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College Student Attitudes Towards Free Speech and Expression

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COLLEGE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS FREE SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

by

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ABSTRACT

Throughout its storied history, higher education in the United States has dealt with the challenges of free speech. From Harvard's 1766 'bad butter riot' to hateful speech directed towards students by non-university community members, balancing the need for free speech with maintaining a welcoming and inclusive campus environment stands as an immense test for higher education (Papandrea, 2017). Idealism and ethicality aside, lost in the academic debate over liberty and protections are the views of those who should best help shine a light on such a divisive issue: students.

This dissertation creates a quantitative path to understanding those very viewpoints. Using the theoretical framework of Social Judgment Theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961), the study discerns student attitudes towards free speech by measuring student ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. This study examines one main question: are student attitudes towards the general concept of free speech congruent with their attitudes towards the perceived acceptability of specific types of speech?

Results from more than 2,300 participants revealed that while college students generally regard free speech as an extremely important right in higher education, there are still instances of protected free speech that are considered unacceptable. On the topic of partisan politics, respondents identifying as Republican and Democrat were not statistically different in any measure of ego involvement or range of latitudes. Females reported higher ego involvement scores and a much higher propensity to finding certain examples of speech unacceptable, indicating a reduced belief in the importance of free speech.

This dissertation is dedicated to two beautiful souls who were both taken well before their time.

Dillon Burleson.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
CLS	Christian Legal Society
FIRE	Foundation for Individual Rights in Higher Education
IRB	Institutional Review Board
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MOA	Method Order of Alternatives
NBA	National Basketball Association
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SJT	Social Judgment Theory
UVA	University of Virginia

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Background

Throughout its storied history, higher education in the United States has often experienced the challenges of free speech and expression. From Harvard's 1766 'bad butter' riot to the hateful language directed towards students by non-university community members, balancing the need for free speech with maintaining a welcoming and inclusive campus environment stands as an immense test for higher education (Papandrea, 2017). This duality has drastically forced itself into the spotlight in 2017. In fact, during the 12 months of 2017 the Chronicle of Higher Education published 190 articles concerning free speech compared to just 62 articles during the previous 24 months.

Coined by Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), higher education in the United States has long served as this country's most valuable "marketplace of ideas" (para. 4). Holmes believed that universities should be places where thoughts and ideas freely flowed and were not restricted in order to provide the most complete education possible. Paramount to that marketplace, is the notion of free speech and assembly.

Arguments for unfettered free speech on campus range from the desire to ensure the scholarly pursuit of knowledge (O'Neil, 1997) to the need to expose students to as many differing viewpoints as possible (Broadhead, 2004). Advocates believe it is imperative that college-educated members of society have the ability to think critically, a skill that cannot be gained without exposure to different views (Calvert & Richards, 2005). Free speech on campus

is such a necessity that "society must be prepared to pay what may at times seem an exorbitant price by tolerating such extreme and provocative views" (O'Neil, 1997, p. xi).

Alternatively, a compelling argument can also be made that unlimited free speech on campus, particularly with the prevalence of hate speech, can serve as a tool to exclude and deprive minorities of their fair access to higher education (Downey & Stage, 1999; Post, 1987, 1991; Delgado & Yun, 1994; Lawrence, 1990). This notion of oppression through speech is rooted in the concept that hateful speech not only offends, but also encourages cultural repression (Lawrence, 1990). When hate speech is used to target minorities, it serves the purpose of "lock[ing] in the oppression of already marginalized students" (Post, 1991, p. 273). Critics believe that educational institutions have an obligation to ensure that all students can "earn an education without being marginalized" (Downey & Stage, 1999, p. 6). Furthermore, Travis and Scott (2017) implore that institutions have the "obligation to help all students learn and maintain…respect for others if a civilized society is to endure" (p. 296).

Idealism and ethicality aside, often lost in the academic debate over liberty and protections are the views of those who should best help shine a light on such a divisive issue: students. Do students believe that free speech is an important right on their college campuses? Do they believe that some elements of free speech are simply not worthy of mention or exposure on campus? Student voices should be used to inform these important questions.

Statement of the Problem

While many removed from academia and college campuses see restrictions on free speech increasing, students neither see it the same way nor take issue with measures being taken

(Cole, 2016). More broadly, students believe that universities should have the authority to establish policies and codes that restrict certain speech, particularly when it is speech that may serve to offend or ostracize other students (Gallup, 2016). As universities look to create safe and equitable learning environments, limiting free speech and expression is commonly explored option. This being the case, institutions should first measure student attitudes towards the concept of restricting speech before deciding how to appropriately take action.

Although the topic of free speech on college campuses has been previously investigated (Cowan, Resendez, Marshall, & Quist, 2002; Lopez, Levine, Dautrich, & Yalof, 2009; Rhodes, 2014), few have focused on student attitudes towards this First Amendment right. More so, research has not yet been conducted to explore whether student attitudes towards free speech are aligned with attitudes towards the acceptability of certain types of speech.

This dissertation's focus was on how student attitudes towards freedom of speech change depending on specific content. Students were first asked to provide their attitudes towards the general concept of free speech on campus. They were then asked to consider specific situations of free speech on campus (e.g. graphic images of abortions, hate speech, political speech) and indicate whether or not they felt it was acceptable for such speech to occur on campus. Both categories were created and analyzed through the framework of Social Judgment Theory's ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection (Sherif & Hovland, 1961). The intent of this study was to determine if student attitude towards free speech is an absolute, or if it is driven by content.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to help separate student attitudes towards the general notion of free speech from attitudes towards the acceptability of specific types of speech. A greater understanding of this separation will allow administrators to better understand why there may be dissonance between the two concepts, providing an opportunity to create more effective educational interventions. It will also allow administrators to better anticipate and explain student reactions to specific types of speech events on campus. For students, it will provide context as to why it can be so challenging to hold an attitude which supports free speech, yet not necessarily all speech.

Theoretical Framework

This study was designed using the conceptual framework of Sherif and Hovland's (1961) Social Judgment Theory (SJT). SJT falls within the field of Probabalistic Functionalist psychology and serves to explain how an individual evaluates an idea by comparing it with a current attitude. According to SJT, opinions are not affected solely through the strength of an external influence; there are a number of internal influences that also steer the belief formation.

Prior to the development of SJT, the main theoretical explanation for how individuals interacted with their environment when forming opinions was Brunswick's Lens Theory (1952). Brunswick theorized that attitude formation was much like a math problem: you have a certain belief system, combine that with a certain number of environmental cues, and that is the reason why you believe what you believe.

While Brunswick's Lens Theory presented an operationally complex way to explain attitude formation, it did not account for how attitudes may change depending on the beliefs of the individual. Sherif and Hovland's (1961) theory modified several additional elements to explain why attitudes are developed: ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. Ego involvement represents the strength of an attitude that a person has – how strongly they hold that belief. Latitudes represent how acceptable a presented argument is considered and are sorted into three categories: acceptance, non-commitment and rejection.

These three categories represent a continuum of open-mindedness. Someone who reports an argument to fall within their latitude of acceptance considers the content to be tolerable, even if it is different to their own. A latitude of non-commitment means a person reports an indifferent attitude towards the topic, while a reported latitude of rejection means the individual is completely unwilling to entertain the point of view.

Ego involvement and the latitudes of SJT interact with each other as an individual forms an attitude towards a message: the higher someone's ego involvement in a belief, the less likely they are to change their opinion, and thus the wider the latitude of rejection and the narrower the latitude of non-commitment and acceptance (Littlejohn, 2002). Conversely, the lower someone's ego involvement, the wider their latitudes of acceptance and non-commitment, and the narrower the latitude of rejection.

A continued discussion of this theoretical framework is found in Chapter 2. The elements of SJT and their application to the concept of free speech are visually summarized in Figure 1.

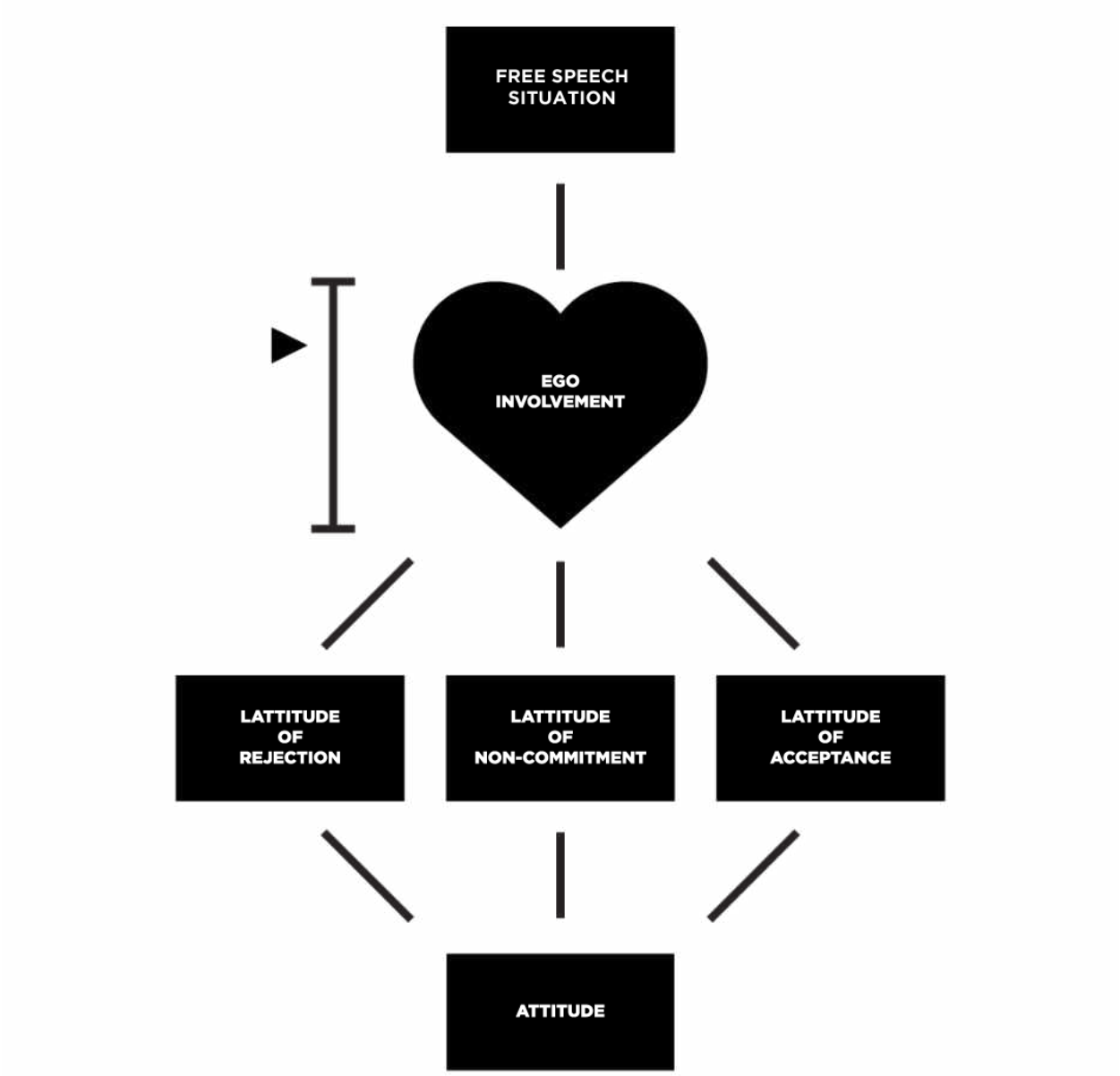


Figure 1. Attitude towards free speech as measured by Social Judgment Theory

Research Questions

In this study, the following research questions served as the foundation of the analysis of student attitudes towards free speech. Social Judgment Theory serves as the underlying theoretical framework.

1. How strongly do students believe that free speech is an important right on campus?
2. Is there a statistical significance between a student's ego involvement regarding free speech and their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection of specific free speech situations?
3. Is there a statistical significance between attitude towards free speech and attitude towards the content of free speech?

Definition of Terms

The following terms will hold their respective definitions throughout the entirety of this research study:

Ego involvement. A concept of Social Judgment Theory, ego involvement refers to the "relationship between the individual and the stimulus material" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 100). In a simple sense, ego involvement represents how strongly an individual feels towards their attitude.

First Amendment. First Amendment refers to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, which protects basic human liberties, including the right to freedom of speech (Rhodes, 2014). For purposes of this study, the First Amendment refers to the portion of the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America referring to speech and

expression: "…the freedom of speech…[and] the right of the people peaceably to assemble" (U.S. Constitution).

Free speech and expression. A portion of the First Amendment, free speech and expression are not limited to the act of speaking words, but also includes actions, symbols, and written words (Hassan, 2015).

Free speech zone. Also referred to as *free assembly area.* A free speech zone is a "specific location on campus designated by an institution of higher education for free expression activities" (Zeiner, 2005, p. 2).

Hate speech. Hate speech refers to "verbal and written words, and to symbolic acts, that convey a grossly negative assessment of particular persons or groups based on their race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or disability" (Kaplin, 1992, p. 243).

Latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. A concept of Social Judgment Theory, latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection refer to a "range of positions on an issue that an individual considers acceptable, indifferent to, or unacceptable" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 129).

Non-university community members. Non-university community members refers to individuals and groups who are not considered a part of the university community. Members of the university community include faculty, staff, administrators, and students.

Speech code. Speech code refers to university codes of conduct that in some form restrict the use of certain speech on campus. For example: students on campus may not use a certain type of language; or, certain types of speech may only be used in a certain area (Corbin, 2009).

Organization of the Study

This dissertation is organized into five distinct chapters followed by appendices and a reference list. Chapter Two contains a review of the literature regarding free speech in the United States, free speech on United States college campuses, and a further examination of Social Judgment Theory. Chapter Three contains the methodology of data collection used for this study including surveying information. Chapter Four contains a presentation of the findings of the study. Chapter Five contains a discussion of the findings, the implication of the findings, and recommendations for future research.

Summary

Free speech has long played a crucial role in the lives of students in higher education (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). Since the founding of Harvard University in 1636 - the first American institution of higher education – U.S. colleges and universities have encouraged their students to use free speech as a tool to think critically, engage in thoughtful debate, and to challenge their most deeply held beliefs. Nevertheless, both the use and restriction of speech on campus continues to come under fire (Cole, 2016).

Through quantitative measures, the goal of this dissertation was to better understand student attitudes towards free speech on campus in the United States. More than simply gauging student attitudes towards the general concept of free speech, this study also comprised of an examination of student attitudes towards the acceptability of specific instances of speech that are frequently used on college campuses. Through the framework of Social Judgment Theory and the concepts of ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection,

this dissertation explored the speech that students find both acceptable and unacceptable, and contrasted that with their general opinion of free speech.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview of Literature Review

This literature review will examine the historical and practical elements of free speech in the United States and its colleges and universities. Particular attention will be paid to the legal precedents of free speech on college campuses and the attempts by higher education to balance an egalitarian campus with a safe and welcoming climate. Following the review of free speech on college campuses, this literature review will explore the development of Social Judgment Theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961) and its use in the study of measuring attitude.

Free Speech in the United States of America

In its short but powerful entirety, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution reads that:

> 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. (U.S. Constitution)

While now recognized as an unquestionable right in the United States and an aspiration for other countries, the right to free speech was far from an easy concept to tackle during the Constitutional Convention – the summits which ultimately produced the Bill of Rights. Although initial attempts to protect the free speech, assembly, and religious rights of U.S. citizens were made in vain by Virginia and North Carolina, George Mason ensured that free speech was

included in the First Amendment during the Constitutional Convention's final session (Towle, 1871).

The importance of the protections granted under the First Amendment were resoundingly summarized in Mill's (1859) devoted paper, "On Liberty":

1. If an opinion is silenced, a truth might be silenced;
2. Even an erroneous opinion may hold some particle of truth;
3. Unless an opinion held is challenged or contested, it becomes little more than a prejudice held; and,
4. Without challenge, content and question, opinions lose their vitality, they become flaccid. (p. 4)

The period from the creation of the First Amendment until the Espionage Act of 1917 has been coined by researchers as the "wasteland" of the First Amendment, with little consistency or breadth of Supreme Court decisions (Pfohl, 1993, p. 7). After government decisions to silence dissent during World War I, the courts began to create jurisprudence for the protection of speech – particularly outlining when and where speech could not be infringed upon (Bausch, 1995).

This section will examine the protections afforded to the population of the United States of America as they pertain to free speech. It will discuss the concepts within the Public Forum Doctrine and time, place, and manner restrictions.

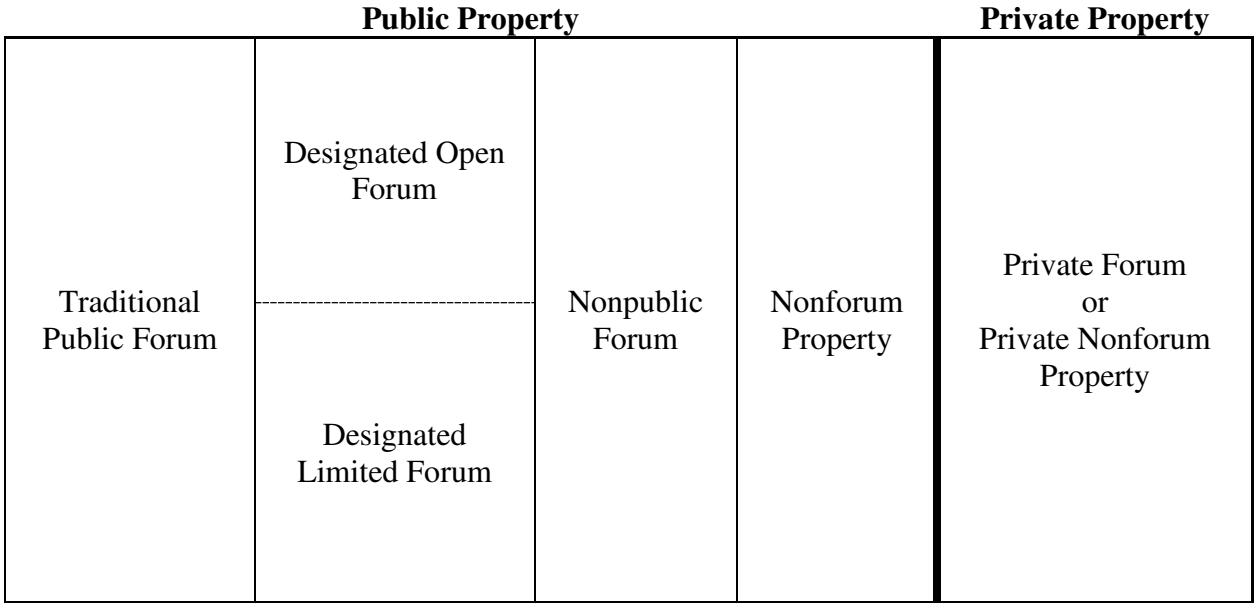
The Public Forum Doctrine

One of the first notable mentions of the concept of a public forum was in an article by Kalven (1965), arguing that "streets, parks, and other public places are an important facility for

public discussion and political process" (p. 3). This opinion built upon an idea first conceptualized in *Hague v. CIO* (1939), in which Justice Owen Roberts held that

> …streets and parks…have immemorially been held in trust for the use of the public, and time out of mind, have been used for purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens, and discussing public questions. Such use of the street and public places has, from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties of citizens. (p. 306)

Prior to this ruling, states had been successful in their attempts to restrict liberties on state-owned property. To further clarify speech rights in the country, courts developed the concept of the public forum and officially coined the term in 1972 to provide clarification as to when the general public may utilize government property for communicative purposes (Post, 1987). The use of the public forum, and the creation of distinctions between different types of fora, was solidified in *Perry Education Association v. Perry Local Educators' Association* (1983).



Note: Reproduced with permission from *The Law of Higher Education, 5th Edition: Student Version* by: W. A. Kaplin and B. A. Lee, 2005. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass (See Appendix D)

Figure 2. The Public Forum Doctrine

In terms of the use of free speech, there are four separate forum classifications on public land: traditional, designated open or designated limited, and nonpublic. A traditional public forum includes the areas represented above in *Hague*. In these locations, the government cannot discriminate amongst speakers and can only limit speech when there is "a compelling state interest" (Wiggin, 1994, p. 2,021). An example of a traditional public forum on a public campus may be the quad or a sidewalk. A designated open forum acts much within the same scope as a public forum – it is a space delineated by the government where traditional public forum rights are observed. These areas are commonly referred to on campuses as free speech zones or free assembly areas (Zeiner, 2005).

A limited public forum represents areas that are traditionally not used for free speech but the government may choose to open it to limited use. When doing so, the government may impose reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions provided that the restrictions are not based on the content of the speech. These restrictions must be very narrowly and neutrally drawn. Classrooms, auditoriums, and meeting rooms are all examples of limited public fora on campus (Wiggin, 1994). When a location is designated as a limited public forum, restricting use to students and faculty, or allowing access based on the identity of the speaker or subject, falls within legal content restriction (Freeman, 2009).

A nonpublic forum serves as an area that has been created by the government that does not operate as a location for public communication. Nonpublic fora are constitutional because their specific use is not compatible with the expression of free speech (Langhauser, 2003). An example of a nonpublic forum on campus is a university administration building.

A visual representation of the Public Forum Doctrine is located in Figure 2.

While the active use of public forum categorizations came under much scrutiny from academics in the legal community, the concept of a public forum continues to have extreme importance in American society (Post, 1987). This importance is no more relevant than in the discussion of placing legal restrictions on speech on college campuses.

Time, Place, and Manner Restrictions

Generally, the restriction of speech can only be done through a few narrow categories: time, place, and manner. The courts have held that speech cannot occur if it disrupts normal government function. It can also not be used to impact public convenience, as found in *Cox v.*

New Hampshire (1941), a case in which a citizen blocked traffic to relay his message. And finally, it cannot be used in a way to incite violence (*Chaplinksy v. New Hampshire,* 1942).

While time, place, and manner restrictions serve as the government's legal outlet to restrict speech, attempts to do so must be content-neutral (Letzring & Wolff, 2009). With these restrictions, government can only be concerned with when, where, or how speech is occurring and cannot focus on its message.

The key precedent for time, place, and manner restriction was set in *Clark v. Community for Creative Non-Violence* (1982) after the National Park Service restricted protesting in national parks. *Clark* held that in addition to content-neutrality, government regulation must be "narrowly tailored to serve a significant public interest and leave available other avenues of communication" (Langford, 2003, p. 97). The narrow tailoring of a policy can only be considered as such if the policy advances a "substantial" government interest that cannot be accomplished without the restriction (Zeiner, 2005, p. 18).

As previously noted, when a government or state entity is attempting to restrict speech, maintaining content-neutrality and avoiding viewpoint discrimination is key. The confusing and challenging distinction between what can and cannot be restricted is usefully illustrated through two cross-burning Supreme Court cases. *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* (1992) found that viewpoint discrimination violates the First Amendment even when that speech is considered extremely offensive. *R.A.V.* concerned the burning of a poorly constructed cross by several teenagers on the lawn of an African American family. One of the teenagers was arrested and charged with what was found to be a content-based restriction, which was additionally considered to be overbroad.

This holding was later clarified in *Virginia v. Black* (2003). *Black* focused on arrests resulting from two separate and unrelated cross burnings. The first arrests stemmed from a cross that was burned on the front lawn of a house owned by an African American. The second arrest was of Barry Elton Black, the Imperial Wizard of the Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The Supreme Court found the actions of the first cross burning to be unconstitutional because the act was meant as a direct means of intimidation. However, in the case of Black, the court found that the act of simply burning a cross was a protected means of expression, even if it may be considered by some as hate speech (Petraro, 2006).

The use of hate speech in a public place cannot in and of itself be considered discrimination or harassment and must represent more than just the expression of a hateful idea to be restricted (Chemerinsky, 2009). As these two cases show, establishing a viewpoint-neutral position can be extremely difficult to do. In both *R.A.V.* and *Black*, the government was found to have infringed upon the First Amendment rights of the plaintiffs by prohibiting the basic act of cross burning. Because of the way they were written, the laws which were enforced could not have been enacted in a viewpoint-neutral manner.

Overbroad speech policies were also found to be problematic in *Broadrick v. Oklahoma* (1973). In this case, the state of Oklahoma incorrectly limited speech when it introduced policies that were difficult to understand and could easily be applied to many different forms of protected speech. *Broadrick* stated that the government could not regulate speech with overbroad or confusing rules, and that a person of average intelligence must be able to understand them.

While content-based restrictions have generally been found unconstitutional, there are three instances when the government may legally restrict speech based on content: fighting

words, incitement, and true threats. Fighting words constitutes language that is so offensive it compels a reasonable person to violence *(Chaplinsksy v. New Hampshire*, 1942). Incitement represents words that provoke unlawful conduct. And true threats are "serious expression[s] of an intent to commit an act of unlawful violence to a particular individual or group of individuals" (Papandrea, 2017, p. 1,820). However, these restrictions are extremely difficult to enforce.

In the instance of fighting words, the Supreme Court has never invoked the principle since its initial creation in *Chaplinsky* (1942) – a case that found Walter Chaplinsky guilty of calling a town marshal a "Goddamn racketeer" and a "damn fascist" (p. 569). Speech meeting the level of incitement also maintains a very high threshold because proof of an imminent threat is required – a difficult concept to substantiate. Finally, true threats are a challenge to enforce due to the vague nature of the concept (Papandrea, 2017).

While the protection of free speech and expression in the United States of America has consistently revolved around the core ideals and the principles of the First Amendment, defining a clear American position is challenging (Matsuda, 1998). Because speech regulation is often found to be unconstitutional, colleges and universities face uphill battles even when simply attempting to do so in the interest of creating safe and welcoming learning environments.

Legal Application of Free Speech to Higher Education

Coined by Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), higher education in the United States has long served as this country's most valuable "marketplace of ideas" (para. 4). Holmes believed that universities should be places where thoughts and ideas freely flowed and were not restricted in order to provide the most complete

education possible. This protection of the First Amendment serves not just as a theoretical principle, but also as a legal one.

Bausch (1995) posits that free speech in higher education has transitioned through three eras since the first legal challenges were made in the early 1900's. In its first era, free speech protections on campus were evaluated through content-related evaluations. In the second era, the notion of the public forum was used to examine speech issues. Finally, in its third era, there has been less focus on the public forum doctrine and more on "governmental intent to create a forum" (p. ix).

Public institutions find themselves beholden to the requirements of the First Amendment by way of the Fourteenth Amendment – the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits states from infringing upon the rights of citizens of the United States. This notion was first conceptualized in *Stromberg v. California* (1931), a case involving a city unconstitutionally banning the display of red flags due to fears of Communism. Several years later, the Supreme Court found that a city ordinance requiring a permit to distribute religious material was an infringement of a person's First Amendment rights (*Lovell, v. City of Griffin*, 1938). The ruling held that state entities are subject to the same standards as states themselves. These cases play large roles in determining institutional control because they expressly state that universities classify as state entities and cannot do more than the state or the federal government to restrict speech on campus.

Free Speech on United States Campuses

This section examines the use and restriction of free speech on campuses in the United States. It will explore speech codes, hate speech, free assembly areas, student activism (including

student organizations and student fees), and the advocates both for and against free speech regulation on campuses. Each section will include an examination of relevant court cases and then provide an analysis of how the decisions have helped inform the creation of university policies. The section will conclude with a review of the limited research surrounding student attitudes towards free speech.

It is important to note that public and private universities operate under markedly different expectations in regards to speech regulations. Private institutions are able to restrict far more speech than public institutions because they are viewed by the government as private actors. The restrictions placed on speech by private institutions are also not considered to limit the functionality of the democratic political process (O'Neil, 1997). Most of the conversation in this literature review will focus on free speech at public institutions.

Speech Codes

Stemming from concerns of racism and xenophobia sweeping the nation in the 1960's and 1970's, universities began taking measures to ensure that a safe and inclusive environment was being provided for their students (Bausch, 1995). The introduction of speech codes – conduct policies that discourage the use of certain words and actions – were made in an attempt to "balance the rights of students with the rights to an education" (Langford, 2003, p. 95). The general thought behind prohibiting certain messages was that they were so damaging and incompatible with the values of higher education that they needed to be restricted (O'Neil, 1997). By the mid-1990's there were approximately 350 speech codes on campuses across the country (Bausch, 1995).

Speech Codes in the Courts

The first notable challenge to speech codes was made in 1987 when the University of Michigan was questioned on a newly implemented policy. Concerned by an increase in racist incidents on campus and pressure from the Michigan legislature, university president Harold Shapiro created a speech code that would allow for punishment of discrimination or aggression towards others based on their race, sex, or national origin. John Doe (represented under a pseudonym for purposes of anonymity) was a biopsychology student and became concerned that he would not be able to appropriately conduct or discuss his research examining the biological differences between gender and races. Doe sued the university and in the case of *Doe v. University of Michigan* (1989) the plaintiff argued that the university was using a policy that was extremely vague and overreaching, which led to a lack of consistency in enforcement (Zeiner, 2005). The court found in favor of Doe by focusing mostly on the policy's inclusion of the words 'stigmatize,' 'victimize,' 'threat to,' and 'interfering with.' The court expressed that such vague language could cause confusion amongst students as to what speech was specifically protected and what would not be allowed (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

The ruling in *Doe* was put to the test three years later and produced a similar outcome in *UWM Post v. Board of Regents of University of Wisconsin* (1991). A university policy was created as part of a 'Design for Diversity' plan that sought to restrict students from directly attacking others with hate speech. The policy also provided specific examples of what would and would not be tolerated. Although more specific than the policy set by the University of Michigan, Wisconsin's policy was also found to be overbroad and still too vague (Calvert & Richards, 2005). Once again, the policy created confusion in terms of what speech was permitted

and what was not. Additionally, there was confusion as to whether a speaker would have to intend to harm others with their speech in order for it to not be protected (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

The same year, brothers of the George Mason University Sigma Chi fraternity came under fire from administrators after the group used black face and provocative padding in an 'Ugly Woman' contest. The university claimed the fraternity created a hostile environment for women and minorities and that the speech could potentially harm other students. George Mason University suspended the fraternity but a federal district court found in *Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi Fraternity v. George Mason University* (1991) that although the entertainment certainly qualified as "low-grade" and inappropriate, GMU was not within its rights to restrict the speech of the group (Chemerinsky, 2009, p. 772).

The concept that a university cannot restrict speech solely because it is harmful to someone else was reinforced in *Bair v. Shippensburg* (2003). Walter Bair successfully challenged the university's speech policy because he felt that his ability to discuss his personal views was being restricted because he was contained to a gazebo on campus. The courts found that just because speech harms someone, it does not meet the threshold of limitations. For limitations to be permitted, speech must be used to intentionally harm someone (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). As such, the university was permitted to preserve part of its policy in the university handbook, stating that it would "strive to protect student freedoms so long as [they] are not used to harm another" (Langford, 2003, p. 95).

Impact of Speech Codes in Higher Education

Because the speech intended to be addressed by a speech code may bring a disruption to the academic process, many universities have attempted to argue there is justification to limit it

(Davis, 2004). To many, the creation of speech codes serves to address real concerns and pressures existing on campuses across the country (O'Neil, 1997). Institutions need ways to show that they are taking action against racial tensions and hostile environments and speech codes serve as a powerful tool in that fight (Chong, 2006).

While the legality of speech codes has not fared particularly well in the courts, its proponents still advocate for its legitimacy. Gould (2007) believes that speech codes are not only constitutional but serve to protect the very academic freedom and opportunity for which speech code opponents advocate. Delgado (1982) argues that free expression can only be tolerated to the point just before it begins to impact and hinder the learning environment of others. Corbin (2009) views speech codes that restrict hate speech as means to protect "equality rather than liberty" (p. 955).

There is additional concern that when students are on campus, they are often considered captive audiences. While the legal argument of simply walking away from disagreeable speech is viable in a public forum, this is not always the case on college campuses when students are compelled to be there. For example, courts have found that students sitting in class are considered a captive audience and, as a result, the speech rights of all in that sphere are greatly limited (*Bonnell v. Lorenzo*, 2001).

The captive audience argument can also be reasonably extended to many different areas on campus, including residence halls and cafeterias. Because students are considered captive audiences in these locations, hateful speech or harassment should not be tolerated (Corbin, 2009). Students should not be placed in the position in which they feel compelled to transfer to another school to escape harassment or find a more stable campus climate (Lawrence, 1990).

Conversely, Strossen (1997), former president of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), argues that the desire for the free exchange of ideas and the implementation of a speech code is an untenable concept. In battling speech codes, the ACLU presents three arguments as to why limiting speech is problematic:

1. It will increase attention and sympathy for bigots;
2. It will push racist ideations underground; and,
3. It will curb candid dialogue. (Killingsworth, 2000)

According to O'Neil (1997), there is little to no evidence that a campus climate is improved through the use of speech codes. Even if speech codes were to show that the campus climate can be improved through their use, Wasserman (2015) argues that "[t]he need to avoid a hostile environment is not recognized as a basis for limiting otherwise-protected, even if hateful, expression" (p.183). A speech code serves as a "noble attempt" to improve a campus climate but "sweeps too much speech in its grasp" (Koepke, 1990, p. 623).

When operating with speech codes, unintended consequences have the potential to undo a lot of the work an institution is attempting to accomplish. The creation of policies prohibiting students from doing something at the risk of negatively impacting another group will promote resentment of the protected groups (Golding, 2000). This will also further amplify the beliefs of the truly discriminatory minds and will do little to change the minds of those who need it most (O'Neil, 1997).

Lukianoff (2005) argues that the censoring of viewpoints goes against the spirit and the intent of higher education in the United States. He states that students must be exposed to views with which they do not agree because they must be able to express their own views and learn

how to resolve conflicting opinions. Calvert and Richards (2005) believe that it is impossible to develop critical thinkers and champions for diversity if students are not first exposed to all viewpoints and given the opportunity to develop an opinion towards them. They posit that if a student completes their education without being offended or having their beliefs challenged, they should ask for their money back.

Broadhead (2004) encourages students to take advantage of differing views and confront them head-on. The ability to disagree and resolve conflict is an extremely important part of development in college. In a study of student attitudes pre- and post-speech code implementation, Chong (2006) found that student tolerance of speech on campus had changed. In the mid-1980's, prior to the wave of speech code adoption, a college education significantly increased the likelihood of tolerance towards all viewpoints and forms of speech. After this point, there was little evidence to show that a college education significantly affected tolerance towards different viewpoints.

Neier (1979) further argues in "Defending my enemy" that limiting speech that is seen as incompatible with campus values serves little purpose because it will eventually limit the speech of those with valuable educational messages. At best, this silencing of voices merely mutes the conversation and does nothing to address the underlying issues behind them (Strossen, 1997). This was validated by Jennings (1993) who found that in environments where speech was limited, students were less likely to speak about racial issues both inside and outside of the classroom. This study demonstrates one of the main arguments against limiting speech: there are unintended consequences, particularly to the encouragement of diversity on campus. The most effective way to fight hateful and unjust speech is to encourage more speech (Strossen, 1997).

Principle aside, speech codes are simply unconstitutional (Craddock, 1988). By their very nature, speech codes present themselves as overbroad and will always leave students, faculty, and staff confused in attempting to follow the rules (one of the main issues presented in *Doe*). Even when done in the name of maintaining a fair campus climate, Gates (1993) argues that "…to suggest that equality must precede liberty is to jettison the latter without securing the former" (p. 47).

The argument of the overbreadth theory is that it is almost impossible to write a speech code that will pass constitutional muster; the more focused a policy becomes, the more content neutrality comes into question (Farber & Nowak, 1984).Upon reading a speech code, if a student or faculty member is left wondering what they can or cannot say, the policy is too ambiguous (Gill, 1991). But, if that speech code specifically outlines what can and cannot be said, it will be almost impossible to claim content and viewpoint-neutrality. Enacting speech codes specifically targeting racist words, epithets, and slurs leads to a slippery slope that forces institutions to abandon a viewpoint-neutral stance. Once a claim is recognized, other groups will argue that their experiences with racism are just as impactful and damaging. This will lead to challenges when faced with having to punish those for using speech that is prohibited (Golding, 2000).

The punishment through speech codes also runs contrary to higher education's mission of transformation through education (Greenup, 2005). While Golding (2000) believes that racial, ethnic, or religious slurs have no justification or grounds to exist on the college campus, he argues that punishment is not the solution. "A punitive approach…forces us – and the courts – to take sides on whose speech is palatable," he argues, "…[and] creates an atmosphere in which people hesitate to express controversial ideas" (p. 55). But responsibility must also be

emphasized. Students must be educated in understanding the power of their language and the duty of each person who uses it. More notably, "rights are more secure when exercised with maturity" (Gill, 1991, p. 21).

To that point, institutions can create meaningful change and be far more creative by exploring ways to condemn speech as opposed to merely restricting it. Trustees and senior administrators should be on the front lines of condemning racist speech and incidents, which should leave no doubt that such expression does not align with an institution's values (O'Neil, 2000). To truly battle offensive speech, "universities should approach racism, homophobia, sexism, and anti-Semitism through what they do best – education" (O'Neil, 2000, p. 25). This is the moral responsibility of departments and institutions as a whole: to make strong statements regarding the expectation of respect on campus. Anything less is a failure of an administration's duty to create a healthy environment (Gill, 1991).

Instead of limiting speech and trying to create a safe space, universities should encourage students to work together and find others who have similar beliefs and backgrounds in order to combat offensive speech (Papandrea, 2017). Rather than trying to limit speech with which it does not agree, universities should be more proactive in condemning such speech and explaining to campus why it is not compatible with its values. To that point, "it is when the institution fails to stand up for its core values and mission that those values and mission are most threatened" (Papandrea, 2017, p. 1,860).

Golding (2000) furthers this point by encouraging institutions to teach students to respect the expression of ideas with which they disagree and offer counter-arguments, or even ridicule. One does not need to respect the ideas being presented, but silencing them accomplishes nothing.

When silencing ideas, the question becomes whether there has been a move to censor speech or to make others conform others to a more acceptable viewpoint (Lukianoff, 2005).

Hate Speech

For the purposes of its use in higher education, hate speech is defined by Kaplin and Lee (2014) as

> …an imprecise catch-all term that generally includes verbal and written words and symbolic acts that convey a grossly negative assessment of particular persons or groups based on their race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or disability. (p. 509)

By its mere nature, hate speech is degrading and offensive and commonly takes the form of slurs, insults, taunts, and other types of threatening language. On college campuses, the conversation regarding hate speech has often included the notion of political correctness because of the 'politically incorrect' viewpoints expressed (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

Defined similarly by Brink (2001) as expression that vilifies or harasses based on characteristics or association, hate speech has long been a concept that universities have attempted to regulate. However, institutions often experience significant opposition to any attempts that may limit the speech rights of students.

A common argument against the restriction of hate speech is that it cannot be content neutral. Chemerinsky (2009) argues that "[p]unishing speech because of its hateful message is inherently a content-based restriction [and] can solely be done based on content" (p. 776). The hateful nature of speech used in these situations cannot be used as a basis for restriction either. While there is justification to limit mindless hate, it is not possible to limit it without also limiting hateful thought, of which the two are fundamentally different (O'Neil, 1997).

Punishing hate speech also draws considerable challenges, both legal and ethical. Although limited instances of hate speech have already been banned through legislation in the United States, it is only indirectly punishable if it accompanies a crime that would occur regardless of whether the hate speech was used or not (Boland, 2012).

Hate Speech in the Courts

Brandenburg v. Ohio (1969) marks the first legal protection of hate speech in the United States. After a news station broadcasted a Ku Klux Klan rally, the state of Ohio brought charges against the group's leader, Clarence Brandenburg. The Supreme Court held that Brandenburg was well within his rights to make racist and hateful statements. Twenty-three years later, hate speech was again put on trial in *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* (1992) in a case that established itself as the cementing of the protection of hate speech under the First Amendment (Killingsworth, 2000).

Non-campus related cases previously discussed in this section and others (*Brandenburg; R.A.V.; Virginia; Chaplinsky*) and on-campus cases (*Doe; UWM Post; Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi Fraternity; Bair*) all help inform general boundaries when it comes to policing hate speech and avoiding the dangers of vagueness and overbreadth. Because it can be challenging to tackle hate speech on campus – particularly with so many court decisions finding against speech codes – Kaplin and Lee (2014) advise that attempts to regulate hate speech must not infringe upon the following five principles of free speech.

First, content discrimination is virtually never enforceable by a government entity. This becomes even more stringent when the restriction is based on a particular viewpoint and not just content. To that point, Golding (2000) argues that universities have "no business determining

which ideas or expressions are acceptable and which groups or individuals deserve protection by limiting the speech of theirs" (p. 50).

Universities must be careful to not craft policies that restrict students from exercising their speech based on particular points of view or ideas. The ability for a speaker to exercise their speech rights without government infringement due to disagreement with the content of a viewpoint is "an uncontroversial, bedrock principle of the First Amendment" (Sekulow & Zimmerman, 2015, p. 491).

Second, emotive content is also heavily protected. Regardless of how a speaker delivers their message, their message should still be protected. While potentially viewed as less of a priority in policing speech regulation (with a larger focus on content), the emotion used when delivering speech "may often be the more important element of the overall message" (*Cohen v. California*, 1971). In addition to emotional content, the cognitive content of speech is also protected.

Third, speech cannot be prohibited simply because it may be viewed as offensive. Universities may try to regulate offensive speech in the hopes of avoiding hostile environments on campus; however, the desire to avoid a hostile environment is not a justifiable basis for limiting speech (Wasserman, 2015).

Fourth, overbroad and vague policies cannot be used to restrict speech. The freedoms of the First Amendment need "breathing space" and cannot be limited without narrow specificity (Kaplin and Lee, 2014, p. 499). A majority of university policies struck down by the courts have been at the hands of overbreadth and vagueness (e.g. *Doe, UWM Post,* and *Bair*). The notion of

vague and overbroad policies become even more problematic when public fora are utilized on campus – the window with which to narrow speech becomes much smaller.

Fifth, and finally, universities should be mindful to not fall foul of the underbreadth principle. Certain speech on campus can be restricted – fighting words or obscenity, for example – but that policy must be fairly enforced towards all speech that may fall within the restricted categories. For example, if an extremist group inciting violence is restricted from exercising its speech rights, an opposition group doing the same thing would also need to be held accountable.

Kaplin and Lee (2014) advise that institutions take a non-regulatory approach when it comes to controlling hate speech on campus. While regulatory policies may serve as a quick solution to silencing hate speech, they will not produce the broad and long-range impact that a focus on education will produce. In most cases, attempted regulation of hate speech on campus is done in a noble attempt to avoid the development of a negative climate on campus. It should not simply be accomplished through the use of punitive sanctions.

The Challenge of Hate Speech

Zeiner (2005) poses that the prevalence of hate speech on campuses is higher education's ultimate catch-22: If hate speech impairs equal access to education for a targeted group, then it stands to reason that the constitutional ideal and equality of opportunity in higher education is impaired. However, if vile and hateful ideas cannot be expressed, how can their uselessness be debated and shown to be so? This concept is echoed further by Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, who stated that "[i]f there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies to avert the evil by the process of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence" (*Whitney v. California* 1927).

Universities would do well to avoid litigation by understanding that students have the right to speak – and be exposed to – unpopular views (Travis, 2000). In a sample study of students, Cowan, et al. (2002) asked students what was more important, equality or freedom of speech. The response was that while equality must be valued and supported, it cannot be achieved by limiting speech. Equality and a civil campus is not created by limiting what people can say, it is achieved through a diverse education of the viewpoints of many.

While it may be a challenge for institutions to regulate hate speech, Kaplin and Lee (2014) outline five instances in which limitations may be placed. First, when hate speech is combined with non-speech, such as violence, destruction of property, or physical abuse, it can be prohibited because it is used in conjunction with the non-speech. Second, hate speech can be regulated through sensible time and place policies that are viewpoint-neutral. Third, institutions may regulate hate speech which falls within the categories of true threats, fighting words, or any other category of speech which does not enjoy First Amendment protection.

Fourth, institutions may also regulate hate speech when it occurs in places that have been designated as limited public fora or nonpublic fora, such as classrooms, libraries, and residence halls. Travis and Scott (2017) argue this concept, stating that students expressing bigoted attitudes should be addressed in the classroom. The faculty member in the classroom or the administrator interacting with the student has the "obligation to help all students learn and maintain…respect for others if a civilized society is to endure" (p. 296).

Fifth and finally, hate speech may be regulated if it represents an act of discrimination. For example, a fraternity posting a sign that African Americans are not allowed in their house may represent unprotected speech if it is an "integral" element in a pattern of discrimination (p.

502). By itself, the use of hate speech in a public place cannot constitute discrimination or harassment and must be more than just the expression of a hateful idea (Chemerinsky, 2009).

Hate Speech as a Tool to Exclude

This section examines the use of free speech, particularly hate speech, as a tool to oppress and marginalize. The damage this type of language can cause serves as the main argument in the conversation to limit speech on campuses. Many proponents for the limiting of hate speech on campus believe it should be done because hate speech "locks in the oppression of already marginalized students" (Post, 1991, p. 273). This marginalization also runs the risk of causing psychological harm to its victims (Silverstein, 1992).

Constitutionally, the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal opportunity to all, a notion that cannot be achieved when students are placed in an unequal environment. Educational institutions have an obligation to ensure that all students can earn an education without being marginalized (Downey & Stage, 1999). Those students deserve to attend an institution where they both feel and are equal on campus (Golding, 2000).

The challenge with regulating this type of speech is that the attacks launched on marginalized people are often done so under the guise and protection of free speech (Papandrea, 2017). Gates (1993) argues that it is this "unreflective stupidity" that makes the greatest argument for speech regulation (p. 38). Gates furthers, that by solely invoking the First Amendment as the defense for hate speech, its user falls more oblivious and less willing to entertain any further discussion on the topic. This acts counterintuitively to higher education's desire for a marketplace of ideas as both sides become less able or willing to entertain other ideas.

There is also a strongly held belief that the aggressive and intimidating language is a way to exercise control over those who are different (Boland, 2012). Delgado and Yun (1994) claim that the First Amendment provides far more rights to the majority as it is frequently used to silence the minority. The traditional notion is that free speech for all means equal speech for all. However, this belief is rooted in the assumption that every person has the same chance to speak and be heard (Demaske, 2004). Hate speech cannot be considered free speech because the individual target of the speech has no opportunity to provide a reasonable response because of the psychological reaction one may feel towards it (Matsuda, 1989).

According to Lawrence (1990), the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) – ending the separate but equal precedent set by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) – "reflects the understanding that racism is a form of subordination that achieves its purposes through group defamation" (p. 75). He furthers that colleges and universities hold not just a moral obligation but a legal duty to regulate racist speech. Lawrence continues that *Chaplinksy* affirms these regulations, arguing that racist abuse is "functionally equivalent" to fighting words (p. 69).

The challenge is that hate speech is open to the sole interpretation of its users and receivers. Depending on an endless number of factors, words will carry different meanings when experienced by different people (Golding, 2000). What one person may see as harassment through the most hateful and offensive language imaginable, another may view as commonplace in today's society.

It can be extremely difficult to determine when protected speech crosses the line to harassment (Chemerinsky, 2009). An example of the breadth of interpretation can be found by

reading the Supreme Court's definition of fighting words – a category in which many would believe hate speech belongs. It reads that hate speech constitutes,

> …[words] that by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace. Such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality (*Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire,* 1942, p. 315)

This breadth of interpretation adds to the difficulty in successfully limiting speech that is discriminatory. While some opinions have been stated as asides in court briefs, the Supreme Court has never found anti-discrimination laws to be consistent with the First Amendment (Papandrea, 2017). In fact, since the Supreme Court first created the concept of fighting words in 1942, it has never invoked the principle when addressing or limiting speech.

The earlier discussion of speech codes outlined the point at which institutions may find themselves with an overbroad policy. Many academics believe that when it comes to hate speech, policies are far from broad enough. When speech interferes with another's right to an education, a university should step in and prohibit a person from creating such an environment (Gould, para. 23). Delgado (1982) presents a model for a speech code that focuses on the regulation of specific words, phrases, and symbols. Lawrence (1990) shows a larger concern with the more abstract and overarching message of racism in the creation of his framework. Matsuda (1989) has developed one of the more operational and specific approaches to limiting hate speech.

Matsuda further clarifies where Delgado (1982) and Lawrence (1990) may both exist more in the abstract. Her main concern with hate speech is not merely racial slurs, but racist propaganda. Through "Public response to racist speech: Considering the victim's story," Matsuda presents a litmus test for judging racist speech:

1. The message is of racial inferiority;
2. The messages are directed against a historically oppressed group; and,
3. The message is persecutorial, hateful, and degrading. (p. 2,358)

By satisfying all three of the conditions listed above, she makes the case that prosecution can be pursued but the "dreaded floodgates of censorship" will remain closed (1989, p. 2,358). Furthermore, Matsuda (1989) argues that lawmakers' efforts to limit hate speech through generic restrictions (i.e., mask bans to limit Ku Klux Klan activities), merely weaken the protections provided by the First Amendment. She argues that it is "more honest, and less cynically manipulative" to pinpoint exactly what is being banned and helps avoid the "neutrality trap" (p. 2,360).

While this presents a more clear and concise blueprint to regulating racist speech, Golding (2000) argues that it represents a troubling double-standard because dominant-group members are not protected from verbal attacks. To this point, Matsuda agrees but believes that an attack on a dominant-group member from a minority does not carry the weight of an attack were the roles to be reversed. She argues that a racist attack on a minority group perpetuates oppression while that is not the case in the opposing situation.

Free Assembly Areas and Free Speech 'Zones'

After the transition from the university's role of *in loco parentis*, institutions began to create free assembly areas as a means of regulating student protests during the politically active 1960's (Zeiner, 2005). Campus speech zones serve as locations on campus designated by the institution for free expression activities. Policies vary from institution to institution with some requiring all expressive speech to exist within a particular area while others restrict gatherings of a certain size or registration of an event prior to its occurrence. Because of the uniqueness of each institution, there is truly no one-size-fits-all free assembly area (Zeiner, 2005).

It should be noted that while there have been several notable court cases concerning free assembly areas, the law still remains particularly vague and there is little academic conversation outside of the belief that students should be able to exercise their speech rights on campus.

For institutions relegating all student speech to free assembly areas, there have been challenges in arguing the constitutionality of such policies. Court holdings have consistently noted that students should be able to assume that they are being educated on a traditional public forum, extending free speech rights to those matriculating at universities (Langford, 2003). *Widmar v. Vincent* (1981) has served as this justification for students to utilize their campus to exercise their free speech rights – "the campus of a public university, at least for its students, possesses many of the characteristics of a public forum" (p. 278).

In order to restrict any student speech, reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions can be placed throughout areas on campus to ensure the regular operation of an institution (Letzring & Wolff, 2009). For example, while a class is in session, it cannot be considered a public forum due to limitations including limited class time, physical space, and class structure (Langford,

2003). Through these narrow justifications, universities can begin to place certain constitutional restrictions on speech.

Two non-higher education decisions have played large roles in ensuring student speech rights on campus. *Stromberg v. California* (1931) found that the State of California could not stop a member of the Young Communist League from displaying a red flag – at the time, displaying a red flag was considered illegal due to the state's law attempting to combat Communism. The Supreme Court held that not only was symbolic speech protected under the First Amendment, but that the states must abide by the federal laws outlined in the Constitution – an important point for public universities. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* (1969) found in favor of students suspended from high school for refusing to remove black armbands protesting the Vietnam War. Notably, "students do not leave their First Amendment rights at the schoolhouse gates" (p. 506).

Both *Stromberg* and *Tinker* serve as basic justifications for student speech on campus. The ability for students to use much of campus as a public forum was further solidified at Texas Tech in 2003. Wanting to express his views against homosexuality, Donald Haragan was interested in speaking outside of the designated campus forum area – a gazebo – reserved for student use. In order to do so, Haragan had to request permission and was denied on the basis that he was going to be expressing a personal belief. The student life office believed those beliefs were better suited to the designated area.

As with most challenges to free speech policies, Haragan did not follow the directive from the administration and was subsequently issued a citation by the campus police. Haragan's lawsuit filed against the university was decided in the U.S. District Court for the Northern

District of Texas and found that students should be allowed to exercise their speech rights on "park areas, sidewalks, streets, or other similar common areas" (*Roberts v. Haragan*, 2004, p. 861).

Free assembly areas that require student use have come under constant criticism and legal challenge. Davis (2004) believes that place restrictions are a lazy attempt by institutions to restrict inconvenient student speech, while Rohr (2010) argues that having a gatekeeper shows a clear intent to keep a forum closed. However, in respect to non-university community members utilizing campus as a soapbox, the law is slightly more forgiving.

Free Assembly Areas and Non-University Community Members

As early as 1969, courts have held that non-university members should be allowed to use campuses to exercise their free speech. *Stacy v. Williams* (1969) found that a Mississippi policy requiring the university presidents' approval of all speakers on campus was not constitutional. The ruling also clarified that speakers could be banned from campus in the case of clear and present danger.

While there has been little said in the courts about the legality of creating free assembly areas, there has been explanation as to what restrictions can be placed in these limited public fora. *ACLU v. Mote* (2005) reached the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals after the University of Maryland restricted Michael Reeve from passing out leaflets on campus. Maryland's policy required off-campus speakers to utilize free assembly areas, and on that day, they were all reserved. Reeve was issued a citation after he decided to pass out flyers outside of the assembly areas and sued the university.

The courts found that because the university campus was considered a limited public forum for non-community members, it was justified in creating reasonable time, place, and manner restrictions for them. While these areas may be considered public, due to their general intended use or location, there can be greater restrictions placed on them (Morrow, 2003). In its justification, the ruling held that if campuses were indeed open to all non-community members, it would not be a realistic use of the university's resources to manage all speech.

Zeiner (2005) believes that speech zones can play an important role in both encouraging speech on campus while also allowing an institution to continue with its regular operation. The decision to enforce free assembly areas must be one that relies on educational considerations and cannot root itself in that of convenience. In her mind, there is no doubt that speech zones can hold up to constitutional challenges but there must be a great deal of work done by the institution prior to their creation.

Student Protest and Activism

While much attention is placed on student activism and the Free Speech Movement of the 1960's, students have been protesting and voicing their displeasure on American university campuses since their founding. The first student protests occurred during the colonial era and often revolved around poor food quality and overreach from institutions into students' personal lives. Notably, Harvard students revolted in 1766 over spoiled butter and the administration's refusal to address the situation in the 'bad butter riot' (Brubacher & Rudy, 2007).

Student protests became more violent during the early- and mid-1800s as student displeasure with *in loco parentis* began to boil to the surface (Hayden, 2017). Rebellions at Yale produced injuries during The Bread and Butter Rebellion (1828), Comic Section Rebellion

(1830), and resulted in the death of a bartender in the First Fireman's Riot (1854). The University of Virginia, modeled in Thomas Jefferson's vision of self-governance, experienced some of the worst riots, during which a professor was killed. Princeton expelled more than half of its students after an 1814 rebellion (Freeman, 2009).

Student riots began to calm after the Civil War, primarily due to new opportunities for students to engage and channel their energies in student organizations, including athletics and Greek life (Brubacher and Rudy, 2007). At this time, administrators also began to treat students with more respect and slowly began to loosen the grip of *in loco parentis*.

Moving into the 20th century, students became particularly interested in issues throughout the world and the quickly changing political landscape (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). These student interests were also largely due to the appeals of "Bohemianism, iconoclasm, radicalism, and intellectuality" (Freeman, 2009, p. 47). The student activism movements of the 1920's resulted in student bodies representing "the most socially conscious elements of the population" (Altbach and Peterson, 1971, p. 13) with many of the country's liberal and radical activists beginning their training on campus (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). During this time period, much of the concerns of student activists revolved around protecting their rights to free speech (Altbach & Peterson, 1971).

The first mass student protests emerged the next decade in the 1930's. The student movements focused on anti-war crusades and demanded a more socialist country as the Great Depression took hold of the country (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). The 1940's saw a decline in student activism while patriotism overtook student bodies across the country due to World War II. After the war, and now embroiled in the Cold War, the 1950's experienced student activism

focusing on “peace, socialism, and racial tolerance” (Horowitz, 1988, p. 72). The somewhat silent decades of student activism in the 1940’s and 1950’s gave way to the “most portentous upheaval in the whole history of American student life” in the 1960’s (Thelin, 2004, p. 349).

The student protest movement of the 1960’s represented an immense frustration with the remnants of *in loco parentis*, racial injustices, and the Vietnam War. The decade of student activism began at Alabama State College when 29 students staged a sit-in at the University Grill to demand equal rights for African Americans. The peaceful protests that followed gained the attention of state lawmakers and the threat of removal of state funding was made should the university not suspend student protestors. Six students were suspended and protests erupted due to the lack of due process in the punitive actions. After a contentious legal battle culminating in *Dixon v. Alabama* (1961), the suspended students were reinstated and universities were instructed that they could not punish students without first providing due process (Altbach & Cohen, 1990). Hoover (2008) posits that this case marks higher education’s end of *in loco parentis*. Several years later and 2,367 miles across the country, students at University of California, Berkeley began their Free Speech Movement.

Unhappy with a policy barring political protests on campus, students gathered on a sidewalk just outside of campus to voice their displeasure on September 14, 1964. Students were told by the UC Berkeley administration that they were not allowed to protest on the sidewalk, causing many of the university’s student organizations to join the protesting. Several days later, eight students were suspended indefinitely for leading a sit-in in an administrative building. The next day, another student was arrested for refusing to adhere to a tabling policy outside of the

administrative building. This arrest sparked a protest of thousands of students, forcing administrators to withdraw charges against the student (Cohen & Zelnik, 2002).

After weeks of negotiations between faculty, staff, and students, the Free Speech Movement gathered again to voice its frustrations by way of a sit-in outside Sproul Hall, Berkeley's main administrative building. Refusing warnings to disperse, 814 students were arrested. The mass arrests sparked a teaching assistants strike and a damning resolution from the Academic Senate in December of 1964. While the end of the semester signaled the end of the most militant moments of the Free Speech Movement, it only took five years for conflict to arise again (Cohen & Zelnik, 2002).

The People's Park, a small portion of land outside of Berkeley's campus had become a popular spot for students to protest. Critical of protesting students and disapproving of the use of city land for this purpose, then-Governor Ronald Reagan deployed law enforcement to clear the park on May 15, 1969 (Cohen & Zelnik, 2002). The show of force from authorities led to violence between police and the thousands of protestors in the following days. As officers fired tear gas and buckshot, many were injured and one student was killed. The subsequent funeral for the student resulted in yet another violent protest. Governor Reagan deployed National Guard helicopters to drop tear gas on the campus, but the winds dispersed the gas throughout the city and hospitalized several school children. Two weeks later, a 30,000-person peaceful protest resulted in the iconic images of young girls sliding flowers into the guns of National Guardsmen (Compost, 2009).

A year earlier on the East Coast, Columbia University found itself in the middle of violent protests in 1968. The African American population of the university took issue with

Columbia's affiliation with a think-tank that was heavily involved in the Vietnam War. At the same time, there were some perceived race-based slights as homes in a predominantly black residential area were torn down for the construction of a nearby park. A group of 60 students overran Hamilton Hall, one of the university's main buildings, and would not allow entry into the building. Active white students on campus attempted to join the protest and were told they could not participate, leading to fighting between the two groups. The New York Police Department was dispatched to break up the protest and after more than 700 arrests and 150 injuries, peace was restored to the campus (Fogelson, 1968).

The protesting movement of the 1960's came to a tragic climax at the beginning of the next decade on May 4, 1970 in Kent, Ohio. Protesting the Vietnam War, a large group of students took to Kent State University's quad and began to chant and rally. After several days of protests and numbers growing into the thousands, President Richard Nixon deployed the National Guard to disperse the protesters. As students began to move away from the authorities, the members of the National Guard found themselves cornered. Panicking, and attempting to make their way out of the group of students, the soldiers began firing their weapons in the air and at the ground. Four students were killed and at least nine were wounded as bullets rang through the grounds. The aftermath of this tragedy led to protests on campuses throughout the country, shutting down colleges and universities for days (Lewis & Hensley, 1998). By May 10, 448 campuses were on strike or closed, and more than four million students protested in solidarity (Morgan, 1991).

The 1970's through the 1980's saw student activism take a "notably apathetic" role on college campuses (Altbach & Cohen, 1990, p. 47). The ending of the Vietnam War and a

concern about economic security left students worried about getting jobs after college and ensuring that their education would lead to financial success – a part of Altbach and Cohen's (1990) "me generation" (p. 35). The somewhat dormant period of student activism slowly reawakened as higher education moved into the 21st century.

With a revival of activism towards social justice, students have recently taken to their campuses to gather and demonstrate against financial institutions, racial inequality, and many other causes. Thousands of students overtook Zuccotti Park in New York City for weeks in a protest of economic inequality. Through the Black Lives Matter movement, including the #ConcernedStudent1950 and Ferguson protests, students have battled the notion of white supremacy and called for accountability in the murders of several African American citizens throughout the country (Hunter & Polk, 2016).

As discussed above, the legal interventions of student protests and demonstrations have served to develop many of the rights students enjoy with regards to free speech on campus (Kaplin & Lee, 2014).

Free Speech and Registered Student Organizations

The ability to form student organizations on college campuses provides students with countless opportunities to immerse themselves in culture, ideas, and fellowship (Kuh, Kinze, Schuh, & Whitt, 2010). Clubs work tirelessly to bring different ideas to campus and encourage dialogue between students holding different values and beliefs. Wells (1998) advises that institutions need to continue to recognize that student participation in student organizations is an important learning experience.

Universities and student government play important roles in ensuring the success of all student organizations on campus by providing funding. As a result, in order for a student organization to achieve a "meaningful place in a college community," it must first gain recognition from the institution (O'Neil, 2000, p. 101). By gaining such recognition, student organizations are afforded privileges of communication and notoriety, including the ability to reserve space on campus, utilize bulletin boards, and access to other university-specific resources. Without university recognition, a student organization is crippled (Davis, 2009).

Recognizing and Funding Student Organizations as a Form of Speech

In 1972, students at Central Connecticut State College submitted a request to form a chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Historically a guerrilla organization that incited violence, the university refused to recognize the club or allow it to take advantage of the resources offered by the college. The students sued the school, claiming that not allowing the club to form was a violation of their right to assemble. *Healy v. James* (1972) found that universities could not refuse recognition of an organization because of unsupported fears of disruption. More so, the burden falls on the university in making a decision to deny recognition.

In the unanimous decision, Justice Lewis F. Powell held that "there can be no doubt that the denial of official recognition, without justification, to college organizations burdens or abridges that associational right" (*Healy v. James*, 1972, p. 181). Universities must not only tolerate speech from student organizations with which they disagree, they must support it as fervently as all other student organization speech (Wiggin, 1994). In denying the students of SDS official recognition, the university was violating the members' right to associate (Wells, 1998).

Healy did allow for institutions to limit associational activities when they "infringe reasonable campus rules, interrupt classes, or substantially interfere with the opportunity of other students to obtain an education" (*Healy v. James*, 1972, p. 185). Frustratingly to those who seek clarification, the expectation of the word 'reasonable' has never been defined (Davis, 2009).

The refusal to officially recognize a club or organization put Texas A&M University in a similar situation a decade later when it targeted the school's lesbian, gay, transgender, and bisexual (LGBT) population. Claiming that because homosexuality was illegal in the state of Texas at the time, A&M denied the founding of the Gay Student Services club at the university. The university claimed in *Gay Student Services v. Texas A&M* (1984) that it could not support actions that were illegal, and that by officially recognizing this organization it would be breaking state law. The courts found that by recognizing the organization, the university would not be supporting or condoning anything illegal, it would merely be supporting the speech rights of students (O'Neil, 1997).

Additional court cases have been resolved at the local level dealing with the same issues. The Gay Lesbian Bisexual Alliance at the University of Arkansas asked student government for $136 to screen two films and host a panel discussion about gay rights. The administration and Student Senate did not provide any money, resulting in the senate passing a resolution to not fund any group organized around sexual preference. The courts found that this was viewpoint discrimination in *Gay Lesbian Bisexual Alliance v. Sessions* (1996).

These three cases serve as examples of what has consistently been found by the courts: the ability to create, operate, and participate in a student organization falls under the category of protected speech. Additionally, universities must not show bias when working with student

organizations to avoid undermining the goal of encouraging "an active capacity for tolerance" (Wells, 1998, p. 370). While these cases show that this speech must be protected by institutions, student organizations must also be careful not to infringe upon the speech rights of other students.

Religion and Student Organizations

The freedom of religion, another essential aspect of the First Amendment, often comes packaged with concerns about the restriction of speech. Courts have consistently found that universities must maintain a viewpoint-neutral approach when it comes to religious organizations on campus.

Widmar v. Vincent (1981) came to fruition after the University of Missouri at Kansas City refused to allow a religious student group the use of university facilities that were generally open to all registered student organizations. The refusal came on the university's argument that its Board of Curators prohibited the use of its facilities for religious organizations in its mission to provide a secular education. The Supreme Court found that because student organizations were generally allowed to utilize university facilities, not allowing a particular organization to do so because of the content of their club could not be done so in a viewpoint-neutral manner. Additionally, the act of allowing a religious organization to practice on campus in no way implies that the university endorses or approves of the organization.

This was demonstrated in *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia* (1995) when UVA's student government denied the request for funding from a religious student organization to print 'Wide Awake: A Christian Perspective at the University of Virginia.' The student government denied this request because it was concerned that sponsoring

this action would directly violate the country's separation of church and state. Much like *Healy*, the court found that recognition or viewpoint-neutral funding does not constitute support, it merely represents the upholding of individual rights. The refusal to print the literature represented discrimination based on content (Bausch, 1995).

But, universities have also been found to correctly place (or not place) restrictions on speech when concerning religion. Just as access to funding must be viewpoint-neutral, membership in funded organizations must also follow the same sentiment.

After refusing membership to a gay student at University of California's Hastings Law School because he refused to sign a loyalty pledge condemning homosexuality, the Christian Legal Society (CLS) was instructed to either allow all students the opportunity for membership or cease to exist as an organization. Because the university was providing student funds to the organization, it argued that the club could not refuse membership and should adopt an all-comers policy (Cooley, 2011). CLS sued the university, saying that allowing a gay member would be going against the organization's goals and missions, and thus, the university was violating their right to association. The Supreme Court found in *Christian Legal Society v. Martinez* (2011) that recognized student organizations cannot discriminate membership based on class or status when using student funds. While viewpoint discrimination from an institution is not tolerated, it is permitted to apply reasonable rules to organizations that receive funding (Winters, 2012).

The holding in *Christian Legal Society* has been heavily criticized among academics as the question of freedom of association is brought into question when it is contrasted with anti-discrimination policies (Howard, 2017). Opponents of the decision argue that forcing an organization to associate with those that it does not want violates its right to freedom of

association. Student organizations have both the right to speech and the right to association, which includes choosing who to associate with (Davis, 2009).

Cooley (2011) argues that "there can be no clearer example of an intrusion [of] an association than forced inclusion of unwelcome participants" (p. 64). When forced association is a requirement of existence, an organization must choose between diluting its beliefs or losing recognition and funding (Winters, 2012). To the argument that students lose out on opportunities for which they are paying, such exclusion should not adversely affect a student because there are such a large number of diverse student groups that exist on a university's campus (Davis, 2009).

When institutions are seeking to provide student funding to student organizations, they must be mindful of the above conversation. Funding should be provided to organizations with an all-comers policy, ensuring that all students have equal access to opportunities. By doing so, the university is not forcing students to subsidize groups that would not accept them as members. This policy should also support any non-discrimination requirements.

Mandatory Student Fees

Within the past 20 years, questions have been raised as to whether or not a university is forcing students to involuntarily sponsor causes with which they disagree. This notion was first brought to the courts in 1973 through *Veed v. Schwartzkoph* (Bausch, 1995). In its holding, a federal district court found that the University of Nebraska was not in violation of the First Amendment because the university was content neutral in its disbursements of funds to student organizations. Since this initial ruling, there have been several cases finding that free speech is not violated through student fees (*Arrington v. Taylor,* 1974; *Kania v. Fordham*, 1983). However, overreach from a university, and the withdrawal of funding, can prove problematic.

The University of Minnesota was found to wrongfully censor a student newspaper in *Stanley v. McGrath* (1983), where it was held that student fees were withdrawn from the paper because of a questionable article that was published about the university's president, a far cry from viewpoint-neutrality.

Conversely, in *Smith v. Regents of the University of California* (1993), the California Supreme Court found that it was a violation of the First Amendment to award mandatory student fees to political or ideological student groups. Widely criticized, this decision "failed to appreciate the relationship between the fee system and the creation of a public forum for students' speech" (Wiggin, 1994, p. 2,010).

In 2000, a law student at the University of Wisconsin objected to the use of his student fees to fund activities with which he ideologically disagreed. The student claimed that the university was violating his free speech rights by forcing him to endorse certain viewpoints. After lower courts initially found in favor for the student, the Supreme Court unanimously overturned the ruling, explaining in *Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System v. Southworth* (2000) that mandatory student fees are not unconstitutional because they are distributed in a viewpoint-neutral manner. In fact, the university allowing students to pick and choose where their funding goes would, in fact, violate the First Amendment.

Most universities implement student fees to fund student organizations because they believe that the groups contribute to greater diversity on campus (Wells, 1988). By encouraging student organizations to present their individual beliefs and opinions, the university adds to a university's public forum. When student fees are viewed as a method through which to deliver a public forum, students are no longer forced to support speech with which they disagree, they are

simply forced to contribute to the public forum where that speech can exist. Assuming that student fees act as a public forum, universities risk violating their viewpoint-neutrality by providing funding to some and not others (Wiggin, 1994).

Free Speech Advocates and Concerned Academics

When colleges and universities make changes to their speech policies, there is a small, yet vocal group of academics and watchdog organizations that take note. Since its founding in 1999, the Foundation for Individual Rights in Higher Education (FIRE) has become a "major player" in the discussion of free speech on college campuses (Calvert and Richards, 2005, p. 206). No stranger to litigation, Lukianoff oversees the non-profit's attempts to sue universities when their policies fall foul of the organization's vision of preserving free speech in higher education.

FIRE does have its critics. Gould (2007) argues that FIRE simply represents "an increasingly ideological organization that exaggerates the facts to make political hay" (para. 3). He furthers that the work done by FIRE is counterproductive to the goal of discourse in higher education, as the very anti-discrimination policies they fight serve to protect the marketplace of ideas. Critically, Gould challenges that the organization hypocritically accuses institutions of not meeting their egalitarian goals of free speech while they themselves are not intellectually honest about facts.

Groups like FIRE and concerned academics (O'Neil, 1997; Golding, 2000; Strossen, 1997) are constantly challenging universities as they attempt to regulate speech on campus in an effort to create a more accepting campus climate. Conversely, there is a unified voice among some that too much speech – particularly hate speech – creates an inequitable environment on

campus (Downey & Stage, 1999; Post, 1987, 1991; Delgado & Yun, 1994; Lawrence, 1990). The battle for free speech in higher education is one that will likely never be settled, however, it remains crucial that the conversation be kept alive.

Studying Student Attitudes Towards Free Speech

While the literature of student attitudes towards free speech is fairly limited, there are several studies that have focused on the topic. Haskins and Quisenberry (2007) found that students who displayed a positive attitude towards free speech were more likely to be tolerant of others' viewpoints. This was furthered by the finding that students who have more favorable attitudes towards free speech were also less likely to use hate speech that "restricts rather than opens minds on diverse topics" (p. 100).

Wyatt's (1991) national survey of more than 2,500 participants found that women were more likely to desire limits to free speech of both their own and others. Replicating the study, McAdams and Beasley (1998) found similar results with University of Maryland journalism students: females believe at higher rate that freedom of expression "can be used to harm them or others" (p. 101). A study concerning attitudes towards pornography and hate speech also found that gender "retain[s] predictive power" when it comes to restrictions (Lambe, 2004, p. 296). Gallup's 2016 study on student attitudes towards free speech also similarly found that students were willing to forgo free speech rights in the interest of less hate speech.

Social Judgment Theory

Considered "one of the most important theories in the field [of social psychology]" (Chau, Wong, Chow, & Fung, 2014, p. 134), Social Judgment Theory (SJT) was developed by

Sherif and Hovland (1961) to assist in measuring and explaining attitudes towards "motivationally relevant items" (p. 7). The theory was initially advanced to assist researchers focusing heavily on evaluating social issues and attitudes towards groups of people.

SJT explains that opinions are not developed solely through the internal decision of an individual; there are a number of external influences that steer the belief formation. Prior to the development of SJT, the main theoretical explanation for how individuals interacted with the environment when forming opinions was Brunswick's Lens Theory (1952). Brunswick theorized that attitude formation was much like a math problem: you have a certain belief system, combine that with environmental cues, and that is the reason why you believe what you believe. An individual cannot develop a judgment without at least two stimuli because one must be compared to the other (Sherif and Hovland, 1961).

This section will explore SJT's application in social psychology and the measurement of attitudes. The section will begin with historical context for the development of SJT then expound upon the finer points of the theory's implementation, and will close with a brief summary of notable studies to have utilized SJT.

Developing a Measure for SJT

For the 20 years prior to the development of SJT, social psychologists would measure attitude development using either a Likert scale (Likert, 1932) or the now less popular Thurstone Method of Equal Appearing Intervals (Thurstone & Chave, 1929). At the time, the Thurstone method was recognized as the "most important development in the field of attitude scale construction" (Edwards & Kenney, 1946, p. 74). It was also accepted as the most reliable instrument for measuring attitude (Eiser, 1990).

Thurstone's method begins by collecting varied statements of opinion towards an issue. Those statements are then edited and presented to a group of judgers who sort statements into categories ranging from extremely favorable to extremely unfavorable towards the issue – the rankings do not reflect the judgers personal opinions towards the issue (Edwards & Kenney, 1946). These items are then analyzed and placed on a scale representing a full continuum of attitudes appearing at equal intervals. Subjects are then presented with all items and are asked to respond to each item in terms of their own agreement by placing all the items in rank order. Once the results are collected, they are analyzed to generate attitudes towards the issue (Bindak & Pesen, 2013).

Challenges to the Thurstone Method of Equal Appearing Intervals

Sherif and Hovland's (1961) challenge to this method revolved around the perceived equal distances between different points on the attitude scale. They argued, "distances between different points on an attitude scale derived by…equal-appearing intervals are affected by the position of the individual making the evaluation" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 3). Essentially, the distance in attitude between three different statements on a unidimensional scale are not necessarily equal to every judger. More so, subjects perform more reliably when they are not asked to place positions in a rank order (Sherif & Sherif, 1967). Because of the convenience of simple attitude sampling, many studies suffer from "an inadequate and unrealistic representation of attitudes" (Diab, 1967, p. 142).

An additional flaw to the Thurstone scale, according to Sherif and Hovland (1961), is that it simply measures an attitude without taking into account any additional factors that may impact its development. They argue that in order to measure an attitude, one must account for the

"evaluations and categorization of the stimuli toward which the attitude is held" (p. 1). These stimuli function along with internalized anchors, motivation, prior learning, and additional factors to help inform an overall opinion. When an individual has an attitudinal reaction, they compare and contrast alternatives (Sherif and Sherif, 1967).

It is shortsighted to simply measure attitude as a single idea because attitudes are affected by an individual's degree of tolerance as well as personal belief (Chau, et al., 2014). Measuring a single idea assumes that an individual is fully aware of their mental states and opinions (Wegener, Petty, Detweiler-Bedell, Blair, & Jarvis, 2001). Take, for example, two individuals both reporting that they strongly agree on an item. It is quite likely that although the two respondents have the same level of agreement, one may be more willing to entertain other points of view (Sammut, 2013). While there is a long-held assumption that strongly held beliefs are relatively immune to persuasion (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), this does not take into account those with open-minded points of view (Sammut & Gaskell, 2010).

To reduce the standardization of the spectrum, Sherif and Hovland (1961) proposed the use of an 'own categories' procedure as a more effective tool in measuring attitude. This method allows judgers to sort a series of attitude statements into as many or as few categories as seems appropriate, and then rank each category from least to most favorable towards an issue. Once this ranking is complete, judgers identify categories they generally find acceptable and objectionable. They then select the most acceptable and most objectionable categories.

In additional research, Sherif and Sherif (1967) suggested an additional concept of measurement: Method of Ordered Alternatives (MOA). In this method, a number of statements are first selected which encapsulate an entire range of positions relating to a given issue.

Participants are then asked to select the position most acceptable to them, all other positions they deem as acceptable, the position most objectionable to them, and all other positions they deem as objectionable, and are then instructed to ignore those positions with which they hold no opinion. Both methods return similar results but the own categories is recommended for cross-cultural comparisons while the MOA is reliable for any type of research.

In further research, Sherif and Sherif (1976) found similar results when using a Likert scale in which participants were asked to rate their opinions towards a spectrum of positions on a scale from -2 to +2. Through this scale, positive ratings represent opinions the judgers find agreeable, neutral or 0 ratings represent opinions the judgers neither find agreeable nor disagreeable, and negative ratings represent opinions the judgers find disagreeable. This instrument represented a more accessible and realistic option when using SJT (Sherif & Sherif, 1976).

Assumptions of Social Judgment Theory

Before attitude formation can be measured, an acceptable definition of this phenomenon must first be established. Sherif and Sherif (1967) present five characteristics of attitude change:

1. Attitudes are not innate;
2. Attitudes are not temporary states, but are more or less enduring once they are formed;
3. Attitudes always imply a relationship between the person and objects;
4. The relationship between person and object is not neutral but has motivational-affective properties; and,

5. The subject-object relationship is accomplished through the formation of categories both differentiating between the objects and between the person's positive or negative relations to objects in the various categories. (p. 112-113)

Taking these assumptions into account, Sherif and Sherif define attitude as,

> …the individual's set of categories for evaluating a stimulus domain, which he has established as he learns about that domain in interaction with other persons and which relate him to various subsets within the domain with varying degrees of positive or negative affect. (p. 115)

Using this definition, an attitude change would represent an alteration from an individual's use of their pre-conceived set of categories for evaluation.

Contrast and Assimilation

SJT argues that attitude change and formation is based heavily on two factors: how extreme an individual's stance is towards a topic and how a communication falls in regards to an individual's bounds of acceptability. Depending on those two factors, a judger will either "contrast" or "assimilate" the message (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 46). If a message falls within, or near a judgers bounds of acceptability, then it would be likely that they would accept the message and assimilate it. If a judger was presented a message that was far from their bounds of acceptability, they may be more likely to reject the message and contrast it (Sherif, Sherif, & Nebergall, 1965). This contrasting of a message is referred to as a boomerang effect (Rhine & Severance, 1970). A judger contrasting a message will also view the message as being farther from their stance while a judger assimilating a message will view the message as being closer to their stance.

Ego Involvement

The first factor of SJT, ego involvement, relates to the "relationship between the individual and the stimulus material" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 100). Judgers use their own position towards a message as an anchor when considering its worth. How powerful of a movement towards or away from the message depends on the ego involvement of the judger. If a judger holds an extreme view towards the subject of the message, they will experience a stronger anchoring effect (Eiser, 1990). Conversely, if a judger has low ego involvement towards a subject, their anchor will be far less impactful.

Latitudes of Acceptance, Non-Commitment, and Rejection

Whether or not a judger will contrast or assimilate a message also depends on how acceptable they find the message in relation to their stance. Depending on a judger's ego involvement, they will have different numbers of positions they find to be acceptable and unacceptable – coined by Sherif and Hovland (1961) as latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. A latitude of acceptance represents the "range of positions on an issue that an individual considers acceptable," while a latitude of rejection represents the positions an individual "finds objectionable" (p. 129). A latitude of non-commitment represents a range of positions with which an individual neither finds acceptable, nor objectionable. An individual's most acceptable and most objectionable positions serve as anchors in the latitudes of acceptance and rejection (Sherif & Sherif, 1976). Whittaker (1964) noted that the more extreme one's ego involvement becomes, the more their tolerance for other positions diminishes.

Latitudes play a vital role in examining the attitudes of an individual because a simple rating of attitudes does not take into account both an individual's tolerance for other positions or

how different an individual's attitude may be depending on their degree of involvement in an issue (Sherif, et al., 1965). Without these latitudes, it could easily be argued that two individuals with identical attitude scores would have the same overall attitude towards a subject (Diab, 1967).

Interaction Between Ego Involvement and Latitudes of Acceptance, Non-Commitment, and Rejection

Through their study, Sherif and Hovland (1961) found that judgers who were highly ego-involved had a much smaller latitude of acceptance and a far more extensive latitude of rejection. Those that have strong opinions are much more likely to reject those viewpoints that are not very similar to theirs – a wide latitude of rejection – and will also likely have few neutral opinions towards a view – a narrow latitude of non-commitment. There will be few views with which the judger will agree – a narrow latitude of acceptance.

SJT's main prediction is that those who are more extreme, or possess a higher level of ego involvement, will have larger latitudes of rejection, smaller latitudes of acceptance and even smaller latitudes of non-commitment (Eiser, 1990). For example, someone who strongly believes that free speech should be limited on campus (high ego involvement in the subject) would likely view many examples of controversial speech as unacceptable (wide latitude of rejection) and thus would contrast them (Sherif & Hovland, 1961).

These phenomena can be more easily related to three friends debating the best professional basketball player of all time. Friend A watches many National Basketball Association (NBA) games, identifies LeBron James as his favorite basketball player, and believes very strongly that he is the greatest player of all time. Friend B does not follow the NBA

very closely, believes that Michael Jordan is likely the greatest basketball player of all time, but does not feel incredibly attached to that belief. Friend C believes very strongly that LeBron James is overrated and is unequivocally not the greatest player in history.

Friend A would present with an extremely high level of ego involvement towards the issue and would have a very narrow latitude of acceptance – so narrow in fact that it is limited to a single player. All other suggestions of different players would fall into Friend A's extremely wide latitude of rejection while there would also be little chance that they would be neutral towards an opinion (a narrow latitude of non-commitment). In the case of Friend B, we would observe a low level of ego involvement with large latitudes of acceptance and non-commitment, and a narrow latitude of rejection – they would be willing to accept other players to be the greatest (acceptance) and would also likely be unsure of some players (non-commitment). Few players would be completely rejected. Friend C would display a narrow latitude of rejection (only LeBron James and potentially some other players) with wider latitudes of non-commitment and acceptance.

Prior Studies Utilizing Social Judgment Theory

Diab (1967) used SJT to determine national opinion regarding Arab unity and found that individuals displaying high pro-Arab ego involvement were extremely optimistic about a solution to the Middle East peace crisis while those holding high anti-Arab positions held much more varying positions. This study concluded that latitudes of rejection were much more reliable as a predictive measure.

Whittaker (1964) found that, contrary to most research at that point, the larger the distance between a subject's own position and the presented message, the greater the shift in

attitude change towards the message. Sherif and Sherif (1967) refuted this study, arguing that often psychologists mistakenly measure attitudes towards issues with which subjects have little interest. Whittaker's study focused on increasing government controls in agriculture.

Atkins, Deaux, and Bieri (1967) found that attitude change occurs most when messages are judged to be within the latitude of acceptance or rejection.

Peterson and Koulack (1969) further clarified this point, finding that attitude change happens the most drastically at the beginning of the latitude of rejection.

Examining opinions on birth control, marijuana legalization, and gun control, Eagly and Telaak (1972) implemented an SJT framework and found that participants with wide latitudes of acceptance changed their attitudes toward a persuasive communication on the issue while those with narrow or medium latitudes of acceptance did not change.

In related work, Wegener, et al. (2001), found that messages that were extreme in their distance from an individual anchor resulted in smaller attitude changes, whereas messages that were more closely aligned with an individual's anchor resulted in a more meaningful change.

A creative use of SJT saw Smith, Atkin, Martell, Allen, and Hembroff (2006) search for students' collective latitude of non-commitment to attempt to reduce binge drinking. The study assumed that social norm campaigns that landed in the latitude of acceptance would be assimilated and thus not effective, while the latitude of rejection would be contrasted and also not effective.

Ledgerwood and Chaiken (2007) focused on group dynamics and proposed expanding SJT to consider both the perception of the message giver as well as the message's impact on related attitudes.

Sammut (2013) found that even though students at the University of Malta shared very similar ego involvement positions when asked about the removal of stipends for graduate students, they were open to considering other points of view.

Studying whether online comments under a negative video would influence the public's attitude towards an organization, Sung and Lee (2015) found that individual's ego involvement played a large role in whether the messages were contrasted or assimilated. People who held a neutral view towards an organization were most affected by negative online comments.

Summary

This literature review provided a brief history of the First Amendment as it pertains to free speech, an in-depth examination of free speech at colleges and universities – including relevant case law – and discussed the theoretical framework of Sherif and Hovland's (1961) Social Judgment Theory.

Public institutions in the United States of America are beholden to the free speech requirements set forth in the First Amendment because of the Fourteenth Amendment – the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits states from infringing upon the rights of citizens. Generally, the restriction of speech can only be done through a few narrow categories: time, place, and manner. While time, place, and manner restrictions serve as the government's legal outlet to restrict speech, attempts to do so must also be content-neutral (Letzring & Wolff, 2009). With these restrictions, government can only be concerned with where, when, or how speech is occurring and cannot focus on its message.

Place restrictions are partly informed by the Public Forum Doctrine which was developed in 1972 to provide clarification as to when the general public may utilize government property for communicative purposes (Post, 1987). In a traditional public forum or designated open forum, the government cannot discriminate amongst speakers and can only limit speech when there is "a compelling state interest" (Wiggin, 1994, p. 2,021). A limited public forum represents areas that are traditionally not used for free speech but the government may choose to open it to limited use. A nonpublic forum serves as areas that have been created by the government that do not operate as a location for public communication (Freeman, 2009).

Restricting speech on campus through the implementation of speech codes came to national prominence with *Doe v. Michigan* (1989). Speech codes – conduct policies that discourage the use of certain words and actions – are implemented in an attempt to "balance the rights of students with the rights to an education" (Langford, 2003, p. 95). Critics of speech codes believe that it is impossible to develop critical thinkers and champions for diversity if students are not first exposed to all viewpoints and given the opportunity to develop an opinion towards them (Calvert and Richards, 2005). Speech code proponents argue that free expression can only be tolerated to the point just before it begins to impact and hinder the learning environment of others (Delgado, 1982).

The most notable content that speech codes attempt to regulate is hate speech; expression that vilifies or harasses based on characteristics or association (Brink, 2001). By its mere nature, hate speech is degrading and offensive and commonly takes the form of slurs, insults, taunts, and other types of threatening language (Kaplin & Lee, 2014). The call to regulate hate speech on campus is often made because hate speech "locks in the oppression of already marginalized

students" (Post, 1991, p. 273). The issue is that while there is justification to limit mindless hate, it is not possible to limit it without also limiting hateful thought; the two are fundamentally different (O'Neil, 1997).

Another option to implement time, place, and manner restrictions on campus is through free assembly areas designated by the institution for free expression – these spaces operate as designated open fora. Courts have found that students cannot be restricted to free assembly areas (*Roberts v. Haragan*, 2004), but this is not the case for non-university community members. While universities may be considered public areas, due to their general intended use or location there can be greater restrictions placed on them for non-university community members (Morrow, 2003).

When not confined to free assembly areas, students have celebrated a long tradition of protesting and voicing their displeasure on campus. Beginning with violent uprisings in the 17th and 18th centuries, student protest has been most notable in the 20th century. The 1930's saw the first mass student protests leading to the height of student activism in the 1960's (Thelin, 2004). Students gained the right to due process at Alabama State College (Altbach & Cohen, 1990), gathered by the thousands at University of California Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement (Cohen & Zelnik, 2002), and witnessed unspeakable tragedy at the Kent State Massacre (Lewis & Hensley, 1998). Modern-day students are reviving activism on campus through student organizations and socially-minded groups and taking to campuses to gather and demonstrate against financial institutions, racial inequality, and other social justice issues (Hunter & Polk, 2016).

Students have used the formation of student organizations to exercise their rights to speech and association since the founding of higher education (Brubacher & Rudy, 2007). Student organizations provide students with countless opportunities to immerse themselves in culture, ideas, and fellowship (Kuh, et al., 2010). University recognition of student organizations must be viewpoint-neutral and cannot be denied due to concern of unrest, religious affiliation, or legality (Wells, 1998). Student organizations must also follow similar requirements when receiving university funding – requirements for membership cannot be discriminatory. Universities must not only tolerate speech from student organizations with which they disagree, they must support it as fervently as all other student organization speech (Wiggin, 1994).

While the literature of student attitudes towards free speech is fairly limited, there are several studies that have focused on the topic. Haskins and Quisenberry (2007) found that students who displayed a positive attitude towards free speech were more likely to be tolerant of others' viewpoints. Wyatt's (1991) national survey of more than 2,500 participants showed that women were more likely than men to desire limits to both their own free speech and to that of others. Replicating the study, McAdams and Beasley (1998) collected similar results of University of Maryland journalism students: females believe at higher rate that freedom of expression "can be used to harm them or others" (p. 101). A 2016 study by Gallup also found similar results that students were willing to forgo free speech rights in the interest of less hate speech.

This study operated under the framework of Sherif and Hovland's (1961) Social Judgment Theory. Considered "one of the most important theories in the field [of social psychology]" (Chau, et al., 2014, p. 134), SJT was developed to assist in measuring and

explaining attitudes towards "motivationally relevant items" (p. 7). The theory explains that opinions are not developed solely through the internal decision of an individual; there are a number of external influences that steer the belief formation. Prior to the development of SJT, the main theoretical explanation for how individuals interacted with the environment when forming opinions was Brunswick's Lens Theory (1952).

SJT argues that attitude change and formation is based on two factors: how extreme an individual's stance is towards a topic and how a communication falls in regards to an individual's bounds of acceptability. The first factor of SJT, ego involvement, relates to the "relationship between the individual and the stimulus material" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 100). Judgers use their own position towards a message as an anchor when considering its worth. Whether or not a judge will contrast or assimilate a message also depends on how acceptable the judge finds the message in relation to their stance – their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. Latitudes, the theory's second factor, play a vital role in examining the attitudes of an individual. A simple rating of attitudes does not take into account both an individual's tolerance for other positions or how different an individual's attitude may be depending on their degree of involvement in an issue (Sherif & Sherif, 1965).

The context provided through this literature review allows for a better understanding of the challenges of effectively protecting free speech on campus while also ensuring that a university remains a safe place where learning can occur.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Free speech on college campuses has become a large point of contention both in academia and the political sphere. Balancing the desire to expose students to as many different viewpoints as possible (Broadhead, 2004) with the need to provide a safe and equitable learning environment (Downey & Stage, 1999), students have been placed in the middle of an ideological battle. But the question remains: Just how much free speech is acceptable for students? The goal of this study was to determine whether student attitude toward free speech is an absolute, or if attitudes towards free speech vary based on content-specific situations.

Research Questions

The following research questions were used to direct this study:

1. How strongly do students believe that free speech is an important right on campus?
2. Is there a statistical significance between a student's ego involvement regarding free speech and their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection of specific free speech situations?
3. Is there a statistical significance between attitude towards free speech and attitude towards the content of free speech?

Prior to conducting any research, this researcher posited that while students may show a high level of ego involvement towards the concept of free speech on campus, when presented with specific situations of speech, their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection may

more accurately represent an attitude of limiting certain types of speech. The domain general attitude towards free speech is represented differently when accounting for specific examples of speech: Attitude (A) = Latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection (L) + Ego involvement (E), therefore, A = L + E. This equation is represented in Figure 1.

Research Design and Rationale

A quantitative research design was conducted to measure student attitudes towards free speech on campus and the effect speech content and subject matter plays on those attitudes. Creswell (2014) states that quantitative methods should be used when searching for numeric descriptions of opinions of populations. Additionally, the findings of a quantitative study are by their nature more generalizable and could potentially be used to help influence policy decisions on campuses.

Table 1

Research question statistical analysis

	Theoretical Framework	Instrument	Statistical Test
RQ1	N/A	"Attitudes Towards Free Speech" *Questions 1-20*	Observational data, one-way ANOVA
RQ2	SJT	"Attitudes Towards Free Speech" *Questions 8-20*	Pearson Correlation, simple linear regression, multiple regression
RQ3	SJT	"Attitudes Towards Free Speech" *Questions 8-20*	Simple linear regression

This study utilized several methods of statistical analysis to explore each research question. They are as follows:

1. RQ1: Descriptive statistics, one-way analysis of variance – a simple analysis of the questions regarding general attitudes towards free speech was conducted as well as examining the interaction between ego involvement and latitudes with descriptive statistics of the population. A one-way analysis of variance was used to "determine whether there are any statistically significant differences between the means of two or more independent groups" (Creswell, 2014, p. 164).
2. RQ2: Pearson correlation coefficient, simple linear regression analysis, multiple regression analysis – these statistical tests were used to examine any statistical significance between students' overall opinion towards free speech and the sizes of each latitude. A Pearson Correlation Coefficient should be used when attempting to determine the "magnitude and direction of association between two variables" (Creswell, 2014, p. 164). A simple linear regression should be used when attempting to "summarize and study relationships between two variables" (Creswell, 2014, p. 164). A multiple regression should be used when trying to "predict the value of a variable based on the value of two or more other variables" (Creswell, 2014, p. 164).
3. RQ3: Simple linear regression – this statistical test was used to examine student response to general attitudes towards free speech with the overall average response to free speech situations. A simple linear regression should be used when attempting to "summarize and study relationships between two variables" (Creswell, 2014, p. 164).

The research questions, reliance on theoretical framework, instrument usage, and statistical tests are located in Table 1.

Site Location

State University is a public institution in the Southeast United States of America classified by the Carnegie Classification as RU/VH (Research Universities/Very High Research Activities).

Population and Sample

The desired population for this research study was undergraduate students enrolled at a large, public institution in the Southeast United States of America. Further, the population had either attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office in the 2016-18 academic years (16,917 students), was enrolled in one of four selected mandatory courses in the university's College of Business (4,162 students), or was identified as holding a leadership position (president, vice president, secretary, or treasurer) in a registered student organization (1,166 students). These three groups represented a convenience sample population of 22,245.

The three populations were selected to provide results from groups with potentially different collegiate experiences. Students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office or who held a leadership position in an organization had by definition spent time on campus, thus, were more likely to have experienced examples of free speech. Students enrolled in the College of Business courses, a largely online streaming format, were not required to attend class on campus, and were less likely to have been exposed to free speech on

campus. Additionally, student leaders represented some of the more socially and politically active students on campus.

Study Variables

In this study, the independent variables were the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection (specific examples of free speech on campus), while the dependent variable was ego involvement (the general concept of free speech). The measure of the independent variable was created by grouping each participant's latitude of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection with scores of -2 and -1 for rejection, 0 for non-commitment, and 1 and 2 for acceptance. These scores were then analyzed with the dependent variable of attitude towards free speech – ego involvement score. Additional variables that were considered in analysis included the following:

1. Gender;
2. Age;
3. Class standing;
4. Major; and,
5. Political affiliation.

Social Judgment Theory

Student attitudes towards free speech can be easily measured – we can simply survey students and ask them whether or not they believe free speech should be allowed or limited. The problem with this measurement is that it provides us with an extremely narrow and simplistic answer that does not account for any variables that may be affecting those attitudes. Take, for

example a student whose only notable experience with free speech on campus is that of graphic images of abortions displayed by anti-abortion groups. If this student is pro-choice, they may be staunchly opposed to this speech, and will then project that attitude towards free speech as a whole.

By following this simple methodology, we additionally cannot understand the tolerance level of speech from students. In that vein, it is important to understand not only of which speech a student approves, but also the speech a student will not tolerate as well as speech with which the student has no opinion. By simply asking a student about their attitude towards free speech, we run the risk of not measuring their attitude towards free speech, but simply whether or not they agree with the messages to which they have been exposed.

In order to successfully measure student attitudes, this study was completed using the framework of Sherif and Hovland's (1961) Social Judgment Theory and its concepts of ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. The instruments used to measure SJT build upon work previously completed by Thurstone (1929), another pioneer in the field of Judgment Theory and the creator of the Thurstone scale.

In order to measure attitudes, Thurstone had participants sort a group of 11 statements unidimensionally to match their attitudes from least favorable to a concept to most favorable to a concept (Bindak & Pesen, 2013). Sherif and Hovland's challenge to this method revolved around the perceived equal distances between different points on the attitude scale. They argued, "distances between different points on an attitude scale derived by…equal-appearing intervals are affected by the position of the individual making the evaluation" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961, p. 3). Essentially, the distance in attitude between three different statements on a unidimensional

scale are not necessarily equal. Because of this, SJT proposes two alternative methods to the Thurstone Scale: 'own categories' and Method of Ordered Alternatives.

To utilize either the Own Categories Method or the Method of Ordered Alternatives, obtaining the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection in each category would involve participants completing judgment scales for 10 items – attitude towards free speech and attitude towards nine categories of free speech. Expecting study participants to complete an exhaustive survey would likely result in a reduction of completions and less reliable results (Creswell, 2014). Additionally, Sherif and Sherif (1967) found similar results when using a Likert scale in which participants were asked to rate their opinions on a scale from -2 to +2. Through this scale, positive ratings represent an individual's latitude of acceptance, neutral or 0 ratings represent an individual's latitude of non-commitment, and negative ratings represent an individual's latitude of rejection.

Data Collection Instrument

Following the structure of experiments completed using Social Judgment Theory, this study utilized two measures of attitude: ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection.

To measure student attitudes towards the importance of free speech on campus, an ego involvement score was calculated. The ego involvement score was calculated as an average of four questions measured on a seven-point Likert scale with 1 representing "Strongly Agree," 2 representing "Agree," 3 representing "Somewhat Agree," 4 representing "Neither Agree Nor Disagree," 5 representing "Somewhat Disagree," 6 representing "Disagree," and 7 representing

"Strongly Disagree." The nominal categories of the Likert scale are recommended by Creswell (2014). Each question represented a different theme identified through a review of the literature. The themes were as follows: free speech is an important right on campus, free speech should be protected, free speech should not be limited, exposure to ideas and values other than one's own is important.

To measure latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, a spectrum of nine examples of free speech was created. The selection of the nine examples of speech served as a continuum of severity of speech utilized in each example. The examples were presented to participants with the request that they rate each one on a -2 to +2 scale regarding how acceptable or unacceptable they found each example to be with -2 representing "Completely Unacceptable," -1 representing "Somewhat Unacceptable," 0 representing "Neither Acceptable Nor Unacceptable," 1 representing "Somewhat Unacceptable," and 2 representing "Completely Acceptable." By measuring the selections in this way, it was possible to categorize each response and create each individual's latitudes.

In order to present an evenly-balanced spectrum – ranging from innocuous to severe – Sherif and Hovland (1961) recommend presenting a small test group with a range of examples and asking them to score each situation based on severity using a Likert scale. From that point, the survey items are averaged and the most even representation of a spectrum is selected.

As such, 24 students in the Leadership Studies program at the institution were selected to rank the following situations strictly by severity of speech:

1. An anti-abortion group displays graphic images of abortion;
2. A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting;

3. A preacher reads passages from the bible;
4. A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting;
5. A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants;
6. A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell;'
7. A student burns an American flag in protest;
8. A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'Go back to Africa;'
9. A speaker on campus presents on their scientific research that African Americans are genetically inferior to Caucasians;
10. A group of students march on campus to raise awareness for domestic violence;
11. A group of students march on campus to raise awareness in support of a neo-Nazi group;
12. Students hand out fliers calling for the legalization of marijuana;
13. A group of students ask people for donations for a charity with which they are involved;
14. A political student organization sets up a fake jail cell with someone wearing their opposing candidates mask inside;
15. A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state;
16. A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure;
17. A student group hands out free condoms to raise awareness for sexual education;

18. A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event;
19. A student pours a bucket of fake blood themselves to protest the war on Palestine; and,
20. A group of students stage a silent sit-in in the Student Union to protest inequality on campus.

Once the survey items were scored, nine situations were selected to represent the most balanced spectrum for the general survey. The situations were selected based on their closest proximity to scores of an evenly weighted spectrum. The weighted scores were calculated with the following formula:

$$\textit{Distance between Items} = \frac{\textit{Highest Score-Lowest Score}}{\textit{Total items-1}}$$

Reliability and Validity

Creswell (2014) recommends that a new instrument undergo pilot testing to ensure the validity and reliability of the study. The newly created instrument – including both ego involvement and latitude items – was pilot tested with 24 student employees of the campus' Student Union. Cronbach's Alpha was used to ensure the validity and reliability of the instrument and both sets of items returned a score of greater than .700. A score of .700 or higher is considered acceptable for instruments measuring social sciences (Cortina, 1993).

The reliability test for questions regarding ego involvement returned a score of .850. This score is well above the generally accepted threshold of .700 for acceptable reliability. The reliability score for questions regarding latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

was .751. This score is also above the threshold of .700. The lower score for this portion of the survey is understandable as the questions are measuring attitudes that may differ greatly between participants (Cortina, 1993). The reliability measures of both sections are displayed in Table 20 in Appendix K.

Spector, Merrill, Elen, and Bishop (2016) advise that one must focus on three types of validity when creating a new measure: construct, content, and predictive. To ensure that a measure has construct validity, one must test the measure against similar studies and also measure those who have been proven to possess extreme views. This was done through a comparison of the results of the pilot group with recent free speech surveys conducted throughout the United States on college campuses. Content validity must be attainted through examination of all items and verifying that the topic is expansively covered. Through an extensive literature review, this researcher concluded the topic was expansively covered. Finally, predictive validity must be found by taking results and seeing if they predict a future behavior. For example, if a student takes the survey and is found to be strongly in support of free speech on campus, a follow-up should be conducted to see if student actions on campus mirror the results reported through this study.

All data were coded and entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 24.0. Descriptive statistics were collected to best describe the sample.

Data Collection Plan and Analysis

Once IRB approval was obtained, the targeted 22,245 students were contacted through their university-assigned email addresses. The email contained a link to the research instrument

and explained the purpose for the study and data collection, informed the participants that the survey would take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete, and provided a link to the research instrument hosted on a secure server.

In order to increase participation in a study, researchers should provide survey information to the participants, provide contact information should a participant require any assistance, and thank the participant for their participation (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2014). All of these suggestions were included in the survey procedures.

While there is not a recommended timeframe for Internet survey distribution and completion (Dillman, et al., 2014), this study operated with a one-month completion period for the survey. Participants received an introductory email notifying them of their selection in the study, provided background information regarding the study, and a link to the survey. Two follow-up emails were sent as reminders 10 and 20 days after the initial contact to students who had not completed the survey. A final reminder email was sent one week prior to the closing of the survey to students who had not completed the survey. Additional contacts after the initial ask result in an increase in response rates (Dillman, et al., 2014).

Online surveys of college students should be expected to return response rates of around 20 percent (Sax, Gilmartin, Lee, & Hagedorn, 2003; Sax, Gilmartin, & Bryant, 1997). This study proposed a 95 percent confidence level with a confidence interval of 2.5%. Given the larger population, a sample size of 1,437 was necessary. With approximately 22,000 students targeted for participation, the response rate required was 6.46%.

Ethical Considerations

Responses from participants were completely anonymous. The only identifiable factor was for which group each participant was initially classified. The survey responses did not require any names or identifying information except responses to demographic questions. Additionally, participants were assured that their participation was strictly voluntary.

IRB Authorization

Prior to the implementation of this research, a categorization of exempt was sought from the host institution's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Exempt status was approved by the institution's IRB because the research was to be performed ethically and all participants were to be informed of their rights and confidentiality measure were taken. Furthermore, participants were notified of the purpose of the study, the expectation of participation, the length of participation, how the findings would be used, and the contact information of the researcher. The IRB approval letter can be found in Appendix E.

Originality Score

The University of Central Florida requires the dissertation chair to submit the final dissertation manuscript to iThenticate to be reviewed for originality. One of the researcher's major professors submitted this dissertation to iThenticate and shared the originality results with all members of the dissertation committee.

Summary

This dissertation study was conducted as a quantitative study guided by the framework of Social Judgment Theory. This framework was selected to help distinguish between students' – general attitudes towards free speech and the perceived acceptability of-specific examples of free speech. The research questions, population and sample, variables, and study design were described in this chapter. The chapter also outlined the instrumentation developed, the methodology behind the study, and the plan for data collection and analysis. Ethical considerations, Institutional Research Board approval, and the dissertation's originality score were also discussed.

CHAPTER 4
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify student attitudes towards free speech on campus. The study focused on both the general attitude towards free speech and the attitude towards the acceptability of specific uses of speech. The general attitudes and level of acceptability of speech situations were measured through ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection housed within the framework of Social Judgment Theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961). Student ego involvement was defined as general attitudes towards free speech. Student latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection were defined as attitudes towards the acceptability of specific situations of free speech.

To measure student ego involvement, a four-item questionnaire was utilized. The questions represented different aspects of free speech: the right to free speech, the protection of free speech, the regulation of free speech, and the importance of diverse views. The questions were measured through a 7-point Likert scale using Creswell's (2014) definition of Likert scale scores: a score of 1 indicates that the participant strongly agrees with the statement, a score of 2 indicates that the participant agrees with the statement, a score of three indicates that the participant somewhat agrees with the statement, a score of 4 indicates that the participant is neutral or neither agrees nor disagrees, a score of 5 indicates that the participant somewhat disagrees with the statement, a score of 6 indicates that the participant disagrees with the statement, and a score of 7 indicates that the participant strongly disagrees with the statement. The mean of all four items represents a student's ego involvement on the topic of free speech.

In order to measure student latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection a pilot group of students were first presented with 20 situations of free speech and asked to judge the severity of each situation through a 9-point Likert scale. Sherif and Hovland (1961) recommend scoring items based on severity and then selecting items that score closest to an ideal numerical range in order to gain the most even representation of a spectrum. The 9-item spectrum was then used as the survey instrument to measure Sherif and Hovland's latitudes. Participants were asked to rate their opinions on a scale from -2 to +2. Through this scale, survey items receiving positive ratings ("Strongly Agree" and "Somewhat Agree") represent an individual's latitude of acceptance, neutral ("Neither Agree nor Disagree") or 0 ratings represent an individual's latitude of non-commitment, and negative ratings ("Somewhat Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree") represent an individual's latitude of rejection.

In this chapter, the research methodology used to conduct the study is detailed. This includes the response rate, the demographic data of the participants, and the results of the statistical tests conducted to answer the three research questions. All data were analyzed using SPSS version 24.0 at the $a = .05$ level of significance. A discussion surrounding these results can be found in in Chapter 5.

Review of Methodology and Response Rate

The survey instrument was divided into two parts: an initial pilot test to develop a 9-item spectrum of severity of free speech and a full survey containing questions pertaining to demographics, ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection.

Part One

The pilot survey instrument was distributed to 24 students enrolled in one section of the university's introduction to leadership course. The selected group was asked to score 20 free speech items based on the severity of the speech used. The researcher provided the survey to the participants on January 29, 2018. The survey was constructed with a nine-point Likert scale with 9 representing the most severe and 1 representing the least severe. Twenty-four participants completed the survey with a response rate of 100%, or n = 24.

Table 2

Distance of ranked free speech severity from nearest ideal score

Targeted Group	Mean	Nearest Ideal Score	Distance from Ideal Score
A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa'	**8.26**	**8.26**	**0.00**
An anti-abortion group displays graphic images of abortion	7.96	8.26	0.30
A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell'	**7.46**	**7.39**	**-0.07**
A student burns an American flag in protest of the country's involvement in a war	7.21	7.39	0.18
A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe the be undocumented immigrants	**6.92**	**6.52**	**-0.40**
A speaker on campus presents on their specific research that African American are genetically inferior to Caucasians	6.07	5.65	-0.42
A political student organization sets up a fake jail cell with someone wearing the opposing candidate's mask inside	6.00	5.65	-0.35
A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war on Palestine	**5.63**	**5.65**	**0.02**
A group of students march on campus to raise awareness in support of a neo-Nazi group	5.46	5.65	0.19
A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting	**4.67**	**4.78**	**0.11**
A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event	**4.09**	**3.90**	**-0.19**
A preacher reads passages from the bible to people walking by	3.63	3.90	0.27

Targeted Group	Mean	Nearest Ideal Score	Distance from Ideal Score
A group of students stage a silent sit-in in the Student Union to protest inequality on campus	3.58	3.90	0.32
A group of students march on campus to raise awareness for domestic violence	3.21	3.03	-0.18
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure	**3.08**	**3.03**	**-0.05**
Students hand out fliers calling for the legalization of marijuana	2.33	2.16	-0.17
A student group hands out free condoms to raise awareness for sexual education	2.29	2.16	-0.13
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state	**2.13**	**2.16**	**0.03**
A group of students ask people for donations for a charity with which they are involved	1.83	2.16	0.33
A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting	**1.29**	**1.29**	**0.00**

"A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa,'" scored highest in perceived severity with a mean score of 8.26. The most severe situations also included: "A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell'" (7.96), and "An anti-abortion group displays graphic images of abortion" (7.46). The least severe uses of speech were "A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting" (1.29), "A group of students ask people for

donations for a charity with which they are involved" (1.83), and "A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state" (2.13).

Once collected, the data were analyzed to select the most evenly weighted spectrum. The situations were selected based on the closest proximity to scores of an evenly weighted spectrum. The weighted scores were calculated using the following formula:

$$\textit{Distance between Items} = \frac{\textit{Highest Score-Lowest Score}}{\textit{Total items-1}}$$

$$.871 = \frac{8.26-1.29}{8}$$

The ideal distance between each item was .871, with a maximum score of 8.26 and a minimum of 1.29. Five survey item scores fell within .05 of their nearest ideal score

1. A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa' (0.00, 8.26);
2. A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war on Palestine (0.02, 5.65);
3. A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure (-0.05, 3.03);
4. A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state (0.03, 2.16); and,
5. A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting" (0.00, 1.29).

The scenario which fell furthest from its ideal score was “A speaker on campus presents on their specific research that African American are genetically inferior to Caucasians” (-0.42, 5.65). The difference between items from each position in the spectrum is represented in Table 2. Selected situations are bolded.

Part Two

The survey instrument was distributed through email to the selected population of 22,245 students at the targeted institution. Dillman, et al.’s (2014) recommended procedures for email distribution outlined in Chapter 3 were followed. The student population included students who attended an event hosted by the university’s student involvement office in the 2016-18 academic years, were enrolled in one of four selected mandatory courses in the College of Business, or held a leadership position (president, vice president, secretary, or treasurer) in a registered student organization.

The researcher emailed the first contact letter (Appendix F) to the participants on January 29, 2018. Twenty-three of the emails to the student leaders group were returned as ‘bounced.’ The researcher did not attempt to obtain correct email addresses for the 23 students, therefore, they did not receive any additional contact. All emails to the College of Business and involved student groups were delivered successfully. The second contact email (Appendix G) was sent 10 days later on February 8, 2018 to all participants who had not yet completed the survey. The third contact (Appendix H) was sent on February 18, 2018 to all participants who had not yet completed the survey. The fourth and final contact (Appendix I) was sent on February 23, 2018 to all participants who had not yet completed the survey. The survey was closed at midnight on March 1, 2018. The minimal number of responses necessary was met on February 4, 2018.

During the defense of the study's proposal, the researcher was advised by their committee that when the response rate target was met, the survey could be closed due to time constraints. However, in the interest of collecting data to portray the most accurate representation of student attitudes, and to allow for future research, the survey was kept open through the proposed duration. The study finished with a total of 3,204 responses.

The researcher only considered surveys completed prior to February 10, 2018 for this study due to the above mentioned time constraints. In total, 2,350 participants completed the survey during the selected duration. This represents a response rate of 10.6%. There were 177 participants who did not answer all questions in regards to either ego involvement or the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. Those responses were removed from all data analysis.

The minimum response rate that the researcher established in Chapter 3 was n = 1,437. Initially, the researcher was anticipating a population group of approximately 11,000 which required a response rate of 13.6%. Once all students were targeted, the population group grew to 22,245. With this new group size, the adjusted targeted response rate was 6.46%. The final number of qualified responses was n = 2,173, a response rate of 9.8%. As indicated in Table 13 in Appendix J, the response rate of students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office was 8.5%, the response rate of students enrolled in select College of Business courses was 13.0%, and students who hold a leadership position in a registered student organization posted a response rate of 16.2%.

Students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office made up an initial 76.0% of the population sample while College of Business students

represented 18.7% and student leaders were 5.2% of the population. Out of all qualified responses, students who attended an involvement event represented 65.5% of the population, College of Business students represented 24.8%, and student leaders represented 8.7%. Both College of Business students (5.0%) and student leaders (3.2%) responded at higher rates than their share of the population. Involved students responded at a 10.5% lower rate. These data are displayed in Table 14 in Appendix J.

Demographics

The researcher included demographic questions in the survey instrument in order to accurately describe the population and to examine whether any of the factors significantly affect the outcomes of each research question.

Table 3

Study population by gender, age, class standing, major time spent on campus (hours per day), and political affiliation

Characteristic	*f*	%
Gender		
Male	785	35.3
Female	1,370	61.4
Other	15	0.6
Age		
17	4	0.2
18	179	8.5
19	394	18.3
20	413	19.2
21	414	19.3
22	278	12.9
23+	467	21.6
Class Standing		
Freshman	290	13.3
Sophomore	388	17.9
Junior	637	29.3
Senior	637	28.3
Graduate Student	170	7.8
Other	50	2.3
Time spent on campus (hours per day)		
0-2	326	15.0
3-4	524	24.1
5-6	569	26.2
7+	754	34.7
Political Affiliation		
Democrat	766	35.3
Republican	397	18.3
Independent	517	23.8
None	427	19.7
Other	56	2.6

The demographic characteristics of the participants with respect to gender, age, class standing, major time spent on campus (hours per day), and political affiliation are included in Table 3. The majority of participants were female (61.4%) and were aged 23 and older (21.6%). When considering traditional-aged college students, the majority of participants were 20 (19.2%) and 21 years old (19.3%). A majority of the participants held either junior (29.3%) or senior (28.3%) standing, spent seven or more hours on campus per day (34.7%), and identified as Democrat (35.3%).

The majority of participants in the General Student group were female, but by a wider margin (65.5%). While these results were similar with the Student Leaders group (63.5%), the College of Business group presented a much more even distribution, with a smaller majority of females (56.4%). These data are displayed in Table 15 in Appendix J.

As expected, the age discrepancy was far greater with the College of Business group, as most students do not enter the program until their junior year. The majority of College of Business students were 23 or older (31.6%) and 21 (23.9%). Students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office consisted of a majority age of 19 (22.9%), and a majority of student leaders were also 23 and older (30.9%). A summary of age results separated by survey group is included in Table 16 in Appendix J.

When accounting for survey groups, the demographic of class standing presents varied results. The Involved Students group had a mostly even distribution between freshman (19.6%), sophomore (21.3%), junior (21.0%), and senior (26.5%). These results were markedly different from both the College of Business group and the Student Leaders group. The College of Business group contained a large majority of juniors (55.3%) and seniors (30.4) and the Student

Leaders Group consisted of a majority of seniors (47.6%). These data are summarized in Table 17 in Appendix J.

The demographic of time on campus also produced significantly different results. The majority of the Involved Students group spend seven or more hours on campus (40.3%). Alternatively, participants in the College of Business group spend a majority of 0-2 hours (31.6%) or 3-4 hours (29.6%) on campus. The Student Leaders group reported similar results to that of the Involved Students with a majority spending seven or more hours on campus (42.3%) per day. These results can be found in Table 18 in Appendix J.

A closer analysis of survey groups reveals large differences in political affiliation. A large majority of the General Student participants identified as Democrat (37.8%) with Independent (24.2%) representing the second largest category. College of Business participants score evenly across almost all categories offered. The slim majority of Democrat (28.0%) was followed by Republican (27.1%), None (22.3%), and Independent (20.6%). Student Leaders held similar affiliations to that of the General Student group with a majority of Democrat (36.5%) and Independent (30.2%). These data are represented in Table 19 in Appendix J.

Analysis of Research Questions

The subheadings that follow include an analysis of results as they pertain to Social Judgment Theory, particularly ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, a further analysis of SJT when accounting for demographics and survey groups, and the statistical analyses for the research questions that guided this study.

Social Judgment Theory

The representation of student attitudes towards free speech was measured through the framework of Social Judgment Theory. According to SJT, attitudes are developed through a combination of two factors: ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. This study measured for both factors.

Ego Involvement

To measure ego involvement, participants were asked to indicate the level to which they either agreed or disagreed with four items representing general attitudes towards free speech. The four items represented four themes of free speech developed through research of the topic: the importance of the right of free speech, the protection of free speech, the regulation of free speech, and the importance of being exposed to different ideas and values.

The reliability of this measure remained above the acceptable threshold with a Chronbach's Alpha score of .731. The results of the test of reliability are represented in Table 21 in Appendix K.

Table 4

Ego involvement questions descriptive statistics

Question	*n*	*M*	σ	σ^2
Important Right	2,173	1.68	.930	.866
Should be Protected	2,173	1.93	1.070	1.144
No Regulation	2,173	3.33	1.756	3.082
Exposure is Important	2,173	1.56	.856	.733

Table 5

Ego involvement for free speech on campus

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Free speech is an important right in higher education.	1,158 (53.3%)	715 (32.9%)	198 (9.1%)	67 (3.1%)	19 (0.9%)	10 (0.5%)	6 (0.3%)
Free speech on campus should be protected.	921 (42.4%)	739 (34.0%)	351 (16.2%)	103 (4.7%)	33 (1.5%)	15 (0.7%)	11 (0.5%)
Free speech on campus should not be regulated.	392 (18.0%)	401 (18.5%)	525 (24.2%)	205 (9.4%)	361 (16.6%)	188 (8.7%)	101 (4.6%)
Being exposed to different thoughts and ideas is an important aspect of higher education.	1,309 (60.2%)	636 (29.3%)	158 (7.3%)	44 (2.0%)	13 (0.6%)	7 (0.3%)	6 (0.3%)

Participants were asked to score four items on a 7-point Likert scale where a score of 1 equaled the strongest agreement with the statement and 7 represented the strongest disagreement.

The first question measured participant's attitudes towards the statement, "Free speech is an important right in higher education." A majority of respondents indicated that they strongly agreed with the statement (53.3%). An additional 32.9% of respondents indicated that they agreed with the statement. In total, 86.2 percent of participants either agree or strongly agree that free speech is an important right in higher education. The mean score was $M = 1.68$, the standard deviation was $\sigma = .930$, and the variance was $\sigma^2 = .866$.

The second question measured participant's attitudes towards the statement, "Free speech on campus should be protected." A majority of respondents also indicated that they strongly agreed with the statement (42.4%). An additional 34.0% of respondents indicated that they agreed with the statement. In total, 76.4 percent of participants either agree or strongly agree that the right to free speech in higher education should be protected. The mean score was $M = 1.93$, the standard deviation was $\sigma = .1.070$ and the variance was $\sigma^2 = 1.144$.

The third question measured participant's attitudes towards the statement, "Free speech on campus should not be regulated." A majority of respondents indicated that they somewhat agreed with the statement (24.2%). Responses to this question produced varied results, with a majority still agreeing to at least some degree (60.2%). However, 29.9% of the participants indicated that they disagreed with the statement to at least some degree. The mean score was $M = 1.93$, the standard deviation was $\sigma = 1.756$, and the variance was $\sigma^2 = 3.082$.

The final question measured participant's attitude towards the statement, "Being exposed to different thoughts and ideas is an important aspect of higher education." A majority of

respondents indicated that they strongly agreed with the statement (60.2%). An additional 29.3% of respondents indicated that they agreed with the statement. In total, 89.5 percent of participants either agree or strongly agree that the exposure to different ideas and values is an important aspect of higher education. The mean score was M = .1.56, the standard deviation was σ = .856, and the variance was σ^2 = .733. The results are represented in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 6

Ego involvement score

Score	*n*	σ	σ^2
2.12	2,173	.897	.805

In order to create each individual's ego involvement score, the mean of answers to all four questions were used. The ego involvement score for the entire population was 2.12, the standard deviation was σ = .897, and the variance was σ^2 = .805. These statistics are represented in Table 6. A further analysis of ego involvement scores can be found in the Research Question 1 section of this chapter.

Latitudes of Acceptance, Non-Commitment, and Rejection

While ego involvement measures participants' commitment to a topic, latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection measure a participant's tolerance of issues falling within the topic. The creation of the spectrum of free speech events ranging by severity was detailed earlier in this chapter.

Participants were presented with nine situations of free speech involving: handing out fliers for a student organization; collecting signatures for a pro-solar energy petition; collecting signatures to impeach a political figure; kneeling during the national anthem; protesting anti-immigration policies; pouring blood over oneself to protest a war; publically identifying undocumented immigrants; personal attacks from a preacher; and, racial abuse.

The reliability of this measure remained above the acceptable threshold with a Chronbach's Alpha score of .717. The results of the test of reliability are located in Table 22 in Appendix K.

Table 7

Participant attitude towards acceptability of free speech situations

Statement	Completely Acceptable	Somewhat Acceptable	Neither Acceptable nor Unacceptable	Somewhat Unacceptable	Completely Unacceptable
A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting	2,019 (92.9%)	96 (4.4%)	49 (2.3%)	7 (0.3%)	2 (0.1%)
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state	1,813 (83.4%)	268 (12.3%)	73 (3.4%)	13 (0.6%)	6 (0.3%)
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure	1,239 (57.0%)	543 (25.0%)	266 (12.2%)	78 (3.6%)	47 (2.2%)
A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting	1,017 (46.8%)	693 (31.9%)	211 (9.7%)	183 (8.4%)	69 (3.25%)
A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event	1,243 (57.2%)	322 (14.8%)	306 (14.1%)	138 (6.4%)	164 (7.5%)

Statement	Completely Acceptable	Somewhat Acceptable	Neither Acceptable nor Unacceptable	Somewhat Unacceptable	Completely Unacceptable
A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war against Palestine	533 (24.5%)	492 (22.7%)	356 (16.4%)	458 (21.1%)	332 (15.3%)
A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants	172 (7.9%)	146 (7.9%)	153 (7.0%)	364 (16.8%)	1,338 (61.6%)
A preacher calls female students ‘sluts’ for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are ‘going to hell’	129 (5.9%)	113 (5.2%)	128 (5.9%)	264 (12.1%)	1,539 (70.8%)
A protesting group of white students calls a black student the ‘n-word’ and tells them to ‘go back to Africa’	94 (4.3%)	64 (2.9%)	74 (3.4%)	142 (6.5%)	1,799 (82.8%)

Participants were asked to score all nine items on a 5-point Likert scale based on representing the acceptability of each event occurring on campus. A completely acceptable situation would receive a score of 1 while a completely unacceptable situation would receive a score of 5.

Question one asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting. A majority of respondents (97.3%) reported that they believed it was either completely acceptable or somewhat acceptable for this example of speech to occur.

Question two asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state. A majority of respondents (95.7%) indicated that they believed it was either completely acceptable or somewhat acceptable for this example to occur.

Question three asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure. A majority of respondents (82.0%) indicated that they believed it was either completely acceptable or somewhat acceptable for this example to occur.

Question four asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting. A majority of respondents (78.7%) indicated that they believed it was either completely acceptable or somewhat acceptable for this example to occur.

Question five asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event. A

majority of respondents (72.0%) indicated that they believed it was either completely acceptable or somewhat acceptable for this example to occur.

Question six asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war against Palestine. There was no clear majority in this answer as 24.5% of participants selected completely acceptable, 22.7% selected somewhat acceptable, 16.4% chose neither acceptable nor unacceptable, 21.1% selected somewhat unacceptable, and 15.3% chose completely unacceptable.

Question seven asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants. A majority of respondents (78.4%) indicated that they believed it was either completely unacceptable or somewhat unacceptable for this example to occur.

Question eight asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell.' A majority of respondents (82.9%) indicated that that they believed it was either completely unacceptable or somewhat unacceptable for this example to occur.

Question nine asked participants to rate how acceptable they found the following situation: A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa.' A majority of participants (89.3%) indicated that they believed it was either completely unacceptable or somewhat unacceptable for this example to occur.

The results of these questions can be found in Table 7.

Table 8

Latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection descriptive statistics

Situation	*n*	*M*	*Adjusted M*	σ	σ^2	**Latitude**
A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting	2,173	1.10	1.90	.409	.168	**Acceptance**
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state	2,173	1.22	1.78	.555	.308	**Acceptance**
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure	2,173	1.69	1.31	.967	.934	**Acceptance**
A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting	2,173	1.89	1.11	1.281	1.641	**Acceptance**
A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event	2,173	1.92	1.08	1.085	1.177	**Acceptance**
A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war against Palestine	2,173	2.80	-.20	1.411	1.991	**Non-Commitment**

Situation	*n*	*M*	*Adjusted M*	σ	σ^2	**Latitude**
A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants	2,173	4.17	-1.17	1.280	1.638	**Rejection**
A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell'	2,173	4.37	-1.37	1.173	1.375	**Rejection**
A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa'	2,173	4.61	-1.61	1.002	1.003	**Rejection**

Social Judgment Theory recommends the scoring of items in the latitude of acceptance to equal 1 or 2, non-commitment to equal 0, and rejection to equal -1 or -2. Scores falling between 1 and 2 represent the latitude of acceptance. Scores falling between .99 and -.99 represent the latitude of non-commitment. Scores falling between -1 and -2 represent the latitude of rejection. The researcher adjusted the scores of each question to reflect SJT's recommended range.

In total, five questions received an average score of between 2-1, one between .99--.99, and three between -1--2. The average latitude of acceptance for the entire population was five situations, one falling within the latitude of non-commitment, and three completing the latitude of rejection. The adjusted scores, descriptive statistics, classification of latitudes, and placement of situations into their respective latitudes are represented in Table 8.

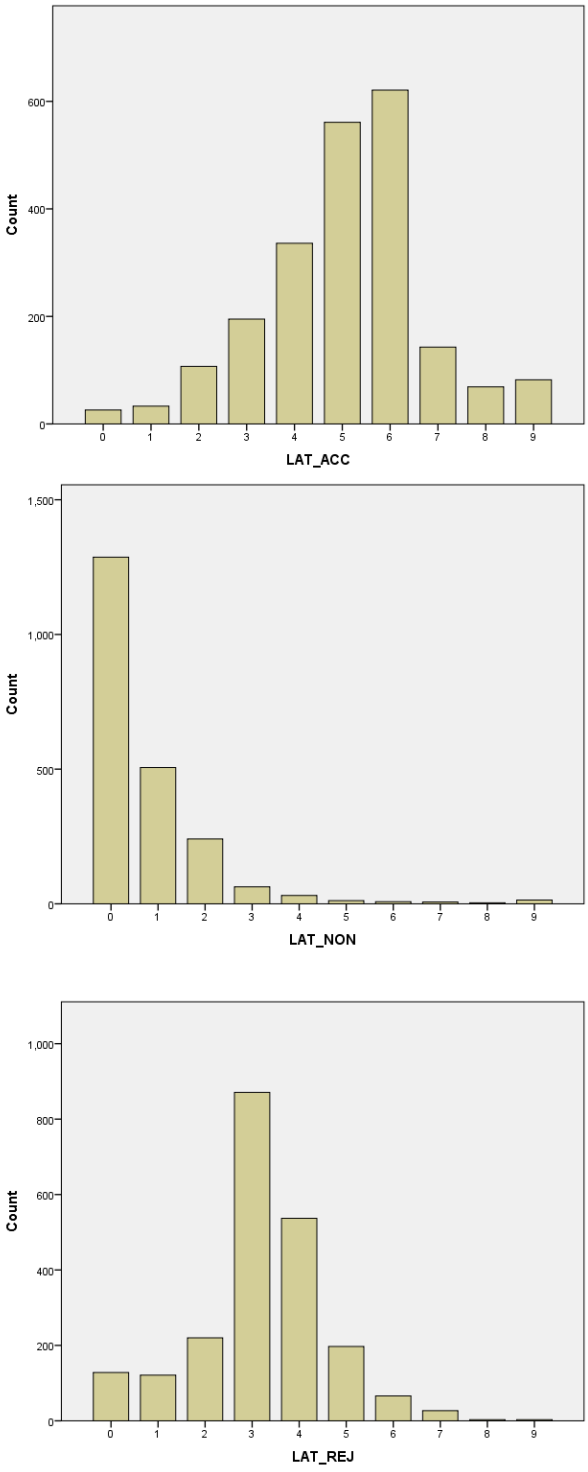


Figure 3. Bar graph of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

The mode of situations falling within respondents' latitude of acceptance is six (621) with five being a close second (561). Participants' latitude of non-commitment was largely empty, with zero (1,287) representing the largest mode and 1 representing the second-largest (506). Finally, respondents most frequently identified three situations (871) which they deemed to be unacceptable. The results are located in Table 23 in Appendix L and visually displayed in Figure 3.

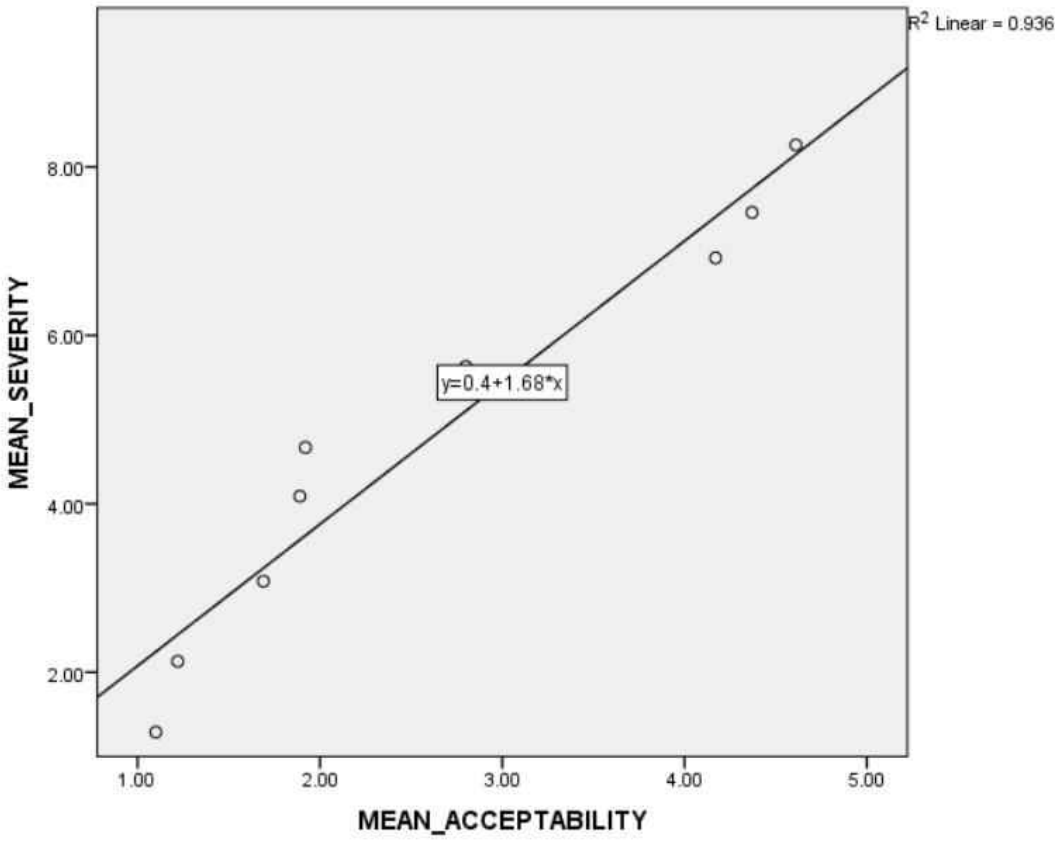


Figure 4. Correlation of severity and acceptability of free speech situations

The mean score of acceptability of each situation almost identically mirrored the scores for which the pilot group ranked the perceived severity of speech. An examination of those two categories showed a statistically significant Pearson two-tailed correlation of r^2 ($p < .000$) = .936. The results of this correlation are displayed in Figure 4.

Research Question 1

The first research question explored was "How strongly do students believe that free speech is an important right on campus?" To respond to this question, respondent ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection were analyzed. Ego involvement scores represent the average of four attitudinal questions surrounding free speech on campus. The themes of the four questions were selected through analysis of research and current headlines. An ego involvement score closer to 1 represents a strong belief that free speech is an important right on campus. An ego involvement score closer to 7 represents a strong belief that free speech is not an important right on campus. When considering the Likert scale items for this set of questions, a score of '1' represented Strongly Agree, a score of '2' represented Agree, and a score of '3' represented Somewhat Agree.

For latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, participants were asked to score nine items on a 5-point Likert scale based on representing the acceptability of each event occurring on campus. Situations receiving a score of 2 or 1 fell within a participant's latitude of acceptance, a score of 0 fell within a participant's latitude of non-commitment, and a score of 1- or -2 fell within a participant's latitude of rejection. A completely acceptable situation would receive a score of 2 while a completely unacceptable situation would receive a score of -2.

A content-specific attitude score was also calculated through the results of the latitudes. This score represents the mean of all latitude selections.

Several tests were conducted to explore this outcome including descriptive statistics, two sample t-test, and a one-way analysis of variance.

Table 9

Ego involvement for free speech on campus, segmented by survey group, political affiliation, gender, class standing, and time spent on campus

Groups	**Ego Involvement**	Important Right	Should be Protected	No Regulation	Exposure is Important
Total Group	**2.13**	1.68	1.93	3.33	1.56
Survey Groups					
Involved Students	**2.11**	1.65	1.91	3.26	1.53
College of Business	**2.22**	1.81	2.07	3.30	1.69
Student Leaders	**1.96**	1.52	1.71	3.21	1.38
Political Affiliation					
Democrat	**2.13**	1.63	1.90	3.50	1.51
Republican	**2.10**	1.72	1.89	3.11	1.65
Independent	**2.07**	1.61	1.87	3.29	1.50
None	**2.24**	1.82	2.14	3.38	1.63
Other	**1.69**	1.45	1.54	2.46	1.32
Gender					
Male	**1.83**	1.49	1.66	2.77	1.41
Female	**2.29**	1.78	2.08	3.65	1.64
Other	**2.33**	1.80	1.87	3.67	1.60
Class Standing					
Freshman	**2.10**	1.64	1.93	3.30	1.53
Sophomore	**2.12**	1.72	1.85	3.32	1.59
Junior	**2.22**	1.77	2.07	3.40	1.68
Senior	**2.08**	1.60	1.90	3.34	1.48
Graduate Student	**1.98**	1.61	1.76	3.14	1.41
Other	**1.97**	1.56	1.84	3.16	1.30
Time Spent on Campus					
0-2	**2.14**	1.72	1.98	3.25	1.61
3-4	**2.13**	1.71	1.91	3.36	1.53
5-6	**2.16**	1.70	2.00	3.37	1.59
7+	**2.08**	1.62	1.88	3.29	1.53

The mean ego involvement score for the population was 2.13. Out of the three survey groups, student leaders reported the lowest ego involvement score (1.96) with College of Business students recording the highest (2.22). Political affiliation produced the largest amount of variance between scores with the "Other" category score 1.69 and "None" 2.24. "Republican" (2.10) and "Democrat" (2.13) groups reported very similar ego involvement scores. There was also a large difference between the "Male" (1.83) and "Female" (2.29) groups with the "Female" score averaging 25% higher than the "Male" score. The "Junior" (2.22) group produced the highest ego involvement score for class standing while the lowest score was reported by the "Other" group (1.97). Time spent on campus did not produce significantly different results with just .08 separating all four groups. The results can be found in Table 9.

Table 10

Average size of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, and content-specific attitude score, segmented by survey group, political affiliation, gender, class standing, and time spent on campus

Groups	Acceptance	Non-Commitment	Rejection	Content-Specific Score
Total Group	5.06	0.74	3.20	.359
Survey Groups				
Involved Students	5.15	0.71	3.14	.381
College of Business	4.73	0.86	3.41	.264
Student Leaders	5.09	0.66	2.99	.458
Political Affiliation				
Democrat	5.25	0.53	3.22	.383
Republican	4.72	0.77	3.35	.279
Independent	5.26	0.73	3.01	.445
None	4.70	0.99	3.31	.238
Other	6.16	0.34	2.50	.772
Gender				
Male	5.49	0.80	2.70	.559
Female	4.81	0.72	3.48	.241
Other	5.73	0.33	2.93	.556
Class Standing				
Freshman	5.00	0.68	3.32	.312
Sophomore	5.11	0.81	3.07	.394
Junior	4.87	0.81	3.32	.293
Senior	5.22	0.62	3.15	.412
Graduate Student	5.12	0.87	3.01	.380
Other	5.24	0.78	2.98	.456

An examination of the means of each latitude count when accounting for descriptive variables of the population produces similar results to the findings of ego involvement score when it comes to Gender. The discrepancy between Male and Female remains, with Male

Acceptance size (5.49) almost a full point higher than Female Acceptance (4.81). Political Affiliation did not follow this trend. The difference between Republican (4.72) and Democrat (5.25) scores is almost half a point. As found in the ego involvement examination, "Other" is significantly higher than all other categories (6.16).

The latitude sizes for Non-Commitment were relatively similar, with all groups having scores of less than 1.0.

The latitude of rejection produced similar results to that of acceptance. Female participants found an average of 3.48 situations unacceptable while males found an average of 2.70 situations unacceptable. Political Affiliation again produced varied results, with Democrat (3.22) and Republican (3.35) holding a closer difference than with the latitude of acceptance. Again, "Other" (2.50) produced the most drastic difference between the groups. The mean size of each latitude when accounting for different variables are located in Table 10.

The scores reported for free speech on campus being an important right ($M = 1.68$, $\sigma = .930$), the necessity of free speech being protected ($M = 1.93$, $\sigma = .1.070$), and the importance of exposure to different beliefs and ideas ($M = 1.56$, $\sigma = .856$) all returned similar results. Responses to the statement that free speech on campus should not be regulated produced a markedly contrasting result ($M = 3.33$, $\sigma = 1.756$).

There was a statistically significant difference between political affiliation groups and ego involvement. An analysis of variance showed that the effect of political affiliation on ego involvement was significant, $F (4, 2158) = 5.709$, $p < .000$). The general assumptions were independent samples, normality, and populations having the same variances. Levene's test for Homogeneity of Variance was run for the samples and the null hypothesis of homogeneity of

variances was rejected (p = .004). The null hypothesis that the mean general attitude towards free speech across the different political affiliations is equal is rejected; at least one of the means is different (p = .000). The interaction had an effect size of 0.010. These results are displayed in Table 24 in Appendix M.

A Tukey post hoc test revealed that the interaction of the "Other" category was statistically significant (p < .05) with "Democrat" (-.443, p = .003), "Republican" (-.403, p = .014), "Independent" (-.377, p = .023), and "None" (-.549, p = .000). The interaction between "Democrat" and "Republican" was not statistically significant (.039, p = .955). The full results from the Tukey post hoc test can be found in Table 25 in Appendix M.

The difference in ego involvement scores for "Democrat" and "Republican" was further analyzed with an independent samples t-test. General assumptions were independent samples, normality and populations having the same variances. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated (p = .000) using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. There was not a significant difference in the scores for "Democrat" (M = 2.134, σ = .820) and "Republican" (M = 2.096, σ = .986); t (685.79) = .678, p = .498. The full results are reflected in Table 26 in Appendix M.

The difference in ego involvement scores for "Male" and "Female" was further analyzed with an independent samples t-test. General assumptions were independent samples, normality and populations having the same variances. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated (p = .338) using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances. There was a significant difference in the scores for "Male" (M = 1.833, σ = .843) and "Female" (M = 2.288, σ = .885); t (21.53) = -11.663, p = .000. The full results are reflected in Table 27 in Appendix M. .

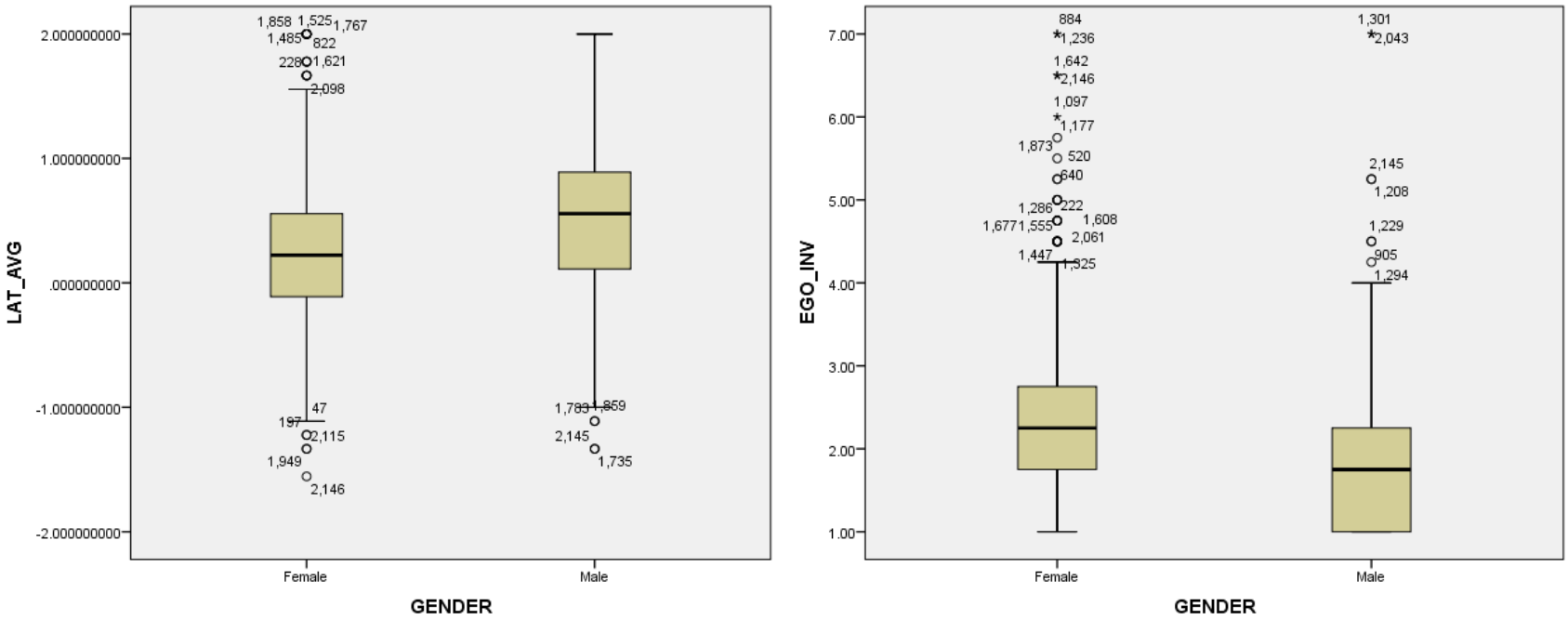


Figure 5. Male and female content-specific attitude scores and ego involvement scores in a boxplot

Additional statistical significance was found between ego involvement score and gender. The ego involvement score for participants identifying as “Female” (2.29) was 25% higher than the score for those identifying as “Male” (1.83). These differences were similar upon examining content-specific attitude scores, with “Male” reporting a score of .241 and “Female” reporting a score of .559. The size of each interquartile range was similar (Male, .606; Female, .667). These results are reflected in Figure 5.

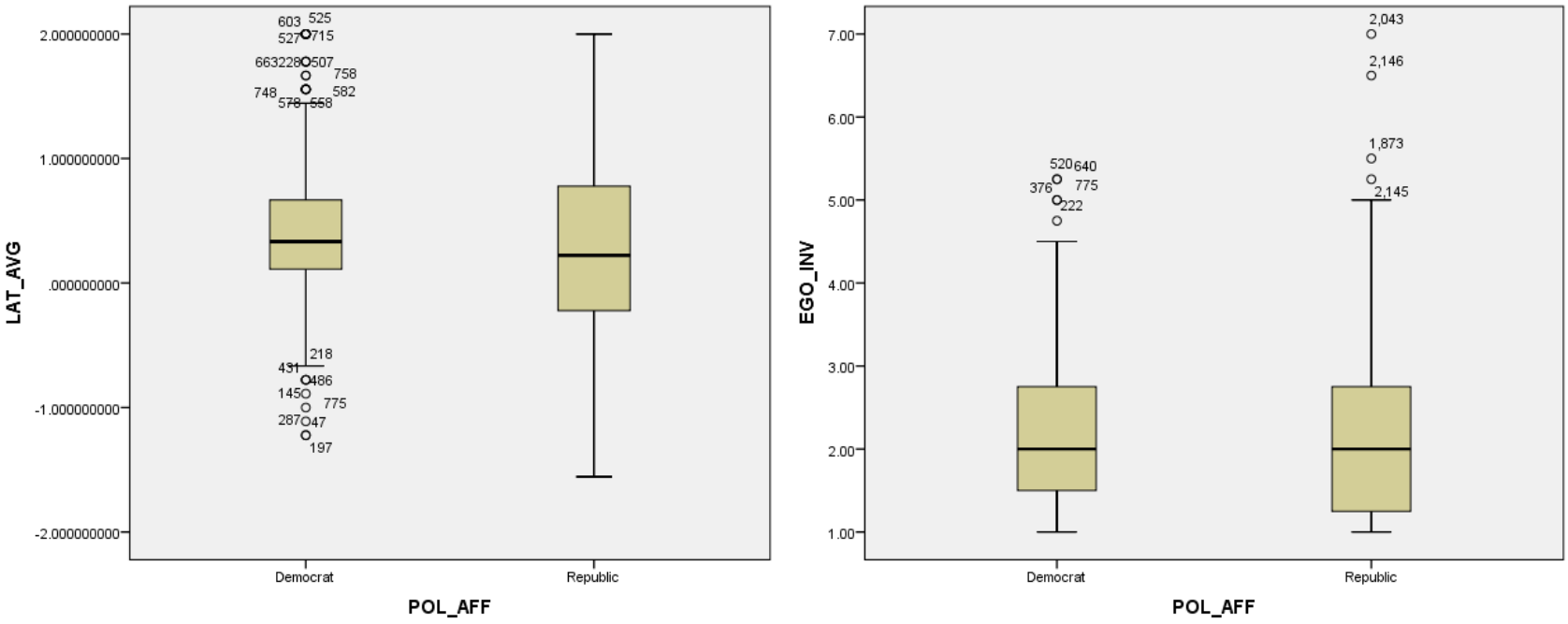


Figure 6. Democrat and Republican content-specific attitude scores and mean ego involvement scores in a boxplot

When the average score of the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection are taken into account "Democrat" produced a mean latitude of acceptance of 5.25 while "Republican" mean of acceptance was significantly lower (4.72). Republican respondents additionally reported higher latitudes of non-commitment (0.77) and rejection (3.35). The latitude of acceptance produced the largest difference between the two groups.

For ego involvement, Republicans and Democrats held similar means and similar standard deviations. The mean content-specific attitude score of Democrats and Republicans produced dissimilar results. While the mean "Democrat" score (.383) and "Republican" score (.279) were fairly similar, the interquartile range was twice the size for Republicans (1.00) as opposed to Democrats (.556). These results are displayed in Figure 6.

There was a statistically significant difference between class standing groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F = 3.327$, $p = .005$). This interaction produced an effect size of .007. A Tukey post hoc test revealed that the statistically significant interactions were only between "Junior" and "Senior" (-.150, $p = .034$) and "Junior" and "Graduate Student." The one-way ANOVA and Tukey post hoc test can be found in Table 28 and Table 29 in Appendix M.

Research Question 2

The second research question explored was "Is there a statistical significance between a student's ego involvement regarding free speech and their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection of specific free speech situations?" To respond to this question, the relationship between ego involvement scores and the width of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection were analyzed. Ego involvement scores represent the average of four attitudinal questions surrounding free speech on campus. The themes of the four questions were

selected through analysis of research and current headlines. An ego involvement score closer to 1 represents a strong belief that free speech is an important right on campus. An ego involvement score closer to 7 represents a strong belief that free speech is not an important right on campus. Latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection are categories selected by participants relating to how acceptable they believe specific examples of free speech to be. An acceptable situation would be placed in the latitude of acceptance, a situation that is neither acceptable nor unacceptable would be placed in the latitude of non-commitment, and a situation which is unacceptable would be placed in the latitude of rejection. Several tests were conducted to explore this outcome including a Pearson two-tailed correlation and a multiple linear regression.

Table 11

Pearson two-tailed results for ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

Latitude	*N*	*Pearson Correlation*	Sig (2-tailed
Acceptance	2,173	-.378**	.000
Non-Commitment	2,173	.074**	.001
Rejection	2,173	.392**	.000

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

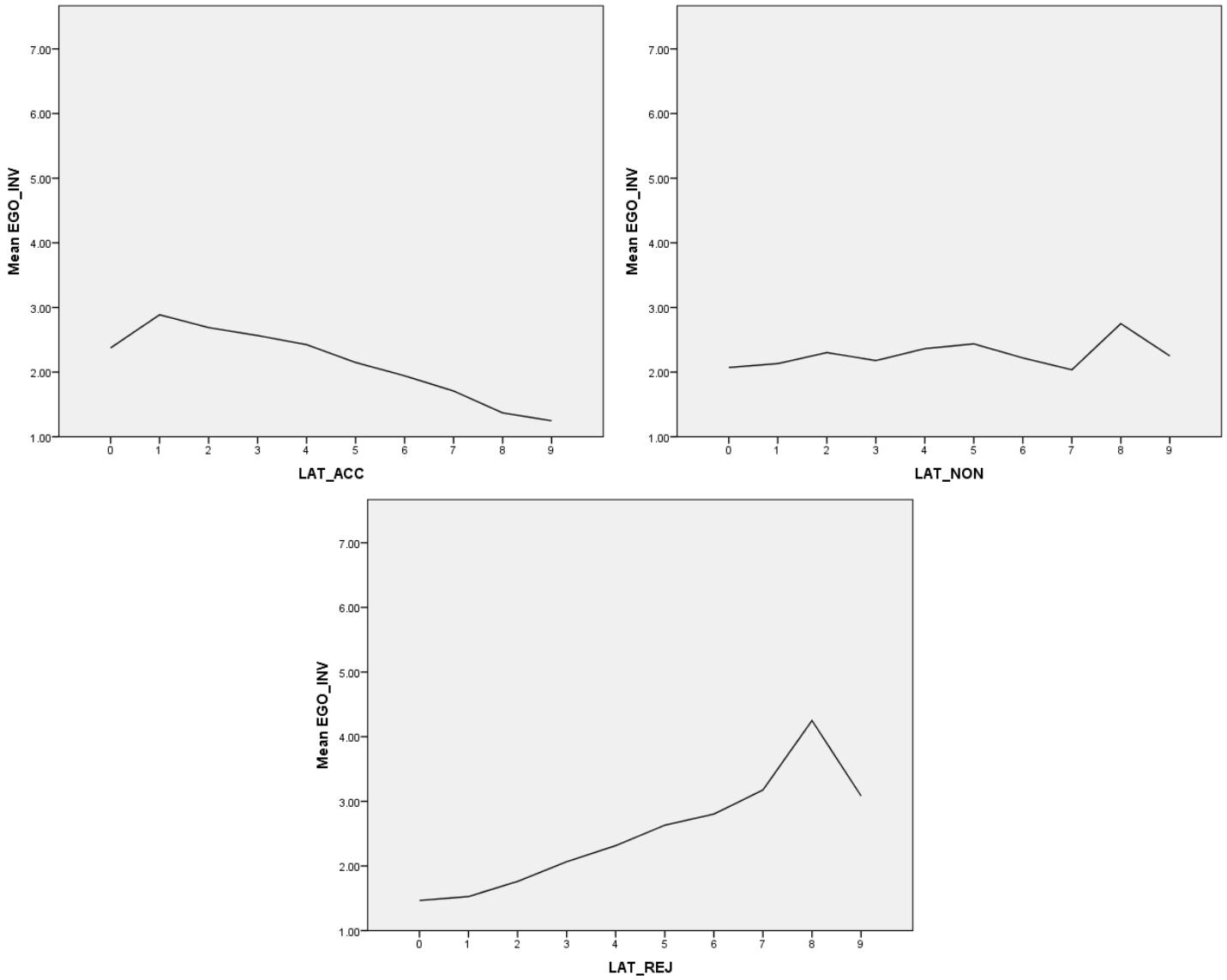


Figure 7. Pearson two-tailed results for ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

All three correlations calculated for ego involvement score and latitude of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection were statistically significant.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between ego involvement score and size of latitude of acceptance. There was a negative correlation between the two variables, r = -.378, n = 2173, p = .000. Overall there was a strong, negative correlation between ego involvement and the size of the latitude of acceptance. Decreases in ego involvement were correlated with increases in size of the latitude of acceptance.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between ego involvement score and size of the latitude of non-commitment. There was a positive correlation between the two variables, r = .074, n = 2173, p = .001. Overall there was a strong correlation between ego involvement and the size of the latitude of non-commitment. Decreases in ego involvement were correlated with little increase or decrease in size of the latitude of non-commitment.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between ego involvement score and size of the latitude of rejection. There was a positive correlation between the two variables, r = .392, n = 2,173, p = .000. Overall there was a strong, positive correlation between ego involvement and the size of the latitude of rejection. Increases in ego involvement were correlated with increases in size of latitude of acceptance. These results are displayed in Table 11 and graphically in Figure 7.

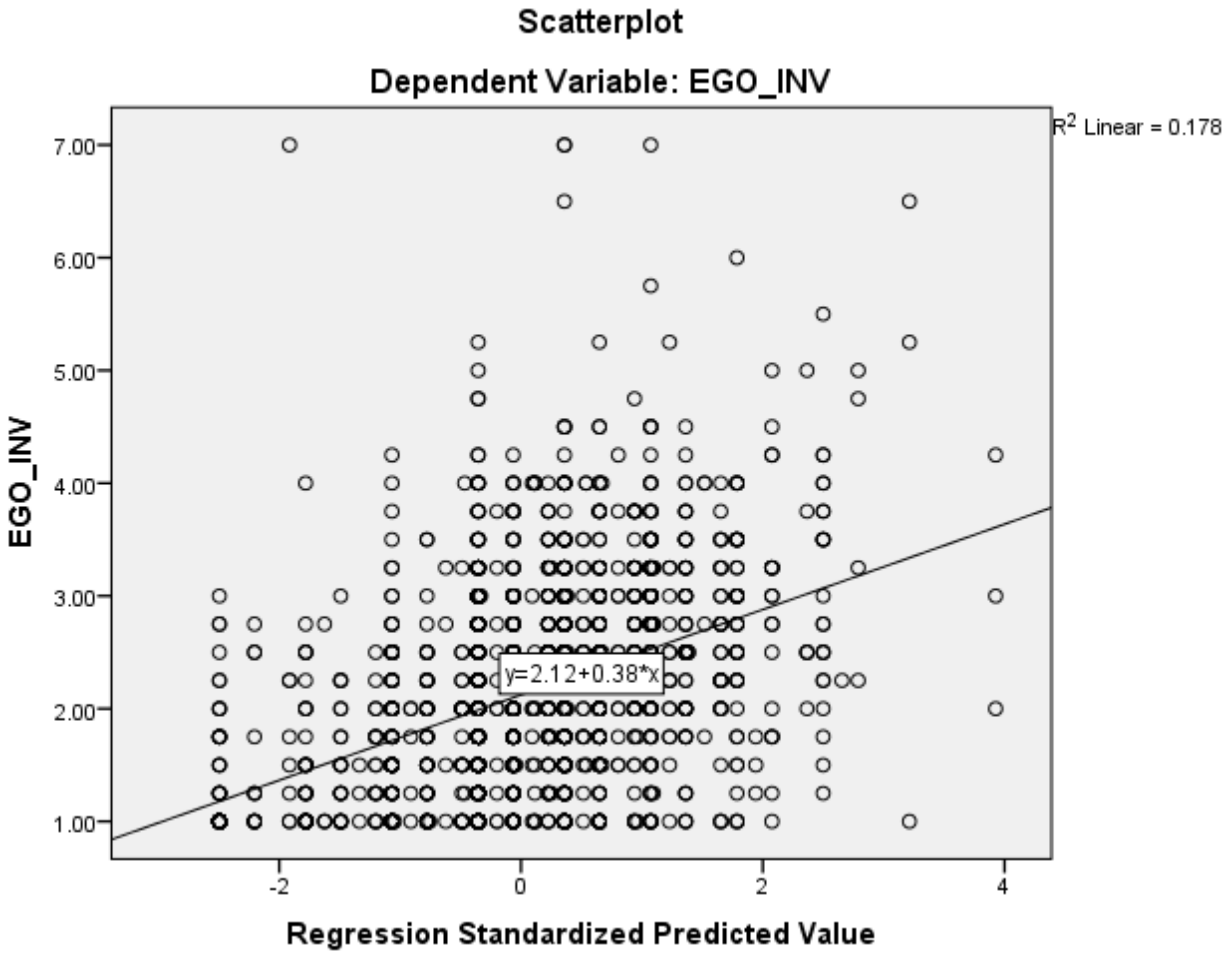


Figure 8. Multiple linear regression results for ego involvement and size of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

A multiple linear regression was used to predict ego involvement score from the size of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. These variables statistically significantly predicted ego involvement score, $F(2169, 2169) = 48.761$, $p < .0001$, $r^2 = .179$. Two of the three variables added statistically significantly ($p < .05$) to the prediction. The results are displayed in Table 30 in Appendix N and Figure 8.

Research Question 3

The third research question explored was "Is there a statistical significance between attitude towards free speech and attitude towards the content of free speech?" To respond to this question, respondent ego involvement score and the mean of all latitudes were analyzed. The mean of all latitudes produced a content-specific attitude score. Ego involvement scores represent the average of four attitudinal questions surrounding free speech on campus. The themes of the four questions were selected through analysis of research and current headlines. An ego involvement score closer to 1 represents a strong belief that free speech is an important right on campus. An ego involvement score closer to 7 represents a strong belief that free speech is not an important right on campus. Content-specific attitude scores represent the mean of the nine questions examining the acceptability of free speech examples occurring on campus. A score of 2 represents a Completely Acceptable score while a score of -2 represents a Completely Unacceptable score. Several tests were conducted to explore this outcome including descriptive statistics and a simple linear regression.

Table 12

Descriptive statistics of ego involvement and latitudes average

Measure	*n*	*M*	σ	σ^2
Ego Involvement	2,172	2.12	.897	.805
Latitudes	2,172	.359	.591	.349

The mean score for ego involvement was $M = 2.12$ while the mean score for average of latitudes was $M = .359$. The results are found in Table 12.

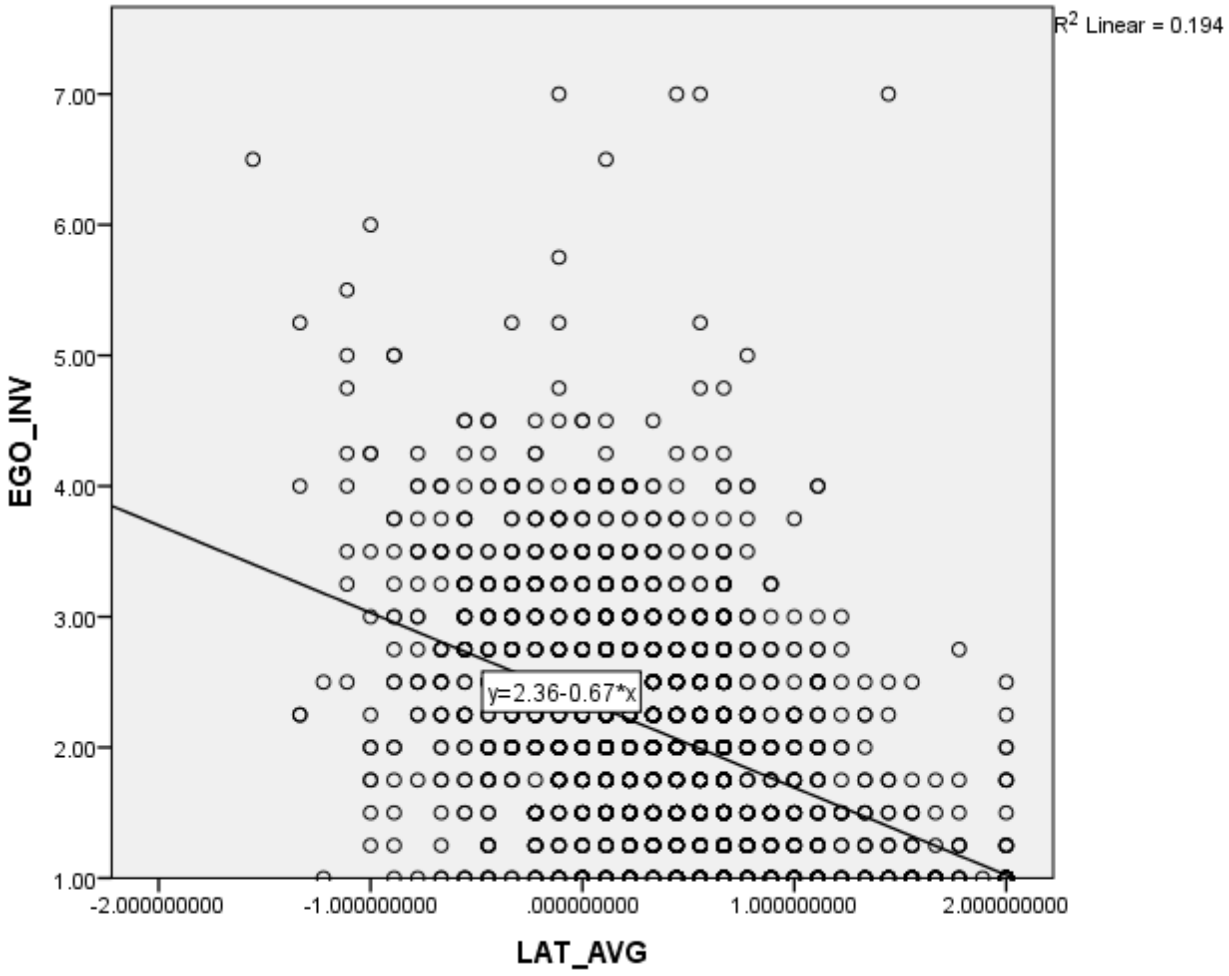


Figure 9. Simple linear regression of ego involvement and average of latitudes

This third research question examines whether the dependent variable in this study, ego involvement, is correlated to the independent variable of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. For this analysis, the average of the responses for the questions regarding general attitudes towards free speech will be the dependent variable and the content-specific attitude score, representing the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment and rejection, will be the independent variable.

A simple linear regression was calculated to predict ego involvement based on content-specific attitude. A statistically significant regression equation was found ($F (1, 2170) = 523.320$, $p < .000$), with an r^2 of .194. The Pearson Correlation Coefficient was $r = -0.44$. Participants' predicted ego involvement is equal to 2.361 + -0.669 (content-specific attitude) score. Ego involvement decreased -0.669 for each change in content-specific attitude score. The results of the analysis are located in Table 31 in Appendix O and the charted regression is located in Figure 9.

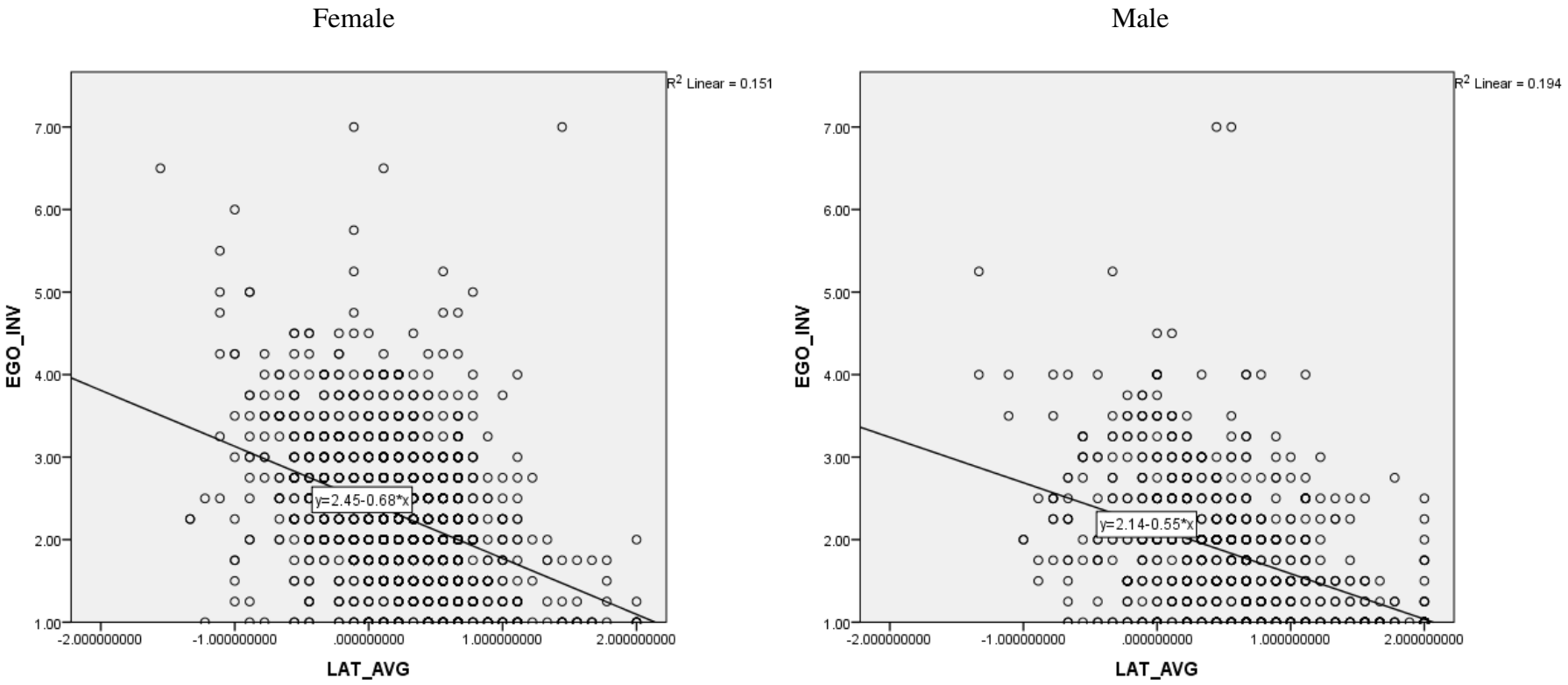


Figure 10. Simple regression for ego involvement and latitude scores, separated by gender

The variations between male and female attitudes towards free speech were discussed during the findings of Research Question 1. The "Female" data set reveals a much thinner tolerance of latitude scores and a higher threshold for ego involvement. The majority of the grouping of the content-specific attitude scores begin around -1.0 and end near 1.0. This 2-point boundary contains a negative trending movement towards a higher ego involvement score with r^2 = .151. The majority of the grouping of respondents from the "Male" group fall from -1.0 to approximately 1.5. This 1.5-point boundary contains a negative trending movement towards a higher ego involvement score with r^2 = .194. These results are displayed in Figure 10.

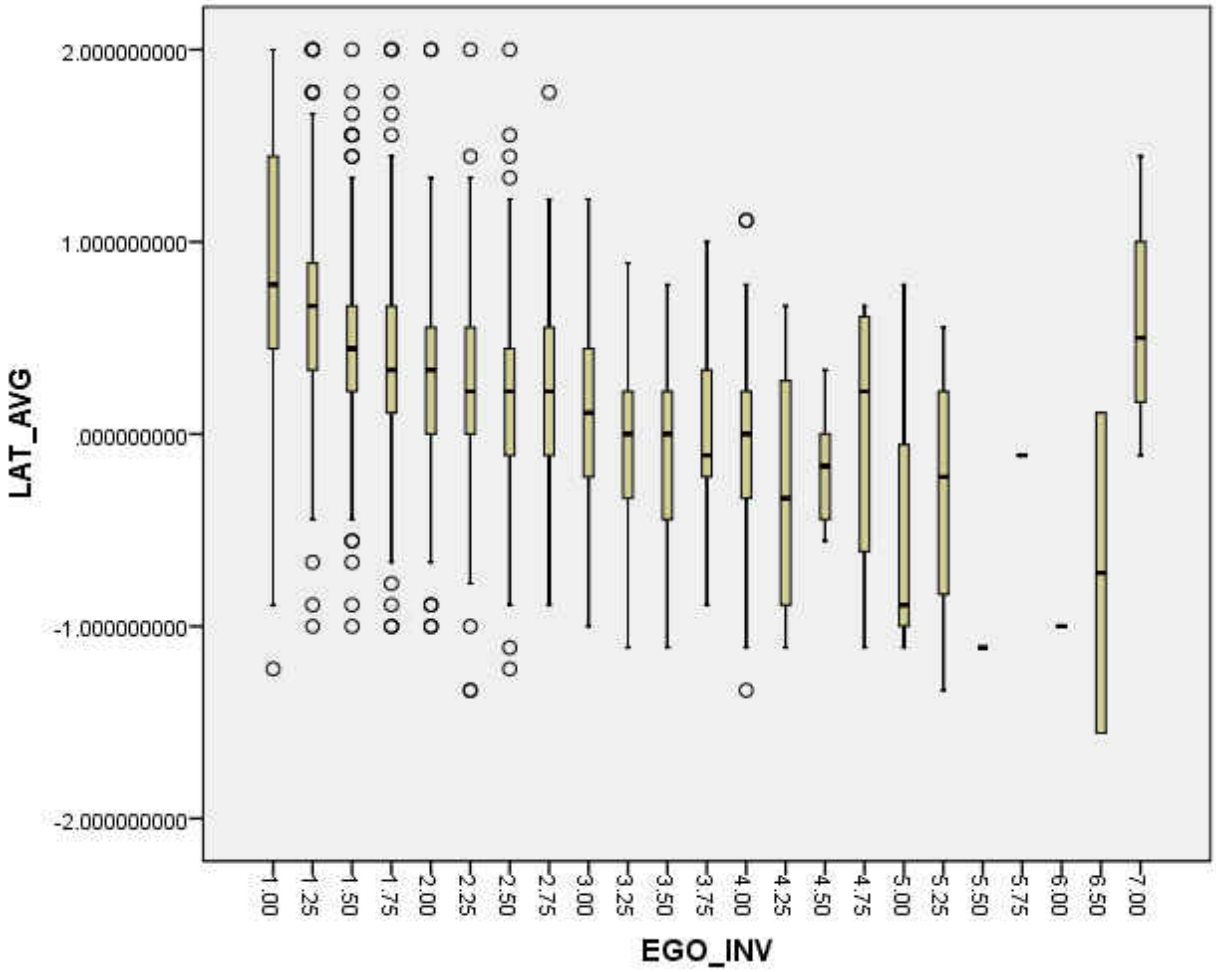


Figure 11. Boxplot of ego involvement and latitude score

Finally, an examination of a boxplot of the interaction between ego involvement and latitude score reveals the disparity between general attitude and attitude towards specific situations. A visual inspection shows a slight negative trend as ego involvement increases. The interquartile range is generally similar, approximately 0.6. An ego involvement score of 1.00 represents the highest ego involvement mean and one of the largest interquartile ranges. After an

ego involvement score of 4.00, the results become relatively inconsistent, both when accounting for mean and interquartile range.

Summary

This chapter detailed the research methodology and demographic data for the participants including response rates along with the results of the statistical tests conducted on participants' ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. To evaluate the general attitudes of students towards the importance of free speech on campus, the ego involvement score and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection were analyzed generally and also while accounting for several demographic variables though one-way analysis of variances and two-sample t-tests. To evaluate the relationship between ego involvement and the sizes of participants' latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, two-sample t-tests and a multiple linear regression were calculated. To evaluate the relationship between ego involvement and content-specific attitude, a simple linear regression was completed. The discussion, recommendations, and conclusions based on these analyses are provided in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, & CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to add to the limited body of literature surrounding student attitudes towards free speech and expression. While the topic of free speech on college campuses has been previously investigated (McAdams & Beasley, 1998; Cowan, et al., 2002; Lopez, et al., 2009; Rhodes, 2014), few have focused on student attitudes towards this First Amendment right. More so, research has not yet been conducted to explore how student attitudes towards free speech and expression are affected by perceived acceptability of specific speech situations. The research completed in this study will hopefully lead to more successful methods for administrators working with students exposed to free speech and could also dispel some of the notions that college students do not fully support free speech on campus (Cole, 2016).

This chapter discusses the results of the data analysis and findings of the research questions. The results of this study will be extrapolated to its implications for practice and policy, as well as the limitations and delimitations of the study. Given that the study produced statistically significant findings, opportunities generated for future research will be discussed. This chapter closes with concluding remarks.

Discussion

The subheadings that follow include a discussion of the support from the literature of Social Judgment Theory and its application to measure attitudes towards free speech on campus.

This section will also examine the results from Chapter 4 and how they support each of the three research questions that guided this study.

Social Judgment Theory

The utilization of Social Judgment Theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961) enabled the researcher to examine student attitudes towards free speech on campus while also considering how those attitudes might be affected by perceived acceptability of specific situations of speech. This study served to explain how an individual evaluates an idea by comparing it with a current attitude. According to SJT, opinions are not affected solely through the strength of an external influence; there are a number of internal influences that also steer the belief formation.

In the criticism of the Thurstone scale of measurement, Sherif and Hovland (1961) noted that even though some subjects may have the exact same attitude towards an issue, it doesn't necessarily mean that their tolerance to other viewpoints are the same. Attitudes are affected by an individual's degree of tolerance as well as personal belief (Chau, et al., 2014). Because of this, it is shortsighted to simply measure attitude as a single idea because it assumes that an individual is fully aware of their mental states and opinions (Wegener, et al., 2001). This notion was displayed in the disparity between ego involvement and content-specific attitude scores in Research Question 3. An examination of Figure 11 reveals that each ego involvement mean had a relatively wide interquartile range of content-specific attitude scores – an average of 0.63. These results show that while students may have certain attitudes towards the general concept of free speech, that doesn't necessarily represent their entire attitude on the subject.

Social Judgment Theory has not been previously utilized in the study of student attitudes towards free speech, therefore, a new instrument was created. In order to successfully measure

student ego involvement of the general concept of free speech on campus, a text analysis of both current events and academic journal articles was completed to identify the most common themes in the conversation around free speech on campus. The four themes were: Importance of Free Speech, Protection of Free Speech, Regulation of Free Speech, and Importance of Exposure to Ideas and Beliefs. To measure student latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection, a spectrum of free speech examples was created based on severity of the speech used. These nine final situations were then presented to students for their consideration.

Social Judgment Theory served as an ideal theoretical framework for this research as it allowed for the researcher to examine two separate aspects regarding student attitudes towards free speech. Providing a measure for both general attitudes and situation-specific attitudes led to some statistically significant results that helped illustrate the dissonance that is generated through conversations involving free speech.

The validity and reliability of the created instrument is addressed below in Data Collection Instrument.

Research Question 1

The first research question explored was "How strongly do students believe that free speech is an important right on campus?" This belief was measured through Social Judgment Theory's ego involvement score and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. The results showed that students generally believe that free speech is an important right on campus, reporting a mean ego involvement score of 2.12. When relating this back to the nominal indicators provided with the survey, this score most closely represents an attitude of "Agree."

Questions regarding three of the four themes of free speech scored similarly. Respondents indicated strongly that they believed free speech was an important right (M = 1.68), should be protected (M = 1.93), and that the exposure to different ideas and beliefs is important (M = 1.56). The final theme, whether free speech should be regulated, scored significantly higher than the other themes (M = 3.33). An examination of this theme will follow.

An analysis of demographic variables and their interaction with ego involvement produced several statistically significant findings, particularly the variables of Gender and Political Affiliation.

While the upcoming discussion regarding the statistical significance of some of these results may seem particularly revealing of student attitudes swinging somewhat against free speech, this is not necessarily the case. It is important to note that even the highest ego involvement score across any group (Females, 2.29) still represented an overwhelmingly strong attitude towards the importance of free speech on campus. In fact, a revisiting of the nominal categories in the Likert scale reveals that 2.29 falls in between an attitude of 'Agree' and 'Somewhat Agree.'

Political Affiliation and Attitude Towards Free Speech

The variable of political affiliation produced a statistically significant interaction with ego involvement scores, but it only involved the "Other" category. The "Other" category represented the lowest mean of all variables (M = 1.69). Half of those responding "Other," listed Libertarian, which may explain the lower mean and interaction.

Free Speech as a Bipartisan Issue

The more impactful finding in this area was the lack of statistical significance between attitudes towards free speech and the variables of "Republican" and "Democrat." An examination of recent research and opinion finds titles and headlines like "Illinois college Republicans say free speech is limited to '0.0013 percent' of campus" (Moyer, 2017), "Older people and Republicans, threatening free speech" (Rampell, 2017), and "Wisconsin Assembly passes campus free speech bill with total opposition from Democrats" (Zaluska, 2017). By considering the current political climate, one could deduce that free speech on campus is a partisan issue. This study found exactly the opposite.

The difference between ego involvement scores of Democrats (2.13) and Republicans (2.10) was not statistically significant in the initial testing. To further explore these results, an additional statistical test was computed and produced a similar result. These findings are in direct contrast with the notion that one political party feels that free speech is more important that the other. When latitude sizes are considered, results are even more contrasting from the general narrative. "Democrat" produced a mean latitude of acceptance size of 5.25 while "Republican" mean of latitude of acceptance size was pointedly lower (4.72). Republican respondents also reported higher mean latitude scores of non-commitment (0.77) and rejection (3.35). However, the latitude of acceptance produced the largest difference between the two groups.

In regards to ego involvement, Republicans and Democrats held similar means and similar standard deviations. This was not the case for the content-specific attitude score of Democrats and Republicans. While the mean "Democrat" score (.383) and "Republican" score (.279) were fairly similar, the interquartile range was twice the size for Republicans (1.00) as

opposed to Democrats (.556). These results show that Republican participants hold much more varied attitudes towards the acceptability of specific examples of speech as opposed to Democrats. These results are displayed in Figure 6.

Attitudes Towards Free Speech for Males and Females

Additional statistical significance was found between ego involvement score and gender. The ego involvement score for participants identifying as "Female" (2.29) was 25% higher than the score for those identifying as "Male" (1.83). These differences were similar upon examining content-specific attitude scores, with "Male" reporting a score of .241 and "Female" reporting a score of .559. The size of each interquartile range was similar (Male, .606; Female, .667).

These results are reflected in Figure 5 and are counter to the findings of the previous section which found little difference between "Democrat" and "Republican" ego involvement, but significantly different interquartile ranges.

These results match findings from previous studies (Wyatt, 1993; McAdams & Beasley, 1998). Wyatt's (1993) national survey of more than 2,500 participants found that women were more likely to desire limits to free speech of both their own and others. Replicating the study, McAdams and Beasley (1998) found similar results with University of Maryland journalism students: females believe at a higher rate that freedom of expression "can be used to harm them or others" (p. 101). A study concerning attitudes towards pornography and hate speech also found that gender "retain[s] predictive power" when it comes to the acceptability of restrictions (Lambe, 2004, p. 296). Gallup's 2016 study on student attitudes towards free speech also similarly found that female students were more willing to forgo free speech rights in the interest of less hate speech.

Attitudes Towards Limiting Free Speech on Campus

While responses to the ego involvement sub-question "Free speech on campus should not be regulated" were 94% higher than the results of the other three questions regarding general attitudes towards free speech, they still fall well within the pro-speech range of responses. However, this mean does fall closer to the choice of "Neither Agree nor Disagree" which shows students are more open to the concept of limiting some speech on campus. As displayed in the latitudes of rejection, this was validated by a majority of students indicating that they did not believe that the following situations were acceptable on campus:

1. A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants (78.4%);
2. A preacher calls female students 'sluts' for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are 'going to hell' (82.9%); and,
3. A protesting group of white students calls a black student the 'n-word' and tells them to 'go back to Africa' (89.3%).

These three instances were also marked as the three most extreme uses of speech in Part One of the study (6.92, 7.46, and 8.26 respectively).

Results from this study show that students are strongly in favor of limiting some forms of speech on campus. Post (1990) argues that hate speech is used to culturally repress minorities and these three situations could all be construed as doing just that. By that logic, it would be understandable that students would not want to be exposed to such speech. Conversely, Calvert and Richards (2005) argue that speech deemed unacceptable or extreme is the precise language

to which students should be exposed. It is impossible to develop critical thinkers and champions for diversity if students are not first exposed to all viewpoints and given the opportunity to consider them. These findings are also in contrast with Cowan, et al. (2002) who found that students found freedom of speech to be more important than equality.

Golding (2000) warns that limiting speech by targeting racist words, epithets, and slurs leads us down a slippery slope that forces institutions to abandon a viewpoint-neutral stance. He argues that once a claim is found to be substantial, other groups will argue that their experiences with racism are just as impactful and damaging. This will lead to challenges when faced with having to punish those for using speech that is prohibited. Contrastingly, Corbin (2009) argues that these restrictions are essential as a means to protect "equality rather than liberty" (p. 955).

Correlation of Attitudes with Severity of Situation

The mean score of acceptability of each situation scored in Part Two almost identically mirrored the scores for which the pilot group ranked the perceived severity of speech in Part One. The two categories showed a statistically significant Pearson two-tailed correlation ($p < .000$) of .968. The results of this correlation are displayed in Figure 4.

Gallup (2016) found similar results in its survey. According to the study, students are able to distinguish controversial views from hate but believe that colleges should be able to restrict language and behavior that is "intentionally offensive to certain groups, but not the expression of political views that may upset or offend members of certain groups" (p. 4). The challenge is that all situations presented in the study are constitutionally protected.

Placement in Latitude of Non-Commitment a Rarity

Only one event – a student pouring fake blood on themselves in protest of a war – was initially placed in the latitude of non-commitment based on mean score. In fact, latitude of non-commitment was only selected at a rate of 16.4% for the fake blood scenario, 14.1% for the kneeling scenario, and 12.2% for the collecting signatures to impeach an elected official scenario. Those three situations represent the most selected occurrences for the latitude of non-commitment. Not one situation received a majority of selections in the latitude of non-commitment.

The fact that the latitude of non-commitment was rarely selected by participants shows the polarizing nature of free speech events. Participants clearly believe that events are either acceptable or unacceptable – there is no room for uncertainty.

Research Question 2

The second research question explored was "Is there a statistical significance between a student's ego involvement regarding free speech and their latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection of specific free speech situations?" To respond to this question, the relationship between ego involvement scores and the size of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection was analyzed through a multiple linear regression and correlation analyses.

All three latitude sizes were statistically significant when accounting for ego involvement scores. The latitude of acceptance presented as an inverse to the latitude of rejection, which was expected. Sherif and Hovland (1961) found that participants who reported higher ego-involved scores had a much smaller latitude of acceptance and a far more extensive latitude of rejection.

Those that had strong negative opinions are much more likely to reject those viewpoints that are not very similar to theirs – a large latitude of rejection – and will also likely have few neutral opinions towards a view – a narrow latitude of non-commitment. There will be few views with which the judger will agree – a narrow latitude of acceptance.

In this study, as ego involvement leans more heavily towards free speech, the latitude of acceptance should grow. As ego involvement leans more heavily against free speech, the latitude of rejection should also increase – both of these phenomena occurred. The latitude of non-commitment was fairly consistent in size, this was due to the limited selection of this option by participants. As previously noted, this lack of selection is very telling of the current climate of free speech.

A multiple linear regression comparing ego involvement to the size of latitudes found a statistically significant relationship between the variables. The results show that attitude towards free speech is affected by the size of latitudes. During the test, the latitude of rejection was removed from the model due to a low tolerance score. The latitude of rejection is included in Research Question 3.

Research Question 3

The third research question explored was "Is there a statistical significance between attitude towards free speech and attitude towards the content of free speech?" To respond to this question, respondent ego involvement and content-specific attitude scores were analyzed through a simple linear regression analysis.

The statistically significant regression measuring ego involvement score and content-specific attitude score further supports the notion that even those with strong beliefs towards the

importance of free speech still find some protected examples of speech unacceptable. The negative correlation is expected as respondents who indicated they were more supportive of free speech situations generally also reported a stronger belief towards the importance of free speech.

The entirety of the line of best fit ($r^2 = .194$) in the regression analysis falls below an ego involvement score of 4.0, representing an attitude of "Neither Agree Nor Disagree." This explains the flatter r^2 score, as student ego involvement rarely was in an anti-free speech position. Therefore, we can assume that even if a student holds an extremely negative position towards the free speech situations presented – placing many of them in their latitude of rejection – they will still have an ego involvement score that reflects a pro-free speech attitude. If attitude towards free speech and attitude towards acceptability of examples of free speech were synonymous, the line of best fit would be much closer to $r^2 = 1.0$, as opposed to the result of $r^2 = .194$. This again shows that the participants of this study do not view the theoretical application of free speech and the practice of free speech as congruent concepts.

The difference between the Gender and Political Affiliation variables also provided some varied results for the statistical test. Regressions for solely "Republican" and solely "Democrat" scores returned similar results to other tests – there is little difference between "Democrat" and "Republican" attitudes. The regressions for Male and Female produced visibly different results.

Female and Male Tolerance Towards Free Speech Situations

The variations between male and female attitudes towards free speech were discussed during the findings of Research Question 1. This regression provides more insight into the disparity between the two groups. The "Female" data set reveals a much thinner tolerance of latitude scores and a higher threshold for ego involvement. The majority of the grouping of the

content-specific attitude scores begin near a score of -1.0 and end near 1.0. This 2-point boundary contains a negative trending movement towards a higher ego involvement score. While this defined group shows less of an affinity towards free speech, it also shows consistency within the latitude scores. While the "Female" ego involvements scores were very varied, the content-specific attitude scores were far more contained. The "Female" group participants both consistently and similarly selected what they believed was acceptable and what they thought was unacceptable.

The "Male" group presents a different, and far more varied story. While the group may present as holding much stronger pro-free speech positions through ego involvement scores, its content-specific attitude score was far more wide-ranging than the female population. The majority of the grouping of respondents from the "Male" group fall from -1.0 to approximately 1.5 – a more diverse grouping than that of the "Female" group. With such universally strong ego involvement scores from the male population, it would be understandable to expect a far narrower and positive-leaning grouping of content-specific attitude scores. These results are displayed in Figure 10.

Implications and Recommendations

The following section discusses implications and recommendations for administrators and faculty as they work with students and non-community members exercising their speech and assembly rights. Additionally, the section addresses working with those who are exposed to speech which may be viewed as unacceptable. There is also a discussion pertaining to implications and recommendations for students.

Guidance for Administrators and Faculty

The results of this study show that we may be having the wrong conversations about free speech on campus. In near unanimous fashion, students indicated that free speech is important. In response to questions regarding the spirit of free speech, 95.3% of respondents indicated that they at least somewhat agreed that free speech was an important right on campus, 92.5% reported that they believe free speech needs to be protected, and 96.8% of students believe that being exposed to different ideas and values is important. The question as to whether or not students think free speech is important does not seem to be the right one.

Perhaps the most important takeaway from this study is that there appears to be dissonance between the legal definition of free speech and what college students believe free speech should represent. Hypothetically, someone indicating a very strong ego involvement towards free speech should present a latitude profile with all situations falling within either acceptance or non-commitment. This was not the case in this study. Although students reported very strong ego involvement scores towards free speech, three situations were almost universally rejected and labeled as unacceptable. If students did not present such high ego involvement scores towards the importance of free speech, then it would have been understandable to see one-third of the free speech situations rejected. If this dissonance truly exists between the legal interpretation of free speech and student perception of free speech, administrators must work tirelessly on educating students on exactly what the United States government views as free speech.

The statistically significant difference between male and female attitudes towards free speech also presents a challenging situation for administrators on campuses across the country.

Universal educational measures regarding free speech must bridge the gap between male and female attitudes. Furthermore, more male students may experience an internal struggle between their beliefs about free speech and their discomfort with certain exposures to free speech.

As mentioned previously, there is little, if any, research currently published regarding student attitude towards free speech when accounting for political affiliation. Given the challenging and hyper-politicized environment our students often find themselves surrounded in, when questions of free speech arise, it would serve administrators well to work with students to increase awareness of the similarities they share with fellow classmates.

From a university-level standpoint, knowing student attitudes towards certain types of speech can also help institutions craft messaging to assure the student body of its support. Institutions will be far more successful in creating meaningful change by condemning speech as opposed to restricting it (O'Neil, 2004). Trustees and senior administrators should be on the front lines of condemning racist speech and incidents, which should leave no doubt that such expression does not align with an institutions values. In order to battle hate speech on campus, "universities should approach racism, homophobia, sexism, and the anti-Semitism through what they do best – education" (O'Neil, 2004, p. 25). This is the moral responsibility of departments, and institutions as a whole, to make strong statements regarding the expectation of respect on campus. Anything less is a failure of a campus' duty to create a healthy environment (Gill, 1991). Institutions must confront difficult speech on campus by publicly masking its disdain through full-throated support.

Guidance for Students

The results of this study provided helpful information for students as well. While the political argument continues as to whether or not students believe free speech is important on campus, students can move forward knowing that they generally have a strong belief that free speech is important. Certainly, the challenge will now be articulating why a student can have a belief that free speech is important but also feel that some speech is unacceptable on campus. If students truly believe that some speech does not belong on campus, they need to work together to appeal to university administrators, local, state, and national lawmakers and representatives. If this current generation of students deems that the First Amendment in its current practice is not conducive with the collegiate atmosphere, then they should take steps to remedy the situation. It is far from an easy battle but strength in numbers is a good start.

Findings of this study also showed that most students hold very similar views towards free speech on campus. Papandrea (2017) suggests that students should work together and find others who have similar beliefs and backgrounds in order to combat offensive speech. This furthers Broadhead's (2004) advice that students should take advantage of differing views and confront them head-on. The ability to disagree and resolve conflict is an extremely important part of development in college. Students have these opportunities, they must first look past the superficial differences that separate them.

Data Collection Instrument

In the practice of ensuring the utmost of reliability for an instrument, researchers must remove items which negatively impact the instrument's reliability score (Cortina, 1993). In the

case of the instrument measuring ego involvement, it might have been prudent to remove an item that produced a score so markedly different from the other items that it negatively impacted the instrument reliability. As reported in Chapter 4, the final Chronbach's Alpha score for this instrument was .731. Removing the question concerning the regulation of free speech would have increased the Chronbach's Alpha score to .799. However, the increase in the reliability of the instrument would have resulted in a decline in its validity. The regulation of free speech on campus is particularly present in research and current events, and should be solidified as a crucial aspect of the discussion. The differing in scores shows that free speech is not simply a dualistic issue – a point that is often lost in the discourse around the topic.

Validity of the instrument was also considered. An examination of results of free speech studies returned similar results to that of this instrument. Responses to questions designed to measure ego involvement similarly resembled those in Gallup's (2016) recent study. Additionally, Wyatt (1993) and McAdams and Beasley (1998) returned similar results when accounting for the interaction of free speech attitudes with certain variables.

An examination of the instrument after its deployment revealed several points of concern and inaccuracies. The question asking students to utilize a slider to reflect their political ideology could not be created without assigning a numeric value to the slider. There was a worry that assigning Liberal or Conservative a value of 1 and the opposite ideology a greater number that may have created a perception of bias. The researcher chose to assign a numeric value of 100 for Liberal, 150 for Moderate, and 200 Conservative in the hopes that a slightly larger number might remove any semblance of bias. Additionally, these results did not produce variation from political affiliation for students identifying as "Democrat" or "Republican."

There was a grammatical error in the latitude section of the instrument. The situation presented to students was “A student pours a bucket of fake blood themselves to protest the war on Palestine.” This should have read “A student pours a bucket of fake blood *on* themselves to protest the war on Palestine.” It is assumed that this did not cause any issues with the comprehension or intent of the question.

Limitations

The limitations of this research study include the following:

1. Due to the self-reporting nature of the survey instrument, it was not possible to ensure authenticity of the respondents.
2. There have been no previous studies using Social Judgment Theory to examine student attitudes towards free speech on campus. Therefore, a new instrument was created.
3. Students who have a strong opinion regarding free speech may have felt more inclined to participate, while those who do not hold a strong opinion may have felt less compelled to do so.
4. Some students completing the survey may never have been exposed to the specific types of speech referenced in the survey.
5. During the period of the survey, one of the more antagonistic and visually controversial anti-abortion groups protested on the host campus. Students responding to the survey immediately after crossing paths with the group may show a slight recency bias.

Delimitations

The delimitations of this research study include the following:

1. This study was limited to students at a single institution who participated in an event hosted by the university's student involvement office, were enrolled in a certain set of College of Business courses, and students holding a leadership position with a registered student organization. This is a limited sample and may not be fully representative of campus. Additionally, surveying students at just one institution does not provide the ability to extrapolate the results beyond the single institution.
2. The study used a single theoretical framework.
3. The study instrument included closed-ended Likert scale items as opposed to open-ended questions.
4. The study used a relatively small sample size for the pilot study which was used to create the spectrum of latitudes of free speech situations.
5. Once the number of respondents reached the required number set forth in the proposal, the researcher chose to analyze those respondents and did not analyze the entire data set.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the limitations and delimitations of this study, the researcher makes several recommendations for future research. Some of the most statistically significant findings of this research came from analyzing the interaction between free speech attitudes and population variables. Gallup (2016) found that race is "significantly related to perceptions concerning freedom of assembly" (p. 3). This finding deserves further research and should be examined in today's political climate. The same sentiment applies to free speech and gender – as discussed earlier, this study's findings are consistent with others and should be further examined. This

consideration of variables was particularly insightful when examining how political affiliation interacted with ego involvement. Current discussions regarding free speech on campus have drawn clear lines between Democrats and Republicans. The findings of this research are not consistent with those notions.

This study also examined how acceptable respondents found certain examples of free speech to be. It did not take into account respondents' personal biases towards each situation. For example, if a student feels strongly towards a specific side of abortion rights, would their answer towards the acceptability of graphic images of abortions depend on that belief? Research should be conducted to explore whether personal beliefs trump attitudes towards free speech. Additionally, this research could be conducted using visual examples of speech as opposed to written examples to explore whether attitudes change as a result.

From a both a legal and cultural standpoint, the United States is home to some of the most open dialogues of free speech and expression (Yang & Wang, 2016). It may be prevalent to duplicate the study internationally to observe if countries holding more restrictive views towards free speech impact student attitudes.

Given the near-universally positive ego involvement scores towards the importance of free speech, a conversation should be generated regarding what free speech actually means to college students. While students showed strong support towards free speech, they indicated the belief that certain constitutionally protected uses of free speech were unacceptable. The dissonance between these two topics needs to be further addressed. Do student understandings of free speech need to be more informed or do some of these instances not deserve First Amendment protection?

This study also did not consider administrative and faculty attitudes towards free speech on campus. Given that these groups of educators are the enforcers of policies on campus, it would be useful to better understand their beliefs towards them. Leffers (2000) examined student affairs practitioners' familiarity of First Amendment law at their institutions and those results could be expanded to measure attitudes towards the policies.

Finally, this study concerned student attitudes towards free speech. By using a quantitative method, it ironically did not allow students to use their own voices outside of indicating their opinions through numbers. While quantitative data produces findings that may more effectively facilitate policy creation, it does not allow for opinions to be easily shared. The use of a mixed methods approach is recommended for future studies to allow for a better understanding of student attitudes.

Conclusions

The topic of free speech in higher education has made its way to the forefront of many national conversations. The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (2018) targeted free speech as its ninth most pressing state policy issue for 2018. The report outlines efforts by conservative lawmakers to create legislation that protects free speech on campus. In 2017, 22 states introduced legislation to address topics including the overreach of free assembly areas and prescribing sanctions to students who disrupt speakers. Conversely, the increase of instances of hate speech and rallies against inclusivity have led many groups to call for the limiting of speech rights on campus (Hauslohner & Svrluga, 2017).

Debates concerning free speech on campus inevitably become paradoxical: allowing for the unfettered expression of all while also creating an environment that is conducive to learning. Arguments for unfettered free speech on campus range from the desire to ensure the scholarly pursuit of knowledge (O'Neil, 1997) to the need to expose students to as many differing viewpoints as possible (Broadhead, 2004). Advocates believe it is imperative that college-educated members of society have the ability to think critically, a skill that cannot be gained without exposure to different views (Calvert & Richards, 2005). Free speech on campus is such a necessity that "society must be prepared to pay what may at times seem an exorbitant price by tolerating such extreme and provocative views" (O'Neil, 1997, p. xi).

In contrast, compelling arguments can be made that unlimited free speech on campus, particularly the normalizing of hate speech, serves as a tool to exclude and deprive minorities of their fair access to higher education (Downey & Stage, 1999; Post, 1987, 1991; Delgado & Yun, 1994; Lawrence, 1990). This notion of oppression through speech is rooted in the concept that hateful speech not only offends, but also encourages cultural repression (Lawrence, 1990). When hate speech is used to target minorities, it serves the purpose of "lock[ing] in the oppression of already marginalized students" (Post, 1991, p. 273). Critics believe that educational institutions have an obligation to ensure that all students can "earn an education without being marginalized" (Downey & Stage, 1999, p. 6). Additionally, Travis and Scott (2017) implore that institutions have the "obligation to help all students learn and maintain…respect for others if a civilized society is to endure" (p. 296).

The purpose of this study was to build upon the limited research surrounding student attitudes towards free speech on campus, particularly focusing on the acceptability of certain

protected examples of speech. The study utilized the theoretical framework of Social Judgment Theory to measure students' ego involvement and latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. Student ego involvement represented general attitude towards free speech and the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection represented their opinions towards how acceptable they found specific examples of constitutionally protected speech. The study analyzed student attitudes at a large, public institution.

The results revealed that while students expressed a strong belief in the importance of free speech, they found some constitutionally protected instances of speech unacceptable for campus. Specifically, the use of racist and ethnic slurs, personal attacks and homophobia, and the targeting of undocumented immigrants were all placed in many respondents' latitude of rejection. The interaction between participants' ego involvement and latitudes was statistically significant – as ego involvement became stronger, latitudes of acceptance grew larger and rejection shrunk. The study also found that when it comes to the acceptability of speech, there are mostly decisive answers. Participants rarely placed speech items in their latitude of non-commitment, instead opting for absolutes.

While free speech has polarized the nation at a partisan level, this study found that attitude towards free speech is very much a bipartisan issue. Students identifying as "Republican" and "Democrat" scored an almost identical ego involvement score and there was no statistical significance between the interaction of ego involvement and political affiliation. Furthermore, and perhaps surprisingly, Republican respondents held a lower content-specific attitude score and labeled events as unacceptable at a higher rate than their Democrat classmates. The study also found that Female positive attitude towards free speech is approximately 25%

lower than their Male counterparts. Female ego involvement scores were significantly higher than Male scores and their content-specific attitude scores were also significantly lower.

As a result, recommendations included advice for administrators to work closely with students on the history and allowances of free speech under the First Amendment. This should be done with particular emphasis on hate speech and the challenges that come with being exposed to such sentiments. Furthermore, the divide between republican- and democrat-leaning student groups seems to be misconstrued as it pertains to free speech. The more opportunities students on opposite ends of the political spectrum are given to recognize that they hold similar social views around the topic of free speech, the better.

While this study answered several key questions about free speech on campus, it leaves many more. Due to the overarching findings of this study, the main question moving forward must be: do students possess a warped view of what free speech actually means or are the current protections afforded under the First Amendment no longer compatible with a suitable learning environment? Additionally, does political affiliation play a large role in attitude towards free speech, particularly with a focus on specific instances of speech? Why do females report particularly lower scores towards the importance of free speech than their male counterparts? Does race or ethnicity serve as a similar variable when it comes to attitude towards free speech?

Free speech has served as a contentious topic in United States higher education since its founding in the 1600's. As we enter a particularly tumultuous political climate, student affairs practitioners must be armed with the knowledge to assist students exercising their rights to free speech and those who are negatively impacted by it. While many restrictive conversations revolve around hate speech and speech that may be unpopular to many on campus, it cannot be

misconstrued that student attitudes unmistakably favor free speech on campus. The new challenge for students, administrators, and external stakeholders will be understanding exactly what that means.

APPENDIX A
REFERENCED COURT CASES

APPENDIX A
REFERENCED COURT CASES

ACLU v. Mote, 423 F.3d 438 (2005)

Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919)

Arrington v. Taylor, 380 F. Supp. 1348 (1974)

Bair v. Shippensburg, 280 F. Supp. 357 (2003)

Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System v. Southworth, 529 U.S. 217 (2000)

Bonnell v. Lorenzo, 81 F. Supp. 2d 777 (2001)

Brandenburg v. Ohio, 395 U.S. 444 (1969)

Broadrick v. Oklahoma, 4133 U.S. 601 (1973)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)

Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire, 315 U.S. 568 (1942)

Christian Legal Society v. Martinez, 561 U.S. 661 (2011)

Clark v. Community for Creative Non-Violence, 468 U.S. 288 (1982)

Cohen v. California, 403 U.S. 15 (1971)

Cox v. New Hampshire, 312 U.S. 569 (1941)

Doe v. University of Michigan, 721 F. Supp. 852 (1989)

Dixon v. Alabama, 294 F.2d 150 (1961)

Gay Lesbian Bisexual Alliance v. Sessions, 917 F. Supp 1548 (1996)

Gay Student Services v. Texas A&M University, 737 F.2d 1317 (1984)

Hague v. CIO, 307 U.S. 496 (1939)

Healy v. James, 408 U.S. 169 (1972)

Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi Fraternity v. George Mason University, 773 F. Supp. 792 (1991)

Kania v. Fordham, 703 F.2d 475 (1983)

Lovell v. City of Griffin, 303 U.S. 444 (1938)

Perry Education Association v. Perry Local Educators' Association, 460 U.S. 37 (1983)

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)

R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, 505 U.S. 377 (1992)

Roberts v. Haragan, 346 F. Supp. 2d 853 (2004)

Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, 515 U.S. 819 (1995)

Smith v. Regents of the University of California, 4 Cal.4th, (1993)

Stacy v. Williams, 306 F. Supp. 963 (1969)

Stanley v. Magrath, 719 F.2d 279 (1983)

Stromberg v. California, 283 U.S. 359 (1931)

Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969)

UWM Post v. Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 774 F. Supp. 1163 (1991)

Veed v. Schwartzkoph, 478 F.2d 1407 (1973)

Virginia v. Black, 538 U.S. 343 (2003)

Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357 (1927)

Widmar v. Vincent, 454 U.S. 263 (1981)

APPENDIX B
SURVEY 1: FREE SPEECH SEVERITY

Free Speech Severity

Start of Block: Block 1

Q2 This survey is design to measure how extreme certain examples of free speech are. IMPORTANT: When completing the survey, it is important to only consider the extremeness of the speech being used and not whether or not you agree with any of the content or use of speech.

Q1 *Select the response that indicates how extreme or not extreme you believe each example to be.*

	Not Extreme 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Very Extreme 9
An anti-abortion group displays graphic images of abortion	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A preacher reads passages from the bible to people walking by	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

A preacher calls female students ‘sluts’ for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are ‘going to hell’	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A student burns an American flag in protest of the country's involvement in a war	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A protesting group of white students calls a black student the ‘n-word and tells them to "Go back to Africa"	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A speaker on campus presents on their scientific research that African Americans are genetically inferior to Caucasians	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students march on campus to raise awareness for domestic violence	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students march on campus to raise awareness in support of a neo-Nazi group	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Students hand out fliers calling for the legalization of marijuana	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students ask passersby for donations for a charity with which they are involved	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A political student organization sets up a fake jail cell with someone wearing their opposing candidates mask inside	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A student group hands out free condoms to raise awareness for sexual education	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

A student pours a bucket of fake blood themselves to protest the war on Palestine	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students stage a silent sit-in in the Student Union to protest inequality on campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Block 1

APPENDIX C
SURVEY 2: ATTITUDES TOWARDS FREE SPEECH

Attitudes Towards Free Speech

Start of Block: Default Question Block

This study aims to measure student attitudes towards the use of free speech on campus. The survey you are about to complete is separated into three parts: demographic information, attitude towards the concept of free speech, and attitude towards specific examples of free speech.

The survey should take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

End of Block: Default Question Block

Start of Block: Demographics

Gender:

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Other (3)

Age (Years):

_____

Class Standing:

- ○ Freshman (1)
- ○ Sophomore (2)
- ○ Junior (3)
- ○ Senior (4)
- ○ Graduate Student (5)
- ○ Other (6)

Major:

_____

Please indicate the average amount of hours you spend on campus each day:

- ○ 0-2
- ○ 3-4
- ○ 5-6
- ○ 7+

Political Affiliation:

- ○ Democrat (1)
- ○ Republican (2)
- ○ Independent (3)
- ○ None (4)
- ○ Other (please specify) (5) _____

On the slider below, please indicate your political orientation:

- ○ Liberal _____Conservative

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Ego Involvement and Free Speech Attitude

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
Free speech is an important right of higher education. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Free speech on campus should be protected (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Free speech on campus should not be regulated (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being exposed to different thoughts and ideas is an important aspect of higher education. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Ego Involvement and Free Speech Attitude

Start of Block: Latitudes and Free Speech Attitudes

Rate the level of acceptability of the following examples of free speech:

	Completely acceptable (+2)	Somewhat acceptable (+1)	Neither acceptable nor unacceptable (0)	Somewhat unacceptable (-1)	Completely unacceptable (-2)
A student hands out fliers for their student organization meeting	○	○	○	○	○
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to increase the use of solar energy in the state	○	○	○	○	○
A group attempts to get students to sign a petition to impeach a political figure	○	○	○	○	○
A student kneels during the playing of the national anthem at a university event	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students protest an immigration ban enacted by the government by marching across campus and chanting	○	○	○	○	○

A student pours a bucket of fake blood on themselves to protest the war against Palestine	○	○	○	○	○
A group of students protest their university allowing undocumented immigrants to enroll in classes by putting up posters of people they believe to be undocumented immigrants	○	○	○	○	○
A preacher calls female students ‘sluts’ for wearing short skirts and tells gay students that they are ‘going to hell’	○	○	○	○	○
A protesting group of white students calls a black student the ‘n-word’ and tells them to ‘go back to Africa’	○	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Latitudes and Free Speech Attitudes

APPENDIX D
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APPENDIX E
IRB EXEMPT RESEARCH APPROVAL

[redacted] [redacted]

Determination of Exempt Human Research

From: [redacted]

To: **David Oglethorpe**

Date: **January 29, 2018**

Dear Researcher:

On 01/29/2018, the IRB reviewed the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Exempt Determination – Category 2 – Adult Participants
Project Title:	Student Attitudes Towards Free Speech
Investigator:	David Oglethorpe
IRB Number:	SBE-17-13686
Funding Agency:	
Grant Title:	
Research ID:	N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

This letter is signed by:

[redacted]

Signature applied by [redacted] on 01/29/2018 01:01:46 PM EST

Designated Reviewer

APPENDIX F
PARTICIPANT CONTACT LETTER 1

Dear <Participant>,

My name is David Oglethorpe and I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Higher Education and Policy Studies program at the University of Central Florida. I am writing to ask for your help with my research regarding student attitudes towards free speech on campus.

You are part of a selection of students at this institution that have been chosen to complete a brief questionnaire about your attitudes towards free speech on campus. A goal of this survey is to better understand student attitudes towards free speech. I am particularly interested in exploring if any particular uses of free speech are problematic or objectionable.

The questionnaire is short, only 20 questions, and should take about 5-10 minutes to complete. To begin the survey, simply click on this link: <Insert Link>

This survey is confidential. Your participation is voluntary, and if you come to any question you prefer not to answer please skip it and go on to the next. Should you have any questions or comments please contact me at Oglethorpe.david@knights.ucf.edu.

I greatly appreciate your help with this study,
David Oglethorpe

APPENDIX G
PARTICIPANT CONTACT LETTER 2

Hello <Participant>,

Last week, I sent an e-mail to you asking for your participation in in a survey regarding student attitudes towards free speech. I hope that providing you with a link to the survey website makes it easy for you to respond. To complete the survey, simply click on this link: <Insert Link>

The information gathered in this survey will be particularly important in helping administrations better adjust policy and prepare appropriately when it comes to instances of free speech used on campus. Your response is voluntary and should only take approximately 5-10 minutes. I appreciate your considering my request.

Thank you for your help,

David Oglethorpe

APPENDIX H
PARTICIPANT CONTACT LETTER 3

Hi <Participant>,

You have been selected as part of a study regarding student attitude towards free speech. Your participation in this research will help inform administrations on how to appropriately and effectively manage situations involving free speech on campus.

To survey should take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete and can be found here:

<Insert Link>

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at Oglethorpe.david@knights.ucf.edu.

Thank you,

David Oglethorpe

APPENDIX I
PARTICIPANT CONTACT LETTER 4

Hi <Participant>,

I am writing to follow up on the message I sent last week asking you to participate in the survey regarding student attitudes towards free speech. This assessment of the impacts of free speech on students is drawing to a close, and this is the last reminder I will be sending about the study.

The URL is included below to provide an easy link to the survey website:

<Insert link>

I also wanted to let you know that if you are interested in seeing a summary of results, I hope to defend my dissertation in the Spring of 2018. Please feel free to contact me with any questions you may have regarding this research at Oglethorpe.david@knights.ucf.edu.

In the meantime, good luck with the remainder of the semester.

David Oglethorpe

APPENDIX J
DEMOGRAPHICS AND DESCRIPTIVES

Table 13

Responding students by targeted group

Targeted Group	*f*	Group %
Students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office	1,445	8.5
Students enrolled in selected College of Business courses	539	13.0
Students who hold a leadership position within a registered student organization	189	16.2

Table 14

Share of response rate by targeted group

Targeted Group	Initial Population	Share of population	*f*	%	Change
Students who attended an event hosted by the university's student involvement office	16,917	76.0	1,445	66.5	-10.5
Students enrolled in selected College of Business courses	4,162	18.7	539	24.8	5.0
Students who hold a leadership position within a registered student organization	1,166	5.2	189	8.7	3.2

Table 15

Study population by gender, segmented by group

Characteristic	*f*	%
Gender		
Involved Students		
Male	486	33.6
Female	946	65.5
Other	12	0.8
College of Business		
Male	233	43.2
Female	304	56.4
Other	1	0.2
Student Leaders		
Male	66	34.9
Female	120	63.5
Other	2	1.1

Table 16

Study population by age, segmented by population

Characteristic	*f*	%
Age		
Involved Students		
17	3	0.2
18	171	12.0
19	327	22.9
20	269	18.8
21	237	16.6
22	170	11.9
23+	251	17.5
College of Business		
17	1	0.2
18	5	0.9
19	53	9.9
20	113	21.1
21	128	23.9
22	78	14.6
23+	174	31.6
Student Leaders		
17	0	0.0
18	3	1.6
19	14	7.5
20	31	16.6
21	49	26.2
22	30	16.0
23+	60	30.9

Table 17

Study population by class standing, segmented by population

Population	*f*	%
Involved Students		
Freshman	283	19.6
Sophomore	308	21.3
Junior	304	21.0
Senior	383	26.5
Graduate Student	127	8.8
Other	40	2.8
College of Business		
Freshman	5	0.9
Sophomore	66	12.2
Junior	298	55.3
Senior	164	30.4
Graduate Student	0	0
Other	5	0.9
Student Leaders		
Freshman	2	1.1
Sophomore	14	7.4
Junior	35	18.5
Senior	90	47.6
Graduate Student	43	22.8
Other	5	2.6

Table 18

Study population by time on campus (hours per day), segmented by population

Population	*f*	%
Involved Students		
0-2	135	9.7
3-4	331	22.9
5-6	395	27.2
7+	586	40.3
College of Business		
0-2	170	31.6
3-4	159	29.6
5-6	118	22.1
7+	90	16.8
Student Leaders		
0-2	22	11.9
3-4	36	19.1
5-6	51	26.8
7+	80	42.3

Table 19

Study population by political affiliation, segmented by population

Population	*f*	%
Involved Students		
Democrat	546	37.8
Republican	220	15.2
Independent	349	24.2
None	286	19.8
Other	34	2.4
College of Business		
Democrat	151	28.0
Republican	146	27.1
Independent	111	20.6
None	120	22.3
Other	11	2.0
Student Leaders		
Democrat	69	36.5
Republican	31	16.4
Independent	57	30.2
None	21	11.1
Other	11	5.8

APPENDIX K
CHRONBACH'S ALPHA TEST OF RELIABILITY

Table 20

Chronbach's Alpha test of reliability for pilot study

Section	*n*	Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Ego Involvement	24	4	.850*
Latitudes of Acceptance, Non-Commitment, and Rejection	24	9	.751*

*Statistically acceptable (Cortina, 1993)

Table 21

Chronbach's Alpha test of reliability for ego involvement

Section	*n*	Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Ego Involvement	2,173	4	.731*

*Statistically acceptable (Cortina, 1993)

Table 22

Chronbach's Alpha test of reliability for latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

Section	*n*	Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Latitudes of Acceptance, Non-Commitment, and Rejection	2,173	9	.717*

*Statistically acceptable (Cortina, 1993)

APPENDIX L
FREQUENCY OF SELECTION OF LATITUDES

Table 23

Frequencies of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection

Count	*Acceptance*	Non-Commitment	Rejection
0	26 (1.2%)	1,287 (59.2%)	128 (5.9%)
1	33 (1.5%)	506 (23.3%)	121 (5.6%)
2	107 (4.9%)	241 (11.1%)	220 (10.1%)
3	195 (9.0%)	63 (2.9%)	871 (40.1%)
4	336 (15.5%)	31 (1.4%)	537 (24.7%)
5	561 (25.8%)	12 (0.6%)	197 (9.1%)
6	621 (28.6%)	8 (0.4%)	66 (3.0%)
7	143 (6.6%)	7 (0.3%)	27 (1.2%)
8	69 (3.2%)	4 (0.2%)	3 (0.1%)
9	82 (3.8%)	14 (0.6%)	3 (0.1%)

APPENDIX M
RESEARCH QUESTION 1

Table 24

One-way ANOVA between ego involvement and political affiliation

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	18.242	4	4.561	5.709	.000
Within Groups	1723.780	2158	.799		
Total	1742.022	2162			

Table 25

Tukey HSD post hoc test for ego involvement and politician affiliation

Group	Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.		
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Democrat	Republican	.03907	.05527	.955	-.1118	.1900
	Independent	.06516	.05087	.103	-.0737	.2040
	None	-.10643	.05398	.280	-.2538	.0409
	Other	.44283*	.12372	.003	.1051	.7806
Republican	Democrat	-.03907	.05527	.955	-.1900	.1118
	Independent	.02603	.05964	-.136	-.1367	.1889
	None	-.14550	.06231	.134	-.3156	.0246
	Other	.40375*	.12758	.014	.0555	.7521
Independent	Democrat	-.06516	.05087	.703	-.2040	.0737
	Republican	-.02609	.05964	.992	-.1889	.1367
	None	-.17159*	.05844	.028	-.3311	-.0120
	Other	.37767*	.21573	.023	.0344	.7209
None	Democrat	.10643	.05398	.280	-.0409	.2538
	Republican	.14550	.06231	.134	-.0246	.3156
	Independent	.17159*	.05844	.028	.0120	.3311
	Other	.54925*	.12702	.000	.2025	.8960
Other	Democrat	-.44283*	.12372	.003	-.7806	-.1051
	Republican	-.40375*	.12758	.014	-.7521	-.0555
	Independent	-.37767*	.12573	.023	-.7209	-.0344
	None	-.54925*	.12702	.000	-.8960	-.2025

* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 26

Independent samples t-test for difference of means between the ego involvement of "Democrat" and "Republican"

Group Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Democrat	766	2.134	.820	.030
Republican	397	2.096	.986	.049

Independent Samples Test

	Mean Difference	Standard Error	df	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Equal variances not assumed	.0391	.0577	685.749	.678	.498

Table 27

Independent samples t-test for difference of means between the ego involvement of "Male" and "Female"

Group Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Male	785	1.833	.843	.030
Female	1,3570	2.288	.885	.024

	Mean Difference	Standard Error	df	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Equal variances assumed	-.4543	.0390	21.53	-11.663	.000

Table 28

One-way ANOVA between ego involvement and class standing

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	13.332	5	2.666	3.327	.005
Within Groups	1735.722	2166	.801		
Total	1749.054	2171			

Table 29

Tukey HSD post hoc test for ego involvement and class standing

Group	Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.		
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Freshman	Sophomore	-.01661	.06949	1.000	-.2148	.1816
	Junior	-.12661	.06341	.344	-.3075	.0543
	Senior	.02292	.06341	.999	-.1580	.2038
	Graduate Student	.12465	.08647	.702	-.1220	.3713
	Other	.13759	.13708	.917	-.2534	.5286
Sophomore	Freshman	.01661	.06949	1.000	-.1816	.2148
	Junior	-.11000	.05765	3.97	-.2744	.0544
	Senior	.03953	.05765	.984	-.1249	.2040
	Graduate Student	.14126	.08234	.521	-.0936	.3761
	Other	.15420	.13451	.862	-.2295	.5379
Junior	Freshman	.12661	.06341	.344	-.0543	.3075
	Sophomore	.11000	.05765	.397	-.0544	.2744
	Senior	.14953*	.05016	.034	.0065	.2926
	Graduate Student	.25126*	.07728	.015	.0308	.4717
	Other	.26420	.13147	.337	-.1108	.6392
Senior	Freshman	.02292	.06341	.999	-.2038	.1580
	Sophomore	-.03953	.05765	.984	-.2040	.1249
	Junior	-.14953*	.05016	.034	-.2926	-.0065
	Graduate Student	.10173	.07728	.776	-.1187	.3221
	Other	.11467	.13147	.953	-.2603	.4897
Graduate Student	Freshman	-.12465	.08647	.702	-.3713	.1220
	Sophomore	-.14126	.08234	.521	-.3761	.0936
	Junior	-.25126*	.07728	.015	-.4717	-.0308
	Senior	-.10173	.07728	.766	-.3221	.1187
	Other	.01294	.14402	1.000	-.3978	.4237
Other	Freshman	-.13759	.13708	.917	-.5286	.2534
	Sophomore	-.15420	.13451	.862	-.5379	.2295
	Junior	-.26420	.13147	.337	-.6392	.1108
	Senior	-.11467	.13147	.953	-.4897	.2603
	Graduate Student	-.01294	.14402	1.000	-.4237	.3978

* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

APPENDIX N
RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Table 30

Multiple linear regression results for ego involvement and size of latitudes

Multiple Linear Regression results
Dependent Variable: EGO_INV
Independent Variable(s): LAT_ACC, LAT_NON, LAT_REJ

LAT_REJ has been deleted from the model. Reason: Tolerance of 3.452793606584237e-14 is too low.
EGO_INV = 3.6122333 + -0.27091583 LAT_ACC + -0.16051045 LAT_NON

Parameter estimates

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Err.	Alternative	df	t	p
Intercept	3.6122333	0.074080823	≠ 0	2169	48.760707	<0.0001
LAT_ACC	-.027091583	0.012636198	≠ 0	2169	-21.439664	<0.0001
LAT_NON	-0.16051045	0.016690821	≠ 0	2169	-9.6166903	<0.0001

Analysis of variance table for regression model

Source	df	*SS*	MS	f	p
Model	2	313.08974	156.54487	237.1831	< 0.0001
Error	2169	1431.5768	0.66001696		
Total	2171	1744.6665			

Summary of fit:
Root MSE: 0.81241428
R-squared: 0.1795
R-squared (adjusted): 0.1787

APPENDIX O
RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Table 31

Simple linear regression of ego involvement and average of latitudes

Simple Linear Regression results
Dependent Variable: EGO_INV
Independent Variable: LAT_AVG
EGO_INV = 2.3618393 - 0.66901779 LAT_AVG
Sample size: 2172
R (correlation coefficient) = -0.44079821
R-sq = 0.19430306
Estimate of error standard deviation: 0.80484492

Parameter estimates

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Err.	Alternative	df	t	p
Intercept	2.3618393	0.020205368	≠ 0	2170	116.89167	< 0.0001
Slope	-0.66901779	0.029245149	≠ 0	2170	-22.876179	< 0.0001

Analysis of variance table for regression model

Source	df	*SS*	MS	f	p
Model	1	338.99404	338.99404	523.32039	< 0.0001
Error	2170	1405.6725	0.64777534		
Total	2171	1744.6665			

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