





# **Presenter**

- Sheila O'Rourke
- Senior Campus Counsel
- University of California, Davis
- sorourke@ucdavis.edu

The opinions expressed during today's event are not necessarily those of the University of California or PaperClip Communications. No part of this presentation is legal advice



Overview

A Brave New World

A History of Progressive Free Speech

A Battleground of Rightwing Ideology and Hate Speech

The Debate Around Hate Speech

Framing the Legal Landscape

**Lessons Learned & Practical Tips** 

Excellent reference resource:

Free Speech on Campus, Chemerinsky & Gillman, 2017

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# The Difference a Half a Century Makes

- The History of College Free Speech in a Progressive Era
  - −E.g., The Berkeley Free Speech Movement (1964-65)
- The Values of Free Speech Then

# Campus as Battleground

Colleges and universities are a prime target of the newly energize white supremacist movement because it sees them as bastions of liberalism and multiculturalism – institutions that are "infected" with political correctness. From the movement's perspective, making a speech on a college campus is a highly symbolic act – equivalent to going into the belly of the beast.

Testimony of J. Richard Cohen, President, Southern Poverty Law Center before the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, United States Senate.

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# A Brave New World

- From Charlottesville to Evropa and Vanguard America
- From Richard Spencer and Milo Yiannopoulos ("The Dangerous Faggot")
  - "America, at the end of the day, belongs to white men...Our bones are in the ground. We Own it."
     Speech at Texas A&M, Richard Spencer, December 6, 2016.
- Academic as targets (e.g., George Ciccariello-Maher)

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# No Consensus on the Response

- Clash of Values?
- · Clash of Realities?
- Or Both?

# Intolerance with Intolerance

- Responses to hate/offensive speech on campus
  - From outsiders (violence)
    - Antifa
  - From students (disruptive speech, demands for disinviting speakers)
    - Richard Spencer at the University of Florida
    - Claire Gastañaga, ACLU Director, Virginia Chapter College of William and Mary

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# The "Safe Spaces" Expectation

- Surveys of attitudes toward free speech today (FIRE)
- In the classroom ("Trigger warnings")
- · Outside the classroom
  - Flyers around campus "Build the Wall"; "Make America White Again"; "It's okay to be White"
  - Social Media—University of Pennsylvania's "Mud Men."

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# The Uniqueness of Hate Speech

- Unequal Speech/Unequal Marketplace
- The challenge of line drawing: hate vs. offensive speech
- How much do we trust the government to get it right?
- Does regulating hate speech help eradicate hate?

# The Legal Landscape

### **US Constitution**

- Protects Freedom of Expression (First Amendment)
  - "Congress shall make no law ... 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."
- Requires Equal Protection (14<sup>th</sup> Amendment)
  - "No State shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

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# Threshold Considerations on the First Amendment

- The public vs. private distinction
  - But consider overall value of free expression
- Content regulation vs. time, place, manner restriction
- Protected v. unprotected speech
- The "heckler's veto"

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# Hate Speech – Unprotected?

- Fighting words?
- Group libel?
- Harassment?
- True threat?

# Fighting Words

- Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire (US 1942)
- Cohen v. California (US 1971)
- Note: in more than 70 years, Court has not uphold a fighting words conviction.

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# True Threats

- Wars v. U.S (US 1969)
- Virginia v. Black (US 2003)

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# **Group Libel**

- Despite early precedent, unlikely to prevail today
  - Beaubarnais v. Ilinois (US 1952)
  - Contrast R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul (US 1992)
  - Enhanced penalties for "hate crimes"

# Catch 22 - Fighting Words

- · Void for vagueness or overly broad
  - Eg., Gooding v. Wilson (US 1972) (declaring GA statute that forbade any person to "use to or of another, and in his presence approbrious words or abusive language, tending to cause a breach of peace."
- Void for specificity
  - E.g., R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul (US 1992) (striking down law for singling out instances of hate – e.g., burning a cross or Nazi swastika – for drawing content-based distinctions.

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# Civil Rights Statutes

### Federal Laws Prohibit Discrimination

- Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - Title VI: 42 U.S.C. 2000d et seq.
    - Title VII: 42 U.S.C. 2000e et seq.
  - Education Amendments of 1972
    - Title IX: 20 U.S.C. 1681 et seq.

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## Prohibition on Harassment

### Five-part Harassment Test:

- Unwelcome verbal or physical conduct
- Directed at an individual because of a protected status (race, sex, religion, or sexual orientation)
- Purpose or effect of interfering with work or educational environment
- · Severe or pervasive standard

# Hate Speech vs. Harassment

- Hate speech: speech that offends, threatens, or insults groups based on race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, disability, etc.
- · Key: pervasiveness and severity

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# Where is the line?

- College Experiences with Regulating Hate Speech Codes
  - By early 1990s, over 350 colleges and universities adopted hate speech codes
  - A number challenge in court all those challenged declared unconstitutional.
    - E.G. University of Michigan 1988 Policy
- What, then, can campuses do?

# "30 Second Stretch" We think your health is important. Please feel free to take a 30 second break to stretch and/or reflect before we continue.

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# Case Study: Berkeley 2017

What happened at Berkeley This Fall

- Shapiro Speech
- Free Speech Week
- \$1.4 million in security costs

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# What We Learned

- Expression or Disruption?
- Time Place and Manner Restrictions
- Academic Freedom
- Policies and Procedures are Key
- Language Does Matter
- Campus Community

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# Expression or Disruption?

Colleges and universities can prohibit:

- Disruption/interference with speakers
- Destruction of property
- Actual violence
- Conduct such as carrying open flames or starting bonfires (but enforcement must be consistent)
- Wearing masks, riot gear

# Time, Place and Manner

The continuum from "Quad" to "Dorm":

- · Limitations on time of day
- Designated "public areas"
- Limitations on amplification
- Reasonable permit and fee process
- Content neutral

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## Сомминісат

## Permissible Restrictions

- Limited Public Forum:
  - Some content restrictions are permissible if reasonable in light of the purpose of the venue
- · Dormitories and Housing
  - Content neutral restrictions
  - Protect "tranquility and repose"

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## Academic Freedom

Academic Freedom and Free Speech are often used interchangeably on campuses

Academic Freedom is subject to limits

- Peer evaluation and professional standards
- Curricular guidelines as established by faculty

## **Review Policies**

- Develop/review time place and manner policies for expression and events
  - Viewpoint neutral?
  - Transparent and Accessible?
  - Document criteria and decisions?
  - Consistently applied?
  - Reflect campus values?

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# Language Matters

- Language does matter –viewpoint neutral
  - "public areas" rather than "free speech zones"
  - "outside speakers" rather than "controversial speakers"
- Train staff and campus representatives

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# Other Policy Issues

- Student sponsorship required?
- Sufficient timelines?
- Ticketing requirements?
- Appeal process?
- Security assessment?

# Procedures for Events • Develop/review procedures for events • Reservation requirements • Precise language • Responsibility of campus sponsors • Insurance requirements • Appropriate fees

# Be Prepared "Command" committee Communications to campus, community Alternative events Security planning 24 hour news cycle Police presence, enforcement discretion

# After the Event • Debrief, reflect on the event • Disciplinary considerations • Respond to speech with more speech • Review policies for areas of improvement

# Unresolved Issues Security Costs How much disruption? Outsider participants, trolls

# First Amendment Values

- Importance of debate in democracy
- Campuses as "marketplace of ideas"

BUT,

- Vital to maintain inclusive campus climate
- Is more speech the best response?

- Carol Christ, Berkeley Chancellor	COMMUNICATIONS
Be Proactive	
• Support Campus Dialogue	
Model Civil Discourse	
• Foster an Inclusive Climate	
"All ideas can be expressed, but not every do with words is protected."	thing you can
- Carol Christ, Berkeley	Chancellor

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5 Takeaways from Today:

1. Understand campus speech and the functions of the university

2. Appreciate the complexity of free speech on campus today

3. Understand basic elements of first amendment law

4. Understand when to draw lines between free speech and harassment

5. Have a set of strategies for speakers and events on campus

We Want Your Feedback!

If you would like to provide suggestions for improvement and/or ideas for future event topics, please email us at <a href="mailto:info@paper-clip.com">info@paper-clip.com</a> and we will send you the link to our brief online survey.

Thank you for your participation,

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