminal justice officials, and college administrators to promptly discontinue the use of victim-centered, trauma-informed, and believe the victim practices that threaten to subvert the objective collection and presentation of evidence in administrative, civil, and criminal sexual assault proceedings.

Signed:\(^\text{53}\)

Mike Adams, Ph.D.
University of North Carolina, Wilmington
Wilmington, NC

Michel Alary, M.D., Ph.D.
Laval University
Quebec, QC, Canada

Larry Alexander
Warren Distinguished Professor of Law
University of San Diego
San Diego, CA

Michael Allen, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of History
University of Washington, Tacoma
Ellensburg, WA

J. Michael Bailey
Professor of Psychology
Northwestern University
Evanston, IL

Gregg Barak, Ph.D.
Professor of Criminology & Criminal Justice
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, MI

Elizabeth Bartholet
Morris Wasserstein Professor of Law
Faculty Director, Child Advocacy Program
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA

---


\(^\text{53}\) Persons signed this Open Letter in their individual capacities. Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.
Michael Barton, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Social Science and American Studies
Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg
Middletown, PA

Jay Bergman
Professor of History
Central Connecticut State University
New Britain, CT

G. Robert Blakey
William J. and Dorothy K. O’Neill Professor of Law Emeritus
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, IN

Jan H. Blits
Professor Emeritus
University of Delaware
Newark, DE

Walter E. Block, Ph.D.
Harold E. Wirth Eminent Scholar
Endowed Chair and Professor of Economics
Loyola University New Orleans
New Orleans, LA

David Bradshaw, Ph.D.
University of Kentucky
Lexington, KY

Robert J. Bresler
Professor Emeritus
Penn State University – Harrisburg
Harrisburg, PA

Loretta Graziano Breuning, Ph.D.
California State University, East Bay
Hayward, CA

Catharine Savage Brosman, Ph.D.
Tulane University
New Orleans, LA

M. Northrup Buechner, Ph.D.
St. John’s University
New York City, NY

Michael Burlingame
Professor of History
University of Illinois
Springfield, IL

Stephen H. Burns, Ph.D.
Professor of Electrical Engineering (retired)
U. S. Naval Academy
Annapolis, MD

Marshall Burns, Ph.D.
SOL Research, Inc.
Los Angeles, CA

Ardel B. Caneday, Ph.D.
Professor of New Testament & Greek
University of Northwestern - St. Paul
St. Paul, MN

Adam Candeub
College of Law
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI

Russell Cecil, M.D. Ph.D.
Albany Medical College
Albany, NY

Marco Del Giudice
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM

Steven Dennis, J.D.
Retired judge, Former prosecutor
Columbia, SC

George W. Dent, Jr.
Case Western Reserve University
School of Law
Cleveland, OH

Justin Dillon
KaiserDillon PLLC
Washington, DC

Thomas Dineen, MA (Oxon.), LLM
Baltimore, MD

Donald A. Downs
Emeritus
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Sarasota, FL

Roger G. Dunham
Professor & Chair
Department of Sociology
University of Miami
Coral Gables, FL
John Dale Dunn, M.D. J.D.
Lecturer, Civilian Faculty Emergency Medicine
Carl R. Darnall Army Medical Center
Fort Hood, TX

John M. Ellis
Emeritus
University of California
Santa Cruz, CA

Roger Entringer, Ph.D.
Emeritus
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM

Erwin H. Epstein
Professor Emeritus
Center for Comparative Education
Loyola University Chicago
Chicago, IL

Timothy Fay
Former Special Assistant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Silver Spring, MD

Melvyn L. Fein, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology
Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice
Kennesaw State University
Kennesaw, GA

Gordon E. Finley, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology Emeritus
Florida International University
Miami, FL

Hyman W. Fisher, M.D.
Department of Preventive Medicine
Mount Sinai School of Medicine
New York, NY

Douglas C. Frechtling, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus
George Washington University
Washington, DC

Professor Linda Frey
University of Montana
Missoula, MT

Professor Marsha Frey
Kansas State University
Manhattan, KS

Bruce P. Frohnen
Ohio Northern University College of Law
Ada, OH

Jeffrey M. Gamso
Assistant Cuyahoga County Public Defender
Former Legal Director, ACLU of Ohio
Cleveland, OH

Charles Geshekter, Ph.D.
California State University, Chico
Chico, CA

Bruce Gilley, Ph.D.
Portland State University
Portland, OR

Jerry Glenn, Ph.D.
Emeritus
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, OH

Mary Grabar, Ph.D.
Alexander Hamilton Institute for the Study of Western Civilization
Clinton, NY

Lino Graglia, LL.B.
University of Texas School of Law
Austin, TX

Daniel Guerriere, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Philosophy
California State University - Long Beach
Long Beach, CA

George Hagedorn
Professor Emeritus
Virginia Tech University
Pembroke, VA

Janet Halley
Royall Professor of Law
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA

Patricia M. Hamill, Esquire
Conrad O'Brien PC
Philadelphia, PA
Ann Hartle, Ph.D.
Emory University
Atlanta, GA

Bruce Heiden, Ph.D.
Professor of Classics
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Mark Y. Herring, Ed.D.
Dean of Library Services
Winthrop University
Rock Hill, SC

Donald A. Hicks, Ph.D.
Professor of Political Economy & Public Policy
University of Texas at Dallas
Dallas, TX

Max Hocutt, Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy Emeritus
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, AL

Paul Hollander, Ph.D.
Emeritus
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA

James L. Hood, Ph.D., M.B.A.
Midway University
Midway, KY

Scott C. Idleman
Marquette University Law School
Milwaukee, WI

Jack Kammer, MSW, MBA
Former Parole and Probation Agent
Maryland Dept. of Public Safety and Correctional Services
Baltimore, MD

Susan Kaplan, PhD, Esq.
Kaplan Law Office
New York, NY

Jonathan Katz
Professor of Physics
Washington University
St. Louis, MO

Sajid A. Khan
Deputy Public Defender
Santa Clara County
San Jose, CA

Richard Klein, J.D.
Bruce K. Gould Distinguished Professor of Law
Touro Law School
Central Islip, NY

David Kopel, J.D.
University of Denver
Denver, CO

Alan Charles Kors
Henry Charles Lea Professor Emeritus of History
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA

James J. Krivacska, Psy.D.
Psychology & Law Consultants
Woodland Park, NJ

Jeffrey A. Kriessler, Ph.D.
Lloyd Sealy Library
John Jay College of Criminal Justice
City University of New York
New York, NY

William Kuechler, Ph.D.
University of Nevada at Reno
Reno, NV

Nora Laiken, Ph.D.
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA

Barton Lane, M.D.
Professor of Radiology
Stanford University School of Medicine
Stanford, CA

Mitchell Langbert, Ph.D.
Brooklyn College, CUNY
West Shokan, NY

Barry Latzer, J.D., Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Criminal Justice
John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY
New York, NY
Kimberly C. Lau  
Attorney  
New York, NY

George C. Leef  
Director of Research  
James G. Martin Center for Academic Renewal  
Raleigh, NC

Stan Liebowitz  
Ashbel Smith Professor  
University of Texas at Dallas  
Richardson, TX

Jay Logsdon  
Deputy Public Defender  
Kootenai County  
Coeur d’Alene, ID

Robert Oscar Lopez  
Professor of Humanities  
L.R. Scarborough College at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary  
Fort Worth, TX

Carnes Lord, Ph.D.  
United States Naval War College  
Newport, RI

Professor Ian Maitland, Ph.D., J.D.  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, MN

Joyce Lee Malcolm  
Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second Amendment  
Antonin Scalia Law School  
George Mason University  
Arlington, VA

Matthew Malkan, Ph.D.  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, CA

Michael Maller, Ph.D.  
Queens College  
Flushing, NY

Joel C. Mandelman  
Deputy General Counsel  
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1984-1986)  
Arlington, VA

Joseph H. Manson  
Professor, Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, CA

Allen Martin, Ph.D.  
Professor Emeritus  
University of Texas at Tyler  
Tyler, TX

Robert McCrie, Ph.D., C.P.P.  
Professor and Deputy Chair  
Department of Security, Fire and Emergency Management  
John Jay College, CUNY  
New York, NY

R.L. McNeely, Ph.D., J.D.  
Professor Emeritus  
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee  
Milwaukee, WI

Geoffrey Miller, Ph.D.  
Professor of Psychology  
University of New Mexico  
Albuquerque, NM

Prof. James E. Moore, II, Ph.D.  
Director, Transportation Engineering Program  
University of Southern California  
Los Angeles, CA

James W. Muller  
Professor of Political Science  
University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Anchorage, AK

David R. Mushel, M.D.  
Fellow, N.Y. Academy of Medicine  
Associate Professor of Clinical Medicine  
New York University School of Medicine  
New York, NY

Donald F Nelson, Ph.D.  
Professor of Physics, Emeritus  
Worcester Polytechnic Institute  
Worcester, MA

Anthony Nicastro, Ph.D.  
Professor Emeritus  
Williams College  
Williamstown, MA
Sharon Russell Nicoll, Ph.D.
Biologist and Lecturer (Retired)
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA

Robert L. Paquette
Executive Director
Alexander Hamilton Institute for the Study of
Western Civilization
Clinton, NY

Paul C. Parlato, Ph.D.
Dean Emeritus
Wittenberg University
Springfield, OH

Jill D. Pasteris, Ph.D.
Washington University
St. Louis, MO

N. Christopher Phillips, Ph.D.
University of Oregon
Eugene, OR

William S. Peirce, Ph.D.
Case Western Reserve University
Cleveland, OH

Harry W Power, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

Steven E. Rhoads
Professor Emeritus
Department of Politics
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA

Glenn M. Ricketts, Ph.D.
Public Affairs Director
National Association of Scholars
New York, NY

Reginald Leamon Robinson
Howard University Law School
Washington, D.C.

Jenna A. Robinson, Ph.D.
President
James G. Martin Center for Academic Renewal
Raleigh, NC

Eric Rosenberg, Esq.
Rosenberg & Ball Co., L.P.A.
Granville, OH

David J. Rothman, PhD
Director, Graduate Program in Creative Writing
Western State Colorado University
Gunnison, CO

David Rudovsky
Senior Fellow
Penn Law School
Philadelphia, PA

Howard S. Schwartz, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus
Oakland University
Rochester, MI

Maimon Schwarzschild
Professor of Law
University of San Diego
San Diego, CA

Allen Schwenk, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Mathematics
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI

James R. Scott, Ph.D. (retired)
NASA Glenn Research Center
Cleveland, OH

Charles M. Sevilla
Former President
California Attorneys for Criminal Justice
San Diego, CA

Gary M. Shaw
Professor of Law
Touro Law Center
Central Islip, NY

Marcus Sheffield, Ph.D.
English Department
Southern Adventist University
Collegedale, TN

Brian M. Sirman, Ph.D.
Boston University
Boston, MA
Thomas A. Smith  
Professor of Law  
University of San Diego  
San Diego, CA

Steven Smith  
University of San Diego  
San Diego, CA

Margaret Snyder, M.A.  
Moravian College  
Bethlehem, PA

James J. Stewart, D.Sc.  
Professor  
University of Maryland, University College  
Upper Marlboro, MD

Frederic M. Stiner, Jr., C.P.A. Ph.D., Retired  
University of Delaware  
Newark, DE

Peter Suedfeld, Ph.D., F.R.S.C.  
Department of Psychology  
University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, BC, Canada

Maarten van Swaay, Ph.D.  
Emeritus  
Kansas State University  
Manhattan, KS

Richard L. Swallow, Ph.D.  
Coker College  
Hartsville, SC

George C. Thomas, III  
Rutgers University School of Law  
Newark, NJ

Lionel Tiger, Ph.D.  
Professor of Anthropology Emeritus  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, NJ

Jackson Toby  
Professor of Sociology, Emeritus  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, NJ

Michael Tonry  
Professor of Law and Public Policy  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, MN

Warren Treadgold  
Saint Louis University  
St. Louis, MO

Brandon Van Dyck  
Assistant Professor of Government and Law  
Lafayette College  
Easton, PA

Sylvia Wasson, Ed.D.  
Santa Rosa Junior College  
Santa Rosa, CA

Bradley C. S. Watson, Ph.D.  
Philip M. McKenna Professor of Politics  
Saint Vincent College  
Latrobe, PA

John M. Wermuth, M.B.A.  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, MA

Ralph David Westfall, Ph.D.  
Emeritus Professor  
California State Polytechnic University  
Pomona, CA

David E. Williams, Ph.D.  
Professor  
Oregon State University  
Corvallis, OR

Peter W. Wood, Ph.D.  
President  
National Association of Scholars  
New York, NY