

HOUSE BILL 1¹: FORMING OPEN AND ROBUST UNIVERSITY MINDS (FORUM)
ACT; ENACT

*Amending O.C.G.A. §§ 20-3-48, 20-3-48.1, 20-3-48.2, 20-4-11.1; and
repealing all laws and parts of law in conflict with this Act*

First signature: Representative Josh Bonner (72nd)

Co-Sponsors: Representative Ginny Ehrhart (36th), Representative Todd Jones (25th), Representative Rick Williams (145th), Representative Joseph Gullett (19th), and Representative Wes Cantrell (22nd)

Summary: “[T]o provide for public forums at public institutions of higher education; to prevent the creation of ‘free speech zones’ at public institutions of higher education; to provide for a short title; to provide for definitions; to provide for legislative findings and intent; to provide for related matters; to provide for an effective date; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.”²

Status: House Sent to Governor.³

TEXT OF HOUSE BILL 1⁴

To amend Title 20 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated, relating to education generally, so as to provide for public forums at public institutions of higher education within the University System of Georgia and the Technical College System of Georgia for the campus community; to prevent the creation of free speech zones at such public institutions of higher education; to allow for reasonable, content- and viewpoint-neutral, and narrowly-tailored time, place, and manner restrictions on expressive activity at public institutions of higher education; to prohibit material and substantial disruption of protected expressive activity at public institutions of higher education; to prohibit such public institutions of higher education from

¹ H.B. 1, 156th Gen. Assemb., Reg. Sess. (Ga. 2021), available at <https://www.legis.ga.gov/api/legislation/document/20212022/199668> (last visited April 15, 2022).

² 2021-2022 Regular Session-HB 1, *Forming Open and Robust University Minds (FORUM) Act; enact*, GA. GEN. ASSEMB., available at <https://www.legis.ga.gov/legislation/58786> (last visited April 15, 2022) [hereinafter *H.B. 1 Status Sheet*].

³ *Id.*

⁴ H.B. 1, *supra* note 1.

denying benefits to or otherwise discriminating against a student organization on the basis of the student organization's religious, political, or ideological positions; to require public institutions of higher education to provide public notice of rules and expectations regarding expressive activity; to require public institutions of higher education to develop materials, programs, and procedures related to expressive activity; to provide for a short title; to provide for definitions; to provide for related matters; to provide for an effective date; to repeal conflicting laws; and for other purposes.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA:

SECTION 1.

Title 20 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated, relating to education generally, is amended by repealing Code Section 20-3-48, relating to adoption of free speech and expression regulations and disciplinary sanctions for interfering with rights, and enacting a new Code Section 20-3-48 to read as follows:

“20-3-48.

(a) This part shall be known and may be cited as the ‘Forming Open and Robust University Minds (FORUM) Act.’

(b) As used in this part, the term:

(1) ‘Benefit’ means any of the following conferred upon a student or student organization by a public institution of higher education: recognition; registration; the use of facilities of the public institution of higher education for purposes of meetings or other expressive activity; the use of channels of communication of the public institution of higher education; or funding sources that are otherwise available to other students or student organizations at the public institution of higher education.

(2) ‘Campus community’ means students, administrators, faculty, and staff at the public institution of higher education and their invited guests.

(3) ‘Materially and substantially disrupts’ means when a person intentionally engages in conduct or expressive activity which such person knew or reasonably should have known would significantly hinder another person's or group's expressive activity, prevent the communication of the person's or group's

message, or prevent the transaction of the business of a lawful meeting, gathering, or procession by:

(A) Engaging in fighting, violent, or other unlawful behavior;

or

(B) Physically blocking, using threats of violence, or creating loud or sustained noise or vocalization intended to prevent any person from attending, listening to, viewing, or otherwise participating in an expressive activity.

Conduct or expressive activity shall not be considered a material or substantial disruption if it is protected under the Georgia Constitution or the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, including, but not limited to, lawful protests in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus (except during times when those areas have been reserved in advance for other events) or minor, brief, or fleeting nonviolent disruptions of events that are isolated and short in duration.

(4) 'Public institution of higher education' or 'institution' means any college or university under the management and control of the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia.

(5) 'Student' means any person who is enrolled on a full-time or part-time basis in a public institution of higher education.

(6) 'Student on student harassment' means unwelcome conduct or expressive activity directed at a student that is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that a student is effectively denied equal access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by the public institution of higher education. This term shall not apply to or govern any employment policy of a public institution of higher education relating to harassment. (7) 'Student organization' means any association, club, fraternity, society, sorority, or organized group of students, whether academic, athletic, political, social, or otherwise, that is officially recognized by a public institution of higher education.

(8) 'Unrestricted outdoor area of campus' means any outdoor area of campus that is generally accessible to members of the campus community, including, but not limited to, grassy areas, walkways, or other common areas, and does not include outdoor areas when and where access to members of the campus community is lawfully restricted.

(c) Unrestricted outdoor areas of campuses of public institutions of higher education in this state shall be deemed public forums for the campus community, and public institutions of higher education shall not create 'free speech zones' or other designated areas of campus outside of which expressive activities are prohibited for the campus community.

(d) Public institutions of higher education may maintain and enforce reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions for the campus community narrowly tailored in service of a significant institutional interest only when such restrictions employ clear, published, content- and viewpoint-neutral criteria, and provide for ample alternative means of expression. Any such restrictions shall allow for members of the campus community to spontaneously and contemporaneously assemble and distribute literature. Nothing in this Code section shall be interpreted as limiting the right of student expression elsewhere on campus.

(e) Protected expressive activity under this part consists of speech and other conduct protected by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, including, but not limited to, lawful verbal, written, audio-visual, or electronic expression by which individuals may communicate ideas to one another, including all forms of peaceful assembly, distributing literature, carrying signs, circulating petitions, demonstrations, protests, and speeches including those by guest speakers.

(f) Any person who wishes to engage in noncommercial expressive activity in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus shall be permitted to do so freely, as long as the person's conduct is not unlawful and does not materially and substantially disrupt the functioning of the public institution of higher education, subject to restrictions lawfully imposed under subsections (c) and (d) of this Code section. Nothing in this Code section shall be construed to make the unrestricted areas of campus into a designated public forum for persons who are not members of the campus community.

(g) Nothing in this part shall be interpreted as preventing public institutions of higher education from prohibiting student on student harassment as defined in this part; from complying with federal and state laws prohibiting discrimination and harassment; or from prohibiting, limiting, or restricting expression that is not protected under the Georgia Constitution or the First Amendment to the United

States Constitution, including, but not limited to, true threats or expressive activity directed to provoke imminent lawless actions and likely to produce it.

(h) Nothing in this part shall enable individuals to engage in conduct that materially and substantially disrupts another's expressive activity that is occurring in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus or a campus space reserved for that activity under the exclusive use or control of a particular group.

(i) Public institutions of higher education shall make public in their hand books, on their websites, and through their orientation programs for students the policies, regulations, and expectations of students regarding free expressive activity on campus consistent with this part.

(j) Public institutions of higher education shall develop materials, programs, and procedures to ensure that those persons who have responsibility for discipline or education of students, such as administrators, campus police officers, residence life officials, and professors, understand the policies, regulations, and duties of public institutions of higher education regarding expressive activity on campus consistent with this part.

SECTION 2.

Said title is further amended by revising Code Section 20-3-48.1, relating to annual report by board of regents, as follows:

“20-3-48.1.

The board of regents shall make and publish an annual report and provide a copy to the Governor and each chamber of the General Assembly on July 1 of each year addressing the following from the previous calendar year:

- (1) Any barriers to, or disruptions of, free expression within ~~state~~ public institutions of higher education;
- (2) Administrative response and discipline relating to violation of regulations and policies established pursuant to Code Section 20-3-48;
- (3) Actions taken by ~~state~~ public institutions of higher ~~learning~~ education, including difficulties, controversies, or successes, in maintaining a posture of administrative and institutional neutrality with regard to political or social issues; and

- (4) Any assessments, criticisms, commendations, or recommendations the board of regents deems appropriate to further include in the report.

SECTION 3.

Said title is further amended by repealing and reserving Code Section 20-3-48.2, relating to reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions on speech.

SECTION 4.

Said title is further amended in Article 2 of Chapter 4, relating to technical and adult education, by adding a Code section to read as follows:

“20-4-11.1.

(a) As used in this Code section, the term:

(1) ‘Benefit’ means any of the following conferred upon a student or student organization by a public institution of higher education: recognition; registration; the use of facilities of the public institution of higher education for purposes of meetings or other expressive activity; the use of channels of communication of the public institution of higher education; or funding sources that are otherwise available to other students or student organizations at the public institution of higher education.

(2) ‘Campus community’ means students, administrators, faculty, and staff at the public institution of higher education and their invited guests.

(3) ‘Materially and substantially disrupts’ means when a person intentionally engages in conduct or expressive activity which such person knew or reasonably should have known would significantly hinder another person’s or group’s expressive activity, prevent the communication of the person’s or group’s message, or prevent the transaction of the business of a lawful meeting, gathering, or procession by:

(A) Engaging in fighting, violent, or other unlawful behavior;
or

(B) Physically blocking, using threats of violence, or creating loud or sustained noise or vocalization intended to prevent any

person from attending, listening to, viewing, or otherwise participating in an expressive activity.

Conduct or expressive activity shall not be considered a material or substantial disruption if it is protected under the Georgia Constitution or the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, including, but not limited to, lawful protests in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus (except during times when those areas have been reserved in advance for other events) or minor, brief, or fleeting nonviolent disruptions of events that are isolated and short in duration.

(4) 'Public institution of higher education' or 'institution' means any postsecondary technical school or other postsecondary branch of the Technical College System of Georgia.

(5) 'Student' means any person who is enrolled on a full-time or part-time basis in a public institution of higher education.

(6) 'Student on student harassment' means unwelcome conduct or expressive activity directed at a student that is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that a student is effectively denied equal access to educational opportunities or benefits provided by the public institution of higher education. This term shall not apply to or govern any employment policy of a public institution of higher education relating to harassment.

(7) 'Student organization' means any association, club, fraternity, society, sorority, or organized group of students, whether academic, athletic, political, social, or otherwise, that is officially recognized by a public institution of higher education.

(8) 'Unrestricted outdoor area of campus' means any outdoor area of campus that is generally accessible to members of the campus community, including, but not limited to, grassy areas, walkways, or other common areas, and does not include outdoor areas when and where access to members of the campus community is lawfully restricted.

(b) Unrestricted outdoor areas of campuses of public institutions of higher education in this state shall be deemed public forums for the campus community, and public institutions of higher education shall not create 'free speech zones' or other designated areas of campus outside of which expressive activities are prohibited for the campus community.

(c) Public institutions of higher education may maintain and enforce reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions for the campus community narrowly tailored in service of a significant institutional interest only when such restrictions employ clear, published, content- and viewpoint-neutral criteria, and provide for ample alternative means of expression. Any such restrictions shall allow for members of the campus community to spontaneously and contemporaneously assemble and distribute literature. Nothing in this Code section shall be interpreted as limiting the right of student expression elsewhere on campus.

(d) Protected expressive activity under this Code section consists of speech and other conduct protected by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, including, but not limited to, lawful verbal, written, audio-visual, or electronic expression by which individuals may communicate ideas to one another, including all forms of peaceful assembly, distributing literature, carrying signs, circulating petitions, demonstrations, protests, and speeches including those by guest speakers.

(e) Any person who wishes to engage in noncommercial expressive activity in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus shall be permitted to do so freely, as long as the person's conduct is not unlawful and does not materially and substantially disrupt the functioning of the public institution of higher education, subject to restrictions lawfully imposed under subsections (c) and (d) of this Code section. Nothing in this Code section shall be construed to make the unrestricted areas of campus into a designated public forum for persons who are not members of the campus community.

(f) Nothing in this Code section shall be interpreted as preventing public institutions of higher education from prohibiting student on student harassment as defined in this Code section; from complying with federal and state laws prohibiting discrimination and harassment; or from prohibiting, limiting, or restricting expression that is not protected under the Georgia Constitution or the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, including, but not limited to, true threats or expressive activity directed to provoke imminent lawless actions and likely to produce it.

(g) Nothing in this Code section shall enable individuals to engage in conduct that materially and substantially disrupts another's expressive activity that is occurring in an unrestricted outdoor area of campus or

a campus space reserved for that activity under the exclusive use or control of a particular group.

(h) Public institutions of higher education shall make public in their handbooks, on their websites, and through their orientation programs for students the policies, regulations, and expectations of students regarding free expressive activity on campus consistent with this Code section.

(i) Public institutions of higher education shall develop materials, programs, and procedures to ensure that those persons who have responsibility for discipline or education of students, such as administrators, campus police officers, residence life officials, and professors, understand the policies, regulations, and duties of public institutions of higher education regarding expressive activity on campus consistent with this Code section.

(j) The State Board of the Technical College System of Georgia shall make and publish an annual report and provide a copy to the Governor and each chamber of the General Assembly on July 1 of each year addressing the following from the previous calendar year:

(1) Any barriers to, or disruptions of, free expression within public institutions of higher education;

(2) Administrative response and discipline relating to violation of regulations and policies established pursuant to Code Section 20-3-48;

(3) Actions taken by public institutions of higher education, including difficulties, controversies, or successes, in maintaining a posture of administrative and institutional neutrality with regard to political or social issues; and

(4) Any assessments, criticisms, commendations, or recommendations the board of regents deems appropriate to further include in the report.”

SECTION 5.

This Act shall become effective on July 1, 2021.

SECTION 6.

All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are repealed.

SPONSOR’S RATIONALE

Representative Josh Bonner (“Representative Bonner”) sponsors House Bill 1 (“H.B. 1”) and states, “[o]ur public universities are meant to be safe forums where ideas could be debated, but over the years, the ability of students to exercise their First Amendment rights has been greatly diminished.”⁵ Currently, speech on Georgia’s public university campuses is governed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution,⁶ “speech codes in Georgia’s laws,”⁷ and the University System of Georgia’s Board of Regents Policy Manual.⁸ The First Amendment of the United States Constitution states, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”⁹ Current speech codes in Georgia’s laws include criminal and civil penalties for speech-related acts such as inciting to riot,¹⁰ unlawful assembly,¹¹ terroristic threats,¹² disorderly conduct,¹³ and harassing communications.¹⁴

⁵ Dave Williams, *Campus Free-Speech Bill First Pre-File for 2021 Legislative Session*, CAPITOL BEAT NEWS SERVICE (Nov. 16, 2020), <http://Capitol-Beat.org/2020/11/Campus-free-speech-bill-first-pre-file-for-2021-legislative-session/>.

⁶ U.S. CONST. amend. I.

⁷ *Rep. Bonner Files College Campus Free Speech Legislation*, THE CITIZEN (Nov. 26, 2020), <https://thecitizen.com/2020/11/26/Rep-Bonner-files-college-campus-free-speech-legislation/> [hereinafter THE CITIZEN].

⁸ *Board of Regents Policy Manual: Official Policies of the University System of Georgia*, § 6.5 Freedom of Expression, UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA (2021), <https://www.usg.edu/policymanual/section6/C2653> [hereinafter *Board of Regents Policy Manual*].

⁹ U.S. CONST., *supra* note 6.

¹⁰ O.C.G.A. § 16-11-31 (1969).

¹¹ O.C.G.A. § 16-11-33 (1989).

¹² O.C.G.A. § 16-11-37 (2016).

¹³ O.C.G.A. § 16-11-39 (1995).

¹⁴ O.C.G.A. § 16-11-39.1 (2015).

The University System of Georgia’s Board of Regents Policy Manual includes a section on freedom of expression that states:

[t]o facilitate the free exchange of ideas, institutions may designate accessible, high-traffic locations on campus as public forum areas. The designation of public forum areas may not be used to prohibit individual students, faculty, or staff from engaging in communication elsewhere on campus. Reservation and use of designated public forum areas may only be required in the following limited circumstances: (1) speakers who are not enrolled at or employed by the

institution; and (2) students, faculty, or staff who engage in large group demonstrations. Institutions may not consider the content or viewpoint of expression when requiring or assigning use of public forum areas.¹⁵

Representative Bonner first thought to introduce the FORUM Act after he learned of several incidents across the state, including an incident with Georgia Gwinnett College student Chike Uzuegbunam, where students alleged their First Amendment rights were being infringed upon.¹⁶ In 2016, on two separate occasions, Uzuegbunam was allegedly stopped by campus officials from expressing their Christian faith with other students on campus.¹⁷

Representative Bonner also cited another instance that prompted concern, where Georgia Tech's student government refused to fund a Students for Life speaking event featuring Martin Luther King Jr.'s niece, Alveda King.¹⁸ Because King was considered "inherently religious," funding for the event was denied, while funding remained available for events put on by other non-religious clubs.¹⁹ Representative Bonner believes that "[t]he FORUM Act would help protect and clarify those rights and hold our government accountable if they are suppressed. By implementing constitutional standards on free expression, schools can minimize the risk of costly litigation and create an environment where free speech and academic inquiry can thrive."²⁰

Interest groups, such as Americans for Prosperity, have voiced strong support for H.B. 1.²¹ Andrew Lawrence, the organization's Grassroots Engagement Director, characterizes H.B. 1 as "the premiere campus free speech bill in this country," allowing students to "encounter new ideas and opinions, giving them the opportunity to debate or change their stance."²² Tony West, the organization's Deputy State Director, believes that "[t]his legislation will be a great step towards protecting students' ability to engage with ideas and with each other in higher education."²³

¹⁵ *Board of Regents Policy Manual*, *supra* note 8.

¹⁶ THE CITIZEN, *supra* note 7.

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ Justin Hall, *College Republicans Invite Free-Speech Speaker*, THE GEORGE-ANNE MEDIA GROUP (Sept. 9, 2021), <https://thegeorgeanne.com/32137/news/College-Republicans-invite-free-speech-speaker/>.

²² *Id.*

²³ *Americans for Prosperity Applauds Pre-File of HB 1, Free Expression in Higher Ed*, AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY (Nov. 18, 2020), <https://americansforprosperity.org/Americans-for-Prosperity-Applauds-Pre-File-of-HB-1-Free-Expression-in-Higher-Ed/>.

OPPOSITION'S RATIONALE

Previously proposed legislation aimed at eliminating free speech zones, such as Senate Bill 318, have been voted for or against along party lines, with Republicans supporting and Democrats opposing.²⁴ Regarding H.B. 1, Christopher Bruce, political director of the ACLU of Georgia, believes “[t]he FORUM Act would have a chilling effect on the important protections Georgia’s public colleges and universities have to bar discrimination[]” and that “[t]he American ideals of free speech must not be used as a sword for discrimination.”²⁵ Jeff Graham, Executive Director of Georgia Equality, states that “[b]ecause Georgia does not have those same strong nondiscrimination protections, it is a theoretical argument at this time...[b]ut we do feel that religious student groups shouldn’t be able to discriminate against anyone because of their sexual orientation or gender identity or any other characteristics.”²⁶

IMPLICATIONS IN GEORGIA

If passed, H.B. 1 would prevent Georgia public universities from creating free speech zones, which would purportedly allow for “reasonable, content- and viewpoint-neutral, and narrowly-tailored time, place, and manner restrictions on expressive activity.”²⁷ H.B. 1 would also “prohibit material and substantial disruption of protected expressive activity at public institutions of higher education,” as well as prohibiting public universities from “denying benefits to or otherwise discriminating against a student organization on the basis of the student organization’s religious, political, or ideological positions.”²⁸

H.B. 1 would require Georgia public universities to “provide public notice of rules and expectations regarding expressive activity” and “develop materials, programs, and procedures related to expressive activity.”²⁹ Worth noting is that H.B. 1 would only apply to public universities, as the actions of private universities and even their police departments, absent narrow exceptions, do not satisfy the constitutional requirement of state action for the purposes of First Amendment violations.³⁰ Essentially, as long as the expressive activity and its chosen location on campus do not violate existing laws or university policies not in conflict with H.B. 1, it can and must take place without disruption from the campus administration or community.³¹

²⁴ Maya T. Prabhu, *Georgia Senate Approves Bill Aiming to Remove Speech Zones at Public Colleges*, ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION (Mar. 9, 2020), <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/Georgia-senate-approves-bill-aiming-remove-speech-zones-public-colleges/Q7cSCsdqSk0sp5nedSjSJ/>.

²⁵ Patrick Saunders, *Critics Knock New Georgia 'Free Speech' Bill as Anti-LGBTQ*, PROJECT Q ATLANTA (Nov. 23, 2020), <https://www.projectq.us/Critics-knock-new-Georgia-free-speech-bill-as-anti-LGBTQ/>.

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ H.B. 1, *supra* note 1.

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ *Hartley v. Agnes Scott College*, 759 S.E.2d 857 (Ga. 2014) (holding that private college campus police officers were not state officers or employees for the purposes of qualified immunity).

³¹ H.B. 1, *supra* note 1.

Further, if expressive activity is indeed disrupted in a material and substantial way, the offending party would potentially be in violation of both state law³² and relevant university policy.³³ Although likely the subject of future debate, a material and substantial disruption, as defined in the text of the Bill, is “when a person intentionally engages in conduct or expressive activity which such person knew or reasonably should have known would significantly hinder another person’s or group’s expressive activity, prevent the communication of the person’s or group’s message, or prevent the transaction of the business of a lawful meeting, gathering, or procession by...engaging in fighting, violent, or other unlawful behavior; or...physically blocking, using threats of violence, or creating loud or sustained noise or vocalization intended to prevent any person from attending, listening to, viewing, or otherwise participating in an expressive activity.”³⁴

LEGISLATIVE GENEALOGY

On November 16, 2020, the Bill was prefiled in the House.³⁵ The Bill was introduced into the House Hopper on January 28, 2021.³⁶ On January 29, 2021, the Bill was read in the House for the first time.³⁷ The Bill was read a second time in the House on February 1, 2021.³⁸ On March 5, 2021, the Bill was reported favorably by substitute in the House Higher Education Committee.³⁹ The Bill was withdrawn and recommitted on March 31, 2021.⁴⁰ On February 10, 2022, the Bill was reported favorably by substitute in Committee.⁴¹ The Bill was read a third time in the House, passed with a vote

of 93 yeas, 62 nays, 5 not voting, and 20 excused, and given a notice to reconsider on March 4, 2022.⁴² On March 8, 2022, the House voted, denying reconsideration with 70 yeas, 89 nays, 12 not voting, and 9 excused.⁴³ The Bill then moved to the Senate where it was sponsored by Senator Bruce Thompson (14th).⁴⁴ On March 9, 2022, the Senate read and referred the Bill to the Senate Judiciary Committee.⁴⁵ The Committee favorably reported the Bill and gave notice of Minority Report on March 25, 2022.⁴⁶ On March 28, 2022, the Senate read the Bill a second time.⁴⁷ The Senate tabled the Bill on April 1, 2022.⁴⁸ On April 4, 2022, the Bill was taken from table, read a third time, and passed in the Senate with a vote of 33 yeas, 18 nays, 3 not voting, and 2 excused.⁴⁹ Finally, the House sent the Bill to Governor Brian Kemp on April 6, 2022.⁵⁰

Prepared by: *Davis Feder*

³² See O.C.G.A., *supra* notes 10-14.

³³ *Board of Regents Policy Manual*, *supra* note 8.

³⁴ H.B. 1, *supra* note 1.

³⁵ H.B. 1 Status Sheet, *supra* note 2.

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ H.B. 1 Status Sheet, *supra* note 2.

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ H.B. 1 Status Sheet, *supra* note 2.

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ H.B. 1 Status Sheet, *supra* note 2.