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THE CASE AGAINST EXTENDING HAZELWOOD V. KUHLMEIER’S PUBLIC FORUM ANALYSIS TO THE REGULATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENT SPEECH

I. INTRODUCTION

Instead of publishing just the usual articles about upcoming football games and campus lectures, the editor of a student newspaper at a state university decides to publish some hard-hitting stories. He encourages one reporter to write a series of articles criticizing some policy decisions by university administrators. When the articles are published, one of the administrators demands a retraction. When the editor refuses, the administrator calls the paper’s printer and tells it not to print any additional issues of the paper unless she preapproves their content.¹

Were the university administrator’s actions permissible under the First Amendment?² For many years, the clear answer was no.³ However, the Seventh Circuit’s recent decision in Hosty v. Carter suggests that the answer is not clear at all and that the administrator should have qualified immunity from a First Amendment claim.⁴ The Seventh Circuit held that the deferential standard applied to high school student newspapers since Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier⁵ applies to college student newspapers as well.⁶ Under Hazelwood, school administrators can censor school-sponsored student newspapers as long as the restrictions are related to “legitimate pedagogical concerns” such as ensuring that students learn intended lessons, preventing students from being exposed to inappropriate material, or distancing the school from non-neutral political positions.⁷

The purposes of this Note are (1) to analyze whether the framework established in Hazelwood should be used to analyze student speech in

¹. These facts are based on Hosty v. Carter, 412 F.3d 731 (7th Cir. 2005), cert. denied, 126 S. Ct. 1330 (2006). The facts are presented in the light most favorable to the plaintiffs, as they were when the Court of Appeals considered them. Id. at 733.
². The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides, “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. CONST. amend. I.
³. See infra notes 21–24 and accompanying text.
⁷. Hazelwood, 484 U.S. at 271–73.
public universities, and (2) to suggest an alternative approach for assessing attempts to regulate student speech at the university level that takes into account both the university’s educational and social functions. In Part II of this Note, I review the history of student free speech rights in public high schools and universities. I discuss early Supreme Court cases recognizing expansive student speech rights and then discuss the development of the “public forum doctrine” and the Hazelwood framework as ways to analyze restrictions on student speech. I also review post-Hazelwood cases applying public forum analysis to university speech restrictions. In Part III, I analyze the implications of the Seventh Circuit’s recent decision in Hosty v. Carter, in which the court suggested that an extracurricular university newspaper might be a nonpublic forum. I argue that the Hosty court’s decision to apply Hazelwood’s public forum analysis mechanically to university student speech is unwise because it provides no clear standards for students or administrators and places too much power in the hands of university officials to eliminate the speech rights of students. Furthermore, it raises the prospect that viewpoint discrimination might be allowed in a forum that has been long protected. In Part IV, I discuss and evaluate alternative frameworks for analyzing university student speech. I propose a method based on a distinction between curricular and extracurricular speech that produces predictable results, preserves the right of educators to determine what they teach, and satisfies the policy goal of promoting First Amendment values on college campuses.

II. HISTORY

A. Early Student Speech Cases: An Expansive View of Student Free Speech Rights

The expansive view of student free speech rights established in Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District provides the basis for modern analysis of student speech issues. In Tinker, a group of high school students was disciplined for wearing black armbands to school
to protest the Vietnam War, and the students sued the school district for violating their First Amendment rights. The Supreme Court began its analysis by stating, “It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate.” However, the Court recognized the countervailing need for schools to control conduct. To balance these concerns, the Court held that regulation of student speech is permissible only when allowing the speech would “materially and substantially interfere with the requirements of appropriate discipline in the operation of the school.” Finding that the school had made no such showing, the Court held that the school had violated the students’ constitutional rights.

Subsequent cases applied the Tinker ruling to state colleges and universities. In Healy v. James, a state college denied recognition to a proposed chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) on the grounds that “the organization’s philosophy was antithetical to the school’s policies.” Using the Tinker standard, the Court found that the denial of recognition was constitutionally impermissible.

The Court stated:

15. Tinker, 393 U.S. at 504.
16. Id. at 506. The Court noted: [Students may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate. They may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. In the absence of a specific showing of constitutionally valid reasons to regulate their speech, students are entitled to freedom of expression of their views.]
17. Id. at 511. The Court also noted that “school officials cannot suppress ‘expressions of feelings with which they do not wish to contend.’” Id. (quoting Burnside v. Byars, 363 F.2d 744, 749 (5th Cir. 1966)).
18. Id. at 507.
19. Id. at 509 (quoting Burnside, 363 F.2d at 749).
20. Id. The Court noted that school authorities had no reason to believe that allowing “the armbands would substantially interfere with the work of the school or impinge upon the rights of other students.” Id. Instead, the Court found that the decision to ban the armbands was “based upon an urgent wish to avoid the controversy which might result from the expression.” Id. at 510.
21. Id. at 514.
22. Id. at 189–91.
[T]he precedents of this Court leave no room for the view that, because of the acknowledged need for order, First Amendment protections should apply with less force on college campuses than in the community at large. Quite to the contrary, “[t]he vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools.”

Subsequently, in *Papish v. Board of Curators of the University of Missouri*, the Court held that this broad protection applies even to indecent or offensive speech.


In *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*, the Supreme Court significantly changed the manner in which it analyzed student speech in two ways. First, the Court used the public forum analysis it had recently developed in non-school First Amendment cases as a framework for deciding what level of protection to apply to student speech. Second, at least in the case of school-sponsored speech at the high school level, the Court held that a higher degree of deference to school administrators’ decisions was appropriate, possibly even in cases involving viewpoint discrimination.

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23. *Id.* at 180 (quoting Shelton v. Tucker, 364 U.S. 479, 487 (1960)). The Court also noted that “state colleges and universities are not enclaves immune from the sweep of the First Amendment.” *Id.* It said that, as in public space generally, “the time, the place, and the manner” of speech could be regulated, but not the content.” *Id.* at 192–93.

24. In *Papish v. Board of Curators of the University of Missouri*, the Supreme Court gave First Amendment protection to a newspaper containing violent and sexual political cartoons, demonstrating that even indecent or offensive speech enjoys broad protection on college campuses. 410 U.S. 667, 670 (1973). In *Papish*, the University of Missouri expelled a student for circulating a newspaper that included a political cartoon “depicting policemen raping the Statue of Liberty and the Goddess of Justice” and containing an article entitled “M-----f------ Acquitted.” *Id.* at 667. Applying *Healy*, the Court held that the University had violated the student’s First Amendment rights. *Id.* at 670. It noted that “mere dissemination of ideas—no matter how offensive to good taste—on a state university campus may not be shut off in the name alone of ‘conventions of decency.’” *Id.*

Lower courts have also recognized broad First Amendment protections for university student publications. See Stanley v. Magrath, 719 F.2d 279, 284 (8th Cir. 1983) (holding that a state college could not reduce funds to a university newspaper in response to an issue it found offensive); Schiff v. Williams, 519 F.2d 257, 260 (5th Cir. 1975) (holding that “the right of free speech embodied in the publication of a college student newspaper cannot be controlled except under special circumstances”).


26. See *infra* notes 29–41 and accompanying text.


28. *Id.* at 270–72. For a discussion of whether the *Hazelwood* framework allows schools to regulate speech on the basis of viewpoint, see *infra* note 59 and accompanying text.
1. Public Forum Doctrine

Because public forum analysis was central to the Hazelwood decision, an understanding of Hazelwood must begin with an examination of the public forum doctrine. The public forum doctrine, first developed in the 1930s, represents an attempt to balance citizens’ right to speak on government property against the government’s need to exert control over its property in order to function effectively.29 The most-cited formulation of the doctrine was given in Perry Educational Association v. Perry Local Educators’ Association.30 Under the Perry formulation, speech that occurs on public property can be divided into three categories.31 In the first category are traditional public forums, which include parks, streets, and sidewalks.32 In traditional public forums, the government can place restrictions on the “time, place, and manner of expression” as long as those restrictions “are content-neutral, are narrowly tailored to serve a significant government interest, and leave open ample alternative channels of communication.”33 The second category is the limited public forum, which is “public property which the State has opened for use by the public as a place for expressive activity.”34 Once the government has created a

29. See Rosemary C. Salomone, Public Forum Doctrine and the Perils of Categorical Thinking: Lessons from Lamb’s Chapel, 24 N.M. L. Rev. 1, 11–12 (1994). Salomone notes that the idea of the public forum began in the 1930s and was developed in the 1960s and 1970s. Id. at 11–12. She describes the doctrine as “a categorical or formulaic approach that the Court uses to reconcile constitutional rights and government interests.” Id. at 14; see also Richard B. Saphire, Reconsidering the Public Forum Doctrine, 59 U. Cin. L. Rev. 739 (1991). Professor Saphire notes that the public forum doctrine provides a predictable alternative to “[u]nstructured interest balancing.” Id. at 754–56.

30. 460 U.S. 37 (1983). In Perry, a public school provided teachers with mailboxes within the school buildings. Id. at 39. The mailboxes’ purpose was “to transmit official messages among the teachers and between the teachers and the school administration.” Id. Teachers also used the mailboxes for personal messages, and some principals allowed them to be used for messages from private organizations. Id. The official union had access, but unofficial unions did not. Id. at 40. An unofficial union argued that the policy violated its rights under the First Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Id. at 41. The Court found that the rival union’s rights had not been violated because the school had not “by policy or by practice . . . opened its mail system for indiscriminate use by the general public,” thus creating no limited public forum. Id. at 47. It found that since the restriction was viewpoint-neutral, id. at 49, and “consistent with the District’s legitimate interest in ‘preserv[ing] the property . . . for the use to which it is lawfully dedicated,’” the restriction was constitutional. Id. at 50–51 (quoting U.S. Postal Serv. v. Council of Greenburgh Civic Ass’n, 453 U.S. 114, 130 (1981)).

31. Id. at 45–47.

32. Id. at 45. The Court noted that these areas “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.” Id. (quoting Hague v. Comm. for Indus. Org., 307 U.S. 496, 515 (1939)).

33. Id.

34. Id.
limited public forum, it is bound by the same restrictions as “in a traditional public forum.”

The third category is the nonpublic forum, which is “[p]ublic property which is not by tradition or designation a forum for public communication.” In such forums, the state may impose restrictions that are reasonable and viewpoint-neutral.

Later cases clarified two questions regarding when courts will determine that a limited public forum has been created. First, the fact that a forum is opened only to a particular group, such as students, does not defeat a finding that it is a limited public forum.

Second, in Cornelius v. NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., the Supreme Court stated that the government’s intent is the key determinant of whether a limited public forum has been created.

The public forum doctrine has been widely criticized. Commentators have noted that its category-based approach is overly formalistic and leads to unfair results. The doctrine has also been criticized for placing too much control in the hands of government officials.

35. Id. at 46.
36. Id.
37. Id. The Court stated that in a nonpublic forum, “the State may reserve the forum for its intended purposes, communicative or otherwise, as long as the regulation on speech is reasonable and not an effort to suppress expression merely because public officials oppose the speaker’s view.”
38. See, e.g., Rosenberger v. Rector & Visitors of Univ. of Va., 515 U.S. 819, 829 (1995) (“The necessities of confining a forum to the limited and legitimate purposes for which it was created may justify the State in reserving it for certain groups or for the discussion of certain topics.”).
39. 473 U.S. 788, 802 (1985) (“The government does not create a public forum by inaction or by permitting limited discourse, but only by intentionally opening a nontraditional forum for public discourse.”)
40. See, e.g., Daniel A. Farber & John E. Nowak, The Misleading Nature of Public Forum Analysis: Content and Context in First Amendment Adjudication, 70 Va. L. Rev. 1219, 1224 (1984) (arguing that public forum analysis relies too much on categories and “distracts attention from the first amendment values at stake in a given case”); Peltz, supra note 14, at 552 (considering the problem of a university reserving the right to censor a newspaper and suggesting that “the limited public forum/nonpublic forum dichotomy does not offer the best analytical framework for college media and certainly does not offer a framework conducive to post-secondary educational objectives”); Salomone, supra note 29, at 11–13 (“Initially, the concept of the public forum was intended to be speech protective, but has evolved into “a rigidly applied set of categorical rules which cover not only access by the general public to government property, but also the use of government property for expressive purposes by those who already enjoy rightful access such as students.””).
41. See, e.g., Salomone, supra note 29, at 15. Salomone notes that the limited public forum category “ha[s] the dangerous potential of placing almost unbridled discretion in the hands of government officials when defining the limits of those rights.” She asks, “If the freedoms contained in the Bill of Rights are intended to serve as constraints on governmental abuse of authority, how can

Hazelwood involved a school-sponsored high school newspaper published as part of a journalism class.42 One issue of the paper included articles about divorce and pregnancy.43 The principal, concerned about sexual references in the articles, removed the articles prior to publication.44 The student journalists sued, claiming that their First Amendment rights had been violated.45

The Court found that the paper was a nonpublic forum because the school had not demonstrated a “clear intent to create a public forum,” as required by Cornelius.46 It emphasized the curricular nature of the newspaper and the degree of control exercised by the school over the newspaper.47 It did not find dispositive policy statements suggesting that the newspaper would be free from restrictions on free expression.48 Having found a nonpublic forum, the Court announced a new test for how the forum could be regulated: educators can exercise “control over the style and content of student speech in school-sponsored expressive activities so long as their actions are reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns.”49

the Court justify a doctrine that permits government to decide whether it chooses to be subject to such constraint?" Id.

42. Hazelwood Sch. Dist. v. Kuhlmeier, 484 U.S. 260, 262–63 (1988). The newspaper, the Spectrum, was partially funded with school funds. Id. at 262.
43. Id. at 263. The articles contained discussions of students’ personal experiences with pregnancy and included references to birth control and sexual activity. Id.
44. Id. at 264.
45. Id.
46. Id. at 270 (quoting Cornelius v. NAACP Legal Def. & Educ. Fund, Inc., 473 U.S. 788, 802 (1985)). In so finding, it disagreed with the conclusion of the Eighth Circuit, which found that the school had established a limited public forum. Id. at 265–66.
47. Id. at 268. The Court noted that the newspaper was part of the curriculum, was taught during normal school hours, involved grades and academic credit, and that the school established learning goals for the students working on the paper. Id. It also looked to the practice of school officials in exercising “a great deal of control” over the newspaper, including final editing. Id. (alteration in original).
48. Id. at 269. The school board had a policy statement that “[s]chool sponsored student publications will not restrict free expression or diverse viewpoints within the rules of responsible journalism,” and the Spectrum’s published policy “declared that ‘Spectrum, as a student-press publication, accepts all rights implied by the First Amendment.’” Id.
49. Id. at 273. The Court stated:

Educators are entitled to exercise greater control over [school-sponsored speech] to assure that participants learn whatever lessons the activity is designed to teach, that readers or listeners are not exposed to material that may be inappropriate for their level of maturity, and that the views of the individual speaker are not erroneously attributed to the school.
The Court mentioned four factors relevant to determining whether an educator’s actions are reasonable: (1) the school’s sponsorship of the newspaper, (2) the curricular nature of the newspaper, (3) the age of the student audience, and (4) the likelihood that the speech would be associated with the school. Applying this test, the Court found that the principal had acted reasonably. It emphasized that the paper was part of the curriculum because it was developed as part of a class and the school sponsored it. It held that the principal’s actions were motivated by a reasonable belief that the journalism students had not learned the lessons intended to be taught and that it was inappropriate to expose younger students to sexual material.

The new standard for evaluating student speech announced in Hazelwood has been widely criticized. The Court gave little justification for its decision to create a new standard for student speech, and it altered...
the public forum analysis in a way that makes it difficult for a court to find anything related to a school to be a public forum. 57 Furthermore, the deferential nature and malleability of the test seems to allow little or no review of schools’ decisions. 58 Moreover, the Hazelwood Court did not address the question of whether its decision abolished the requirement that restrictions in nonpublic forums be viewpoint neutral. 59 Hazelwood has had a profoundly chilling effect on high school journalism. 60

57. David L. Dagley, Trends in Judicial Analysis Since Hazelwood: Expressive Rights in the Public Schools, 123 EDUC. L. REP. (West) 1, 35 (Mar. 19, 1998). Dagley argues that the Hazelwood test short-circuits the public forum inquiry, since courts tend to assume that any speech that might be considered part of the curriculum is a nonpublic forum and that nearly any control of curriculum by school officials will be considered sufficiently reasonable to be upheld. Id.


59. The Hazelwood Court’s list of permissible reasons to censor suggests that some viewpoint discrimination may be permissible, since it includes “student speech that might reasonably be perceived to advocate drug or alcohol use, irresponsible sex, or conduct otherwise inconsistent with the shared values of a civilized social order or to associate the school with any position other than neutrality on matters of political controversy.” Hazelwood, 484 U.S. 272 (citation omitted) (quoting Bethel Sch. Dist. No. 403 v. Fraser, 478 U.S. 675, 683 (1986)). Some criticized the Hazelwood Court for failing to address the viewpoint neutrality issue directly. See, e.g., William G. Buss, School Newspapers, Public Forum, and the First Amendment, 74 IOWA L. REV. 505, 513 (1989) (noting that the Court was “seemingly oblivious to the implications of viewpoint discrimination”). Some predicted that viewpoint discrimination would still be prohibited since the Court had not explicitly abolished the requirement. See, e.g., Martha M. McCarthy, Post-Hazelwood Developments: A Threat To Free Inquiry in Public Schools, 81 EDUC. L. REP. (West) 685, 689 (June 3, 1993). Subsequent commentators have noted that a split in the circuits has developed: the Sixth, Ninth, and Eleventh Circuits retain the viewpoint neutrality requirement, but the First and Third Circuits allow viewpoint discrimination in nonpublic forums under a Hazelwood analysis. See Janna J. Amnest, Note, Only the News That’s Fit to Print: The Effect of Hazelwood on the First Amendment Viewpoint-Neutrality Requirement in Public School-Sponsored Forums, 77 WASH. L. REV. 1227, 1242–47 (2002); see also Denise Daughtery, Note, Free Speech in Public Schools: Has the Supreme Court Created a Haven for Viewpoint Discrimination in School-Sponsored Speech?, 20 GA. ST. U. L. REV. 1061, 1069–78 (2004).

60. Brief of Amici Curiae Student Press Law Center et al. in Support of Petition of Margaret L. Hosty, Jeni S. Potche, and Steven P. Barba for Writ of Certiorari at 2, Hosty v. Carter, 126 S. Ct. 1330 (2006) (No. 05–377), 2005 WL 2736314, at *2 [hereinafter SPLC amicus brief]. According to the Student Press Law Center (SPLC), a group providing information and support to student publications, there “has been a sharp rise in high school censorship incidents reported.” Id. at *14. The SPLC argues that Hazelwood “has given high school and elementary school officials far greater authority to censor the otherwise lawful speech of private citizens than is extended to any other group of government officials, except perhaps prison wardens.” Id. at *11. It describes numerous cases in which courts have used Hazelwood to uphold censorship. Id. at *11–12; see also Peltz, supra note 14, at 497 (citing lower court cases upholding censorship under Hazelwood). Peltz also discusses several censored stories that never reached trial, including a story reporting that the school superintendent had been arrested for drunk driving censored because the school did not want a newspaper that would be “critical of students
C. University Student Speech Rights Since Hazelwood

Hazelwood expressly left open the question of whether the level of deference the Court accorded high school administrators should be extended to the university context. 61 However, since Hazelwood, courts have consistently applied public forum analysis to cases involving both curricular and extracurricular speech at public universities. 62 At the university level, whether speech restrictions are upheld tends to turn on whether the speech occurs as part of the curriculum. 63

Generally, courts applying the Hazelwood analysis to restrictions on curricular speech at universities have upheld the restrictions. 64 In Brown v. Li, the Ninth Circuit held that a university could restrict a graduate student’s negative statements in the “Acknowledgments” section of his master’s thesis. 65 Although no two members of the panel agreed on a rationale for the decision, one member used Hazelwood to analyze the student’s speech 66 and found that the thesis was a nonpublic forum because it was curricular in nature. 67 She also agreed with the university’s
argument that encouraging the student to “conform to professional norms” was a legitimate pedagogical purpose that could trump the student’s free speech rights.  

Similarly, in Axson-Flynn v. Johnson, the Tenth Circuit applied Hazelwood to uphold a university’s decision to require a student in an acting class to recite lines containing profanity over her protest that saying such words violated her religious beliefs. Based on its curricular nature, the court found the speech to be in a nonpublic forum. Applying Hazelwood, the court held that the university’s actions were permissible as long as they were related to the university’s asserted legitimate pedagogical purpose of preparing students for acting careers.

Conversely, courts have upheld student speech rights in extracurricular settings, which they consider to be limited public forums rather than

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68. Id. at 953–54. Judge Graber also found that even viewpoint discrimination was allowed if there was a legitimate pedagogical purpose for it. She noted, “Hazelwood and Settle establish that—consistent with the First Amendment—a teacher may require a student to write a paper from a particular viewpoint . . . so long as the requirement serves a legitimate pedagogical purpose.” Id. at 953. The second case to which Judge Graber referred, Settle v. Dickson County Sch. Bd., 53 F.3d 152 (6th Cir. 1995), held that a high school teacher did not violate a student’s right to free speech by limiting the topics available to a student for a research paper.

In a sharp dissent, Judge Reinhardt argued that “the reasons underlying the deference with respect to the regulation of the speech rights of high school youths do not apply in the adult world of college and graduate students.” Id. at 957. He suggested alternative solutions, such as finding that the thesis was a limited public forum, or adopting an intermediate level of scrutiny in which “the university would have the burden of demonstrating that its regulation of college and graduate student speech was substantially related to an important pedagogical purpose.” Id. at 964.

69. 356 F.3d 1277 (10th Cir. 2004). In Axson-Flynn, a Mormon student in an acting class refused to take God’s name in vain or to say the word “fuck.” Id. at 1281. After several incidents involving refusal to say those words, her instructors told her that she could remain in the program only if she changed her values. Id. at 1282. Though she was never actually asked to leave, she left because she believed it was inevitable. Id. She sued, arguing that the university’s attempt to compel her to speak violated her First Amendment right to free speech. Id. at 1283. Axson-Flynn also claimed that the University had violated her rights under the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. Id. at 1283.

70. Id. at 1286–87. The court emphasized that learning was the focus of the exercise. It acknowledged “that some circuits have cast doubt on the application of Hazelwood in the context of university extracurricular activities.” Id. at 1286 n.6.

71. Id. at 1291–92. The University asserted that compelling acting students to say lines that might offend them served a legitimate pedagogical purpose because “(1) it teaches students how to step out outside their own values . . . ; (2) it teaches students to preserve the integrity of the author’s work; and (3) it measures true acting skills to be able convincingly to portray an offensive part.” Id. at 1291 (footnotes omitted). The court noted that the University’s actions would not have been permissible had the asserted pedagogical concerns been merely a pretext for religious discrimination. Id. at 1292–95.
nonpublic forums. In *Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of University of Virginia*, the Supreme Court used public forum analysis to hold that a university’s student activity funding program could not specifically exclude religious activities.\(^2\) Because the funding program was extracurricular in nature, it was a limited public forum.\(^3\) By banning religious activities from that forum, the university had engaged in impermissible viewpoint discrimination.\(^4\) The Court emphasized the importance of free speech rights at universities, noting the danger of “chilling of individual thought and expression” in a setting “where the State acts against a background and tradition of thought and experiment that is at the center of our intellectual and philosophic tradition.”\(^5\)

In *Kincaid v. Gibson*, the Sixth Circuit relied on public forum analysis to find that a university could not withhold publication of a student yearbook produced as part of an extracurricular activity.\(^6\) In *Kincaid*, a

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\(^2\) 515 U.S. 819 (1995). The University of Virginia had established a system for funding the activities of student organizations. *Id.* at 824–25. The purpose of the funding program was “to support a broad range of extracurricular student activities that ‘are related to the educational purpose of the University.’” *Id.* at 824 (citation omitted). However, certain activities, such as religious activities (defined as “any activity that primarily promotes or manifests a particular belief in or about a deity or an ultimate reality”), electioneering and lobbying, and social entertainment were excluded from funding. *Id.* at 825 (citation omitted). *Rosenberger* had formed a student group, Wide Awake Productions (WAP), whose mission was to “facilitate discussion which fosters an atmosphere of sensitivity to and tolerance of Christian viewpoints.” *Id.* at 825–26 (citation omitted). WAP was recognized as a student group and therefore was not considered a religious organization. *Id.* at 826. When WAP requested funding from the University to pay for the costs of printing its paper, the University found that the paper was a “religious activity” and thus excluded from the funding regime. *Id.* at 827 (citation omitted).

\(^3\)  *Id.* at 829. The Court noted that the funding program “is a forum more in a metaphysical than in a spatial or geographic sense, but the same principles are applicable.” *Id.* at 830.

\(^4\)  *Id.* at 829–30. The Court noted, “The necessities of confining a forum to the limited and legitimate purposes for which it was created may justify the State in reserving it for certain groups or for the discussion of certain topics.” *Id.* at 829. However, “[o]nce it has opened a limited forum . . . the State must respect the lawful boundaries it has itself set.” *Id.* The Court distinguished between “content discrimination, which may be permissible if it preserves the purposes of that limited forum, and, on the other hand, viewpoint discrimination, which is presumed impermissible when directed against speech otherwise within the forum’s limitations.” *Id.* at 830.

The Court acknowledged it had previously held that when the government is acting as the speaker, it has broad rights to fund that speech selectively. *Id.* at 833. In *Rust v. Sullivan*, the Court held that it was permissible for the government to prohibit its grant funds from being used to fund abortion counseling because “[t]he Government can, without violating the Constitution, selectively fund a program to encourage certain activities it believes to be in the public interest, without at the same time funding an alternative program which seeks to deal with the problem in another way.” 500 U.S. 173, 193 (1991). The Court distinguished *Rust* in *Rosenberger* because in *Rosenberger* the government was not itself acting as the speaker. 515 U.S. at 834. The Court said, “A holding that the University may not discriminate based on the viewpoint of private persons whose speech it facilitates does not restrict the University’s own speech, which is controlled by different principles.” *Id.*

\(^5\)  *Id.* at 835.

school official refused to distribute yearbooks she deemed “of poor quality.” The Sixth Circuit, sitting en banc, held that the administrator had violated the student editors’ First Amendment rights. The court examined four factors to determine whether the government had intended to open a limited public forum: (1) the school’s policy, (2) the school’s practice, (3) the compatibility of the yearbook with expressive activity, and (4) the context in which the yearbook was found. The court found that the university’s policy statements putting control in student hands, the practical control of the yearbook by the students, the compatibility of a yearbook with free expression, and the university context weighed in favor of finding that the yearbook was a limited public forum that allowed for greater student expression.

Commentators and student journalists generally celebrated the ultimate resolution of Kincaid. However, the decision left open several concerning questions: (1) Could a court ever determine that an extracurricular, expressive student activity, such as a newspaper, is a nonpublic forum? (2) If a nonpublic forum were found, would a court apply Hazelwood’s “legitimate pedagogical concerns” test in such a setting? (3) If so, would the court find viewpoint discrimination permissible? A recent Seventh Circuit decision, Hosty v. Carter, suggests that the answer to each of these questions could be yes.

77. Id. at 345. The Vice President for Student Affairs objected to the fact that the yearbook’s cover was not in the school colors, that its theme (“destination unknown”) was inappropriate, that its photographs were inadequately captioned, and that it included descriptions of current events unrelated to the activities of the school. Id. The district court, relying on Hazelwood, found that the yearbook was a nonpublic forum and upheld the administrator’s decision. Id. at 346 (describing the district court opinion). The district court held that “the yearbook was not intended to be a journal of expression and communication in a public forum sense, but instead was intended to be a journal of the ‘goings on’ in [a] particular year at [the school].” Id. A divided panel of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed. Id.

78. Id. at 357.

79. Id. at 349.

80. Id. at 349–50. The policy stated, “In order to meet the responsible standards of journalism, an advisor may require changes in the form of materials submitted by students, but such changes must deal only with the form or the time and manner of expressions rather than alteration of content.” Id. at 350 (citation and emphasis omitted). The court noted that this language “tracks the Supreme Court’s description of the limitations on government regulation of expressive activity in a limited public forum.” Id. (citing Perry Educ. Ass’n v. Perry Local Educators’ Ass’n, 460 U.S. 37, 46 (1983)).

81. Id. at 351.

82. Id. at 352. The court also noted that, since the yearbook was a limited public forum, “Hazelwood has little application to this case.” Id. at 346 n.5.

83. See, e.g., Peltz, supra note 14, at 536.

84. Id. at 537.

85. See supra note 61.

86. See supra note 59.
D. Hosty v. Carter

Hosty v. Carter involved the Innovator, an extracurricular student newspaper funded by student activity fees at Governors State University in Illinois. The Innovator ran some articles that attacked the integrity of the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. The administration accused the students of “irresponsible and defamatory journalism” and asked the students to retract several factual statements or print the administration’s responses. When the student editors refused, Patricia Carter, Dean of Student Affairs and Services, stopped printing of the paper. The students sued Dean Carter, alleging that she had violated their First Amendment rights. Dean Carter claimed that she was entitled to qualified immunity because she had not violated a clearly established right of the students. Both the district court and a panel of the Seventh Circuit concluded that the Dean’s act of censorship violated the clearly established rights of the students. The Seventh Circuit then elected to re-hear the case en banc.

87. 412 F.3d 731, 732 (7th Cir. 2005), cert. denied, 126 S. Ct. 1330 (2006). All facts are presented in the light most favorable to the plaintiffs, as they were when the Court of Appeals considered them. Id. at 733.
88. Id. at 732–33.
89. Id. at 733.
90. Id. The plaintiffs alleged that Dean Carter told the paper’s printer not to print any future issues without her approval, and the printer followed her orders. Id.
91. Id. at 733. The students also sued the University trustees, other administrators, and several staff members, all of whom prevailed on a summary judgment motion except Dean Carter. Id.
92. Id. The qualified immunity doctrine protects public officials from personal liability for unlawful conduct in cases where the official makes a reasonable mistake as to the law. Saucier v. Katz, 533 U.S. 194, 201–02 (2001). To determine whether an official has qualified immunity from a constitutional claim, the court engages in a two-step inquiry. Hosty, 412 F.3d at 733. First, the court asks whether “the facts alleged show the [public official’s] conduct violated a constitutional right?” Id. (quoting Saucier, 533 U.S. at 201). Second, the court asks whether that right was “clearly established.” Saucier, 533 U.S. at 201.
93. Hosty, 412 F.3d at 733. The district court rejected the defendants’ argument that Hazelwood applied to this case, noting that Hazelwood involved a supervised class activity, while the Innovator was an “autonomous student organization,” and that Hazelwood involved a high school rather than a university. Hosty v. Governors State Univ., No. 01 C 500, 2001 WL 1465621 at *7 (N.D. Ill. Nov. 15, 2001). The panel of the Court of Appeals did not engage in any forum analysis, though it did note that the policy of the newspaper was that the student staff “will determine content and format of their respective publications without censorship or advance approval.” Hosty v. Carter, 325 F.3d 945, 946 (7th Cir. 2003). Instead of using forum analysis, the panel opinion focused on “whether the principles of Hazelwood apply to public college and university students.” Id. The court noted, “For several decades, courts have consistently held that student media at public colleges and universities are entitled to strong First Amendment protections.” Id. at 947. It cited pre-Hazelwood decisions as well as post-Hazelwood decisions in which university student speech in limited public forums was found to be protected. Id. (citing Rosenberger v. Rector & Visitors of Univ. of Va., 515 U.S. 819 (1995) and Kincaid v. Gibson, 236 F.3d 342 (6th Cir. 2001) (en banc)). The panel stated, “Hazelwood’s rationale for limiting the First Amendment rights of high school journalism students is not a good fit for
Writing “Hazelwood provides our starting point,”94 the majority reversed the panel’s decision.95

The court began by addressing the type of forum at issue.96 It stated that the relevant question was whether the university’s policies and practices indicated that it had “declare[d] the pages of the student newspaper open for expression,” thereby creating a limited public forum.97 The court rejected both the plaintiffs’ argument that age of the students should control the public forum question98 and the bright-line distinction between curricular and extracurricular speech that appeared to have developed in some earlier cases.99 The court found that, viewed in the light most favorable to the plaintiffs, the Innovator might be a public forum, but that additional facts might show otherwise.100 Next, the court held that Hazelwood’s legitimate pedagogical concerns test should be applied at the college level; the more advanced age of the students did not warrant abandonment of the test.101 Rather, the court held, age should be a factor in assessing the reasonableness of some asserted pedagogical concerns.102

students at colleges or universities,” emphasizing the difference in age and the long tradition of protecting university speech. Id. at 948.
95. Id. at 739.
96. Id. at 735–36. The court asked: “[W]as the reporter a speaker in a public forum (no censorship allowed?) or did the University either create a non-public forum or publish the paper itself (a closed forum where content may be supervised)?” Id.
97. Id. at 737. Unlike the court in Kincaid, the Hosty court did not explicitly list a series of factors to be considered. See id. at 737–38.
98. Id. at 734–35. In rejecting age as a controlling factor, the court pointed out that public forums had been found in elementary schools. Id. at 735. It noted, “If private speech at a public forum is off-limits to regulation even when that forum is a classroom of an elementary school . . . then speech in a non-public forum, and underwritten at public expense, may be open to reasonable regulation even at the college level—or later.” Id.
99. Id. at 736. “[I]f the Constitution establishes a bright line between curricular activities and all other speech, then decisions such as Rust and Finley are inexplicable, for they hold that speakers who have completed their education still must abide by the conditions attached to public subsidies of speech and other expressive activities.” Id. The court also noted that “being part of the curriculum may be a sufficient condition of a non-public forum,” but that “it is not a necessary condition.” Id.
100. Id. at 736–38. In finding that the Innovator might be a public forum, the court pointed out that the Innovator board’s policy was that the publication “will determine content and format . . . without censorship or advance approval.” Id. at 737. The court stated, “If this is all there is to it, then . . . a designated public forum has been established, and the faculty cannot censor speech within it.” Id. However, the court noted that the finding might be different if a trial were to reveal that the school had “established criteria for subsidized student publications” or if the faculty advisor exercised some control over the newspaper. Id. at 737–38.
101. Id. at 734–35.
102. Id. The court noted that when a school’s justification for censorship is a pedagogical concern based on the maturity of its students, “the difference between high school and university students may be important.” Id. at 734. On the other hand, when a school’s justification is based on “the desire to ensure ‘high standards for the student speech that is disseminated under [the school’s] auspices’” or a
Finally, the court concluded that, given the uncertainty of the state of the law, Dean Carter was entitled to qualified immunity. Judge Evans, writing for the four dissenting judges, rejected the idea that Hazelwood should apply in this case, noting the differences between colleges and high schools and the differences between extracurricular and curricular activities. He concluded that “a reasonable person in Dean Carter’s shoes would have believed the Innovator operated as a public forum” and thus should not be entitled to qualified immunity.

The students petitioned for a writ of certiorari to the United States Supreme Court, but the petition was denied.

III. ANALYSIS

By extending Hazelwood’s framework to extracurricular activities, the Hosty court granted more power to public university officials to censor student speech than any court of appeals had done previously. Prior to Hosty, college students enjoyed broad free speech rights, at least with regard to their extracurricular activities, which has allowed a thriving college journalism community to develop. Hosty suggests that college
journalists can no longer assume that they will be free from censorship. If followed by other courts, the Hosty approach will produce troubling results for several reasons.

First, the public forum doctrine, relied on in Hosty, places a great deal of control in the hands of public school administrators. In Cornelius, the Court stated, “We will not find that a public forum has been created in the face of clear evidence of a contrary intent.” As Professor Peltz asks, “what happens when a college explicitly states its desire to control student media as nonpublic forums?” Ostensibly, the Hosty and Kincaid decisions suggest that factors other than the university’s policy should be considered: actual practice, context, and the nature of the forum. However, given that all of these factors are merely ways of discerning the government’s intent to open a forum, it seems likely that a court would consider a clear statement of intent dispositive. In such a situation, a university would seem to have the ability to eliminate free speech rights merely by saying that it wishes to do so. Moreover, this creates the danger that a university could “create the appearance of a public forum in all practical respects but reserve to itself, via written policy alone, the discretion to shatter that appearance and intervene as censor whenever convenience dictates.”

Second, current public forum doctrine fails to provide clear criteria for students or administrators to determine what is a nonpublic forum and what is a limited public forum, and thus what level of regulation is acceptable. Even the Hosty majority recognized this when it held that, although the facts in the record suggested that the Innovator was a public forum, it was reasonable for Dean Carter to believe she could censor it as if it were a nonpublic forum. Other cases demonstrate the difficulty in determining forum status in the university context as well; in Kincaid, for example, the district court found that the yearbook was a nonpublic forum,

110. See supra note 41 and accompanying text; see also Peltz, supra note 14, at 533–34.
112. Peltz, supra note 14, at 537 (italicized in original).
113. See supra notes 79–82 and accompanying text.
114. See supra notes 79–82 and accompanying text.
115. See Peltz, supra note 14, at 550–51. Paradoxically, the “practice” factor may actually encourage the school to interfere with the production of a publication to help it establish a practice of censorship. Id. at 551–52.
116. Id. at 551; see also Buss, supra note 59, at 526 (“If the school creates what appears to be an open forum for student expression but in fact has not done so, the audience might erroneously conclude that all ideas have been heard.”).
a divided panel of the Court of Appeals found that it was a nonpublic forum, and a divided en banc Court of Appeals found that it was a limited public forum. When courts are so divided, students and administrators will have great difficulty determining what their rights are.

Third, in applying a standard developed for high schools to colleges, the Hosty decision ignores the significant differences between college and high school students. Unlike secondary schools, universities are almost entirely composed of adults. The law treats children and adults differently in a variety of areas, and the Hosty decision ignores the more liberal free speech rights of adults by equating college students with schoolchildren. Moreover, the Supreme Court has held that “[t]he state’s authority over children’s activities is broader than over like actions of adults.” To justify different standards based on age, the Supreme Court has noted that “during the formative years of childhood and adolescence, minors often lack the experience, perspective, and judgment to recognize and avoid choices that could be detrimental to them.” In addition, courts have noted that the missions of high schools and colleges are different. High schools “have ‘custodial and tutelary responsibility for children.’”

Fourth, the Hosty decision ignores the significant distinction between extracurricular and curricular activities. The Hazelwood decision rested in

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119. See supra notes 77–82 and accompanying text.
120. See supra note 40.
122. For example, children below certain ages are not permitted to vote, drive, marry, or serve in the military. Alan E. Garfield, Protecting Children from Speech, 57 FLA. L. REV. 565, 598 (2005). Similarly, the areas of criminal, contract, tort, and family law all have special rules regarding minors. Id. at 598–99; see also Martha McCarthy, The Continuing Saga of Internet Censorship: The Child Online Protection Act, 2005 BYU EDUC. & L.J. 83, 97–98 (2005) (discussing various contexts in which the law specifically protects minors).
124. Bellotti, 443 U.S. at 635.
part on this distinction. Prior lower court decisions upholding restrictions on speech at the university level have confined their holdings to curricular speech. Allowing greater control of curricular speech by universities makes sense in light of schools’ need to impart specific information to students taking classes. Outside of a classroom, however, the school’s interests should not weigh as heavily.

The Hosty court claims that not all extracurricular activities are necessarily free from government regulation, citing cases, outside the school context, in which the government was allowed to place conditions on speech funded by its grant money. Certainly not all government property outside of a curriculum is a public forum. However, that fact does not settle the question whether, in the university context, the curricular nature of the speech should be considered as a major factor in the analysis.

Fifth, a deferential test will have a chilling effect on college journalism. Hazelwood has had a dramatic and chilling impact on high school journalism. After Hazelwood, “[a]lmost without exception, courts upheld school officials’ decisions to censor.” If Hosty is followed, a similar effect is likely on college campuses. This would be problematic for several reasons. First, the absence of a free press is antithetical to the longstanding idea of the campus as a “marketplace of ideas.” Second, the consequences could reach beyond the confines of the college campus. University newspapers operate as training grounds for the professional journalists of the future. If student journalists are trained to avoid controversial or offensive subjects, they might lack the skills and

128. See supra notes 46–54 and accompanying text.
129. See supra notes 64–71 and accompanying text.
130. See James E. Ryan, The Supreme Court and Public Schools, 86 VA. L. REV. 1335, 1340 (2000). Ryan argues that schools have two functions, an academic one and a social one. Id. He argues that the Supreme Court tends to allow regulation of student rights when the academic function of the school is at issue, but not allow regulation when the social function of the school is at issue. Id.
131. See supra note 99 and accompanying text.
132. See supra note 60.
133. Peltz, supra note 14, at 497.
134. SPLC amicus brief, supra note 60, at *13–*17. Past college articles facing censorship attempts that might be upheld if Hosty v. Carter is followed include the following: “[a]n opinion piece opposing an upcoming referendum that would have provided the college with revenue collected from property taxes”; “[a]n article detailing the incoming university president’s expenditure of state funds, including more than $100,000 spent to remodel the president’s home and pay for his inauguration”; and “[a]n editorial cartoon, featuring cartoon figures as university officials, commenting on a U.S. Department of Education report that found the school had misused public funds when it paid for a trip to Disney World by students and school officials.” Id. at *16–*17.
135. See, e.g., SPLC amicus brief, supra note 60, at *7–*9; Peltz, supra note 14, at 535.
motivation to pursue such subjects when they enter the professional world.136

Sixth, applying Hazelwood to the college context is problematic because it may permit viewpoint discrimination.137 According to ordinary public forum analysis, viewpoint discrimination is impermissible even in a nonpublic forum.138 The Hazelwood Court, however, did not mention any prohibition on viewpoint discrimination when it articulated its legitimate pedagogical concerns test, leading some courts to conclude that it is permissible.139

IV. PROPOSAL

When the Hazelwood framework is used to assess university regulation of student speech, the critical step in the inquiry is the one that determines the status of the forum. Once a forum is designated nonpublic, the government has broad latitude to regulate. That was true even prior to the development of Hazelwood’s legitimate pedagogical concerns test; even under the general public forum analysis described in Perry, restrictions in a nonpublic forum need only be “reasonable and not an effort to suppress expression merely because public officials oppose the speaker’s view.”140

Consequently, the best way to protect student speech rights is by either (a) abandoning public forum analysis in favor of some other framework, or (b) modifying the public forum analysis such that the majority of student speech that should be protected is categorized as a limited (or traditional) public forum.

136. See, e.g., Peltz, supra note 14, at 535 (“Imagine a generation of college-trained journalists with no practical experience handling controversial subject matter, nor with any more than an academic understanding of the role of the Fourth Estate in American society.”). Peltz also questions whether a college editor who “decline[s] to pursue a story on a university president’s use of public funds to remodel his home because the story would reflect negatively on the university’s public image” would be likely to “aggressively pursue a story about a state governor spending public money on personal expenses.” Id.

137. Id. at 508 (noting that “courts since Hazelwood have disregarded the viewpoint-discrimination prong of nonpublic forum analysis,” at least in the case of student publications).

138. See supra note 37 and accompanying text.

139. See supra note 59 and accompanying text.

140. Perry Educ. Ass’n v. Perry Local Educators’ Ass’n, 460 U.S. 37, 46 (1982); see also supra note 37 and accompanying text.
A. Standards Based on Alternatives to Public Forum Analysis

Several commentators have proposed replacing public forum analysis with pre-*Hazelwood* college free speech jurisprudence, arguing that the “material and substantial disruption” test developed in *Tinker* should provide the basis for evaluating regulations of student speech at universities.\(^{141}\) This test has several advantages: It allows universities to regulate speech when it would materially disrupt essential activities such as classroom learning. It is consistent with the early cases of *Healy* and *Papish*, which provided broad free speech rights for students.\(^{142}\) It also provides a fairly clear standard that allows students and administrators to understand their rights, particularly when compared to the complicated public forum analysis.\(^{143}\) However, it is extremely unlikely that the Supreme Court, having used the public forum analysis in the university context,\(^{144}\) would abandon it altogether in favor of the *Tinker* analysis.

Other courts and commentators have proposed an intermediate scrutiny test.\(^{145}\) Under intermediate scrutiny, “the university would have the burden of demonstrating that its regulation of college and graduate student speech was substantially related to an important pedagogical purpose.”\(^{146}\) This would provide less protection for student speech than a standard under which all student speech is analyzed as a limited or traditional public forum, but more protection than the *Hazelwood* analysis.\(^{147}\) One major disadvantage of this option is that it provides no clear criteria for students or administrators and is likely to produce inconsistent results.\(^{148}\)

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142. See supra notes 21–24 and accompanying text.

143. See supra note 40.

144. See supra notes 72–75 and accompanying text.


146. Brown, 308 F.3d at 964 (Reinhardt, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part).

147. Id.

148. Martin, supra note 141, at 202; see also United States v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515, 568 (1996) (Scalia, J., dissenting) (“We have no established criterion for ‘intermediate scrutiny’ either, but essentially apply it when it seems like a good idea to load the dice.”).
B. Standards Based On Modified Public Forum Analysis

1. College Student Activities as Limited Public Forums

One possible solution is simply to declare that in the case of college students, all student newspapers or other expressive activities are limited public forums as a matter of law. This would have the advantage of limiting schools’ authority to censor. It would also seem to be consistent with early speech cases, which assumed that newspapers, at least, should be free from censorship. However, as others have pointed out, courts will likely be reluctant to make a blanket statement of that kind. For one thing, it fails to take into account the fact that colleges may have a legitimate interest in speech regulations in classroom activities. Courts may be reluctant to say that a student’s chemistry exam, for example, is a limited public forum where the teacher can impose only minimal limits on speech.

2. Modified Public Forum Analysis Based on Extracurricular/Curricular Distinction

A more realistic solution is to provide courts with a more predictable way of applying public forum analysis. I suggest that, instead of applying a complicated four-factor analysis involving written policy, practice, context, and compatibility with expression, courts should base their public forum analysis primarily on the extracurricular/curricular distinction. Under a test based on the extracurricular/curricular distinction, an extracurricular student activity at a university would be presumed to occur in a limited public forum. The university would then be able to put into place regulations based on the time, place, or manner of expression. However, the university could rebut this presumption and show that the forum was inconsistent with the free expression of ideas. For curricular activities, on the other hand, the presumption would be that the speech

149. Brown, 308 F.3d at 964 (Reinhardt, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part); Schulz, supra note 145, at 1237.
150. See supra notes 21–24 and accompanying text.
151. Schulz, supra note 145, at 1237.
152. See supra notes 79–82 and accompanying text.
153. See supra note 33 and accompanying text.
154. For example, in Student Government Association v. Board of Trustees of University of Massachusetts, 868 F.2d 473, 477 (1st Cir. 1989), the court found that the Legal Services Office of the university was not a forum of any kind. Id. In such a case, a court might find that the extracurricular activity was a nonpublic forum.
occurs in a nonpublic forum. In such cases, the university could establish restrictions on speech as long as they are related to legitimate pedagogical concerns and are not designed to suppress the speaker’s viewpoint. However, students could overcome this presumption by showing that the school expressed a clear intent to create a public forum, either by policy or by practice.

This test has several advantages. First, it allows the continued existence of free and independent student media on college campuses, since the overwhelming majority of college newspapers operate as part of extracurricular activities. Second, it allows educators to control what goes on in classrooms, both out of concern for professors’ academic freedom and universities’ goal of imparting specific knowledge to students. Third, it is consistent with Supreme Court precedent suggesting that public forum analysis is the proper framework for scrutinizing student speech at universities. Fourth, it is consistent with cases decided prior to Hosty that generally upheld restrictions on student speech that occurred as part of the curriculum and found impermissible restrictions occurring in extracurricular settings. Even the Hazelwood Court limited its holding to curricular activities, albeit with a broad definition of curricular. Fifth, the proposed test provides clear guidelines for students and administrators concerning what can and cannot be regulated.

V. CONCLUSION

Since Hazelwood and the introduction of public forum analysis, student speech rights at all levels have been under fire. In Hosty v. Carter, the Seventh Circuit extended Hazelwood’s analysis further than ever before by holding that an extracurricular university student newspaper might be a nonpublic forum and thus subject to extensive censorship. In so deciding,

155. See supra note 37 and accompanying text.
156. Mark J. Fiore, Comment, Trampling the “Marketplace of Ideas”: The Case Against Extending Hazelwood to College Campuses, 150 U. PA. L. REV. 1915, 1962 (2002) (citing a study finding that only one of 101 daily college newspapers is considered part of the curriculum).
157. See Hosty v. Carter, 412 F.3d 731, 736 (7th Cir. 2005) (en banc) (“[A]cademic freedom includes the authority of the university to manage an academic community and evaluate teaching and scholarship free from interference by other units of government.”).
158. See Axson-Flynn v. Johnson, 356 F.3d 1277, 1290–91 (10th Cir. 2004); see also Ryan, supra note 130, at 1340–41 (arguing that the Supreme Court’s decisions in school cases can be explained by the principle that “schools are free to limit speech that would disrupt the learning process”).
159. See supra notes 72–75 and accompanying text.
160. See supra Part II.C.
161. See supra note 52.
it brought into question several decades of commitment to the importance of free and independent student media on college campuses.

*Hosty v. Carter*’s holding, that a dean who censored a newspaper could not reasonably have known that her actions were unconstitutional, illustrates the fundamental problem with how public forum analysis has been used to evaluate student speech. As currently applied, public forum analysis involves a complicated weighing of factors that students and administrators cannot be expected to understand. In the absence of a clear standard, administrators can act with impunity. Courts should develop a new framework that provides clear standards and also protects the long tradition of the university as a “marketplace of ideas.”

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