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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Policies in Academia:
The Faculty's Response

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Psychology

by

Komi Téa German

September 2020

Dissertation Committee:
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University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the product of more than me. It is a reflection of the minds and hearts of the 55 academics whose ideas are the essence of this research. I am immensely grateful to them for their contributions. They each provided an integral piece of a puzzle that I hope is as illuminating for others to behold as it has been for me—with the guidance of two incredible advisors—to piece together.

The number of pages it would require for me to adequately describe the importance of my advisors exceeds the length of this dissertation. One of the first courses I took as a PhD student was Professor Howard Friedman's Theories and Concepts of Social Psychology. From the outset, it was clear that this course would be unlike any I had ever taken. Howard has the remarkable ability to continually push students to think far beyond what is immediately accessible to them. What would you have believed if you were living in Germany during the rise of Hitler? What makes you think you would have acted differently from the people you condemn? What is happening now that people will look back on and wish they could have prevented?

Howard taught me that thinking about social psychology is supposed to be uncomfortable. It should force us to reckon with the universal human fallibility within ourselves and others; it should allow us to recognize our shared humanity with those we deem utterly inhumane; and it should lead us to think twice before we assume a position of superiority. His outlook on the field is the inspiration for not only this dissertation, but also for the social psychologist I strive to be.

I also have Howard to thank for introducing me to Professor Steven Brint, whose comprehension of the higher education system and commitment to upholding scholarly ideals is unmatched. In the first article I read by Professor Brint, he contemplated the field of sociology and offered 11 theses that resonated with me for reasons I had yet to understand. The piece, aptly titled "A Guide for the Perplexed," put into words insights I *almost* realized on my own. It was as though I had been given access to something I already knew, but did not know I knew, and what's more is that it was accompanied by many other things I did not know.

The exhilaration I felt as I read this piece became the ongoing experience of working with the encyclopedic Professor Brint. When he recognizes a good idea, it means not that this is an idea that has never been thought, but that this is an idea whose history can offer important insights into the current discussion. Professor Brint taught me that there is always another layer, another angle, another factor to explore. It is this quest that I believe brings him to his computer at 6 a.m. every morning. He is the pinnacle of academic professionalism, and to have studied under his supervision has been the pinnacle of my educational career.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Policies in Academia:
The Faculty's Response

by

Komi. Téa German

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Psychology
University of California, Riverside, September 2020
Dr. Howard S. Friedman, Co-Chairperson
Dr. Steven G. Brint, Co-Chairperson

The history of our country reveals a continual quest to live up to our ideals. Given past impediments faced by minorities and women, institutions of higher education are committed to increasing the representation of people from historically marginalized groups. This commitment is often expressed through policies that promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). To many, DEI signifies the elimination of barriers, the hope for fair representation, and the desire to respect group differences. However, DEI is seldom defined with specificity, leaving its meaning open to interpretation. Lack of definitional clarify may create confusion, suspicion, and disagreement when various policies are implemented.

Some are concerned that progressive values of DEI are in tension with traditional values of academic freedom, free speech, and the disinterested pursuit of truth. To date, there has been no comprehensive investigation of whether academics perceive these commitments to be in conflict, and if so, which they prioritize. In the present research, 55

faculty across the humanities and social sciences at a public research university in

California were interviewed about ten DEI policies.

Qualitative content analysis revealed four ideologies—radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, and opposed—that represent distinct appraisals of whether progressive values (a) supersede, (b) complement, (c) threaten, or (d) undermine traditional values. These assessments lead to distinct perceptions of whether/how DEI policies should be implemented. Given that many academics endorse both traditional and progressive values, their perceptions of DEI policies reveal their attempts to negotiate between honoring the past and transforming the future of academia.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A CONFLICT OF VALUES

The United States is a country both fraught with shortcomings and imbued with greatness. Recognizing our flaws while celebrating our virtues is a difficult balance to strike. In light of our country's history of prejudice and discrimination, issues surrounding race and gender—specifically, whether or how to rectify persistent imbalances—remain among the most difficult topics to discuss constructively. Although the Civil Rights Movement succeeded in eliminating many overt barriers, in the decades since, scholars have gradually identified more subtle barriers and have attempted to eliminate those as well. Today, many American institutions of higher education have committed themselves to increasing the representation of individuals from underrepresented minority (URM)[1] groups. This commitment is expressed through various efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI).[2]

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[1] The working definition of an underrepresented minority (URM), according to "Diversity and Outreach" at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) is someone whose racial or ethnic makeup is one of the following: African American/Black, Asian (Filipino, Hmong, or Vietnamese only), Hispanic/Latinx, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander.

2 The following definitions are listed in the "Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion: Glossary" from the University of California, Davis (UC Davis):

Diversity: "The variety of personal experiences, values and worldviews that arise from differences of culture and circumstance. It is the variety created in any society (and within any individual) by the presence of different points of view and ways of making meaning, which generally flow from the influence of different cultural, ethnic and religious heritages, from the differences in how we socialize women and men, and from the differences that emerge from class, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, ability and other socially constructed characteristics."

Equity: "The guarantee of fair treatment, access, opportunity and advancement for all students, faculty and staff, while at the same time striving to identify and eliminate barriers that have prevented the full participation of some groups. The principle of equity acknowledges that there are historically underserved and underrepresented populations and that fairness regarding these unbalanced conditions is needed to assist equality in the provision of effective opportunities to all groups."

Inclusion: "The act of creating environments in which any individual or group can be and feel welcomed, respected, supported and valued as a fully participating member. An inclusive and welcoming climate

In recent years, DEI policies have broadened in terms of both their influence and the groups they intend to serve. In the process, questions and controversies have arisen surrounding the purpose of DEI policies. Are they helping us realize Martin Luther King's dream, or are they dividing us in ways that exacerbate the subtle barriers they attempt to eliminate? This dissertation addresses these difficult questions by examining how professors in the social sciences and humanities evaluate a wide range of our country's most contentious DEI policies.

The goal of enhancing DEI enjoys high levels of support within academia. To many, it signifies the elimination of barriers, the hope for fair representation, and the desire to respect group differences. However, the terms "diversity," "equity," and "inclusion" are seldom defined with specificity, leaving their meanings and implications largely open to interpretation. The term "diversity," for instance, might imply the representation of individuals from a *wide variety of backgrounds*, as a way of promoting *cosmopolitanism*, or it could mean the representation of individuals from *specific racial-ethnic groups*, as a way of promoting *social justice*. The term "equity" might imply the *equal* distribution of resources to prevent mistreatment in the *present*, or it could mean the *unequal* distribution of resources to make up for mistreatment in the *past*. Finally, the term "inclusion" might imply the welcoming of *various* groups and perspectives into a *shared* space, or the creation of *designated* spaces for *particular* affinity groups and perspectives. The lack of definitional clarify regarding these important terms may create

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embraces differences and offers respect in words and actions for all people. Inclusion integrates the fact of diversity and embeds it into the core academic mission and institutional functioning."

confusion, suspicion, and disagreement, particularly when various policies are implemented.

Support for abstract, subjective notions of DEI is different from support for concrete policies. When specific measures are taken, some may become concerned about threats to traditional university values—namely, academic freedom, free speech, and the disinterested pursuit of truth. As Charles Murray explained, "We have gone from a shared telos for the university, exemplified by Harvard's motto, 'Veritas,' to campuses where professors must be on guard against committing thought crimes, students clamor for protection against troubling ideas, codes limiting the free expression of ideas are routine, and ancient ideals of scholarly excellence and human virtue are derided and denounced" (Murray, 2020, p. 4). Statements such as this are common, but nevertheless anecdotal. To date, there has been no comprehensive investigation of how abstract beliefs about diversity, equity, and inclusion translate to perceptions of a wide range of concrete DEI policies that may conflict with traditional university values.

In present study, faculty were interviewed about their honest, private views on various concrete DEI policies involving language, the physical campus, and faculty hiring. DEI policies focused on language include raising awareness of microaggressions through workshops or lists; implementing speech codes that restrict hate speech and other forms of offensive language; monitoring bias incidents via university-wide reporting systems; and administering trigger warnings before discussing sensitive topics in the classroom. Next, DEI policies focused on the physical campus include removing from walls the portraits of former departmental chairs when many or all of them are white

men, renaming buildings named after controversial figures, and banning speakers whose views are widely seen as offensive. Lastly, DEI policies focused on faculty hiring involve evaluating candidates based on their diversity statements, having faculty undergo diversity or bias training, and considering the race and/or gender of candidates for faculty positions.

These DEI policies have been the subject of heated debate on many college and university campuses. In such a tense climate, faculty may be hesitant to express their views publicly for various reasons. Due to self-censoring, the full range of views about DEI policies remains unknown. Any attempt to illuminate these views and examine them systematically must allow faculty to feel comfortable expressing themselves without fear of reputational consequences.

In the present study, I used a semi-structured interview protocol to encourage faculty to spontaneously generate and express their honest, confidential views regarding DEI policies at universities across the country, including their own institution. Systematic examination of these views revealed how faculty conceptualize DEI values in relation to traditional university values. In this way, the present investigation explored how faculty view concrete, highly contested polices that reside at the interface of progressive and traditional commitments within academia. As our universities struggle to find the best strategy for honoring the past and transforming the future of academia, the present research offers a framework for understanding how the differential weighting of potentially competing values leads to distinct evaluations of whether or how to implement DEI policies.

Research Questions

The current study is an exploratory investigation designed to serve as a foundation for theory development. As such, the research questions are fairly broad and open-ended. Due to the sensitive nature of issues surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), faculty's private views are largely unknown. University administrators frequently promote DEI in ways that may lead one to believe that the academic community unanimously and unequivocally supports corresponding policies. However, an understanding of social psychology may also lead one to suspect that social pressures may be preventing the full range of views from being readily expressed. Thus, the goal of the present investigation is to understand nuances within patterns of reasoning surrounding DEI issues that have yet to be explored and documented. The research questions are as follows:

1. Do academics in the social sciences and humanities express the high levels of support for DEI policies that one might expect in light of their liberal academic context?

2. Do academics express higher levels of support for some DEI policies than for others?

3. What (if any) reasons do academics provide for *not* supporting DEI policies?

4. Do faculty agree with one another regarding whether/how DEI policies should be implemented?

5. Are there overarching patterns of reasoning that govern how individual faculty respond across DEI policies?

Traditional Academic Values

Institutions of higher education have a long history of upholding traditions that interact in interesting ways with more recent movements to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) in academia. Advocates of university traditions—namely, free speech, academic freedom, and the disinterested pursuit of truth—believe institutions of higher education must not only respect the free speech rights of those whose views are seen as deeply offensive, but should also instill the value of understanding such views from the perspectives of those who hold them. In his treatise, *On Liberty*, John Stuart Mill (1859) explained, "He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that. His reasons may be good, and no one may have been able to refute them. But if he is equally unable to refute the reasons on the opposite side, if he does not so much as know what they are, he has no ground for preferring either opinion" (Mill, 1859, p. 21).

However, the idea that university scholars can or should remain totally disinterested has become a highly controversial one, largely because higher education institutions serve as gatekeepers to success in American society. Out of concern for the social mobility of underrepresented minorities (URMs), some have argued that institutions have a fundamental duty to "do something" about group disparities within academia and society more broadly. At the same time, others have expressed concern, both publicly and in private, that efforts to improve the academic experiences and outcomes of URMs may undermine the university's commitment to traditional ideals such as free speech, academic freedom, and the disinterested pursuit of truth. They have argued that academics have a fundamental duty to approach contentious social issues

from a place of reason rather than emotion, and to remain neutral in the face of political pressure from the public and/or the university administration.

The University of Chicago is considered a stalwart of these traditional university values (see, e.g., FIRE, 2015; Poliakoff, 2018; Willinger, 2018). In July 2014, a committee chaired by University of Chicago Law professor Geoffrey Stone released a report "articulating the University's overarching commitment to free, robust, and uninhibited debate and deliberation among all members of the University's community." In the University of Chicago's (2014) "Report of the Committee on Freedom of Expression" (now known as the Chicago Principles), the committee explains, "Although the University greatly values civility, and although all members of the University community share in the responsibility for maintaining a climate of mutual respect, concerns about civility and mutual respect can never be used as a justification for closing off discussion of ideas, however offensive or disagreeable those ideas may be to some members of our community."

This declaration makes clear that the sorts of community values that promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) must not compromise the university's fundamental commitment to academic freedom and free speech. The Chicago Principles conclude, "In a word, the University's fundamental commitment is to the principle that debate or deliberation may not be suppressed because the ideas put forth are thought by some or even by most members of the University community to be offensive, unwise, immoral, or wrong-headed." In asserting that the commitment to free inquiry must *supersede* concerns about the effects of such expression, the University of Chicago removes any

ambiguity with regard to the prioritization of its values. As of July 2020, institutional leaders—including faculty, administrators, and institutional governing boards—at more than seventy colleges and universities across the country have officially endorsed the Chicago Statement (FIRE, 2020).

The sentiments expressed in the Chicago Statement are part of a long tradition of such statements, including the American Association of University Professors (AAUP)'s 1915 "Declaration of Principles" and 1940 "Statement on Principles of Academic Freedom and Tenure," the University of Chicago's 1967 "Kalven Report," and Yale University's 1974 "Woodward Report," all emphasizing the preeminence of traditional university values in institutions of higher education.

In its 1915 "Declaration of Principles," the AAUP justifies its commitment to "the absolute freedom of thought, of inquiry, of discussion and of teaching, of the academic profession" (p. 300). Scholars, in their quest for truth, are expected to reach their own independent judgments free from pressure from the public or the university administration. "[I]t is highly needful, in the interest of society at large, that what purport to be the conclusions of men trained for, and dedicated to, the quest for truth, shall in fact be the conclusions of such men, and not echoes of the opinions of the lay public, or of the individuals who endow or manage universities" (p. 294). When campus administrators implement policies such as microaggression awareness workshops, speech codes, bias training, diversity statements, and affirmative action, faculty may be pressured to conform to DEI norms. In this way, faculty's decisions regarding how to communicate

with others, what language to use, how to assess qualifications, and who to hire may all be influenced by university administrators.

The AAUP argues that when scholars appear to be motivated by desires other than the disinterested pursuit of truth, the university becomes corrupted and rightfully loses its capacity to impact public opinion. "To the degree that professional scholars, in the formation and promulgation of their opinions, are, or by the character of their tenure appear to be, subject to any motive other than their own scientific conscience and a desire for the respect of their fellow experts, to that degree the university teaching profession is corrupted; its proper influence upon public opinion is diminished and vitiated" (pp. 294-5). This is especially relevant when it comes to contentious social issues. The AAUP expects scholars to remain neutral and to not act in the interests of any segment of the population. "[I]f the universities are to render any such service toward the right solution of the social problems of the future, it is the first essential that the scholars who carry on the work of universities shall not be in a position of dependence upon the favor of any social class or group, that the disinterestedness and impartiality of their inquiries and their conclusions shall be, so far as is humanly possible, beyond the reach of suspicion" (pp. 296-7). The expectation that scholars remain disinterested and impartial in their research on a given social group implies that their commitment to increasing the representation of historically marginalized groups remain secondary to their professional work as scholars.

The AAUP asserts that the right to academic freedom is to be granted solely to those who engage in the disinterested pursuit of scientific knowledge, and that those who fail to perform this duty are not deserving of academic freedom. "The claim to freedom

of teaching is made in the interest of the integrity and of the progress of scientific inquiry; it is, therefore, only those who carry on their work in the temper of the scientific inquirer who may justly assert this claim" (p. 298). Thus, faculty may not claim their right to academic freedom when their ideas reflect anything besides the disinterested pursuit of truth.

According to the AAUP, to the extent that advocating for DEI conflicts with this pursuit, it is not protected by academic freedom. When teaching about contentious social issues, professors may express their personal views, but they are expected to portray divergent perspectives in a fair manner. "The university teacher, in giving instruction upon controversial matters, while he is under no obligation to hide his own opinion under a mountain of equivocal verbiage, should, if he is fit for his position, be a person of a fair and judicial mind; he should, in dealing with such subjects, set forth justly, without suppression or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators" (p. 298). Applied to DEI issues, the AAUP reasoning goes that when professors discuss the importance of DEI, they are also expected to provide fair accounts of why some criticize DEI so students can reach their own conclusions.

Above all, the AAUP asserts that the professor is expected to teach students not *what* to think, but *how* to think. "[H]e should, above all, remember that his business is not to provide his students with ready-made conclusions, but to train them to think for themselves, and to provide them access to those materials which they need if they are to think intelligently" (p. 298). This is considered especially important given that students are particularly susceptible to indoctrination. "The teacher ought also to be especially on

his guard against taking unfair advantage of the student's immaturity by indoctrinating him with the teacher's own opinions before the student has had an opportunity fairly to examine other opinions upon the matters in question, and before he has sufficient knowledge and ripeness of judgment to be entitled to form any definitive opinion of his own" (pp. 298-9). Thus, academic freedom is meant for scholars to not only engage in the disinterested pursuit of truth, but also to instill in their students the importance of this pursuit.

To the extent that faculty attempt to convince students to see contentious social issues such as DEI as they do, they may be accused of indoctrination, based on the AAUP's description. Academic freedom in both research and teaching are deemed essential to and meant for the pursuit of truth, nothing else. This sentiment is also reflected in the AAUP's 1940 "Statement on Principles of Academic Freedom and Tenure." The AAUP explains, "Freedom in research is fundamental to the advancement of truth. Academic freedom in its teaching aspect is fundamental for the protection of the rights of the teacher in teaching and of the student to freedom in learning" (p. 14).

Echoing the AAUP's stance, the University of Chicago's 1967 "Kalven Committee Report on the University's Role in Political and Social Action" explains that because the mission of the university is "the discovery, improvement, and dissemination of knowledge" (para. 4), it "cannot take collective action on the issues of the day without endangering the conditions for its existence and effectiveness," (para. 6) for to reach a collective position would inhibit academic freedom. The university "cannot insist that all of its members favor a given view of social policy," and if it were to, such collective

action would come "at the price of censuring any minority who do not agree with the view adopted" (para. 6).

Perhaps no social issues are more pressing on university campuses today than DEI. By mandating the use of diversity statements, as is common practice across the University of California system, the institution may be requiring faculty to endorse DEI policy and to promote it through collective action by faculty committees. Similarly, by requiring faculty to undergo diversity training of the type offered by Race Forward—an organization that emphasizes "Racial Justice Values & Vision" and was deemed an "expert practitioner" by the signatories of the "Not in Our Town Princeton" (2020) faculty letter regarding "Anti-Blackness"—the university may be instructing faculty to evaluate candidates in a political manner that some may disagree with but must nevertheless accept. To the extent that these DEI policies have the described consequences, they may go against the guidelines outlined in the Kalven Report.

The Kalven Report states that out of respect for free inquiry and viewpoint diversity, the university is obligated to remain neutral on social issues. "The neutrality of the university as an institution arises then not from a lack of courage nor out of indifference and insensitivity. It arises out of respect for free inquiry and the obligation to cherish a diversity of viewpoints" (para. 7). Although some may see it as a sign of callousness and perhaps privilege for the university to remain neutral when it comes to the most contentious social issues of the time, the University of Chicago sees this as necessary to ensure the legitimacy of the academy.

Similarly, Yale University's (1974) "Report of the Committee on Freedom of Expression at Yale" (now known as the "Woodward Report") explains that for universities to serve their purpose, they must guarantee "unfettered freedom, the right to think the unthinkable, discuss the unmentionable, and challenge the unchallengeable" (para. 9). Although the crafters acknowledge that right to free expression guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States presents challenges to the goal of establishing a civil, respectful society, they nevertheless assert that upholding this right is what makes our country and our institutions unique when one looks across history and the world. "We take a chance, as the First Amendment takes a chance, when we commit ourselves to the idea that the results of free expression are to the general benefit in the long run, however unpleasant they may appear at the time. The validity of such a belief cannot be demonstrated conclusively. It is a belief of recent historical development, even within universities, one embodied in American constitutional doctrine but not widely shared outside the academic world, and denied in theory and in practice by much of the world most of the time" (para. 10).

The Woodward Report committee determined that the sorts of civic values that promote DEI, though important, must not supersede traditional academic values, lest institutions of higher education become vulnerable to the tyranny by authoritarians or the majority. "Without sacrificing its central purpose, it cannot make its primary and dominant value the fostering of friendship, solidarity, harmony, civility, or mutual respect. To be sure, these are important values; other institutions may properly assign them the highest, and not merely a subordinate priority; and a good university will seek

and may in some significant measure attain these ends. But it will never let these values, important as they are, override its central purpose. We value freedom of expression precisely because it provides a forum for the new, the provocative, the disturbing, and the unorthodox. Free speech is a barrier to the tyranny of authoritarian or even majority opinion as to the rightness or wrongness of particular doctrines or thoughts" (para. 12).

The committee asserts that given the preeminence of free speech, it is essential for every member of the academic community to permit free expression and for every administrator to not only protect it, but to foster it as well. Thus, behavior that violates community values must not be subject to formal sanctions or otherwise suppressed because doing so would deny what Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes termed "freedom for the thought that we hate."[3]

The Woodward Report committee cautions against any action that would allow the majority—or a willful minority—to become arbiters of truth for all. Such a course of events, they warn, would subordinate free speech to values that are of lesser importance within academia. "If expression may be prevented, censored or punished, because of its content or because of the motives attributed to those who promote it, then it is no longer free. It will be subordinated to other values that we believe to be of lower priority in a university" (para. 16).

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[3] *United States v. Schwimmer*, 279 U.S. 644 (1929).

Progressive Academic Values

Within institutions of higher education, some have rejected the premise that traditional values of free speech, academic freedom, and the disinterested pursuit of truth should be prioritized over other values within the academy. Instead, they contend that other values—specifically, progressive values of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)—need to be prioritized, lest the embrace of traditional academic values be used to perpetuate the oppression of underrepresented minority (URM) groups. The guarantee of the right to free speech, for example, is deemed insufficient if there are members of the academic community whose voices do not matter. Therefore, advocates want greater assurance that URM voices will be heard, understood, and respected. They are also concerned that URM voices are diminished by conservatives who complain that academia is too liberal and does not allow students to think for themselves. To the extent that the idea of protecting free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth is seen as a political tool of the Right, it is also seen as protecting the expression of harmful views that place an unequal burden on URMs by perpetuating oppressive conditions that prevent them from being able to exercise their own rights.

These concerns are expressed most strongly by scholars who are skeptical of not only prevailing notions of free speech, academic freedom, and the "disinterested" pursuit of truth, but also the constellation of traditional institutional customs, practices, and symbols present in institutions of higher education that are believed to undermine the ability of URMs to participate as equal members of the academic community. Because American institutions have historically been comprised of affluent white males, the

argument goes that DEI has not been a concern. It may not have been necessary to make an effort to ensure that all voices were heard because all voices were essentially the same, and the voices of those who were different were deliberately and systematically excluded. Today, however, many argue that change is needed because institutions are becoming more diverse, yet maintain the traditions—including the commitment to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth—that reflect the voices and values of their privileged predecessors (see, e.g., Curtis, 2000; Fiss, 2009; Jensen, 2005; Neville, Worthingon, & Spanierman, 2001).

Although the Civil Rights Movement succeeded in removing many overtly racist legal and institutional structures,[4] some contend that more subtle, ubiquitous forms of racism have taken their place and are responsible for the persistence of racial disparities, particularly among URMs. Racism, defined by individuals' thoughts, emotions, and behaviors, is seen as offering an inadequate framework for understanding racial inequality. Instead, some believe that racism should be characterized as a structural problem that develops a life of its own and functions as the organizing principle of social relations (Essed 1991; Omi & Winant 2014; Robinson, 2000; van Dijk, 1987). As such, it is argued that the persistent inequality experienced by blacks and other racial minorities in the United States is due to the continued existence of institutional racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). In contrast to the overt racist practices that created racial inequality in the

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[4] Notably, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act guarantee people of color the right to participate meaningfully in U.S. colleges and universities.

Jim Crow era, modern racism is seen as increasingly covert, embedded in the normal

functioning of institutions and invisible to most whites.[5]

In *Black Power* (1967), Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton wrote that

racism "takes two, closely related forms: individual whites acting against individual

blacks, and acts by the total white community against the black community" (p. 4). They

referred to these forms as individual and institutional racism. Individual racism is overt,

explicit, and can be identified by its means, whereas institutional racism is vague, diffuse,

and can be identified by its ends. Where there is disparity, there is discrimination whose

precise mechanisms it is the task of the scholar to unpack. When African Americans live

in poverty and lack critical resources (e.g., food, housing, healthcare), that is a function of

institutional racism (Carmichael, Hamilton, & Ture, 1992).

By this reasoning, modern racism is seen as "structural and embodied inequities

that are rendered 'legitimate' and appropriate by particular conventions of policy, law,

common sense, and even science" (Thompson, 1997, p. 8). Prevailing notions of

colorblindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity are dominant ideologies—or

common forms of "received wisdom" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2413)—that some have argued

perpetuate inequities by drawing attention away from the realities of oppression

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[5] It is important to distinguish between structural and institutional racism. I use the term "institutional racism" because I am referring to institutions of higher education. Structural racism is "the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics – historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color. It is a system of hierarchy and inequity, primarily characterized by white supremacy – the preferential treatment, privilege and power for white people at the expense of Black, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Arab and other racially oppressed people" (Lawrence & Keleher, 2004). Institutional racism involves "discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and inequitable opportunities and impacts, based on race, produced and perpetuated by institutions" (Lawrence & Keleher, 2004).

(Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Huber, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). They believe there is an incongruity between the commitment to abstract equality and individual rights on the one hand, and participation in racialized practices, institutions, and structures on the other (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Moore, 2008; Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Scholars who adopt this structural interpretation of racism in the United States contend that in the post-civil rights era, domination of blacks has been hegemonic, achieved more through consent than force (Omi & Winant, 1994; Winant, 1995). The overt and eminently racist practices and mechanisms that kept African Americans subordinated during the period of Jim Crow are thought to have morphed into covert and indirect racism (Bonilla-Silva & Lewis, 1999). What has remained constant, however, is that black people's life chances are significantly lower than those of whites. The greater the racial disparities in life outcomes, the more a society is believed to be plagued by structural racism (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967).

Proponents of a structural interpretation recognize that not all members of the superordinate race receive the same level of reward, and conversely, not all members of the subordinate race or races are at the bottom of the social order; nevertheless, the argument is that races *as groups* are in either a superordinate or subordinate position in society. In this way, racism is seen as going in one direction, from whites to people of color. "Racism is not fluid in the U.S.; it does not flow back and forth, one day benefiting whites and another day (or even era) benefiting people of color. The direction of power between whites and people of color is historic, traditional, normalized, and deeply

embedded in the fabric of U.S. society" (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 56). Once these racial power dynamics have become institutionalized (i.e., form a structure and culture), individuals are believed to be affected whether they are conscious of it or not. For this reason, racism has been described as encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural structures, actions, and beliefs that systematically perpetuate unequal distribution of power between whites and people of color (Mills, 1999; Feagin, 2006). It is argued that one result of this institutional racism is the tendency of black bankers, lawyers, professors, and doctors to see themselves as constantly under the suspicion of being inferior to their white counterparts (Cose, 1993; Graham, 1995).

Bobo (1988) argued that once racism is institutionalized, relations among individuals always includes a racial element. In particular, conflict is thought to represent minoritized groups' struggles for systematic changes in their position at one or more levels. These struggles may be social (e.g., who is included, who belongs), political (e.g., who can vote, who has power), and economic (e.g., who does what work). As such, institutional racism is seen as the governing principle in social, political, and economic interactions between the races. Depending on the nature of the institutionalized racism and the particular struggles of the minoritized racial groups, it is argued that racism may be expressed in overt or covert ways (Bobo & Smith, 1994; Jackman, 1994; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Pettigrew, 1994; Sears, 1988).

Differential allocation of economic, political, and social rewards to groups along racial lines is cited as evidence of institutional racism. Within institutions of higher education, this may mean a greater representation of underrepresented minorities (URMs)

at the bottom of the status hierarchy. "Are the majority of deans and high-level administrators white while the majority of custodial staff are people of color? Are the majority of tenured faculty white while the majority of teachers of color are untenured lecturers? In the vast majority of historically white institutions of higher education, these racialized patters of institutional organization of power and lack of power (e.g., exploitation) exist" (Moore & Bell, 2017, p. 104).

It is argued that once a society is institutionally racist, there will be racial differences in social customs and relations at all levels and across all sectors. Racism is seen as an organizational framework guiding the actions of individuals in the society. Thus, the aggregate of this segmentation reveals the institutional racism of a society. Because institutions are "fairly stable social arrangements and practices through which collective actions are taken" (Knowles & Pruitt, 1969, p. 5), they are seen as powerful mechanisms for social reproduction. Viewing social institutions through the lens of race relations is believed to be essential for identifying mechanisms underlying the reproduction of racial inequality in the United States (see, e.g., Feagin, 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967). Moreover, struggles among subordinate races are seen as the logical result of a society plagued by institutional racism. Where there is institutional racism, the reasoning goes, there will inevitably be power struggles between the races. Thus, to prevent social upheaval, it is argued that there needs to be an equalization of power among the races by dismantling and transforming institutions from the inside.

Within institutions of higher education, the curriculum, organizational assumptions, policies, and symbolic elements of physical space are seen as neither neutral nor impartial (Moore & Bell, 2017). Instead, the historical racial exclusion of people of color from American institutions of higher education is believed to have enabled the institutionalization of white norms, values, and cultural representations, along with policies that justify and reinforce white power (Moore, 2008; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008; Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996). Some assert that because white institutional practices have been framed as normative, neutral, and non-racialized, they have not been subject to critical analysis (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Roediger, 2002; Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Feagin (2006) argues that the result of this unchallenged white institutional structure has been a deeply embedded hegemonic force that normalizes and justifies white power without any meaningful input from people of color.

Students of color in historically white institutions of higher education are more likely than their white peers see themselves as surrounded by racialized practices (Lipsitz, 2011; Moore, 2008; Feagin, Vera, & Imani 1997). These perceptions are thought to be the result of what Bonilla-Silva (2003) calls "color-blind racism." Examples of color-blind racism include white students or faculty assuming, without evidence, that a student of color is at a university because of affirmative action and is therefore less qualified than many white students at the school (Moore, 2008), or a professor mentioning that a culture of poverty in black communities makes African Americans less committed to education (Lipsitz, 2011; Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Perhaps no customs are believed to reflect and perpetuate institutional racism more than the traditional values embedded in American institutions of higher education. Scholars have cited the ideas of meritocracy, race neutrality, and equal opportunity as reflective of subtle racism (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Moreover, according to McIntosh (1988), whites are taught to see their perspectives as objective. DiAngelo (2011) asserts that the belief in objectivity allows whites to believe they are capable of understanding the experiences of others, including those over whom they exert power. Similarly, leaders of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) asserted, "claims of disinterest, objectivity, and universality are not be trusted," for they are usually disguised forms of power seeking (ACLS, 1989, p. 18). It is seen as imperative to call attention to the unjust hegemony of rationalist discourses over the equally valid perspectives of nonelite groups. Because established discourses are seen as more or less arbitrary and unjustified, it is argued that they can (and should) be changed. As a prominent scholar put it, "Science has always been used to legitimize racism, sexism, classism, transphobia, ableism, and homophobia, all veiled as rational and fact, and supported by the government and state. In this world today, there is little that is true 'fact'" (beyond the green, 2017, para. 10).

In other words, what we believe to be true is a series of flawed assumptions that serve the interests of dominant groups. This idea maps onto the social constructivist idea that there is no such thing as objective knowledge because all knowledge is the product of social practices and thereby inevitably comes from a certain standpoint or a perspective. "Social constructivism argues that all knowledge is the product of social

practices; knowledge is therefore inescapably from a standpoint or a perspective. No knowledge in this view is privileged or, in any strong sense, objective" (Young, 2007, p. 145). If one believes that truth is subjective and reflects the perspectives of those in power, then the ideal of a disinterested pursuit of truth is a myth that perpetuates the oppression of those who lack power. Through this social constructivist lens, commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) involves rejecting the idea that objective truth exists. Bourdieu (1977) explains that people are unknowingly manipulated by arbitrary social constructions and that it is the job of the researcher to unveil how socially constructed forces perpetuate the oppression of certain groups. In this way, social constructivists attempt to demonstrate that factors driving group disparities are socially constructed and can be nullified once they are unveiled.

A related argument is that we ought to dispel ourselves of the idea that free speech is a gateway to truth. Even if we have free speech and are encouraged to engage in rational discourse, we might not be able to be objective. Karl Mannheim (1936) explained that ideology prevents us from being purely rational and limits our capacity to engage in the disinterested pursuit of knowledge. Instead, power relationships are thought to shape the language and theories we use to understand our experience and reality. "Hence it has become extremely questionable whether, in the flux of life, it is a genuinely worthwhile intellectual problem to seek to discover fixed and immutable ideas or absolutes. It is a more worthy intellectual task perhaps to learn to think dynamically and relationally rather than statically. In our contemporary social and intellectual plight, it is nothing less than shocking to discover that those persons who claim to have discovered

an absolute are usually the same people who also pretend to be superior to the rest" (p. 77). In other words, what we feel, think, and do is a function of our position in society. "The ideas expressed by the subject are thus regarded as functions of his existence. This means that opinion, statements, propositions, and systems of ideas are not taken at their face value but are interpreted in light of the life situation of the one who expresses them" (p. 337).

Thus, the reasoning goes that there is no *telos*, no general goal or system of norms and values, that is free from the ideological domination of those in power. "The very way in which a concept is defined and the nuance in which it is employed already embody to a certain degree a prejudgment concerning the outcome of the chain of ideas built upon it" (p. 343). The rational exchange of ideas that one might hope would result from free speech is deemed illusory. It is argued that for free speech to become a possibility, there needs to be an increased self-consciousness of—and liberation from—the unjust, oppressive forces that shape "knowledge" and impose arbitrary meanings and structures upon language. Some believe that only once the dominant ideology has been identified and gotten rid of can there emerge a space for discussing ideas.

According to Herbert Marcuse, the prevailing order that has emerged from socially constructed forces must be dismantled to allow historically marginalized groups to rise. Importantly, power hierarchies in institutions of higher education can be overturned by prioritizing "the voices and experiences of those who are least heard in education, especially as they provide counter-understandings to dominant ideologies" (Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez, 2011, p. 97). Certain limitations on tolerance are

seen as justifiable if they facilitate the liberation of the oppressed, thereby achieving "truth" in the form of "true liberation." Marcuse (1965) advocated for "repressive tolerance," wherein certain perspectives need to be barred so they can no longer dominate. The "continued existence" of "the small and powerless minorities which struggle against the false consciousness and its beneficiaries" is "more important than the preservation of abused rights and liberties which grant constitutional powers to those who oppress these minorities" (p. 12). In this way, Marcuse was calling for freedom of speech to be *subordinate* to freedom from domination. According to Marcuse, "the objective of tolerance would call for intolerance toward prevailing policies, attitudes, opinions, and the extension of tolerance to policies, attitudes, and opinions which are outlawed or suppressed" (Marcuse, 1965, p. 95). He believed the roots of Western civilization—racism, sexism, and other forms of bigotry—need to be torn out, and alliances need to be formed with the explicit goal of doing so. For members of oppressed groups to survive and prosper in institutions such as higher education, they needed to band together in deconstructing a system predicated on traditional values that reflect privilege and perpetuate oppression.

This coalition is formed on the basis of "intersectionality," a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw to describe how the intersection of an individual's membership in various identity groups—namely race, gender, and sexual orientation—determines his or her "lived reality" (Crenshaw, 1990). It is argued that those with more privileged identities have, by dint of their positionality, knowingly and/or unknowingly oppressed those with underprivileged identities. Crenshaw explains that although it is difficult for

straight white men to acknowledge their privilege, such acknowledgement is nevertheless necessary, lest they be complicit in institutional racism (Crenshaw, 2015). Whites must recognize and apologize for their privilege, and males must recognize and apologize for their toxic masculinity.[6] The idea is that Marcuse's notion of repressive tolerance must be practiced against those who oppose or otherwise attempt to undermine the validity of intersectionality.

The term "white privilege" refers to the belief that life in the U.S. is cumulatively easier for whites than it is for other groups. In her essay, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Peggy McIntosh (1990) explains that whites can more easily fraternize with members of their race, find desirable housing, evade suspicion from store clerks, and be assured that a police officer who pulls them over is not engaging in racial profiling. This expository piece has achieved canonical status and the notion of white privilege has entered mainstream discourse in the social sciences and humanities (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Solomona, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005).

To some, the concepts of institutional racism, social constructivism, repressive tolerance, intersectionality, and white privilege offer a framework for determining who is qualified to discuss and research issues that concern the status of historically marginalized groups in society. The relational patterns of oppression are believed to be revealed by who speaks and who does not, who listens and who does not, and who is understood and who is not (Gee, 1999). To reverse this pattern, some contend that free

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[6] For an overview and discussion of toxic masculinity, see, e.g., Brod & Kaufman (1994), Brittan (1989), Bird (1996).

speech must be subordinated to freedom from subordination. The oppressed must be given space to speak, to be listened to, and to be understood. Delgado (1984) explains that within academia, although all scholars may technically have the freedom to discuss race-related issues, minority scholars are in a more authoritative position than their white colleagues. The reasoning goes that because whites have not experienced racial oppression, their scholarship on such issues is inevitably unsatisfactory.[7]

It is argued that racism—past and present—has prevented people of color from being able to exercise their free speech rights in a context that guarantees them academic freedom and allows them to contribute meaningfully to the pursuit of truth. As Lawrence (1990) explains, "The American marketplace of ideas was founded with the idea of the racial inferiority of non-whites as one of its chief commodities, and ever since the market opened, racism has remained its most active item in trade" (p. 468). Thus, the reasoning goes that for people of color to exercise of their rights and enter the marketplace of ideas, those who have abused these privileges need to relinquish them. For the oppressed to exercise their rights, the oppressors need to be discouraged from exercising theirs. Even the critical studies movement has been criticized for being "imperialistic" (Delgado, 1987, p. 301) and for "silencing" scholars of color (Dalton, 1987, p. 441). Some who are

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[7] Although Delgado (1984) did not object to mindful white scholars contributing occasional pieces, he urged them to avoid making a career of race-related scholarship. "But while no one could object if sensitive white scholars contribute occasional articles and useful proposals (after all, there are many more of the mainstream scholars), must these scholars make a career of it?" He argued that they should redirect their energies and encourage their white colleagues to do the same, for only by relinquishing their academic freedom can minority scholars then step in and exercise theirs. "The time has come for white liberal authors who write in the field of civil rights to redirect their efforts and to encourage their colleagues to do so as well. There are many other important subjects that could, and should, engage their formidable talents. As these scholars stand aside, nature will take its course; I am reasonably certain that the gap will quickly be filled by talented and innovative minority writers and commentators" (Delgado, 1984, p. 577).

concerned about the historical exclusion of people of color from the academy believe academic freedom is a privilege that has been hoarded and that must be redistributed to those who have not had it.

People with power in American institutions are seen as having greater free speech rights because their voices are heard more loudly and have greater influence in society than the voices of those from historically marginalized groups. Thus, free speech is believed to perpetuate inequality and must be redistributed to those who have not been heard. Delgado and Yun (1995) contend that to protect free speech when it harms historically marginalized groups is to prioritize the right to harm over the right to not be harmed. "Injuries to whites are now placed at the fore of constitutional jurisprudence, with redress to blacks' historical injustice allowed only when it coincides with benefits to whites" (p. 1286). Moreover, allowing those in power to exercise their free speech at the expense of the less powerful is believed to send the message that such expression is acceptable and should continue (Delgado & Stefancic, 1992).

The concern is that overtime, this pattern of tolerating denigrating language becomes embedded in a society and accepted without question. "The way of speaking becomes normalized, inscribed in hundreds of plots, narratives, and scripts; it becomes part of culture, what everyone knows" (Delgado & Yun, 1995, pp. 1296-7). This is considered one way those in the majority can diminish the prospects of those from minoritized populations. "Permitting a large number of social actors to portray a relatively powerless social group in this fashion helps construct a stigma-picture or stereotype that describes members of the second group as lascivious, lazy, carefree,

immoral, stupid, and so on" (p. 1296). Such stigmatization is believed to diminish the credibility of underrepresented minority (URM) speakers, inhibiting their ability to have their ideas taken seriously. This pattern, Delgado and Stefancic (1992) argue, is at odds with the First Amendment and the marketplace of ideas.

The protection of speech that harms historically marginalized groups is seen as "a central weapon in the struggle by the empowered to maintain their position in the face of formerly subjugated groups clamoring for change" (Delgado & Yun, 1995, pp. 1298-9). Thus, some are deeply skeptical when seemingly well-intentioned people call for the protection of free speech. "Those who continue to be marginalized in these institutions— by their token inclusion on faculties and administrations, by the exclusion of their cultures from core curricula, and by commitments to diversity and multi-culturalism that seem to require assimilation more than any real change in the university—cannot help but see their colleagues' attention to free speech as an avoidance of these larger issues of equality" (Lawrence, 1990, p. 479).

In the post-civil rights era, hate speech is seen by some as the primary mode of perpetuating oppression. "Hate speech has replaced formal slavery, Jim Crow laws, female subjugation, and Japanese internment as a means to keep outsider groups in line" (Delgado & Yun, 1995, p. 1298). This is because hate speech is meant to silence and demoralize its victims, discouraging them from participating in the life of the institution. "The practical result is a post-civil rights constitutional right to be racist in colleges and universities that administrators may not restrict in any meaningful way. The legal result is that whites can invoke state-centered protection for their racist speech and expression on

college and university campuses, whereas students of color have no right to attain higher education free from dehumanizing, oppressive, and tacitly threatening communications" (Moore & Bell, 2017, p. 114). People of color are seen as the nonconsenting victims of policies that operate at their expense. "Whenever we decide that racist hate speech must be tolerated because of the importance of tolerating unpopular speech we ask blacks and other subordinated groups to bear a burden for the good of society—to pay the price for the societal benefit of creating more room for speech. And we assign this burden to them without seeking their advice, or consent. This amounts to white domination, pure and simple" (Lawrence, 1990, p. 472). Thus, the idea is that those who are already privileged can exercise their free speech in ways that increase their privilege and further oppress those who are already oppressed.

The argument that offensive speech should be met with counter-speech is seen as problematic because speech that targets historically marginalized groups is attached to our country's history of white supremacy and thereby creates an inequitable historical context for counter-speech. The courts have been criticized for reinforcing a color-blind racism that dismisses "the long history of racial violence in this country and the connection between forms of racist expression and that history" (Moore & Bell, 2017, p. 114). Free speech is viewed as a weapon used to defend a deeply flawed system that needs to be dismantled. "Formerly, the First Amendment and free speech were used to make small adjustments within a relatively peaceful political order consisting of propertied white males. Now it is used to postpone macroadjustments and power-sharing between that group and others: It is, in short, an instrument of majoritarian identity

politics" (Delgado & Yun, 1995). In this way, the protection of free speech is seen as the

protection of an oppressive system that needs to be dismantled.

Dismantling STEM

Recent events both within and outside academia reflect efforts to dismantle systems that are deemed oppressive. On June 10th, 2020, more than 5,000 STEM faculty pledged to halt research as part of "A Strike for Black Lives" (a.k.a. #ShutDownAcademia, #ShutDownSTEM) to protest systemic racism against black academics and STEM professionals. Its organizers assert that current DEI policies have not led to the institutional changes that are urgently needed to improve the experiences of black members of the academy. "Our academic institutions and research collaborations -- despite big talk about diversity, equity, and inclusion -- have ultimately failed Black people. Demands for justice have been met with gradualism and tokenism, as well as diversity and inclusion initiatives that -- while sometimes well-intentioned -- have had little meaningful impact on the lived experiences of Black students, staff, researchers, and faculty" (Particles for Justice, 2020, para. 3). There is a deep frustration with institutional leaders, including faculty, for attempting to distance themselves from the most pressing social issues of the day instead of taking an active stand against white supremacy. "Ending white supremacy is a matter of urgency, yet far too often, instead of using power to question institutional practices and advocate for Black students, faculty and staff, many senior academics and administrators retreat to the Ivory Tower, disengaging from the pursuit of justice" (para. 4). As a result of institutional inaction, advocates argue, black students and scholars are forced to take up activism on their own and their ability to thrive in academia is further impaired. The purpose of the #StutDownSTEM movement is to "confront the institutional barriers to justice for Black people in academia and beyond,

challenge the notion of the meritocracy whereby 'objective and neutral' criteria infused

with systemic racism are used to exclude Black people from physics and other academic

disciplines, and rebuild our institutions and collaborations in a way that is just and

equitable" (para. 5). Advocates for #StutDownSTEM see many DEI policies as

insufficient because such efforts do not seek to dismantle systems of oppression.

"Importantly, we are not calling for more diversity and inclusion talks and seminars. We

are not asking people to sit through another training about implicit bias. We are calling

for every member of the community to commit to taking actions that will change the

material circumstances of how Black lives are lived -- to work toward ending the white

supremacy that not only snuffs out Black physicist dreams but destroys whole Black

lives" (para. 6). Disparities in the experiences and outcomes of black academics and

STEM professionals are attributed to institutional racism. Because those who are white

play an outsized role in perpetuating institutional racism, they must play a direct role in

eliminating it, lest they be complicit.

Freedom and Knowledge: For Whom and to What End?

Many believe it is imperative for institutions of higher education to protect the constitutional right to free speech. However, there may be different interpretations of whose free speech is most in need of protection and what is the appropriate way to protect it. Those who advocate for progressive values may believe that when people in power exercise their free speech, they prevent people with less power from exercising theirs. Therefore, the only way to protect the free speech rights of those with less power is to silence those with more power (or at least to prevent their speech from having its intended effect of silencing those who are perceived as the oppressed). Those who advocate for traditional values, by contrast, may believe that when people claim to be personally harmed by offensive speech and demand that such speech be restricted, they prevent those with legitimate, albeit controversial, views from exercising their free speech rights, thereby undermining the free exchange of ideas. Therefore, the only way to protect the free speech rights of those with unpopular views is to silence those who are offended (or at least to prevent their speech from having its intended effect of silencing those who are perceived as the oppressors).[8] These conflicting interpretations of whose free speech is most in need of protection and what is the proper way to protect it reveal fundamental ideological differences underlying the commitment to progressive versus traditional values described in the previous chapters.

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[8] Another common belief is that free speech is not a zero-sum game wherein one person's right to free speech comes at the expense of another person's right. Therefore, when someone speaks in ways that others oppose, the appropriate response is not to restrict that person's right to speak, but to encourage others to exercise their own free speech rights.

Similar to the issue of free speech, many believe it is necessary for institutions of higher education to protect faculty's academic freedom to investigate controversial topics. However, there may be different interpretations of the sorts of controversial topics that should be investigated. To advocates of progressive values, controversial topics worth investigating are those involving the idea that hierarchies need to be dismantled, and that inequality needs to be eliminated. This controversy may be perceived as necessary to raise awareness of the need to intervene in systems that perpetuate oppression and to improve the lives of those from historically marginalized groups. To advocates of traditional values, by contrast, controversial topics worth investigating may be those involving the idea that hierarchies are justified, and that inequality is an inevitable consequence of unequal inputs. This controversy may be perceived as necessary to raise awareness of the limitations of interventions aimed at improving the lives of those from underrepresented minority (URM) groups. These conflicting interpretations of the types of controversial topics one ought to have the academic freedom to investigate once again reveal fundamental ideological differences underlying the commitment to progressive versus traditional values.

Lastly, many believe it is critical for institutions of higher education to protect the pursuit of knowledge. However, there may be different interpretations of how and why this pursuit has been compromised. Advocates of progressive values may believe the pursuit of knowledge has been compromised by the historic exclusion of people who had less power but could access different forms of knowledge that would dispel the notion that objective truth exists. Advocates of traditional values, by contrast, may believe the

pursuit of knowledge has been compromised by those who claim that objective truth does not exist, and that knowledge merely reflects the perspectives of those with power. These conflicting interpretations of how or why the pursuit of knowledge has been compromised reveal fundamental ideological differences underlying the commitment to progressive versus traditional values.

Those who advocate for progressive values emphasize experience, intuition, and listening, whereas those who advocate for traditional values emphasize evidence, logic, and reasoning. The former argues that power is so disproportionately distributed that subordinate groups will never have access to the evidence, logic, and reasoning that allow them to win discussions. The latter argues that power is granted to those who make more effective arguments, regardless of their group membership. Which is central to the success of individuals in American society: power or ability?

CHAPTER 2: THE GOALS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF DEI POLICY

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Policies that promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) seek to improve the experiences and ultimately the outcomes of underrepresented minority (URM) groups in academia. Many believe incidences of prejudice and discrimination on campus prevent URMs from succeeding academically. Administrators and faculty who advocate for DEI policies believe that if the institution can reduce and ultimately eliminate prejudice and discrimination, disparities in outcomes will be reduced and ultimately eliminated as well.

On a regular basis, incidents of bias and insensitivity occur on college campuses. They come in several forms, including outlandish stories that receive extensive media coverage, allegations of hateful expression that are reported to the police but may or may not have been covered by the media, and everyday incidents of upsetting behavior as overt as audible epithets or as subtle as ambiguous facial expressions. Between 1987 and 2017, Lexis-Nexis reported 260 stories of racial incidents, 74 anti-Semitic incidents, and 24 homophobic/anti-gay incidents on campus (Brint, 2018). Given that administrators may take steps to prevent incidents from receiving attention, the press reports might not reflect the actual number of bias incidents that occurred during that period.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) offers arguably more accurate data on campus hate crime statistics. The FBI defines a hate crime as "a criminal offense against a person motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, ethnic origin, or sexual orientation" (FBI, 2016). Between 2009 and 2017, most of the reported crimes involved destruction, damage, and vandalism. Acts of

intimidation were the second most frequent, followed distantly by assaults. Crimes

typically included racially derogatory emails, anti-Semitic slurs, threatening voicemails,

and KKK messages on dorm white boards. In 2012, nearly half of these crimes were

related to race, followed by attacks on students' sexual orientation, then acts inspired by

religious intolerance (AIR, 2015).

      The prevalence of everyday incidents of upsetting behavior that do not rise to the

level of crimes or news reports remains largely unknown. However, a University of

California campus climate survey revealed that as many as one in four underrepresented

minority (URM) students experienced "exclusionary, intimidating, offensive, or hostile

conduct" on campus (Rankin and Associates, 2014). Such experiences are related to

lower psychological well-being (Huynh, & Fuligni, 2010), heightened threat sensitivity

(Padilla, 2008), and worse academic outcomes (Benner & Graham, 2011). These findings

are correlational, but there is a clear causal direction implied by DEI policies that aim to

reduce and ultimately eliminate various subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination that

are believed to negatively impact the experiences and outcomes among underrepresented

minorities (URMs).

GROUP DISPARITIES

The overarching goal of DEI policies is to reduce and ultimately eliminate disparities—especially racial disparities—in higher education. At the undergraduate level, black and Hispanic students are much less likely to graduate, compared to their white peers (Nichols & Evans-Bell, 2017; Shapiro, Dundar, Huie, Wakhungu, Yuan, Nathan, & Hwany, 2017). In addition, compared to white graduates, black and Hispanic graduates are far more likely to have attended for-profit colleges and less likely to have attended four-year public or nonprofit institutions, compared to white graduates (Libassi, 2018).

Based on federal data on the number of degrees and certificates earned by black, Hispanic, and white students from 2013 to 2015, if black and Hispanic graduates earned each degree type at the same rate as their white peers, there would have been more than 1 million more bachelor's degrees conferred in those three years alone (NCES, 2018). Racial gaps are also seen in bachelor's degree fields. Notably, if black and Hispanic graduates received bachelor's degrees in engineering at the same rates as white graduates, there would have been 20,000 more engineering degrees granted to black and Hispanic students between 2013 and 2015 (NCES, 2018).

At the faculty level, racial and ethnic diversity in U.S. institutions of higher education have increased in recent past decades, but faculty are still much more likely than students to be white. In the fall of 2017, approximately three-quarters (76%) of faculty were white, compared to just over half (55%) of undergraduates (NCES, 2018). There were also imbalances in the representation of specific racial and ethnic groups. For

example, 5% of faculty were Hispanic, compared to 20% of undergraduates. Black faculty were also underrepresented compared with the black undergraduate population (6% vs. 14%). By contrast, Asian faculty were slightly more represented among their colleagues (11%) than Asian students were with their peers (7%).

Between 1997 and 2017, the share of nonwhite undergraduate students increased by 17 percentage points (from 28% to 45%). This trend was due in part to the rapid increase in Hispanic students, whose representation more than doubled, from 9% in 1997 to 20% in 2017. By contrast, the share of nonwhite faculty increased by 10 percentage points, from 14% to 24%, during that period. Overall, a larger share of assistant faculty members was nonwhite, compared with tenured faculty (27% vs. 19%). According to the Brookings Institution, racial, ethnic, and gender gaps between faculty and undergraduates exist across academic fields (Koedel, 2017). Minority faculty are particularly underrepresented in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields at the nation's topic 40 public universities (Li & Koedel, 2017).

Racial incongruity between undergraduates and faculty is seen as cause for alarm because there is a widespread belief that students learn better when their instructors come from similar backgrounds to them. In secondary education, student-teacher demographic congruence is associated with higher student achievement (see, e.g., Dee, 2004; Egalite, Kisida, & Winters, 2015); reduced absences and suspensions (Holt & Gershenson, 2015); and lower dropout rates (Gershenson, Lindsay, & Papageorge, 2017). In a study of community colleges, the performance gaps between white and underrepresented minority

students shrunk by 20 to 50 percent in courses taught by underrepresented minority instructors (Fairlie, Hoffman, & Oreopoulous, 2014).

Some have theorized that teacher-student demographic congruence facilitates positive social psychological effects because students are better able to see their teachers as a role models (e.g., Boser, 2014; Evans, 1992; Zirkel, 2002). Indeed, underrepresented minority students whose teachers are of the same race or ethnicity are more likely to see those instructors as role models and to report greater effort in school and higher college aspirations (Egalite & Kisida, 2018). Policy initiatives aimed at increasing diversity among educators are predicated on the idea that racial, ethnic, and gender discrepancies between faculty and students contribute to such discrepancies in students' academic performance (see, e.g., Boser, 2014; Cherng & Halpin, 2016; Goldhaber, Theobald, & Tien, 2015).

Reducing Disparities Through DEI Policy

Policies aimed at promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) address subtle forms of individual and institutional bias believed to create a hostile learning environment that leads to worse experiences and outcomes among underrepresented minorities (URMs) in academia. The DEI policies investigated in the present research attempt to minimize or eliminate group disparities by (a) discouraging the use of language that is perceived as denigrating to URMs; (b) removing aspects of the physical campus that are believed to send a negative message to URMs; and (c) reducing reliance on evaluation criteria that are thought to disadvantage URMs.

At their core, these DEI policies are social psychological in nature. Much of the most seminal research in social psychology has revealed how subtle adjustments to people's contexts can have drastic effects on their thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. Similarly, DEI policies are designed to alter various aspects of the academic context with the goal of changing how individuals—specifically whites—think, feel, and act with respect to URMs. Although policies differ by the aspects of academia they seek to alter, they share the goal of improving URMs' experiences and outcomes by altering how whites treat them. The rationale is that better treatment of URMs by whites will improve the academic climate for URMs, thereby leading to better experiences and outcomes among URMs.

Policies aimed at discouraging the use of language that is perceived as denigrating to URMs involve raising awareness of microaggressions, implementing speech codes, creating bias reporting systems, and administering trigger warnings. Next, policies aimed

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at removing aspects of the physical campus that are believed to send a negative message to URMs involve renaming buildings named after controversial figures, removing portraits of former departmental chairs when many or all of them are white males, and disinviting or obstructing speakers whose views have been deemed racist or sexist by organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC). Lastly, policies aimed at reducing reliance on evaluation criteria that are thought to disadvantage URMs involve mandating faculty's participation in bias/diversity training, requiring the inclusion of diversity statements in the hiring process, and considering the race and/or gender of candidates for positions.

The rationale for microaggression awareness workshops is that when people make comments implying that URMs are responsible for their poor outcomes, this diminishes the self-esteem of URMs, causing them to have worse experiences and outcomes through negative self-fulfilling prophecies. Therefore, the idea is that to improve the experiences and outcomes of URMs, the academic community needs to be made aware of and avoid language that signals to URMs the idea that they are inferior.

A similar line of reasoning undergirds speech codes. The idea is that because offensive language aimed at URMs evokes a long history of racial oppression, thereby diminishing URMs' capacity to learn, there needs to be restrictions on language and expression that evokes and thereby perpetuates the oppression of URMs, or else URMs will not be able to participate as equal members of the academy and their performance will continue to suffer. Speech codes are believed to offer a concrete policy for dealing

with members of the academic community who do not realize or care when they inflict harm on URMs.

An additional step in ensuring that such harmful conduct does not go unnoticed is to create a system for reporting incidents of bias. Because bias is believed to lurk beneath the surface of many interactions experienced by URMs, it is only URMs who are qualified to determine the nature and impact of bias. The idea is that to give URMs a greater voice, they should be encouraged to anonymously report bias incidents and reassured that their reports will be trusted. The hope is that this will allow URMs to finally be heard and understood, freeing them to devote their mental energy to their academics in an environment free of bias.

Lastly, when it comes to administering trigger warnings, the rationale is that URM students are more likely to be traumatized by learning about events (e.g., war, genocide, slavery) that disproportionately affect their groups. The idea is that these vulnerable students should not be expected to relive the traumatic experiences that they and/or their group experienced, especially without adequate intellectual, contextual preparation, and possibly emotional support. Therefore, modifications and accommodations are considered necessary so URMs (and their performance) do not suffer in ways that can be avoided through more sensitive instructional techniques. Failure to consider the pain inflicted by requiring students to relive the trauma inflicted on them and/or their ancestors is thought to reflect profound insensitivity among those who call themselves educators.

For URMs, bias is thought to exist not only in interactions, but also in the physical campus. For example, portraits of former departmental chairs—many or all of whom are white males—may serve as a reminder to URMs that their ancestors were historically excluded from academia. Because these reminders are believed to hamper URMs' aspirations and achievements, the argument goes that such portraits must be removed. Similarly, building names that feature individuals whose legacy involves inflicting harm on marginalized groups are thought to signal to URMs that the university does not care about the oppression of their people. Because this message may lead URMs to academically disengage, it is viewed as imperative to rename such buildings.

It is also deemed necessary for administrators to not permit on campus speakers whose views are harmful to marginalized groups. It is argued that failure to prevent such harm and to allow URMs to be victimized will further diminish the capacity of URMs to succeed academically. There is also a concern that allowing such speakers may signal to the academic community that it is acceptable to marginalize URMs, thereby increasing the frequency that such views are expressed and making it even more difficult for URMs to succeed academically.

Because URMs are widely seen as having experienced profound barriers throughout their academic journeys, committees have been discouraged from using the same criteria to evaluate all candidates who are applying for faculty positions. Moreover, one way to consider the hardships faced by URMs is to incorporate diversity statements. Because URMs are assumed to not have had as many opportunities or resources as their white counterparts, it is expected that their CVs are not necessarily competitive on

traditional metrics. As a consequence, they may be passed over during the hiring process. Therefore, hiring committees are now considering the unique contributions of URMs beyond their academic "qualifications" (e.g., more publications, more citations, more funding/grants, more publications in higher-impact journals, more invited talks, more statistically sophisticated research). It is argued that URM faculty serve as role models to URM students, help URM students learn how to address institutional racism, teach URM graduate students how to decolonize the curriculum, and research URM issues that raise awareness of the importance of DEI. The hope is that considering these factors when evaluating diversity statements will help offset disparities in the traditional qualifications of URM and white candidates.

When evaluating candidates, it is also deemed important for hiring committees to understand how their biases may lead them to favor non-URM candidates who have higher qualifications. Mandatory bias/diversity training prior to serving on hiring committees is one strategy for showing faculty how the standards they use to evaluate candidates disproportionately harms URMs. The goal of such trainings is to encourage faculty to place more weight on the types of contributions URMs can make, thereby offsetting disparities in traditional qualifications. An even more direct strategy for overcoming these alleged biases against URMs is to give preference to URM candidates, as was often done in hiring women as professors in the 1970s and 1980s. The hope is that doing so will help offset imbalances that create a hostile learning environment that leads to worse academic and professional outcomes among URMs.

Together, these DEI policies are aimed at altering various aspects of the social context in academia—namely, the hostile learning environment created by whites of the past and present—with the goal of improving the experiences, and ultimately the outcomes, of URMs in academia. The idea is that the reduction and ultimately the elimination of denigrating language, uninviting images, and harmful hiring practices will reduce and ultimately eliminate the group disparities that undermine the institution's commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

IDEOLOGY AND DEI POLICY

Preface

An understanding of how and why DEI has gained traction in academia is important to understanding how faculty perceive the proliferation of DEI policies. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss progressive liberal ideology as one potential contributor to the proliferation of DEI policies. The progressive values underlying the implementation of DEI policies by administrators and engaged faculty are by no means endorsed by all academics in the present study or in general—in fact, there are strong forces within the academy that are aimed at combatting the influence of various ideological biases.[9] My primary argument is that academics in the humanities and social sciences, as a function of being overwhelmingly liberal[10] and in an overwhelmingly liberal context,[11] are inclined to be sympathetic to the goal of DEI and may feel pressure

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[9] Many administrators and faculty have publicly voiced concerns about the ideological underpinnings of DEI. Perhaps the most outspoken and infamous critics of DEI policies are Jordan Peterson, Amy Wax, and Heather Mac Donald. However, the fierce criticism these scholars have received for expressing their views may signal to others that there are social and/or professional consequences of transgressing against DEI norms. That said, many other academics, including Jonathan Haidt and Steven Pinker, who take a more moderate approach and express greater sympathy for the liberal perspective continue to maintain relatively positive reputations. This suggests that there is a willingness to tolerate dissent of DEI policies, so long as opposition is expressed in a manner that recognizes the validity of progressive liberalism.

[10] In the social sciences and humanities, faculty are even more liberal than their colleagues in other fields (Gross, 2013; Gross & Simmons, 2014; Gross & Simmons, 2007; Klein & Stern, 2009; Rothman & Lichter, 2008; Zipp & Fenwick, 2006). With regard to specific fields of study within the social sciences and humanities, Democrats and Marxists outnumber Republicans and Libertarians by 3 to 1 in economics, 5 to 1 in political science, 10 to 1 in history and English, and well over 20 to 1 in sociology and anthropology (Klein & Stern, 2009). This stands in contrast with other fields such as business, computer science, engineering, health science, and technology that have approximately equal numbers of self-identified liberals and conservatives (Gross & Simmons 2007; Zipp & Fenwick 2006).

[11] Academics are overwhelmingly liberal in their political self-identification, party affiliation, voting, and a range of social attitudes (Gross & Simmons, 2007; Rothman, Lichter, & Nevitte, 2005; Langbert, 2018; Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006; Zipp & Fenwick, 2006). Furthermore, they espouse liberal sociopolitical views in both their social policy prescriptions (Fox, 1993; Lakoff, 2010; Denner, 1992; Tetlock & Michell, 1993) and articles (Prilleltensky, 1994). Democratic faculty's policy views are even to the far left of democrats in the electorate (Rothman, Kelly-Woessner, & Woessner, 2010).

to support (or at least not actively oppose) DEI policies. As a result, they may passively allow the implementation of DEI policies that they do not wholeheartedly endorse.

In general, it is difficult for people to oppose solutions to problems they believe are real problems, especially when the solution may make them seem as though they do not believe the problem is real. In academia, liberal faculty may find it difficult to publicly oppose DEI policies when they believe the problems that DEI policies seek to address are real. By contrast, it may be relatively easy for people to oppose "solutions" to problems they do not believe are real problems, especially when the "solution" creates what they see as real problems. Thus, it may be easier for non-liberals outside of academia to publicly oppose DEI policies because not only are they less likely to believe the problems that DEI policies seek to address are real, but they are also more likely to believe DEI policies themselves create what they see as real problems (e.g., unfairness, reverse discrimination, suppression of conservative views).[12]

The goal here is not to advocate for more non-liberals in academia, but rather to illuminate how liberal dominance creates a context in which social norms and cognitive biases facilitate the proliferation of DEI policies that are highly unpopular in the broader society outside academia, and may also be less popular within academia than their proliferation would suggest. Liberals are not uniquely biased—in fact, any ideology will

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[12] Compared to liberals, conservatives are more likely to believe in free will (Carey & Paulhus, 2013) and the benefits of hard work (Jones, Furnham, & Deile, 2010). They are also less empathic (Hasson, Tamir, Brahms, Cohrs, & Halperin, 2018; Waytz, Iyer, Young, & Graham, 2016), less bothered by inequality (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008; Lucas & Kteily, 2018; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and more inclined to resist change by supporting the status quo (Hoffarth, Azevedo, & Jost, 2019). These characteristics may make conservatives less sympathetic to the problem of unequal experiences and outcomes among underrepresented minorities (URMs) in academia.

by its very nature contain biases. The same cognitive biases and group processes described in this chapter may operate in the same way (or to an even greater degree) in conservative milieus. In recent decades, actors on the political Right have built the capacity to rapidly mobilize large numbers of conservative citizens to participate in the public spheres, drawing attention to hot-button conservative issues and coordinating with talk radio programs to put political pressure on representatives and shape how politicians perceive of the public's policy preferences (Blee & Creasap, 2010; Fang, 2012).

Particularly relevant to the current investigation are the unique biases and social pressures associated with liberal ideology because the vast majority of the people in the sample—along with the vast majority of people in the represented fields of study, in the University of California system, and in the state of California—are liberal. As such, DEI policies may be an outgrowth of the progressive zeitgeist within this liberal context. Thus, the various biases that undeniably emerge in conservative and other less-liberal settings, academic and non-academic alike, are not relevant to the present investigation.

It is also important to note that liberal ideology and its associated biases do not account for all of the reasons for the proliferation of DEI policies. There are very large disparities in higher education, and extensive research has investigated how discrimination has contributed to these disparities (see, e.g., Eberhardt & Fiske, 1998; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Jones, 1997). The section "Group Disparities" offers an overview of these disparities and links them to the goal of reducing and ultimately eliminating them. The current chapter is focused on liberal ideology because inequality, as evidence by group disparities, is of particular concern to liberals. Moreover, liberals

tend to overestimate the extent that discrimination accounts for disparities, for reasons discussed in the chapter.

Another important reason for the proliferation of DEI policies is political pressure from social movements and politicians, though this may be difficult to trace. Nevertheless, the anticipation of these kinds of pressures may lead administrators to implement policy without direct pressure being applied.[13] After all, administrators want to avoid conflict on campus. The groups that tend to create headline stories on even mainstream liberal media outlets such as the *New York Times* (AllSides, 2020) are on the political Left (Johnson, 2017), and race is a lightning rod for political polarization (Pew, 2019a). Thus, to prevent negative publicity, administrators may attempt to mollify those on the Left who are discontent with the various aspects of the institution. The implementation of DEI policies may reflect such efforts.

It is also worth noting that many administrators likely do believe deeply in their DEI policy decisions, either for sincere reasons or because they find these beliefs helpful to their careers (or some combination of the two). After all, administrators are the most left-leaning group on campus. In 2018, Samuel Abrams, a professor of politics at Sara Lawrence College, surveyed a nationally representative sample of approximately 900 student affairs administrators and found that almost three-quarters (71%) classified themselves as liberal or very liberal. Moreover, liberal administrators outnumbered conservatives by a ratio of 12-to-one (Abrams, 2018). Thus, administrators may be highly

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[13] Political pressure (or the anticipation thereof) too seems closely tied to ideology. For example, the recent unanimous vote by the UC Board of Regents to repeal Prop 209 and reinstate affirmative action may partially reflect political pressure to "do the right thing" and perhaps quell the groundswell of social unrest, but what is seen as "the right thing" is influenced in part by subscribing to a progressive liberal ideology.

motivated to implement DEI policies as a strategy for both furthering their political preferences and for keeping the peace on campuses with engaged voices on the political Left.

The expansion of the administrative class in recent decades may also help explain the recent proliferation of DEI policies. Between 1975 and 2005, full-time faculty (including those off the tenure track) grew by 51 percent, compared to an 85 percent growth by administrators and a whopping 240 percent growth among professional staff (Ginsberg, 2011). In 1975, faculty outnumbered administrators and staff by nearly two to one; thirty years later, faculty were outnumbered by them. During the following decade, between 2003 and 2013, many institutions of higher education spent more on student services and academic support administrators than they did on instruction (AIR, 2016).

This trend may have been driven in part by colleges and universities feeling it necessary to do more to improve the experiences and outcomes of URM students and faculty. For example, administrators added academic support services such as advising and tutoring, created specialized offices for affinity groups, and provided teaching improvement centers (Brint, 2018). These adjustments were seen as necessary to promote DEI. The most comprehensive and transparent information regarding DEI expenditure in higher education involves the University of North Carolina system, which spent $16.6 million on DEI efforts in 2017. Of that $16.6 million, $14.7 million was spent on administrators' salaries (Brown, 2019). Across the 17 campuses within the university system, there were 273 salaried employees overseeing 527 DEI programs and 198 DEI policies (North Carolina General Assembly, 2018).

Thus, it appears that administrators who are hired to implement DEI policies are operating within a broader institutional structure that is responding to increasing demands for academic and social services to support increasingly diverse student bodies. Future research is needed to disentangle administrators' various motives for implementing DEI policy. With these observations in mind, the following chapter describes the influence of liberal ideology on the implementation and proliferation of DEI policies in academia.

IDEOLOGY AND DEI POLICY

Ideologies are shaped by sacred values, or values we hold fervently (Fiske &
Tetlock, 1997; Tetlock, Kristel, Elson, Green, & Lerner, 2000). Sacred values are often
crucial to a group's identity (Atran & Ginges, 2012; Durkheim, 1912); therefore,
defending and promoting the group's sacred values is especially important for obtaining
acceptance and status in the group. When values are deemed sacred, people exhibit
greater motivated certainty and reduced utilitarianism (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Ritov &
Baron, 1999). People also tend to attribute malicious motives to those on the other side of
the sacred value debate (Graham & Haidt, 2012). This is likely because those who reject
sacred values are publicizing that they are not loyal members of the group that holds
them (Pietraszewski, Curry, Petersen, Cosmides, & Tooby, 2015).

Norm theory, conceptualized by Kahneman and Miller (1986), has been
extensively used in psychology to understand how our behavior is influenced by widely
shared beliefs about appropriate versus inappropriate public expression. In addition,
Sherif (1936) described norms as the "customs, traditions, standards, rules, values,
fashions, and all other criteria which are standardized as a consequence of the contact of
individuals" (p. 3). As Cialdini and Trost (1998) put it, social norms are ultimately about
constraining individual behavior to acceptable patterns understood by members of the
social group without necessarily resorting to the force of law. In academic communities
of overwhelmingly liberal faculty and administrators, social norms may develop
surrounding shared understandings of what is moral according to sacred values shared
among liberals.

Norms surrounding what it means to support DEI are widely understood and likely influence how faculty publicly express themselves in liberal academic communities. University of California administrators frequently signal their commitment to DEI by displaying diversity statistics for students, faculty, and staff on their websites; creating programs aimed at recruiting, hiring, and promoting diverse faculty; and issuing formal statements regarding the importance of DEI, particularly after Donald Trump's presidential victory (UCOP, 2016a), immigration policies (UCOP, 2016b), and Title IX modifications (UCOP, 2017; UCOP, 2020). These actions and messages by campus leaders reflect and reinforce the norm to that members of the academic community are expected to support DEI.

Although we seek the truth regarding concrete information that can be easily verified or falsified (Boudry & Vlerick, 2014; De Cruz, Boudry, Smedt, & Blancke, 2011), we also want to conform to the beliefs of our group. By expressing support for theories and policies that reflect the group's values, we signal our commitment to shared goals and enhance our status in the group (Clark, Liu, Winegard, & Ditto, 2019; Kurzban & Christner, 2011; Pietraszewski, Curry, Petersen, Cosmides, & Tooby, 2015). This desire, though understandable, can lead to predictable biases, cognitive distortions, and false beliefs that interfere with our understanding of reality (Cornwell, Jago, & Higgins, 2019). Those who implement and advocate for DEI policy may fall prey to these cognitive biases as a result of both wanting the academic community to see the deep importance of DEI policies and wanting to signal to the academic community that they see DEI as deeply important.

The overwhelming political liberalism within academia may make it difficult to publicly voice opposition to DEI policies. In such a context, those who are advocating for DEI policies may have the wind beneath their wings. Moreover, within the academic community, faculty in the humanities and social sciences may face the strongest norms and expectations surrounding support for DEI policies, making it especially difficult for them to express ambivalence, let alone opposition. Therefore, their private views of DEI policies may be largely misunderstood.

Because the humanities and social sciences consist overwhelmingly of liberal academics, liberal values likely exert a greater influence than conservative values on how faculty are expected to perceive DEI and the implementation of DEI policies. Particularly relevant to the present research, liberals exhibit a strong aversion to inequality (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003), are inclined to empathize with historically marginalized groups (Graham, Haidt, Koleva, Motyl, Iyer, Wojcik, & Ditto, 2013; Hasson, Tamir, Brahms, Cohrs, & Halperin, 2018; Lucas & Kteily, 2018), and seek to alter the status quo by dismantling existing hierarchies (Erikson, Luttbeg, & Tedin, 1988).

These liberal values can be seen in the most influential scholarship to emerge from the humanities and social sciences. Much of the earliest research in these fields has examined the complex, subtle nature of prejudice and discrimination among various human populations (see, e.g., Fiske, 1998; Allport, 1954). Moreover, a typical feature of many heinous atrocities in human history—including war, genocide, and slavery—is that they did not emerge suddenly, but rather though a gradually escalating social process of

dehumanization (see, e.g., Haslam, 2006; Tajfel, 1974; Zimbardo, 1969). Academics who have studied such theories may be vigilant when it comes to detecting subtle signs that certain groups are not being treated fairly in society.[14] Thus, a deep knowledge of what can happen when groups are marginalized may enhance academics' sympathy toward the idea that members of historically marginalized groups need to be protected.

Liberals' distinct views on human nature and how to remedy social problems may have important implications for understanding the proliferation of DEI policies. After all, a stated goal of DEI policy is to give minorities greater representation in all aspects of university life. Advocates of DEI policy claim that their efforts promote fairness and ensure that the experiences underrepresented minorities (URMs) are discussed correctly. For this reason, it may be taboo to discuss the idea that victims are sometimes responsible for their predicaments (Felson, 1991), that biological differences exist between sexes or races (Coleman, 1991), and that stereotypes often match group averages on various attributes (Lee, Jussim, & McCauley, 1995; for a broader overview of taboos, see Tetlock, 2003; Walsh, 2020). Because these taboos reflect the sorts of ideas that one may raise in opposition to DEI policies, it may be especially difficult for academics in the humanities and social sciences to oppose DEI policies without risking stigmatization.

The strong moral values associated with DEI may make it difficult for academics in the humanities and social sciences to engage in open discussion regarding the implementation of DEI policies. When confronted with questions that trigger moral

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[14] It is worth noting, however, that liberals are not immune to prejudice. Brandt (2017) found that compared to conservatives, liberals express higher prejudice toward Christians, Catholics, and Mormons, as well as the police, people in big business, men, and whites. The perceived targets of dehumanization may have to do with the current state of our nation's political parties, along with the political polarization in our country.

emotions and concerns about group identity (see, e.g., Haidt, 2001; 2012), people become more motivated to search for evidence that reinforces their existing beliefs. In one of the earliest demonstrations, Lord, Ross, and Lepper (1979) showed that people detect more support for their own beliefs than is objectively warranted but see the views of others with whom they disagree as having less support. This may be due in part to blind-spot bias, wherein we tend to believe that our own judgments are less susceptible to bias than are those of people with whom we disagree (Ehrlinger, Gilovich, & Ross, 2005; Pronin, Gilovich, & Ross, 2004). Furthermore, we are predisposed to search for supporting evidence and to evaluate it as more credible. We tend to view attitudinally congruent arguments as more valid than opposing arguments, even when the validity of the information is controlled. As a result, we overestimate how well we understand controversial, multifaceted issues. This may be especially true among fierce advocates of DEI policy, making it especially difficult for academics who hold reservations to have their views recognized as valid in the public sphere.

A common feature among DEI policies is that they aim to identify and alter features of the social environment to improve the academic experiences and outcomes of individuals from underrepresented minority (URM) groups. According to Coleman (1991), because DEI policies convey an intention to help those who are less fortunate or in some way oppressed, people are likely to endorse them as a means of virtue signaling. "These are policies designed to aid the poor, or to aid blacks or Hispanics or women, and any result that would hinder one of these policies is subject to disapproval and attack. These are policies intended to display egalitarian intentions. For many academics they

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replace the patterns of conspicuous consumption that Thorsten Veblen attributed to the rich. They might be called policies of conspicuous benevolence. They display, conspicuously, the benevolent intentions of their supporters" (Coleman, 1991, p. 21). By contrast, those who express criticism are unlikely to receive the same level of moral elevation for expressing their views.

The tendency toward egalitarianism among advocates of DEI policy may lead to predictable cognitive biases because in wishing to see all groups succeed equally, one may be inclined to reject empirical evidence that groups differ on socially desirable traits (e.g., intelligence, math ability, conscientiousness, emotional stability) and to deny that such differences may contribute to differential group outcomes. Indeed, liberal academics tend to dismiss or disparage the idea that group disparities reflect evolutionary or genetic differences and prefer explanations that attribute inequalities to discrimination, racism, stereotypes, or other problematic attitudes held by whites (Bawer, 2012; Campbell & Manning, 2018; Winegard, Clark, Hasty, & Baumeister, 2018). These tendencies may be most pronounced among those who advocate for DEI policy, as such biases are aligned with the goal of reducing or eliminating group disparities by targeting pernicious social forces such as discrimination, implicit bias, and stereotypes.

Experimental research has also found that individuals who endorse the liberal value of egalitarianism exhibit predictable biases when confronted with information that challenges their assumptions. For example, liberals show a consistent bias against genetic explanations for group differences when the difference seemed to favor advantaged groups over disadvantaged groups. Participants were given scenarios in which a scientist

discovered a gene that could explain part of a supposed gender or racial gap in IQ. In one condition, men and whites had higher IQs, whereas in the other condition, women and blacks had higher IQs. Liberals tended to evaluate the doctor's argument as more credible when women or blacks were said to have higher IQs than when men or whites were, even though the arguments were identical aside from the group said to have scored higher on IQ tests (Winegard, Clark, Hasty, & Baumeister, 2018). These findings suggest that firm advocates of DEI policy may be resistant to information that challenges the fundamental assumptions of egalitarianism, making it difficult for them to recognize the potential limitations of their ideologically congruent policy preferences.

These findings have been replicated with other socially desirable traits as well. Liberals exhibited a particularly strong tendency to evaluate scientific evidence that men lie more than women and that women are better at drawing than men more favorably than when the evidence supported the opposite conclusion (Stewart-Williams, Thomas, Blackburn, & Chang, 2019). Similarly, when people were informed of unequal gender representation in various occupations, they tended to attribute female underrepresentation to prohibitive norms and male underrepresentation to lack of ability or motivation (Block, Croft, De Souza, & Schmader, 2019). Thus, a fundamental assumption among advocates of DEI policy—that underrepresented minorities (URMs) would perform as well as (or better than) those in the majority were it not for pernicious social forces—may be difficult to challenge in academia.

Part of the difficulty inherent to challenging DEI policy is that findings that undercut the liberal narrative may be exposed to greater scrutiny. Some academics

explicitly endorse the idea that it is necessary to subject "potentially harmful" research on group differences (especially cognitive ability) to greater scrutiny than other research (Estes, 1992; Gottfredson, 2007; Hunt & Carlson, 2007). Experimental research has also revealed that controversial or undesirable findings are reviewed more harshly than non-controversial or desirable findings (see, e.g., Mahoney, 1977; Koehler, 1993). With regard to political bias, Abramowitz, Gomes, and Abramowitz (1975) found that liberal psychologists had more favorable reviews of manuscripts when the main finding was that liberal student activists were better adjusted than non-activists than when the opposite conclusion was reached from the same study. Ceci, Peters, and Plotkin (1992) found that internal review boards were more likely to reject proposals aimed at investigating discrimination against white males than those investigating discrimination against women and minorities, even though the proposals would treat subjects equally. Importantly, the committees often justified their decisions by citing the potential consequences for DEI (e.g., concern about research that would "discredit affirmative action policies"). Thus, those who challenge DEI policy may find themselves facing severe headwinds when trying to present evidence of DEI policy limitations.

Unfavorable findings that undercut DEI policies may be subjected to not only greater scrutiny, but also to a higher likelihood of censorship. Experimental research has found that compared to conservatives, liberals are more supportive of removing from university libraries those books that contain passages appearing to portray disadvantaged groups unfavorably (e.g., conveying the idea that men evolved to be better leaders than women; whites have higher IQs than blacks; Islam is violent and incites terrorism) than

removing books with identical passages portraying advantaged groups unfavorably (e.g., conveying the idea that women evolved to be better leaders than men; blacks have higher IQs than whites; Christianity is violent and incites terrorism; Winegard, Clark, & Bunnel, 2019).

More pervasive than selective scrutiny and censorship may be biased framing of research findings to promote DEI. For example, a recent study found that liberals on social media touted the achievements of black and female gold medalists more than those of white and male gold medalists, whereas conservatives highlighted the achievements of both groups equally (Kteily, Rocklage, McClanahan, & Ho, 2019). According to the authors, "tweets from political liberals were much more likely than those from conservatives to be about successful black (vs. white) and female (vs. male) gold medalists (and especially black females)." An alternative, conservatively biased interpretation is that conservatives treat people fairly, without regard for race or gender, whereas liberals give preference to women and African Americans, a tendency has been well documented (see, e.g., Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2016; Dupree & Fiske, 2019 Stewart-Williams, Thomas, Blackburn, & Chang, 2019; Uhlmann, Pizarro, Tannenbaum, & Ditto, 2009; Winegard, Clark, Hasty, & Baumeister, 2018).

Due to confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998) and motivated reasoning (Kunda, 1990), advocates of DEI may be willing to overlook conceptual and methodological flaws for the sake of promoting a narrative that fits their ideological precepts. Consequently, it may be extremely difficult to penetrate the ideological walls that protect the sanctity of DEI and its corresponding policies. In a recent study, a team of researchers

recommended a series of extreme measures for promoting DEI on the basis of blatantly fabricated empirical studies. They were able to publish their "research" in highly respected peer-reviewed journals associated with cultural, ethnic, gender studies (Pluckrose, Lindsay, & Boghassian, 2018). In several papers geared at top-tier feminist journals, the authors successfully argued that to prevent rape culture, men should be trained like dogs (accepted and published by *Gender, Place, and Culture*); that to become less transphobic, men should practice anal self-penetration (accepted and published by *Sexuality and Culture*); and that to counter individual choice, responsibility, and agency, feminists should unify in solidarity around a victimhood status (accepted by *Affilia*).[15]

The liberal context of academia may help explain the disproportionate focus among advocates of DEI policy on findings and interpretations that reinforce the idea that that stereotypes, bias, microaggressions, and other subtle yet omnipresent manifestations of prejudice and discrimination drive group disparities. At the individual level, ideological biases influence where we direct our attention, how we process information, and what memories we recall (Ditto & Lopez, 1992; Lodge & Hamill, 1986; Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979; Pomerantz, Chaiken, & Tordesillas, 1995). These downstream cognitive effects may occur beyond the conscious awareness of individuals advocating for DEI policy. At the group level, ideological biases influence decisions by creating social

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[15] The authors admitted that in addition to being unethical, the papers used questionable methods and implausible statistics to make assertions that were not supported by the data. Despite these glaring flaws, the studies were extoled as "incredibly innovative, rich in analysis, and extremely well-written and organized given the incredibly diverse literature sets and theoretical questions brought into conversation" by *Gender, Place, and Culture*; "an incredibly rich and exciting contribution to the study of sexuality and culture, and particularly the intersection between masculinity and anality" by *Sexuality and Culture*; and "an interesting paper seeking to further the aims of inclusive feminism by attending to the issue of solidarity" by *Affilia*.

pressures to conform and enhance social cohesion at the expense of judgmental depth and quality (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Moscovici & Personnaz, 1980). These downstream social pressures may occur beyond the conscious awareness of groups advocating for DEI policy.

Liberal ideological biases among advocates of DEI policy may lead to the type of groupthink that social psychologists have long been cautioning against (see, e.g., Janis, 1972; McCauley, 1989). Groupthink is the phenomenon of excessive concurrence-seeking behavior leading to flaws in the operation of small, highly cohesive groups (Janis, 1972). Symptoms of groupthink include incomplete survey of alternatives, insufficient consideration of objectives, failure to reappraise initially rejected alternatives, and selective bias in the processing of new information (Klein & Stern, 2009). Groups of high-ranking professionals who prioritize social cohesion over the critical examination of their core beliefs are especially prone to groupthink. To the extent that communities of administrators and faculty charged with implementing DEI policies fit this description, flawed ideological assumptions may not be challenged or corrected, and those who do attempt to challenge or correct such flaws may not be effective.[16]

Several features of academic communities would suggest that advocates of DEI policy would be particularly vulnerable to groupthink. First, academics in general tend to

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[16] It is important to note that administrators and engaged faculty advocating for DEI policies are not the only groups that are prone to groupthink—in fact, groupthink may be even more prevalent on the political Right and/or among advocacy groups outside of academia. The argument is that advocates for DEI, whose preferred policies are the subject of the present research, meet the necessary conditions for groupthink. Moreover, as described in the preface and throughout the following chapters, DEI policies are highly controversial among academics. Heterodox Academy, the Persuasion Community, and the National Association of Scholars are examples of organizations attempting to reduce the likelihood and consequences of groupthink among DEI advocates in academia.

overestimate the credibility and morality of their colleagues. They often believe those outside the ivory tower lack knowledge because they see academia as the path chosen by those who wish to educate others about science, truth, and society (Klein & Stern, 2009). Belonging to an elevated group infuses individuals with a deep sense of purpose, identity, and commitment (Baumeister, 2005). Thus, advocates of DEI policy may assume that their high-minded colleagues are in universal agreement with them. The strong social norms in favor of supporting DEI policies may lead skeptical faculty to remain silent, and the illusion of uniformity may lead to overconfidence among advocates of DEI policy. Without being tested or challenged, advocates make take their ideas to greater extremes and engage in defective decision making (Myers & Lamm, 1976). When advocates of DEI policy share the same cognitive biases, they may be at a heightened risk of reaching unjustified conclusions because the quality of their fellow advocates' arguments are rated more favorably, and more extreme positions are subsequently adopted.

Given that factors such as education, expertise, and political knowledge are associated with greater ideological coherences (Jacoby, 1991; Judd, Krosnick, & Milburn, 1981), advocates of DEI policy may be at a particularly high risk of engaging in confirmation bias (i.e., the tendency to search for, interpret, prefer, and recall information that strengthens one's prior beliefs; Plous, 1993). People are particularly vulnerable to confirmation bias when desired outcomes, emotionally sensitive issues, and deeply entrenched beliefs are involved. This would suggest that the commitment to DEI, which reflects the desire to see all groups perform equally and evokes strong a strong sense of

morality among liberals, may make administrators and faculty advocating for DEI highly susceptible to confirmation bias.

Although one might expect the ambiguous nature of DEI to buffer against group polarization and confirmation bias among policy advocates, prior research has found that when evidence is vague or unknown, people are even more likely to interpret it in a way that supports their preconceptions (see, e.g., Kopko, Bryner, Budziak, Devine, & Nawara, 2011; Munro, Lasane, & Leary, 2010; Munro, Weih, & Tsai, 2010). The wide range of potential evidence both for and against the effectiveness of DEI policies may allow advocates to interpret information in a way that confirms their existing beliefs. Because accusations of bias and hypocrisy can harm a person's reputation and ability to influence others (Jordan, Sommers, Bloom, & Rand, 2017), people generally refrain from making confident claims that are overtly false. By contrast, when outcomes are largely unknown or difficult to measure, people can more easily make extreme ideological claims without losing their credibility.

Because there is such uncertainty and subjectivity surrounding the harms that DEI policies seek to mitigate, advocates may not lose social status if they exaggerate claims about the dangers of being the target of microaggressions, offensive language, or other forms of bias; learning about issues that evoke a personal history of victimization; or seeing around campus buildings named after controversial figures and walls featuring portraits of white men. In fact, by exaggerating the harms inflicted upon underrepresented minorities (URMs), advocates may be able to create a sense of urgency that will increase the likelihood that their preferred policies will be implemented.

When issues are ambiguous and subjective, logical fallacies are less obvious and ideologically distorted claims are more acceptable. Prevailing notions of DEI are highly ambiguous and often evoke concerns about morality—specifically, what it means to be a good person in a liberal academic community. DEI advocates may be able to rely on their ideological priors when promoting their policies because the costs and benefits are difficult to assess empirically. It may be less about rejecting clear, overwhelming evidence of the ineffectiveness of DEI policies than it is about being excessively certain of ambiguous claims about the effectiveness of DEI policies.

The goal here is not to assail liberals or discredit liberal values, but rather to draw attention to the social norms and cognitive biases that may influence the implementation of DEI policies among administrators and engaged faculty. The argument is not that liberal advocates for DEI policies are more ideologically biased than are conservative advocates when it comes to their preferred policies—instead, it is that within the overwhelmingly liberal context of academia, especially within the humanities and social sciences, DEI advocacy may be prone to groupthink, group polarization, and confirmation bias in ways that the types of advocacy favored by conservatives is not. Both liberals and conservatives are predisposed to praise science when it supports their sacred values and corresponding policy preferences, and to ignore or deny science when it does not (Washburn & Skitka, 2018). For this reason, it is worth investigating the influence of liberalism on the proliferation of DEI policies by advocates who may be ideologically predisposed to reject scientific evidence that undercuts the legitimacy of their policy preferences.

Given that the concepts, theories, and policies developed by advocates of DEI have been popularized around the country—as evidenced by the tremendous success of Robin DiAngelo's (2018) *White Fragility* and Ibram X. Kendi's (2019) *How to Be an Antiracist*—it is crucial to understand the nature and implications of the ideology upon which they are based. DEI advocates can compel politicians to devote substantial resources to various policies aimed at reducing group disparities by attempting to identify and eliminate increasingly subtle forms of ubiquitous bias. If advocates' assumptions are flawed, then corresponding policies may not only be wasteful, but also potentially divisive and harmful to the underrepresented minorities they are intended to serve. When advocates who share the same liberal values take for granted that their liberal colleagues unanimously agree with them, they may become increasingly confident that their ideology is the only correct framework for investigating complex social issues, and those in the public who do not share that worldview begin to doubt the impartiality of "experts." Consequently, demagogues can replace once reputable sources (Nichols, 2017).

To many outside academia, DEI advocacy—even if only undertaken by a minority of academics—is alarming and casts doubt upon credibility of the entire academic enterprise. Critics have long argued that liberal and progressive faculty abuse their positions by politically indoctrinating students and silencing conservative voices (Bloom, 2008; Gross & Fosse, 2012; D'Souza, 1991; Horowitz, 2009; Kimball, 1990; Bérubé, 2006). In addition, public opinion polls show that approximately one-third of Americans believe "liberal bias" in academia is a serious problem (Gross & Simmons,

2006). Rather than viewing social science as an attempt to understand phenomena, many see it as a process of political exhortation wherein liberal researchers look for evidence that confirms their ideological priors (MacCoun, 2005).

Pew Research Center has found that a majority of Americans (61%) believe the higher education system in the United States is going in the wrong direction (Brown, 2019). This belief is stronger among Republicans than Democrats (73% vs. 52%). Notably, negative public opinion about higher education on the right stems largely from concerns about ideological indoctrination and viewpoint suppression. Among those who believe higher education is headed in the wrong direction, approximately eight-in-ten Republicans (79%) cite professors bringing their political and social views into the classroom as a major reason (compared to only 17% of Democrats who say the same). In addition, three-quarters of Republicans (compared to only 31% of Democrats) believe there is too much concern about protecting students from views they might find offensive (Parker, 2019). In 2019, 87% of Democrats and 44% of Republicans said colleges and universities are open to a wide range of opinions and viewpoints (Pew, 2019b).

Gallup has found similar partisan divides in the reasons why people have only some or very little confidence in U.S. colleges and universities. Between 2015 to 2018, the share of Americans saying they had "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in higher education dropped from 57% to 48%, a decline far greater among Republicans (from 56% to 39%) than among Democrats (68% to 62%). When it comes to the reasons for their wariness, Democrats were mainly concerned about college being too expensive

(36%), whereas Republicans were mainly concerned that colleges are too political or too liberal (32%).

The proliferation of DEI policies may be a strong contributor to these negative perceptions among the public. Indeed, accusations of political indoctrination are overwhelmingly directed at academics who promote DEI through their research and teaching (see, e.g., Grimes, 2019; Richardson, 2019). Academics who promulgate a structural interpretation of racism in the United States have been criticized for painting our country in a negative light (Pipes, 2004; Sperry, 2015) and exacerbating intergroup conflict by inflaming the grievances of various identity groups (Gonzalez, 2020). The terminology surrounding DEI has even been satirized.[17] Several books (Boghossian, 2006; Pinker, 2003; Sokal & Bricmont, 1999) and articles (Söderlund & Madison, 2017; Stern, 2016) have also been written to express concern specifically about the growing influence of the ideological underpinnings of DEI in academia. A small contingency of advocates for DEI policy who are unwilling to dispassionately explore research that conflicts with their sacred values—combined with a larger contingency of academics who keep their reservations hidden or only discuss them in private settings—may lead the broader society to see academia as another manifestation of political activism for the Left. As a consequence, the public may continue to lose confidence in the ability of

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[17] Lee Jussim, a psychology professor at Rutgers, published a satirical glossary of terms for what he sees as "bias and dysfunction in psychological and academia," including "Cisandrophobia," defined as "Fear of and prejudice against heterosexual men," "Emotional imperialism," defined as "The strange belief that your feelings should dictate someone else's behavior," and "Wokanniblism," defined as "A low-carb, high-protein diet consisting mainly of eating your own." (Jussim, 2020).

academics to transcend their ideological commitments or to speak out against restrictive

social norms established in their liberal communities.

CHAPTER 3: CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING EACH DEI POLICY

LANGUAGE POLICIES: *Microaggressions*

Should the university offer workshops, trainings, and lists designed to raise awareness of microaggressions? This question has received much attention in recent years, but the answer remains highly disputed. Microaggressions are mild snubs, slights, and insults directed toward minorities, as well as women and other historically stigmatized groups, that implicitly communicate or engender hostility (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). A large body of work has examined microaggressions in the context of higher education, as they are believed to create a hostile campus climate by signaling to minority students that they do not belong (Clark, Spanierman, Reed, Soble, & Cabana, 2011; Harwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013).

Microaggressions are believed to be psychologically harmful due to the implicit messages they convey to recipients on a regular basis. Racial microaggressions, for example, are thought to be rooted in the harmful assumption that people of color are inferior (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Patton, 2006; Solórzano, 1998). Moreover, black undergraduate students report experiencing microaggressions in academic, social, and public spaces on campus (Patton, 2006; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). These experiences may take a toll on the mental health of students of color. Strayhorn (2009) found that high-achieving black college graduates felt the need to prove themselves academically to counter deficit-based

stereotypes held by faculty. Similarly, in a study of graduate students of color, race-based macro and microaggressions stemming from assumptions of deficiency were associated with self-censorship, the questioning of self-worth, and stifled scholarly productivity (Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011).

In light of these findings, colleges and universities across the country have introduced microaggression awareness programs and disseminated standardized lists of microaggressions. Campus leaders hope that by calling attention to the pervasiveness of microaggressions, they can help reduce prejudice and discrimination, cultivate social norms surrounding the need to respect minorities, and create a vocabulary that allows victims to be heard. It is hoped that this positive learning environment will improve minorities' experiences and outcomes in academia.

With this goal in mind, the University of California offered system-wide guidelines for raising awareness of microaggressions. During the 2014-15 academic year, deans and department heads of all departments on each UC campus were encouraged to attend microaggression awareness seminars. Included in these half-day seminars was a worksheet, "Recognizing Microaggressions and the Messages they send," disseminated by UCLA Diversity & Faculty Development (UCLA Diversity & Faculty Development, 2014). The worksheet describes microaggressions as "negative messages" aimed at targeting individuals "based solely upon their marginalized group membership." The handout identifies nearly 50 problematic phrases, questions, and scenarios and describes the subliminal messages each sends. For example, the statement, "Race or gender does not play a role in life successes" perpetuates the "Myth of Meritocracy," as do the

statements, "America is the land of opportunity;" "I believe the most qualified person should get the job;" or "Everyone in this society can succeed, if they work hard enough." These statements are believed to convey the implicit message that the playing field is even, so if women and people of color cannot succeed, it is their problem; that people of color are given unfair advantages because of their race; and that people of color do not succeed because they are lazy and/or incompetent.

According to the UC Office of the President (UCOP), the seminars were part of a growing effort to "broaden faculty leaders' capacity to support faculty diversity and enhance department and campus climate toward inclusive excellence" (Morrongiello, 2015). Although a UCOP spokesperson explained that the UC-wide seminars were not intended to "curb open dialogue or classroom discussion," (Hedtke, 2015) some thought otherwise. Media outlets ran headlines such as "Microaggression, Macro-Crazy" (Mac Donald, 2015), "University of California Insane Speech Police" (Soave, 2017), "Microaggressions can be 'lethal,' profs tells Berkeley students" (Devlin, 2018), and "California professors instructed not to say 'America is the land of opportunity" (Hedtke, 2015). Several UC faculty also voiced concern that the UC-wide microaggression awareness efforts were a deliberate attempt to silence offensive ideas.

In a *Washington Post* article, UCLA Law Professor Eugene Volokh explained that microaggression awareness is meant to suppress ideas whose expression is protected by academic freedom. According to Volokh, the microaggression worksheet "isn't about keeping classes on-topic or preventing personal insults — it's about suppressing particular viewpoints. And what's tenure for, if not to resist these attempts to stop the

expression of unpopular views?" (Volokh, 2015a). He goes on to explain that fear of creating what is vaguely known as "a hostile learning environment" may prevent many members of the academic community—especially those who are professionally vulnerable—from sharing unpopular views in a range of settings, as their words could end up being used against them by the administration. "I'm afraid that many faculty members who aren't yet tenured, many adjuncts and lecturers who aren't on the tenure ladder, many staff members, and likely even many students — and perhaps even quite a few tenured faculty members as well — will get the message that certain viewpoints are best not expressed when you're working for UC, whether in the classroom, in casual discussions, in scholarship, in op-eds, on blogs, or elsewhere. (Remember that when talk turns to speech that supposedly creates a 'hostile learning environment,' speech off campus or among supposed friends can easily be condemned as creating such an environment, once others on campus learn about it.) A serious blow to academic freedom and to freedom of discourse more generally, courtesy of the University of California administration."

In an email response to Volokh, a UCOP spokesperson asserted, "To suggest that the University of California is censoring classroom discussions on our campuses is wrong and irresponsible. No such censorship exists. UC is committed to upholding, encouraging, and preserving academic freedom and the free flow of ideas throughout the university." The UCOP spokesperson went on to explain that raising awareness of how certain language is perceived is different from prohibiting people from using such language. "No one at the University of California is prohibited from making statements

such as 'America is a melting pot,' 'America is the land of opportunity,' or any other

such statement. Given the diverse backgrounds of our students, faculty and staff, UC

offered these seminars to make people aware of how their words or actions may be

interpreted when used in certain contexts" (Volokh, 2015b).

In response, Volokh argued that although the UC administration is not unilaterally

prohibiting the expression of certain views, it is attempting to make it taboo to express

them, thereby undermining the idea of the university as a place for open discussion of

controversial ideas. "American universities should be open to arguments defending race-

based affirmative action — and to arguments condemning race-based affirmative action.

They should be open to speech pointing out America's flaws, and to speech arguing that

America is the land of opportunity. They should be open to speech condemning or

defending religiosity, to speech criticizing or praising feminism, to speech supporting or

opposing same-sex marriage." Volokh explained that when the administration actively

discourages the use of certain words and phrases, it is signaling that free speech and

academic freedom must be exercised with caution, rather than protected from

suppression. "Universities shouldn't teach administrators, professors and graduate

students that certain ideas are too 'aggressive' for candid discussion. University

administrators have a duty to protect freedom of discussion, whether in the classroom, the

faculty lounge, scholarship, blog posts or op-eds. In this instance, they have failed in that

duty."

The debate surrounding microaggressions has been characterized by highly

charged partisans whose assertions reveal little common ground between them. Some

find it absurd that seemingly innocuous, even encouraging statements (e.g., "America is the land of opportunity") constitute as microaggressions. They argue that so few people would perceive such phrases as hostile that the topic does not warrant discussion, let alone formal training. Others cite such dismissiveness as evidence that large swaths of the population have disregard for the pain inflicted by microaggressions. They argue that because microaggressions are directed at specific groups of people, those who have never been the targets of microaggressions could never understand their significance or harm. As these warring factions talk past each other, it becomes increasingly difficult to imagine what an effective policy for raising awareness of microaggressions would look like.

A key issue in the debate over microaggressions is whether there are—or must be—objective criteria to determine that a microaggression occurred. This question evokes concerns surrounding the disinterested pursuit of truth. Who knows the truth about whether or not a microaggression occurred? What do we need to know to determine whether or not a microaggression occurred? Some argue that if the criteria are subjective and a statement one person perceives as a microaggression is not perceived that way by others, then it becomes difficult to reach the sort of consensus that may be necessary to design an awareness program. Others, in turn, have argued that it is not only unnecessary to establish objective criteria or to reach a consensus, but also that such requirements undermine the subjective experience of those who perceive themselves as targets of microaggressions, and therefore, awareness programs should emphasize that the only

evidence needed to determine that a microaggression occurred is a testimony by the person who has been targeted.

Another important issue is the impact of microaggression awareness on campus discourse—specifically, the willingness of people to discuss sensitive issues in an open manner. This question evokes concerns surrounding free speech and academic freedom. Some worry that raising awareness of microaggressions may lower the threshold of what constitutes as a microaggression, thereby leading more and more ideas to be taboo, and more and more people to fear expressing ideas for which they may be accused on engaging in a microaggression. Others have argued that awareness of the harm inflicted by microaggressions *should* make people afraid of engaging in them, as that is a sign that they are motivated to avoid inflicting harm (or at least that they are motivated to avoid the social costs of being accused of exhibiting microaggressions). They explain that the free speech costs of discouraging people from expressing such ideas is a small price to pay for upholding the dignity of those from historically marginalized groups.

A related concern surrounds the broadening of criteria for what constitutes as a microaggression. Some assert that through the process of concept creep (Haslam, 2016), broad definitions of microaggressions may lower the threshold of what is seen as hostile or offensive and increase the rate of false positives (i.e., Type I errors), or perceiving that a microaggression occurred when it did not. In this way, a broad definition may decrease the accuracy of microaggression detection and thus interfere with the disinterested pursuit of truth. Others argue that because microaggressions are by their very nature subjective, one cannot perceive that a microaggression occurred when it did not. Moreover, they

believe that the broad definition of a microaggression allows targets to use that term to

describe various types of encounters that leave them with a sense that they are being

made to feel inferior. Now that there is a name for it, a microaggression can be better

identified when it occurs. In this way, the broadness serves to decrease the rate of false

negatives (i.e., Type II errors), or not perceiving that a microaggression occurred when it

did.

The microaggressions debate is characterized by disagreement regarding the

definition of microaggressions, how to determine if/when microaggressions occur, and

the impact of raising awareness of microaggressions. The present research offers a

framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key issues

surrounding attempts to raise awareness of microaggressions in higher education.

LANGUAGE POLICIES: *Speech Codes*

Should the university restrict language that, although protected by the First

Amendment, is perceived as particularly harmful? For decades, scholars have debated

this question, yet the answer remains highly disputed. When discussing free speech in

academia, it is first important to recognize how the First Amendment impacts public

institutions. As state agents, all public colleges and universities are legally required to

honor the First Amendment rights of their students.[18] Thus, First Amendment protections

are guaranteed on public campuses.[19] According to the U.S. Supreme Court, all speech is

presumptively protected by the First Amendment unless it involves "fighting words" or

incitement to immediate violence;[20] sexual harassment;[21] true threats and intimidation;[22]

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[18] In *Healy v. James*, 408 U.S. 169 (1972), the Court explained "[S]tate colleges and universities are not enclaves immune from the sweep of the First Amendment .... [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."

[19] Private campuses, however, are not directly required to protect the First Amendment. Thus, if a private institution wishes to prioritize certain moral, philosophical, or religious commitments above its commitment to free expression, it has the legal right to do so. If a private institution states both clearly and publicly that it places other values (e.g., diversity, equity, and inclusion) above freedom of expression, then that institution has considerable leeway to expect members of its academic community to abide by those principles, provided they have provided their informed consent by choosing to attend or work at that institution. Although private campuses are not directly required to protect the First Amendment, the vast majority of these institutions portray themselves as bastions of free thought and expression. The argument has been made by the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) that private colleges and universities should be held to those espoused standards so that if a private institution considers itself a place where free speech is protected (and most of them do), then it should be held to the same standard as a public institution.

[20] In *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568 (1942), the Court ruled that fighting words (i.e., language intended to incite an immediate violent response) are not an essential aspect of the free expression of ideas, and are "of such slight social value as a step to the truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality."

[21] In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57 (1986), the Court declared sexual harassment to be a form of sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *See also* Majeed (2008) for discussion of harassment on college campuses.

[22] In *Virginia v. Black*, 538 U.S. 343 (2003) the Court explained that true threats "encompass those statements where the speaker means to communicate a serious expression of an intent to commit an act of unlawful violence to a particular individual or group of individuals…Intimidation in the constitutionally proscribable sense of the word is a type of true threat, where a speaker directs a threat to a person or group of persons with the intent of placing the victim in fear of bodily harm or death."

obscenity;[23] child pornography;[24] and libel.[25] Importantly, speech that is offensive,[26]

insulting,[27] causes anger,[28] or is viewed as prejudiced or hate speech[29] are all protected.[30]

Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly defended the right to free speech, even

when we deem such expression deeply harmful. In fact, the Court has even declared that

within institutions of higher education, freedom of expression should receive *heightened*

protection,[31] as such settings "possess many of the characteristics of a traditional public

forum."[32] Although some interpret the Court's stance to mean that hate speech should

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[23] In *Miller v. California*, 413 U.S. 15 (1973), the Court established current standards for what is legally obscene and reiterated that obscene material is not protected as free speech under the First Amendment. "A work may be subject to state regulation where that work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest in sex; portrays, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law; and, taken as a whole, does not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."
[24] In *New York v. Ferber*, 458 U.S. 747 (1982), the Court held that the First Amendment does not protect child pornography because of its link to the sexual abuse of children.
[25] In *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1964), the Court ruled that the First Amendment restricts the ability of American public officials to sue for defamation. It was not sufficient to provide evidence that a defamatory statement was published to a third party; the plaintiff must also prove that the statement was made with "actual malice"—that is, knowledge that the statement was false, or reckless disregard for whether or not it was true.
[26] In *Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397 (1989), the Court stated, "If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable."
[27] In *Boos v. Barry*, 485 U.S. 312 (1988), the court explained that the First Amendment protects "insulting, and even outrageous, speech."
[28] In Terminiello v. Chicago, 337 U.S. 1 (1949), the Court ruled that the "function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."
[29] In *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, 395 U.S. 444 (1969), the Court assessed speech that would be constitute as "hate." At issue was a Ku Klux Klan leader's inflammatory speech urging listeners to take revenge on racial minorities. The court held that this speech did not constitute an incitement of lawlessness, and was therefore constitutionally protected.
[30] For more information regarding the application of the First Amendment to public universities, and free speech principles to the private institutions, see the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education's "*Spotlight on Speech Codes*" (FIRE, 2017a).
[31] *See, e.g., Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234 (1957): "Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die." *See also Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589, 603 (1967): the classroom is "peculiarly the marketplace of ideas"; *Shelton v. Tucker*, 364 U.S. 479, 487 (1960): "The vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools."
[32] *Cornelius v. NAACP Legal Defense and Educ. Fund*, 473 U.S. 788, 803 (1985).

receive special protection within institutions of higher education, others argue that the

commitment to equality necessitates the prohibition of racist speech, especially in the

academic context.[33]

The phase "hate speech" is formally defined as "any communication that

disparages a person or a group on the basis of some characteristic such as race, color,

ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, or other characteristic"

(Nockleby, 2000, pp. 1277-1279). Few concepts evoke such a wide range of thoughts and

emotions as "hate speech." Scholars argue that hate speech should be welcomed (Rauch,

2013), tolerated (Bollinger, 1986), condemned (Taslitz, 1998), met by counter-speech

(Tribe, 1978), banned from social media platforms (Breckheimer, 2001), grounds for a

civil lawsuit (Delgado, 1982), or prosecuted as a criminal offense (Matsuda, 1989).

The courts have repeatedly determined that the right to freedom of expression

requires the government to protect speech despite its perceived harm. Bollinger (1986)

asserts that hate speech should be protected not because people should value its messages

or entertain it seriously, but because protection of such speech reinforces our society's

commitment to tolerance. Similarly, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declared, "[I]f there

is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any

other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but

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[33] Matsuda (1989) explains, "Students are particularly dependent on the university for community, for intellectual development, and for self-definition. Official tolerance of racist speech in this setting is more harmful than generalized tolerance in the community-at-large. It is harmful to student perpetrators in that it is a lesson in getting-away-with-it that will have lifelong repercussions. It is harmful to targets, who perceive the university as taking sides through inaction, and who are left to their own resources in coping with the damage wrought" (pp. 2370-2372).

freedom for the thought that we hate."[34] He explained, "we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death" if we are to preserve the free competition of ideas.[35] In the famous "Nazis in Skokie" case, the Seventh Circuit's opinion reiterated Justice Holmes' reasoning. In upholding the right of neo-Nazis to march through the predominantly Jewish suburb of Chicago, the Seventh Circuit wrote that if free speech is to remain vital for all, courts must protect not only speech that our society deems acceptable, but also that which it justifiably rejects and despises.[36]

Courts have repeatedly struck down policies aimed at restricting hateful expression on grounds that they are too broad or vague. A statute is overbroad if it prohibits a substantial amount of protected speech in its attempts to restrict unprotected speech. A statute or regulation is vague if it does not adequately delineate between prohibited and permissible expression, thereby leaving a person to guess how it will be applied.

In 1989, the University of Michigan's harassment policy was the first to be challenged and overturned. In *Doe v. University of Michigan* (1989), a federal court struck down a speech code that administrators had adopted after a campus anti-discrimination group threatened to file a class-action suit against the university. The group was upset over several recent racial incidents, including the distribution of a flier

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[34] *United States v. Schwimmer*, 279 U.S. 644, 654-55 (1929).
[35] *Abrams v. United States*, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919).
[36] *Collin v. Smith*, 578 F.2d 1197 (7th Cir. 1978).

on campus that declared "open season" on blacks, and referring to black students as "saucer lips, porch monkeys, and jigaboos" (Hudson & Nott, last updated 2017).

The university policy was designed to penalize the act of "stigmatizing or victimizing individuals or groups on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, sex, sexual orientation, creed, national origin, ancestry, age, marital status, handicap, or Vietnam-era veteran status." The following are examples of prohibited conduct: to "exclude someone from a study group because that person is of a different race, sex, or ethnic origin than you are," "display a confederate flag on the door of your room in your residence hall," or "comment in a derogatory way about a particular person or group's physical appearance or sexual orientation, or their cultural origins, or religious beliefs." Several complaints were filed against students under this policy. One complaint was lodged against a student who said that "he had heard that minorities had a difficult time in the course and that he had heard they were not treated fairly." A psychology graduate student, identified as "John Doe," challenged the policy in court, arguing that numerous controversial theories in biopsychology, as well as the study of individual differences in personality and cognitive abilities, might violate the policy.

The Court determined that the University of Michigan's policy was overbroad, stating, "The Supreme Court has consistently held that statutes punishing speech or conduct solely on the grounds that they are unseemly or offensive are unconstitutionally overbroad." Examining the complaints that had been filed under the speech code policy, the court determined that "the University could not seriously argue that the policy was never interpreted to reach protected conduct." The Court also determined that the policy

was unconstitutionally vague because people would have to guess at the meaning of the policy's language, and that it was "simply impossible to discern any limitation" on the policy's scope and reach. In conclusion, the Court stated that although it was sympathetic to the university's goal of ensuring equal educational opportunities for all of its students, "such efforts must not be at the expense of free speech."

The next major legal case arose from the University of Wisconsin's "Design for Diversity" plan. Several campus incidents led university administrators to adopt a speech code targeting hate speech. In one incident, a fraternity erected a picture of a black Fiji islander during a party. Another fraternity held a "slave auction," featuring pledges wearing blackface. The university responded by adopting a policy that prohibited "racist and discriminatory comments that demean the race, sex, religion, color, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry or age of the individual or individuals; and create an intimidating, hostile or demeaning environment for education, university-related work, or other university-authorized activity."

The policy was aimed at restricting hateful language directed at specific individuals; it did not prohibit derogatory language directed at specific racial groups in a classroom discussion. The idea was to restrict "fighting words," a form of speech the U.S. Supreme Court had determined in their *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942) ruling was not protected by the First Amendment.[37] Fighting words are not protected by the First

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[37] The "fighting words" definition was initially constructed by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, 315 U.S. 568 (1942), but was narrowed in *Cohen v. California*, 403 U.S. 15 (1971) so that fighting words had to be directed at a particular individual (rather than expressed as a general statement), and in *Gooding v. Wilson*, 405 U.S. 518 (1972) so that such utterances must in and of themselves immediately provoke a breach of the peace.

Amendment because they are considered to have such little social value in the marketplace of ideas that any benefits arising from such utterances are outweighed by the impending threat of violence. With this legal precedent in mind, the drafters of the Wisconsin harassment policy attempted to sanction and penalize only those expressions that fit the definition of fighting words.

The student newspaper, the *UWM Post,* challenged the policy on First Amendment grounds. In the 1991 case, *UWM Post v. Board of University of Wisconsin*, a federal court agreed with the newspaper and struck down the policy on the grounds that it was too broad and did not fit the definition of fighting words because "speech may demean an individual's characteristics without tending to incite that individual or others to an immediate breach of the peace." In addition, the court rejected the defendant's claim that UWM's speech code was necessary to stop discriminatory harassment. The federal court reiterated its commitment to the First Amendment, explaining, "This commitment to free expression must be unwavering, because there exist many situations where, in the short run, it appears advantageous to limit speech to solve pressing social problems, such as discriminatory harassment. If a balancing approach is applied, these pressing and tangible short run concerns are likely to outweigh the more amorphous and long run benefits of free speech. However, the suppression of speech, even where the speech's content appears to have little value and great costs, amounts to governmental thought control."

These and several other overturned policies[38] signal to colleges and universities across the country that U.S. courts are unlikely to uphold policies that limit constitutionally protected speech that some, even many, find racist or otherwise hateful. A series of state legislative actions have also been taken to prevent the restriction of free speech in higher education. Many of these actions have succeeded by arguing for the importance of protecting speech regardless of how vile, or by extending First Amendment protections to private campuses. California, for example, passed the Leonard Law in 1999 (amended in 2006) stating that no private secondary educational institution may create or enforce any rule that subjects a student to disciplinary sanctions solely on the basis of speech that, when engaged in outside the campus, is protected under the First Amendment.

The debate over language policies promoting DEI has divided former allies, exposing unrecognized or unacknowledged ideological differences among members of longstanding alliances. It has also led to considerable soul-searching among those with strong commitments to both free expression and racial equality. Organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), for example, are committed to the eradication of racial discrimination and the promotion of free speech throughout society.[39] They believe institutions of higher education should be bastions of equal opportunity and

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[38] The following cases involve policies that were challenged for their attempts to regulate hate speech: *Corry et al. v. The Leland Stanford Junior University*, No. 740309 (Cal. Super. Ct. Feb. 27, 1995); *Dambrot v. Central Michigan University*, 839 F. Supp. 477 (E.D. Mich. 1993); *UWM Post v. Board of Regents of U. of Wis.*, 774 F. Supp. 1163 (E.D. Wis. 1991).

[39] On October 13, 1990, the ACLU's National Board of Directors unanimously adopted a policy opposing campus disciplinary codes to combat hate speech (ACLU, 1990).

unrestricted exchange. As such, they are disturbed by incidents of racism as well as by attempts to regulate constitutionally protected forms of expression.

Civil libertarians have urged that any restrictions on individual rights be drawn narrowly and applied carefully, to avoid chilling protected speech and suppressing the free exchange of ideas (see, e.g., Haiman, 1981; Post, 1990; Stone, Seidman, Sunstein, & Tushnet, 2016; Strossen, 1990). As Post (1990) explained, "To the extent that we care about first amendment values, therefore, we must make do with more modest aspirations" (p. 270). Even when a cautious approach is endorsed at first, it may lead to additional, substantially more sweeping restrictions. This is because the rationale for the policy may be so open-ended that it could lead to the prohibition of *all* racist expression, in which case we would no longer have a system that upholds free speech.

Even when specific policies are relatively modest, the supporting rationale may depend on nothing less immodest than the abrogation of crucial distinctions between words and behavior and between formal institutional and informal social sanctions. Consequently, some fear that there is no principled way to confine policies to their particular contours (or any particular contours at all). Thus, any specific, seemingly modest policy may in fact represent the proverbial "thin edge of the wedge" for initiating broader policies in the future (Strossen, 1990). These concerns arise from the incongruity between the narrowness of a specific policy and the breadth of the harm it seeks to mitigate. Such incongruity may to some underscores the policy's ineffectiveness. It may not formally sanction the problematic conduct, and it may not even reduce the likelihood

that the problematic conduct will occur. If a policy does not put an end to the harm that necessitated its implementation, then what is its purpose?

A relatively specific DEI policy may be incongruous with the broad theoretical rationale that underlies it. If a DEI policy does not reduce or eliminate the harms inflicted by various forms of prejudice and discrimination that are thought to create a hostile learning environment for URMs, then the policy in its current, limited form may be deemed insufficient. If the policy is subsequently broadened, this heightens the potential for infringement on individual rights that are seen as in need of protection for society to remain free and for institutions of higher education to remain bastions for the open exchange of ideas.

The ACLU asserts that the value of free speech is especially important in institutions of higher education where students must be permitted to listen, debate, and protest. "The First Amendment to the Constitution protects speech no matter how offensive its content. Restrictions on speech by public colleges and universities amount to government censorship, in violation of the Constitution. Such restrictions deprive students of their right to invite speech they wish to hear, debate speech with which they disagree, and protest speech they find bigoted or offensive. An open society depends on liberal education, and the whole enterprise of liberal education is founded on the principle of free speech" (ACLU, 1990). The ACLU asserts that although it is difficult to protect speech that we deem immoral and hostile, such expression requires protection because the right of free speech indivisible, so to take it from some opens the door for it to be taken from all. "How much we value the right of free speech is put to its severest test

when the speaker is someone we disagree with most. Speech that deeply offends our morality or is hostile to our way of life warrants the same constitutional protection as other speech because the right of free speech is indivisible: When we grant the government the power to suppress controversial ideas, we are all subject to censorship by the state."

Walker (1990) points out that the ACLU's free speech victories won in defense of Nazi and other unpopular speech have also been used to protect pro-civil rights messages. For example, in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Terminiello v. Chicago* (1949), the ACLU defended the rights of Father Terminiello, a suspended Catholic priest, to give a racist speech in Chicago. Then, in the 1960s and 70s, civil rights groups were able to cite this case to successfully defend the rights of demonstrators (Walker, 1990, pp. 105-108).

The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) takes a similar stance on free speech. FIRE is a non-profit organization whose stated goal is to protect the constitutional rights of students and faculty at America's colleges and universities. These rights include "freedom of speech, freedom of association, due process, legal equality, religious liberty, and sanctity of conscience." FIRE was founded in 1999 by Alan Charles Kors, a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, and Harvey Silverglate, a Boston civil liberties attorney, following their 1998 publication of the book, *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses*. In *The Shadow University* (1998), Kors and Silverglate describe how administrators at public and private universities implement policies that suppress academic freedom, restrict free speech, deny due process of law, and violate the guarantee of fairness. To protect students' and

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faculty's constitutional rights, FIRE employs numerous strategies, including direct litigation against campuses that attempt to enact or enforce unconstitutional policies, targeted media campaigns that criticize specific college and university administrators who limit forms of expression protected by the First Amendment, and annual reports with free speech scores assigned to various colleges and universities.

Such tactics have been strongly criticized by those who believe policies that restrict offensive language are necessary to protect the civil rights and civil liberties of underrepresented minorities (URMs). Thus, FIRE have been accused of using ferocious and expensive litigation to protect racist expression and promulgate an individualist framing of campus racism at the expense of people of color (see, e.g., Moore & Bell, 2017; Giroux, 2003). According to Moore and Bell (2017), FIRE embraces "abstract liberalist notions of individual rights and structurally decontextualized liberty" that fails to recognize "the relevance of race and racism in these white institutional spaces," instead privileging "a decontextualized right of freedom of speech over the right of people of color to participate equally in these institutions without racist harassment" (p. 112). Moore and Bell (2017) assert that US courts have been persuaded by FIRE and other advocacy groups to prioritize constitutional freedoms over DEI commitments. "US courts have largely internalized and codified the discursive frame of organizations like FIRE and have embraced an abstract liberalist approach to racist expression on college and university campuses that values absolute freedom of speech over racially equitable institutions" (p. 112).

Expressions of hatred based on an individual's immutable characteristics, racial or ethnic background, or religious identity are deeply hurtful (see, e.g., Waldron, 2012; Delgado, 1982). Therefore, some contend that open discourse might be hampered rather than stimulated by the inclusion of racist speech. They assert that such speech not only interferes with equal educational opportunities, but also prevents the exercise of free speech. Lawrence (1990) explains that hate speech deprives underrepresented minority (URM) students of the opportunity to participate in academic discourse and that the discourse suffers as a result of their exclusion. "Our experience is that the American system of justice has never been symmetrical where race is concerned. No wonder we see equality as a precondition to free speech" (Lawrence, 1990, p. 467).

Those who advocate for policies that discourage offensive forms of expression assert that URMs cannot claim fair and equal access to their rights when there is a power imbalance between them and those in the dominant group. If a white student, for example, shouts a racial epithet or exhibits a microaggression toward a black student, the history of discrimination and oppression of his race intensifies the threat and psychological harm for the black student in a way that it does not if the situation were reversed and the black student had offended a white student. Thus, denigrating language is seen as having far greater gravity when used by those in power than when they used by those without power. Therefore, some reason that the university should be more concerned about protecting the rights of minorities not to be harmed than about protecting the rights of the majority to harm. They explain that when denigrating language is directed at URMs, the effect is much more than hurt feelings; it is a verbal

assault that evokes a history of oppression and diminishes the person's ability to compete fairly in the academia arena. This harm is deemed substantial enough to justify limiting supposed free speech rights.

The First Amendment has historically been used to petition the government and citizenry for redress of injustice. In the American political sphere, the ideal is that the power of ideas can change the system and improve society. This provides a unifying interest in preserving the right of free speech for all. At the same time, however, the Framers excluded African Americans from protection of the First Amendment.[40] In this way, the same Constitution that established rights for some proclaimed the inferiority of others. Lawrence (1990) argues that this injustice has led many URMs—especially African Americans—to see a different America than those who do not share this historical experience.[41]

The controversy surrounding policies that attempt to curb offensive forms of expression reveals fundamental ideological differences in how civic values and civic liberties are defined. These differences influence how one weighs the costs and benefits of permitting offensive speech. Does the harm inflicted by words and ideas believed to promulgate systemic racism and white supremacy morally obligate the institution to restrict constitutionally protected expression? Whether such policies are appropriate responses to intolerance—or are themselves a form of intolerance—may depend on how one interprets the harm of offensive ideas, the costs and benefits of designating certain

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[40] In *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1856), the Court declared that at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted, blacks had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect."
[41] For discussion of antidiscrimination laws from an African American perspective, see Alan (1978).

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ideas off limits, and the appropriate balance of individual rights and group rights. "It is an unfortunate fact of our constitutional system that the ideals of freedom and equality are often in conflict. The difficult and sometimes painful task of our political and legal institutions is to mediate the appropriate balance between these two competing values."[42] The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key conflicts surrounding the implementation of speech codes in higher education.

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[42] Judge Avern Cohn in *Doe v. University of Michigan,* 721 F. Supp. 852 (E.D. Mich. 1989).

LANGUAGE POLICIES: *Bias Reporting Systems*

Should the university have bias response teams that receive, investigate, and adjudicate incidents of bias that occur on campus? This question has received much attention in recent years, but the answer remains highly disputed. Bias response teams are institutional committees that obtain and respond to reports of bias incidents, hate speech, and/or hate crimes on college campuses (LePeau, Morgan, Zimmerman, Snipes, & Marcotte, 2016; McDermott, 2013). The primary responsibilities of bias response teams are to: (a) support those who feel they have been the targets of hate or bias; (b) refer students to additional resources and services; (c) educate the campus community about nature of the reported incidents; and (d) promote initiatives and guidelines that further the goal of creating a diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus (Anthony & Johnson, 2012). In essence, the purpose of bias response teams is to "listen to affected students, conduct some investigation, sanction those responsible, and promote respect across the campus" (McDermott, 2013, para. 3).

Bias reporting systems go by various names, including "Bias Education and Response Team" (University of Oregon), "Bias Incident Response Team" (University of North Carolina Asheville), "Campus Environment Team" (Arizona State University), "Inclusive Community Response Team" (Illinois State University), and "Just Knights Response Team" (University of Central Florida). Those institutions that do not have separate teams for handling bias reports often rely on administrative staff in other offices or departments to direct reports to public safety departments, student conduct offices, and human resource officers.

Although bias response teams have proliferated in recent years, they date back to the 1980s. During that decade, Indiana University-Bloomington created a response team that eventually led to the establishment of a gay, lesbian, and bisexual anti-harassment team in 1990 (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). The team's purpose was to support students who reported discrimination and to collect data about bias incidents for use in developing prevention and response efforts. Data collection and dissemination emphasized that "harassment motivated by homophobia is real, that students need a place to report the incidents, and that further education is always important" (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, p. 275). Proponents of bias response teams believe they are useful in helping to resolve incidents and facilitate appropriate communication among administrators (Wessler & Moss, 2001). Moreover, the teams may be useful to administrators who are unsure of how to respond to incidents that do not violate the law or university policy (McDermott, 2013).

In 2017, the University of Oregon Academic Senate's Bias and Education Response Team Task Force released the most comprehensive report to date on the inner workings of bias response teams. (University of Oregon, 2017). The report outlined the specific steps taken by its bias response team. After an incident is reported, the information, including the names of parties involved, is stored in the bias response team database for five to seven years. When the incident is first reported, it is categorized as either "requiring action" or "for informational purposes only." Both types of incidents are categorized as bias and made publicly available. Moreover, information on the accused and the accuser is kept on file and subject to administrative review and public record

requests. No reports are disregarded as invalid, no matter how vague or seemingly innocuous. If the incident requires action, the reporter is assigned a "Case Manager" or an "Advocate" who comes from another unit on campus and is not a full-time member of the bias response team. This person decides on the appropriate next steps. In some cases, a department head, senior administrator, or public safety officer is brought in. If a report indicates a violation of student conduct code, law, or policy, the report must be acted upon. Although bias response teams do not discipline those accused of engaging in bias, they are able to forward reports to other university departments with such capacities. Out of the 85 incidents outlined in the annual report, seven were forwarded to other departments. In the vast majority of cases, the bias response team responded to incidents by requesting conversations or trainings with the accused. These incidents resulted in some sort of contact with the diversity officers or their superiors.

Concerns have been raised that such meetings are an intimidation tool used to prevent members of the academic community from exercising their free speech rights. Attorney Adam Steinbaugh contends that the University of Oregon's report revealed that administrators intervene in inappropriate ways when responding to bias reports. For example, after a report was filed over concerns that the student newspaper "gave less press coverage to trans students and students of color," the bias response team's "Case Manager" arranged a meeting with the reporter and editor of the newspaper. Steinbaugh believes it was inappropriate for administrators to advise student journalists regarding what constitutes as sufficient coverage of a topic (Steinbaugh, 2016).

The University of Oregon report also explained how the working definition of

bias has evolved over the years. In 2003, bias incidents had to rise to the level of hate

crimes to constitute as an offense. In other words, they had to involve "abuse, violence,

harassment, intimidation, extortion, use of vulgarity, cursing, [or] destructive"

(University of Oregon, 2017, p. 2). By 2007, the definition had broadened to mean

"anything that is said or done that you find discriminatory or offensive" (p. 2). Now, as of

2015, bias is taught alongside concepts such as privilege, microaggressions, and

bystander behavior and is anything that "is a threat to the well-being of a person and/or

community" (p. 2). In the initial working definition, bias was measured according to a list

of clear standards. Under the later, broader definitions, bias became a subjective standard,

based on what the reporter perceives as offensive. This shift may have consequences for

academic freedom because any classroom exchange may potentially be categorized as

"bias" and subject to administrative review, regardless of the context or intent.

Administrators frequently use vague or broad language when describing the types

of language and behavior that are unacceptable and may be sanctionable by bias response

teams. For example, the University of California's systemwide intolerance report form

invites people to submit a report if they "experience or observe behavior that is

inconsistent with our Principles of Community" (UCOP's weekly e-newsletter, 2010). On

the form, people can report, among other things, "expressions of bias,"[43] "hate speech,"[44] "bias incidents,"[45] and a "hostile climate."[46] The University of California Office of the President (UCOP) explains that reports "make a difference" because "even if you don't want or expect any action to be taken, having a record of all campus incidents helps the University to better address issues of culture, climate and inclusion."

The goal of University of California's systemwide intolerance report form is to create "a campus and a world free of discrimination, intolerance and hate," while remaining "equally committed to freedom of expression, critical inquiry, civil dialogue and mutual respect." However, these goals potentially conflict, and the UCOP does not explain how such conflicts are to be resolved. Does freedom of expression mean that individuals are free to express themselves in ways that others feel are discriminatory? If one feels discriminated against, does one have the right to prevent someone else's freedom of expression? What if critical inquiry leads one to conclusions that are perceived as discriminatory, intolerant, and/or hateful? What are the criteria for

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[43] The UCOP explains that expressions of bias are "a general communication not directed toward a particular individual, which disparages a group of people on the basis of some characteristic such as actual or perceived race, color, ancestry, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, national origin, religion, disability or sexual orientation. Expressions of bias may violate student conduct code or other University policies; other expressions of bias may be fully protected expressions of speech."

[44] The UCOP explains that hate speech is "any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display that may incite violence or prejudicial action against someone based on actual or perceived race, color, ancestry, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation or disability."

[45] The UCOP explains that bias incidents are "acts of conduct, speech, or expression that targeted individuals or groups based on actual or perceived race, color, ancestry, religion, ethnicity, national origin, gender, gender identity, age, disability, or sexual orientation. Bias incidents are not criminal offenses, but may violate student conduct code or other University policies; other acts of bias may be fully protected by expressions of speech."

[46] The UCOP explains that a hostile climate is "a focus on race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, or sexual orientation of another person or group which is severe or pervasive enough to affect campus or academic life. Examples include unwanted jokes or teasing, derogatory or disparaging comments, posters, cartoons, drawings, or pictures of a biased nature."

determining that dialogue is civil versus discriminatory, intolerant, and hateful? Who decides?

For this reason, broad definitions and subjective interpretations of bias may lead a wide range of protected expression to be subject to various forms of institutional sanctions. Even when administrators state that bias response teams do not intend to discipline, but instead provide education to the accused, in practice they may more closely resemble a reprimand. Miller, Guida, Smith, Ferguson, and Medina (2018) conducted extensive interviews with leaders of bias response teams at 17 colleges and universities across the country and found that bias response team leaders focus more on punishing and condemning perpetrators involved in specific bias incidents than on educating the campus about bias. Moreover, the bias response team leaders tend to be mid-level administrators who are accountable to "senior-level administrators concerned with institutional reputation" (Miller et al., 2018, p. 329) and to those who submit bias incident reports, often expecting to "see punishment enacted" (p. 329). Although most bias response team leaders believed their mission was primarily educational, they often described the teams' actual work as serving a public-relations function, "to reassure campus communities that administrators were addressing bias" (p. 331). Many believed the teams were created to meet "a perceived demand that the institution become visible in condemning bias incidents" (p. 327). Although bias response teams have limited authority to punish those accused of engaging in bias (especially if no laws or policies had been broken), bias response team leaders described their actions as similar to criminal justice work. They used the terms "victim," "perpetrator," and "offender," and

aimed to hold individuals accountable for specific bias incidents. Thus, even in the absence of violations of law or campus policy, the process for dealing with reports often mimicked procedures used by campus police or judicial bodies.

It is also worth noting that bias response teams accept reporters' interpretations of events and are not mandated to hear from the accused. In this way, the anonymized reports that are published may not have been verified. Bias response teams are not investigative bodies, so their staff are in a unique position to assess what is considered bias and how the incident should be handled. As a result, the particular staffing of the teams may influence how aggressively bias incidents are handled. For this reason, some have raised concerns that bias response teams, staffed by administrators who use open-ended definitions of bias, may pose a threat to free and open discourse on campus and in the classroom because even if bias response teams do not have the power to take punitive action, the prospect of a formal investigation may make students and faculty afraid to express unpopular opinions.

In 2016, The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) gathered data on every bias reporting system it could identify, with the goal of determining who reviews the reports, what categories of bias the report teams are changed with addressing, and whether the institution acknowledges that the system creates tension with free speech and academic freedom (FIRE, 2017b). FIRE identified and surveyed 231 bias report teams located at public and private colleges and universities in the United States. At least

2.84 million students are enrolled in these institutions.[47] To distinguish bias reporting

systems from other DEI policies, and to identify policies that may not be explicitly

defined as a "bias reporting" system, FIRE defines a bias reporting system as (a) a policy

explicitly identified as such, or (b) one involves a formal or explicit process for or

solicitation of bias incidents; obtains reports from students, faculty, staff, or other

members of the academic community; and is concerned with offensive conduct or speech

that is protected by the First Amendment or university principles of expressive or

academic freedom. Based on FIRE's definition, a policy or reporting system limited to

criminal offenses does not constitute as a bias reporting system.

   FIRE identified bias reporting systems by investigating campus websites and

issuing public records requests for access to the reports as well as the teams' policies and

training. For example, through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request, FIRE

obtained documents pertaining to the University of Northern Colorado's Bias Response

Team (BRT) and discovered that two faculty received visits from the BRT concerning

class discussions about controversial topics during the 2015-16 academic year

(Steinbaugh & Morey, 2016). In one of the reports, a student complained that a professor

asked the class to read Haidt and Lukianoff's 2015 *Atlantic* article, "The Coddling of the

American Mind." Another complaint was filed over this professor's request for the class

to come up with a range of difficult topics (e.g., transgenderism, gay marriage, abortion,

global warming) for a discussion designed to explore various perspectives on those

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[47] Enrollment statistics are based on data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, compiled by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (IPEDS).

issues. In the report, a student explained that it was offensive for the professor to reference the opinion that transgenderism "is not a real thing, and no one can truly feel like they are born in the wrong body." The student wrote, "I would just like the professor to be educated about what trans is and how what he said is not okay because as someone who truly identifies as a transwoman I was very offended and hurt by this." After the incident, a member of the BRT spoke with the professor and "advised him not to revisit transgender issues in his classroom, if possible, to avoid the student's expressed concerns."

Evidence from a separate FOIA request revealed that the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) had cut funding to its satirical student newspaper partially in response to bias reports filed through the UCSD's online reporting system. In 2015, UCSD's student-run satirical newspaper, *The Koala,* published a piece that mocked safe spaces. In the article, "UCSD Unveils New Dangerous Space on Campus," student journalists explain, "Safe spaces at UCSD are commonplace, and threaten individuals who do not like feeling safe. The logical next step has been taken by the university in creating a place to fairly support all UCSD students, continuing the university's theme of inclusion and equality." The alleged "Dangerous Space" would allow illicit drugs, weapons, and pornography, in addition to "opinions that might be different from yours." Shortly after the article's publication, UCSD administrators denounced *The Koala,* describing it as "profoundly repugnant, repulsive, attacking, and cruel." The university administration then summoned all members of the academic community to "join us in condemning the publication and other hurtful acts" (UC San Diego News Center, 2015).

Indeed, many filed bias reports demanding the defunding, censorship, and eradication of *The Koala*.[48] FIRE contends that none of the bias reports revealed through the records request provided legal cause to censor *The Koala*. Moreover, UCSD, as a public university, is required by law to distribute funding in a manner that is neutral with regard to viewpoint. Thus, *The* Koala, with the representation of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), filed a lawsuit against the UCSD administrators to enforce First Amendment protection against targeting the press or discriminating on the basis of viewpoint (ACLU San Diego, 2016).

In a separate legal dispute in 2019, the University of Michigan terminated its Bias Response Team as part of a settlement with the nonprofit organization Speech First that argued the team's policies interfered with free expression on campus (Speech First, 2018). According to Nicole Neily, President and Founder of Speech First, "Bias Response Teams are fundamentally un-American and have no place on college campuses. We have an epidemic on our hands in the higher education system—universities are establishing rules and protocols that create a dangerous environment in which free speech protections under the First Amendment no longer exist." University administrators

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[48] Examples of the bias reports: "The newspaper mocks safe spaces, and other resources used for students who have had and are continuing to have experiences being victimized such as CARE. It propagates insensitive mindsets with its sexist and racist comments masked under cruel humor;" "Pull the funds, and make them turn to personal donations if they want to continue this nonsense. They have the UC stamp/icon on the paper. UCSD already has a bad racial climate and this is an obvious contributor that can be eradicated;" "I would like the University to shut down the koala newspaper and the creators of the newspaper should be punished by their college deans;" "The Koala newspaper is disturbing, sexist, racist, and homophobic. How can something like this be present at an 'inclusive' campus? The Koala should be more inclusive or be banned from being published;" "Stop the UCSD students who are editors and publishers of the Koala newspaper from continuing to distribute this newspaper on campus. It is damaging to the self-esteem and overall well-being of many UCSD students on campus;" "Please set up a system for administrative approval of the content published in the magazine." (ACLU San Diego, 2016, #52).

defended the response team by asserting that it could not discipline those accused of engaging in bias, and merely provided support to those on campus who felt they had been targets of bias. Team members could ask a person who allegedly engaged in bias to voluntarily meet with them, but the team could not force the person to do so. However, Speech First explained that the team can refer incidents to campus law enforcement, the Office of Student Conflict Resolution, or the mental health counseling center, thereby initiating a formal investigative process.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit determined that the team's ability to make such referrals creates "a real consequence that objectively chills speech." The lawsuit attracted national attention. The U.S. Department of Justice filed a Statement of Interest in support of the lawsuit, explaining "Freedom of speech and expression on the American campus are under attack. This Justice Department, under the leadership of Attorney General Jeff Sessions, is committed to promoting and defending Americans' first freedom at public universities" (DOJ, 2018).

Bias reporting systems raise free speech concerns because they solicit reports of legal, protected expression in addition to unprotected, illegal conduct such as actionable discrimination or harassment. Teams solicit reports of not only expression that clearly violates federal and state laws surrounding educational and employment discrimination, but also relatively vague incidents that are perceived as bias against individuals or groups on the basis of protected categories (e.g., race, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, age, disability). Some institutions also include political affiliation among the categories of bias, and a few others include bias against similar categories such as

intellectual perspective (University of Central Arkansas), political expression (Dartmouth), or political belief (University of Kentucky).[49] Many policies also include catch-all categories of bias (e.g., "other" biases). In such cases, the definition of a bias incident encompasses not only specific forms of protected speech, but also any expression that offends any person for any reason.

Although there may be a tension between cultivating a bias-free community and promoting free speech and academic freedom, only half (50.6%) of the teams FIRE surveyed acknowledged the tension with freedom of speech, free inquiry, or academic freedom on their websites or in their policies. The ways institutions handle bias reports determines whether they may be subject to First Amendment lawsuits. Individual team members may also be held liable for violating constitutional rights. However, these individuals may not be aware of where the line between protected and non-protected expression, as FIRE found little evidence that teams received training on First Amendment concerns. Despite professing a dedication to free speech and academic freedom, few institutions provide bias response teams with training to recognize protected expression and free inquiry. Public records requests from FIRE to dozens of institutions revealed that only one bias response team (at Louisiana State University) offered training on First Amendment concerns.

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[49] FIRE interpreted the solicitation of reports of bias against political views to mean that universities are expressly requesting that their students report one another to authorities for expressing divergent political views. However, one could argue that including political affiliation, expression, and belief in the list of protected categories actually protects the right to express unorthodox political views. After all, when characteristics fall into protected categories, biased words and actions directed at an individual on the basis of those characteristics may be restricted or prohibited. Therefore, by soliciting reports of speech that is biased against certain political views, universities may be expressly requesting that their students report one another to the authorities not for expressing divergent political views, but for being *intolerant* of them.

Bias response teams receive many complaints about criminal conduct as well as a wide range of legally protected speech and expression that are perceived as offensive. Some have argued that it is inappropriate for institutions to intervene in legally protected speech, and that members of the academic community should instead respond with more speech rather than suppression or sanctions. Nevertheless, bias response teams operate by deploying administrators to investigate incidents, determine the magnitude of the subjective offense, and contact the offender for educational instruction and/or disciplinary action when needed. The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key issues surrounding the creation of bias response teams in higher education.

LANGUAGE POLICIES: *Trigger Warnings*

Should faculty administer trigger warnings before discussing sensitive content in class? In recent years, this question has received much attention, but the answer remains highly disputed. Trigger warnings emerged from the idea that various environmental cues can evoke memories of past trauma and intense fear that such experiences may be repeated. As such, the term "trigger warning" describes the provision of a cautionary statement about content that may be upsetting for the audience to experience. Trigger warnings likely originated on message boards and were adopted for use in feminist online media to alert readers of disturbing content that may trigger distressful emotional reactions in survivors of trauma (Jarvie, 2014). Trigger warnings are also offered on television and radio broadcasts to alert the audience that they can stop the program if they do not wish to expose themselves to the traumatic content (Byron, 2017; James, 2017; Wyatt, 2016). On many college and university campuses, professors frequently issue alerts if something in a course might cause a strong emotional response. In addition, some faculty allow students who have been traumatized by experiences such as emotional or physical abuse to opt out of exposing themselves to material that they believe may trigger a recurrence of past trauma.

In general, studies have shown that students are supportive of trigger warnings in higher education. For example, Boysen and colleagues (2018) found that most students in an undergraduate psychology course had favorable views of trigger warnings, seeing them as at least somewhat helpful to their mental health and necessary for certain topics (e.g., sexual assault). In addition, Lowe (2015) found that the majority of students

sampled believed trigger warnings would not impact academic freedom negatively. Regarding the question of whether trigger warnings help students feel better prepared for sensitive topics in class, Bentley (2017) found that students were divided, but among those students who reported having a psychiatric condition, 75% found trigger warnings helpful. One exception to these findings revealing students' support of trigger warnings comes from a sample of U.S. business students, where only 20% supported trigger warnings after reading Lukianoff and Haidt's (2015) *Atlantic* article, "The Coddling of the American Mind" (Burch, Batchelor, Burch, Gibson, & Kimball, 2018).

With regard to faculty, several surveys have examined the frequency of trigger warning use. National Public Radio (NPR) reported that 51% of 829 undergraduate instructors had used trigger warnings prior to introducing sensitive material in their courses (Kamenetz, 2016). In a survey by the National Coalition Against Censorship (NCAC, 2015), over half of faculty respondents provided warnings about course content; however, only 17% viewed trigger warnings as having a positive impact on education and classroom dynamics.

Trigger warnings are a relatively new concept in academia. They entered academic discourse in early 2014, when students from several US colleges formally requested that they be placed in syllabi and used in classrooms (Wyatt, 2016). At the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), for example, the student senate created legislation urging faculty to issue trigger warnings in their syllabi and courses after a student who was a victim of sexual assault felt unfairly exposed to triggering content (UC Santa Barbara Associated Students Senate, 2014; Miller-Leonard, 2014). That same year,

Oberlin College in Ohio create a policy (later removed) that required faculty to administer trigger warnings (Davis, 2014; Jarvie, 2014).

The issuing of trigger warnings at UCSB and Oberlin College elicited strong reactions from the mainstream media, academic organizations, university leaders, and faculty members. Media headlines spurred a heated debate across the United States via opinion articles and reader comments (see, e.g., Olson, 2014; Saad, 2015; Hanlon, 2015; Filipovic, 2014). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) released a 2014 statement explaining that trigger warnings can infringe on academic freedom, infantilize students, and interfere with the coverage of difficult topics (AAUP, 2014). To promote freedom of inquiry and expression on campus, the dean of the University of Chicago wrote to the incoming class of 2020 in their welcome letter that trigger warnings and safe spaces would not be offered on campus (Schaper, 2016).

Much of the controversy that surrounds trigger warnings in higher education stems from the lack of a standard operational definition that specifies what they are, how they are used, and why they are used. This lack of clarify lends itself to concerns about potential infringements on free speech, academic freedom, and the disinterested pursuit of truth. Some believe that administering trigger warnings is critical to showing respect for students with unique personal histories that need to be accommodated (Carter, 2015). After all, effective instructors are respectful of their students (Delaney, Johnson, & Treslan, 2010) and many professions (e.g., psychology, medicine, law, business) have the ethical responsibility to avoid harm (see, e.g., Baron, 1996). In addition, some argue that if certain material is known to trigger students and thereby diminish their capacity to

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learn, such content should not be an essential or mandatory component of the course. For this reason, there is often an expectation—implicit or explicit—that students can be excused from course work that might be triggering (Boysen, Wells, & Dawson, 2016).

However, others argue that trigger warnings reflect a desire among students to shield themselves and their peers from discussing the types of topics that have historically been seen as an integral part of intellectual and emotional growth (e.g., James, 2017; Lukianoff & Haidt, 2018). In *The Coddling of the American Mind*, Lukianoff and Haidt (2018) contend that students who call for trigger warnings may correctly believe that they and some of their peers harbor memories of trauma that could be reactivated by the course readings; however, the authors warn that in preventing such activations, students are not exposing themselves to the very stimuli that can liberate them of their fears. Indeed, an experimental study by Bellet, Jones, and McNally (2018) found that trigger warnings increased the extent that people perceived themselves and others as emotionally vulnerable to future trauma. Thus, it may be necessary for students suffering from posttraumatic stress to expose themselves to upsetting stimuli in a manner that enables them to experience desensitization and habituation, the aim of exposure therapy (Rothbaum & Schwartz, 2002). It is argued that classrooms may be especially safe environment because discussion of sensitive topics such as violence are highly unlikely to lead to actual incidents of the feared outcome. In this way, the promotion of free inquiry is framed not as coming at the expense of students' psychological wellbeing, but rather as something that enhances it.

Some have expressed concern that adhering to requests for trigger warnings may lead students to expect that certain words or topics will not be discussed openly in the classroom and would thereby undermine academic freedom. James (2017) argues that as the list of topics that warrant trigger warnings has expanded to include issues that are part and parcel of academic curricula (e.g., abortion, racism, poverty), there has inevitably been a narrowing of the range of topics that can be openly discussed. In her article "The Trouble with Teaching Rape Law," Harvard Law professor Jeannie Suk expresses concern over students' requests that professors not to teach rape law or to use the word "violate" (e.g., "Does this violate the law?") on the grounds that it causes some students distress (Suk, 2014). Suk explained that because the United States is in the midst of a national effort to reform how sexual violence is addressed on campus, in some cases, efforts to protect victims not only lead to an unfair process for the accused, but also hurt the case for taking sexual violence seriously. In essence, she believes that concerns about failing to accuse a guilty person are prioritized above concerns about falsely accusing an innocent person. Moreover, she wonders if through concept creep, serious cases of sexual harassment will be taken less seriously as the definition of what language and conduct constitutes as sexual harassment broaden.

The trigger warnings debate is characterized by disagreement regarding the definition of trigger warnings, if and how they should be used, and whether they facilitate or inhibit learning. The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key issues surrounding the use of trigger warnings in higher education.

PHYSICAL CAMPUS POLICIES: *Renaming Buildings*

Should the university rename buildings named after controversial figures? In recent years, colleges and universities across the country have vigorous debated whether the names of controversial figures should remain on buildings and structures. Administrators, faculty, and students have found themselves grappling with the difficult question of what criteria an institution of higher education ought to use when determining whether the name of a historical figure should be removed from a campus building.

The recent controversies surrounding the renaming of buildings on college and university campuses began at the University of Texas in 2010, with the discovery of the Klu Klux Klan's connection to William Steward Simkins, the law professor after whom Simkins Residence Hall was named just weeks after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (James, 2010; Titus, 2010). This discovery led the Texas Board of Regents to change the building's name to Creekside Dormitory, after a creek that runs nearby. Since then, buildings named after individuals associated with white supremacy have been renamed at other institutions, including Aycock Hall at Duke University (Friend, 2014), Saunders Hall at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Stancill, 2015), and Dunn Hall the University of Oregon (Field, 2017). In a slightly more complicated case, Princeton University's Board of Trustees initially decided not to remove Woodrow Wilson's name from the School of Public and International Affairs and from a residential college (Wilson Legacy Review Committee, 2015), even though students staged a 32-hour sit-in outside the Princeton University president's office in 2015 to protest the former president's segregationist views (Reuters, 2015). Then, in

2020, Princeton administrators agreed to remove Wilson's name following a wave of Black Lives Matter protests across the country sparked by the death of George Floyd (Princeton Office of Communications, 2020). The decision received widespread news coverage from outlets such as *BBC News* (2020) and *The New York Times* (Pietsch, 2020).

Controversies surrounding the renaming of these buildings all surround the issue of whether a person's legacy merits the removal of the person's name from a campus structure. The distinctive features of each case reflect not only the distinctive nature of the person's legacy, but also the history of the building. At the University of Texas, Simkins Hall was named during a time when the university was resisting the legal mandate of desegregation. Therefore, the timing and motivation of the naming were relevant factors in the decision. In the case of Duke, Aycock Hall was not being used and was scheduled for demolition soon anyway. Thus, the removal of the name was seen as part of a natural process of renovation. At the University of North Carolina, a committee of trustees discovered that Saunders Hall was named specifically to honor its namesake's participation in the Klan. This discovery undermined the idea that Saunders' legacy was worthy of being honored. Finally, Princeton's Woodrow Wilson controversy surrounded the name of the man who was a president of the United States, won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work on the League of Nations, and played a key role in the establishment of Princeton. As such, a stronger case could be made for keeping the name due to Wilson's legacy, even though the building was ultimately renamed as well.

To discuss the nuances of these sorts of cases, several institutions have created task forces to examine individuals' histories and set precedents for future decisions regarding changes to the physical campus. According to Stanford University's "Principles and Procedures for Renaming Buildings and Other Features," administrators will consider renaming features of the university, including buildings, streets, monuments, endowed positions, and awards, "when there is strong evidence that retaining the name is inconsistent with the University's integrity or is harmful to its research and teaching missions and inclusiveness" (Stanford University, 2018). In drafting the Principles and Procedures, administrators attempted to weigh "the harm caused by retaining the name" against "the potential harms of renaming." Additional relevant factors include "the centrality of the person's offensive behavior to his or her life as a whole," "relation to the University history," "harmful impact of the honoree's behavior," "community identification with the feature," "strength and clarity of the historical evidence," "the University's prior consideration of the issues," and "possibilities for mitigation."

In the Yale (2016) "Letter of the Committee to Establish Principles of Renaming," a group of faculty, alumni, students, and administrators explained that there is a strong presumption against renaming a building on the basis of the values associated with the namesake, especially when the person made major contributions to the University. The Committee then posed several questions regarding the namesake's "principal legacy" that ought to be incorporated into a formal process for considering whether to alter a building name. These questions include: "Is the principal legacy of the

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namesake fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University?" "Was the relevant principal legacy significantly contested in the time and place in which the namesake lived?" "Did the University, at the time of a naming, honor a namesake for reasons that are fundamentally at odds with the mission of the University?" "Does a building whose namesake has a principal legacy fundamentally at odds with the University's mission, or which was named for reasons fundamentally at odds with the University's mission, play a substantial role in forming community at the University?" The Committee recommended that the answers to these questions emerge through a combination of community input and scholarly expertise.

On some campuses, committees have conducted in-depth investigations into whether building names ought to be removed. At the University of California, Berkeley, for example, on January 30, 2020 a nearly three-year investigation resulted in the administrative decision to remove John Boalt's name from the law school (Kell, 2020). The removal of Boalt's name marks the first time in the history of UC Berkeley that a building's name had been removed due to the namesake's character or behavior. In 1911, the UC Berkeley Law School's main building had been named after John Henry Boalt, a 19th century attorney in Oakland whose widow, Elizabeth Boalt, made a substantial donation to erect a building in honor of her husband. Although Boalt neither attended nor taught at the law school, his name has become associated with official student and alumni groups and endowed professorships.

The legacy of John Henry Boalt is closely tied to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first significant law restricting immigration into the United

States. In 2017, a Berkeley law lecturer came across Boalt's 1877 address, "The Chinese Question," which was delivered at a time when large numbers of Chinese immigrants were coming to work on large labor projects, including the Transcontinental Railroad (Boalt, 1877). Boalt argued that the "Caucasian and Mongolians races are non-assimilated races" that have "never yet lived together harmoniously on the same soil, unless one of the races was in a state of servitude to the other" (p. 253). Boalt believed that the races might be unable to assimilate due to "physical peculiarities," "intellectual differences and differences in temperament," "differences in language," and "hatred engendered by conquest or by clashing national or race interests" (pp. 254-256). He also speculated that in light of the "barbarities, brutalities and suffering" that ensued from attempts to assimilate races "of comparatively very slight divergence," it would be preferable to exterminate a highly dissimilar race rather than attempt to reconcile differences. Boalt's speech was included in a report to the U.S. Congress by California's Senate Special Committee on Chinese Immigration. In the 1879 state general election, 95.8% of voters opposed Chinese immigration. In 1882, Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, signed by President Chester Arthur.

When this historical information was brought to light by Charles Reichmann (2018), Berkeley Law Dean Erwin Chemerinsky submitted a formal proposal to the university's Building Name Review Committee requesting the de-naming of Boalt Hall (Chemerinsky, 2018). The Committee held a livestreamed town hall meeting, featuring a video created by the Asian Pacific American Law Students Association at Berkeley that discussed the impact of Boalt's writings (Berkeley Law, 2018). The Committee's

principles call for the legacy of a building's namesake to align with the university's mission to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion on campus. "We view it our intellectual and ethical responsibility to promote an inclusive, global perspective of the peoples and cultures of the world, particularly in view of past and current scholarship in the United States that may omit, ignore, or silence the perspectives of many groups, such as ethnic minorities, people from non-European nations, women, lesbian, gay and transgender, and disabled people among others." The 13-member committee of faculty, administrators, and students voted in favor of removing Boalt's name from the building (The Building Name Review Committee, 2020). The building has not been renamed, and instead it is now called, "The Law Building."

This decision to remove Boalt's name was not met with universal approval. William Benemann, Archivist Emeritus for the Berkeley School of Law, asserts that although the name "Boalt" originally referred to John Henry Boalt, it had since become associated with Elizabeth Josselyn Boalt, his widow and a beloved figure in the history of the school. In 1906, Mrs. Boalt offered to pay the entire sum of $100,000 needed to build a home for the Dept. of Jurisprudence, which then became the School of Jurisprudence, and in 1951, the School of Law. As noted earlier, neither of the Boalts attended or taught at Berkeley, but Mrs. Boalt's personal attorney was a Berkeley graduate who informed her that the law program was seeking donors. Mrs. Boalt saw it as an opportunity to commemorate her husband. Benemann contends that Mrs. Boalt became more than a major donor, though. In the decade following her husband's death, Mrs. Boalt lost her only child and her only grandchild. With no remaining family on the West Coast, the

students, faculty, and staff of Boalt Hall embraced her and she became a "much beloved matriarch" of the school. After she died, her eulogy was given by UC President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and her pallbearers were the Dean of the School of Jurisprudence, along with five law students (Wheeler, 1917). Benemann contends that the law school has never been interested in John Henry Boalt, as he had never been around and had died before the hall was built. Instead, it was his wife, Elizabeth Boalt, who was "the true Boalt of Boalt Hall" (Benemann, 2017). Law Professor Evan Gerstmann expressed similar concerns to Benemann, and believes that a better solution would have been to specify that the building is named after Elizabeth Boalt. "Instead of scrubbing her name off of the building, why not make Berkeley's law school building the 'Elizabeth Boalt' building and continue to honor her generosity? There are few law schools named after women, so that would be a bonus as well" (Gerstmann, 2020).

Universities today face the challenge of navigate change without effacing the past. Supporters of renaming buildings contend that to change is not to erase, but rather to how the university has evolved over time. They argue that the decision to change a building name is not equivalent to the decision to remove a book from a library, to change the contents of a syllabus, or to refuse to discuss an idea in the classroom. In other words, the decision does not undermine the pursuit of knowledge. Through its building names, the university communicates values, confers honor, and expresses gratitude to those who have contributed to the institutional mission.

A half century ago, many universities began to accept greater numbers of underrepresented minorities (URMs) as students, faculty, and alumni. This demographic

transformation has enabled institutions of higher education to advance the frontier of excellence in scholarship and to train the future leaders of our nation. With this in mind, some see the renaming of buildings as a positive step toward creating a welcoming academic environment in which women and people of color can thrive. Others, however, argue that the democratization of academia does not necessitate the removal of the historical landmarks and liken today's efforts to twentieth century regimes that sought to erase their own past in the service of totalitarian propaganda.[50] Thus, the status of buildings named after various figures in the history of the institution and/or country remains a highly contested issue. The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key issues surrounding the renaming of buildings in institutions of higher education.

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[50] The Soviet Union, for example, engaged in the kind of aggressive renaming campaigns described in George Orwell's dystopian novel, *1984*, wherein the "Ministry of Truth" wrote and rewrote history (Orwell, 1977).

PHYSICAL CAMPUS POLICIES: *Removing Portraits*

"What is up with the dude wall?" TV celebrity Rachel Maddow asked as she glanced at the portraits of scientists who have won either a Nobel Prize or the Lasker Award, a major medical prize (Greenfieldboyce, 2019). Maddow made this comment while visiting Rockefeller University to hand out an annual prize given to a prominent female scientist, and her comment echoed a national conversation underway both within and outside of the academy: should universities remove from the walls portraits of former departmental chairs, many or all of whom are white males? "One hundred percent of them are men. It's probably 30 headshots of 30 men. So it's imposing... It just sends the message, every day when you walk by it, that science consists of old white men," says Leslie Vosshall, a neurobiologist at Rockefeller University who serves on a committee tasked with adding diversity to that wall. "I think every institution needs to go out into the hallway and ask, 'What kind of message are we sending with these oil portraits and dusty old photographs?'" Rockefeller University is one of many academic institutions to have a discussion about what such portraits represent. Not surprisingly, the most extensively documented conversations on this matter have taken place at the medical schools associated with our nation's oldest, most elite institutions.

At Georgetown University Medical Center, Kristi Graves, PhD and president of Georgetown Women in Medicine, created "Women on the Walls," a campaign to promote the recognition of prominent female faculty leaders. She currently awaits the completion of the campaign's first commissioned painted portrait of a black female dean and the campaign is receiving nominations for additional women faculty leaders to be

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portrayed. The Women on the Walls campaign is seen as "one way to open up conversations about how we depict leadership and the impact of seeing (or not seeing) someone 'like you' displayed on the walls as an indication of respect and honoring valued contributions" (Wellbery & Mishori, 2018).

Another example of such efforts, accompanied by the only research study on this topic to date, comes from the Yale School of Medicine (YSM). One of the hallways in its main building features 55 portraits—three of women, 52 of men, and all of them white. Two medical students and an associate professor of medicine at Yale conducted an interview study to examine the impact of institutional portraiture on 15 medical students (Fitzsousa, Anderson, & Reisman, 2019). Participants were asked open-ended questions about how their "feelings of belonging" relate to the portraits. From the interviews, the authors found that the portraits evoked discomfort and disappointment for reasons that reflected four themes: institutional values, resignation and coping, contemporary consequences, and erasure of history. Many said that the portraits represented YSM's values of whiteness, elitism, maleness, and power. Some expressed resignation that white men are the status quo at similar institutions and coped by making jokes or avoiding areas where the portraits were displayed. Others commented that the paucity of diverse role models has consequences for their sense of belonging. Finally, a few students were concerned that history would be altered if the portraits were removed or that the existing portraits erased the contributions of women and people of color.

For many of the interviewed students, the portraiture signaled that they did not fit the model of a Yale physician. While some believed that their accomplishments were

recognized, they wondered whether their contributions (and the contributions of other women and non-white students) would be commemorated in the long run. Moreover, many perceived a disconnect between YSM's stated values of diversity and the promotion of figures who may have benefited from slavery, colonization, and structural oppression. The study, "This institution was never meant for me': The Impact of Institutional Historical Portraiture on Medical Students," was designed to address the impact of the portraits on people of color and to "push the needle forward" on developing a diverse institution that will "honor and commemorate everyone here." The co-authors sit on the YSM Committee on Art in Public Spaces, tasked with ensuring that artwork hung in public areas of the medical school reflects the mission, history, and diversity of the Yale medical community. They explain that the study is an important step in effecting institutional change because "it will help our committee argue for doing more, and for bringing more women and people of color onto the walls." In the months following the paper's publication, Yale commissioned new portraits, including one of Carolyn Slayman, a geneticist and member of the Yale faculty for nearly 50 years, as well as one of Beatrix Hamburg, a developmental psychiatrist and the first black female Yale medical school graduate. There is an ongoing discussion at Yale about what to do with the old portraits lining the hallways.

Decisions to remove or relocate portraits have not been met with universal support. Jonathan Turley, a law professor at George Washington University, is concerned about the growing trend toward removing historical portraits for the sake of promoting diversity. He asserts that because the committees that are formed to address such issues

consist overwhelming of those who want to see the portraits removed, there may appear to be greater consensus than exists. In a blog post, "Rockefeller University Moves to Redesign The 'Dude Wall' After Rachel Maddow Remarks," Turley explains, "Other academics are reluctant to confront such colleagues and be labeled as insensitive" (Turley, 2019). As a consequence, honorary portraits may be removed despite opposition from the many silent faculty who share his belief that academics are "committed to the pursuit of knowledge and celebrate those who made substantial contributions to the advancement of such knowledge." According to Turley, "The fact that they are white males is immaterial to their extraordinary accomplishments. However, they are viewed by some as first and foremost white men." He sees the tendency to negate or denigrate objective and major contributions to the field on the basis of sex and race as an act that is itself sexist and racist. Thus, Turley recommends that we "allow history to speak for itself and take steps to show that this history has led to greater diversity and pluralism."

Turley's concerns were echoed by Jeffrey Flier, former dean of Harvard University's Medical School. At Brigham and Women's Hospital (one of Harvard's teaching hospitals), there is an auditorium that for decades had been decorated with large portraits of 31 key figures, all of whom are men. After the portraits were relocated to different places around the hospital, Flier tweeted, "When I last lectured in @BrighamWomens Bornstein auditorium, walls were adorned with portraits of prior luminaries of medicine & surgery. Connecting to a glorious past. Now all gone. Hope everyone is happy. I'm not. (Neither were those I asked- afraid to say openly). Sad" (Flier, 2019). Although Flier explained to National Public Radio (NPR) that he

understands why there needed to be a change, he would have preferred the approach taken in another Harvard meeting place called the Waterhouse Room, where photographs of well-known female and African American physician-scientists were added to accompany the long-standing paintings of former deans. "You don't want to take away the history of which you are justifiably proud," says Flier. "You don't want to make it look like you are embarrassed by that history. Use the space to reflect some of the past history and some of the changing realities that you want to emphasize" (Greenfieldboyce, 2019).

Another option has that been considered and pursued elsewhere involves relocating the portraits. The University of Michigan's Department of Molecular and Integrative Physiology took this approach to addressing 10 or so photographs lined up in a row on the wall of their seminar room. To make the space more "modern," the interim chair moved the portraits to the department to a less noticeable location in the chair's office suite. Plans were then made to decorate the seminar room with artwork depicting key discoveries made by the department's current faculty, students, and trainees (Greenfieldboyce, 2019).

The idea of adding artwork and images has also been embraced at Harvard Medical School, where there was a #WallsDoTalk contest to design images that promote "education, diversity, and inclusion" instead of the typical "recognition or honor walls." The initiative was aimed at creating a learning environment with "inclusive art" that "everyone can feel comfortable in." One of the winning entries was titled, "Unique and Unified: Same, Same but Different," and featured a grid of (mostly female minority)

eyes, faces, body parts, and radiographic images. The artist explained, "The dichotomy between [our] uniqueness and unification…provides a pathway for learning, yet also a need for future medical innovations". The other winning entry was "Glass," and depicts a self-portrait of the artist sitting in scrubs sitting next to glass windows. "I desperately want this [glass] wall to come down to reveal a strong, independent, Hispanic woman," the artist explained. "But for now, it reflects loneliness, a feeling that minority medical students experience too often" (Wellbery & Mishori, 2018).

At Johns Hopkins Hospital, a portrait was added of a black technician named Vivien Thomas, who worked for a surgeon named Alfred Blalock. Although Thomas had no more than a high school degree, he joined Blalock's lab in 1930 and the duo spent decades developing pioneering techniques for cardiac surgery. On the last occasion the two of them were together (Blalock was in poor health), they went to see the portrait of Blalock that had recently been hung in the lobby of the clinical sciences building. Blalock died soon after that, and a few years later, Thomas was informed that a group of surgeons was commissioning a portrait of him. "My first reaction was that surely I must be dreaming," Thomas wrote in his memoir, originally entitled, *Presentation of a Portrait: The Story of a Life* (Thomas, 1986). When the portrait was presented to the hospital in 1971, Thomas told the surgeons that he was proud and humbled. "People in my category are not accustomed to being in the limelight as most of you are," In his memoir, Thomas wrote, "It had been the most emotional and gratifying experience of my life." He assumed it would be appropriate for the portrait to be hung someplace like the 12th floor, near the laboratory area. He was astounded when Dr. Russell Nelson, the then hospital president,

stated, "We're going to hang your fine portrait with Professor Blalock. We think you hung together, and you had better continue to hang together" (Hopkins Medical Archives, 1971).

To many, the poignant stories conveyed by portraits and images on the walls are part of the changing dynamic of institutions that aim to promote diversity and create an environment in which narrative elements are included in contemporary portraiture. However, these heartfelt gestures become controversial when they are accompanied by what is seen as the erasure of historical figures renowned for their accomplishments in the department and/or field. Thus, whether portraits should be removed, relocated, or otherwise modified remains a highly contested issue on many campuses across the country. The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty perceive these key issues surrounding the renaming of buildings in institutions of higher education.

PHYSICAL CAMPUS POLICIES: *Disinviting/Obstructing Speakers*

Should universities permit campus groups to disinvite and/or physically obstruct controversial speakers? Every year, numerous attempts are made to bar from campus speakers whose views are seen as counter to the specific values held by various institutions of higher education. The list of speakers includes not only notorious provocateurs and media pundits, but also academics. In 2019, seven attempts (three successful, four unsuccessful) were made to prevent controversial academics from speaking on college and university campuses in the United States (FIRE, 2019).

By the political Left, attempts were made to ban the following academics: Ryszard Legutko, a professor of philosophy at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, whose talk at Middlebury College was canceled by administrators amidst student protests (Jaschik, 2019); Stanley Fish, a professor of law at Yeshiva University, whose talk at Seton Hall University was cancelled by a faculty committee in the wake of students demanding that the English department focus more on racial issues (Fish, 2019); Camille Pagila, a professor of humanities & media studies at the University of the Arts, whose talk at the University of the Arts was not cancelled, but was interrupted by students pulling the fire alarm (Friedersdorf, 2019); Bridget Terry Long, a dean and professor of education and economics at Harvard, whose talk at Harvard was not cancelled, but was disrupted and moved when protestors occupied the stage and refused to leave over calls for Harvard to divest from fossil fuel and prisons (First Amendment Watch, 2019); and Amy Wax, a professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, whose talk at Princeton

was not cancelled despite a petition for her to be disinvited (The Daily Princetonian, 2019).

By the political Right, attempts were made to ban the following academics: Marc Lamont Hill, a professor of media studies and urban education at Temple University, whose talk at the University of Massachusetts Amherst was not cancelled despite a lawsuit filed by students to prevent the panel discussion, "Not Backing Down: Israel, Free Speech, and the Battle for Palestinian Human Rights" (Steinbaugh & Morey, 2019); Michael Eric Dyson, a professor of sociology at Georgetown, whose talk at Ball State was not cancelled even though a professor called on the university to disinvite him for MLK Day because he was "polarizing" (Jackson, 2019).

Each of these disinvitations and cancellations are mild compared to the most violent and controversial shutdown of a speaker, which occurred in 2017 when libertarian political scientist Charles Murray attempted to talk at Middlebury, a private liberal arts college in Vermont. The event received international attention and extensive coverage in *The New York Times* (Stranger, 2017), *The Atlantic* (Beinart, 2017), and *The Wall Street Journal* (2017). Murray was scheduled to discuss his book, *Coming Apart*, which documents the decreasing marriage rates, decreasing religiosity, diminished labor force participation, and increased drug use among working-class white Americans over the past 50 years (Murray, 2013). The book received positive reviews in *The New York Times* (Confessore, 2012), *The Wall Street Journal* (Wilcox, 2012), and *The Economist* (2010), and was critically acclaimed by people across the political spectrum. In addition, faculty

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who were presented the transcript of Murray's intended talk, without knowing his identity, deemed it centrist, even liberal, social science (Ceci & Williams, 2018).

Protestors were not opposed to the contents of *Coming Apart*, though; they were protesting Murray because of his previous book, *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray, 19994), which was deemed racist by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and harshly criticized by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR; Naureckas, 1995). Although many protestors admitted to not having read *Coming Apart* or *The Bell Curve*, they believed the numerous expert sources that had deemed Murray was a white supremacist (Ceci & Williams, 2018). Protestors were upset not only by the speaker, but how the college had structured the event. The sight of the college president introducing and sharing the stage with Murray was perceived as a symbolic endorsement of a known racist. They also believed that Murray did not have the right to speak from a podium because such a position relegated the audience to asking questions from below, thereby creating a power differential. For these reasons, a group of 100 to 200 student protestors, along with some faculty members, shouted epithets, banged chairs, and chanted so loudly that the talk was cancelled after 20 minutes.

Following the cancelled event, a group of protestors wrote an impassioned defense of their actions (Brockelman et al., 2017) and criticized the campus administration's core principles governing civil discourse (Parini et al., 2017). They argued that the institution has a moral obligation to oppose expression that runs counter to the goal of creating an inclusive, welcoming community. Although Murray's book *Coming Apart* may not have been divisive, they felt his previous book, *The Bell Curve*,

was so vile that serious doubt ought to be cast upon any social science "research" he wished to present thereafter. They also believed that allowing Murray to speak could enhance his credibility and thereby help him recruit acolytes.

Although protestors asserted that they were exercising their right to speak, others contended that in doing so, they were denying the audience a valuable learning experience, whether they agreed with Murray's views or not. This idea dates back to argument brought forth in the Woodward Report (1974) that "To curtail free expression strikes twice at intellectual freedom, for whoever deprives another of the right to state unpopular views necessarily also deprives others of the right to listen to those views." Students and faculty who wanted to hear Murray were resentful that protestors (and administrators yielding to protestors) unilaterally and preemptively decided that the talk constituted as hate speech that was not allowed. They believed they were deprived of the valuable insights that could have been gleaned from learning about important social and economic trends that led to the deterioration of the white working class. Moreover, they explained that the protestors were not being forced to attend the talk, so they could have skipped it, or better yet, attended and asked challenged Murray during the designated Q&A session at the end. Supporters of Murray's right to speak also argued that campuses have an obligation to make students uncomfortable as their cherished beliefs are challenged by those who are different from them.

Several years later, another incident occurred at Middlebury. In 2019, administrators at Middlebury canceled a faculty-organized lecture by Ryszard Legutko, a controversial professor of philosophy and right-wing member of the European Parliament

from Poland. Their decision was likely influenced by a desire to avoid repeating the uproar that ensued from Charles Murray's talk several years prior. Officially, the public lecture was cancelled on grounds of "safety risks" associated with the increasing number of people who planned to attend (Digravio, Board, & James, 2019). Although the public lecture was cancelled, Matthew Dickinson, a professor of political science at Middlebury, extended an impromptu invitation to Legurko to speak during his seminar. The student protestors who originally planned to peacefully and non-disruptively protest Legutko's talk with a queer celebration (Board, 2019) were not present. The invitation was prompted by a student in Dickinson's class who was involved in the speaker series that brought Legutko to campus. Before making a decision, Dickinson asked the rest of his students whether, as part of the classroom experience, they wanted to invite Legutko and critique his arguments. Dickinson administered a secret ballot and the students unanimously voted to invite him. Before Legutko arrived, Dickinson had students spend the first half of class researching Legutko's views and formulating questions. Students from outside Dickinson's class also attended. Another professor of political science even cut his class short because his students wanted to attend Legutko's talk in Dickinson's class. Legutko delivered an abbreviated version of the original lecture and then took questions from Dickinson and the students. Most of the questions focused on Legutko's controversial statements about same-sex marriage and gay rights. "I am very reluctant to tamper with the meaning of words," Legutko explained. "Once you change the meaning, you are in for trouble. Marriage as we understood was between a man and a woman. What has happened recently is a radical change. I don't think that we should be allowed

to go as far as changing one of the most fundamental institutions of the world" (Board, Kapp, Poux, & Finn, 2019).

After the talk, Dickinson expressed concern about the administration's decision to cancel the event. He explained that their unilateral cancellation denied students the right to protest, which is another form of free speech. "In my conversations with the protestors, they made it clear they were going to voice their concerns about inviting this guy to campus, but they were not going to try to shut him down." Dickson also worried that the media coverage would reflect poorly on the college, especially in the wake of the infamous incident with Charles Murray in 2017. "[The media] is going to portray this as, once again, Middlebury College not being able to tolerate controversial views, and that's not the case. The students did not shut this down, they did not prevent him from speaking," he said. Dickinson hopes that Legutko will return, and that students will have the opportunity to protest and engage in response to his appearance on campus in ways that they were not able to because of the administration's decision (Board, Kapp, Poux, & Finn, 2019).

Given the challenges associated with determining whether (and if so how) controversial figures should be permitted to speak on campus, some institutions have offered specific procedures for attempting to balance free speech with civil discourse. At Harvard, for instance, the Dean of Students' Office created a policy that required "neutral moderators" at events with controversial speakers, along with registration one month in advance (Avi-Yonah & Franklin, 2019). Moderators are able to apply a "two-strike" rule to disruptive audience members, and the Dean of Students may cancel events they see as

potentially ending in violence. After the policy was announced, the editorial board of *The Crimson*, Harvard's student newspaper, raised concerns about the vagueness of the policy's language and the potential negative repercussions for the free exchange of ideas.

First, *The Crimson* editorial board questioned what the label "controversial" entails, and whether the Dean of Students should be granted the authority to determine on a case-by-case basis whether a speaker is "controversial." *The Crimson* suspects that conservative speakers are more likely to be deemed "controversial" by the predominantly liberal Harvard community. In this way, they are concerned about viewpoint discrimination. "Since the College has a well-established liberal bent, conservative speakers are more likely to be deemed controversial. It would be easy, for example, to categorize conservative speakers as sparking threatening situations, based merely on the larger number of perturbed students. Just because these speakers represent a campus minority, however, does not dismiss their right to share ideas."

In addition, *The Crimson* editorial board wondered what qualifies the moderators to be "neutral," and how the "potential for violence" will be determined. The student journalists are concerned that ambiguous language and unstructured authority may lead the Dean of Students and its moderators to engage in censorship. "It's not the University's job to control speech, protest, and passionate debate. The paternalistic control of student forums is not only unwelcome on this campus, but corrosive to the statues of truth and free discourse that undergird Harvard's purported mission."

The disinviting and/or obstructing of speakers from college campuses raises important questions regarding the definition, boundaries, and purpose of free speech. Do

protestors exercise their own freedom of speech or suppress the rights of others? What is the appropriate way for administrators to handle controversial speakers? To what extent should the compilation of a speaker's past work be examined before a decision is made about whether the person should be permitted to speak? How should the campus community treat speakers who have apologized for undesirable statements made in the past? Should people who issued apologies and expressed regret be treated differently from those who explained the context in which the statement was made and attempted to clarify misinterpretations? What if a controversial aspect of a speaker's personal or professional life is unrelated to the topic of the current talk? What (if any) criteria should speakers be required to meet to be permitted to deliver a talk on campus? The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty answer these key questions regarding the disinvitation and/or obstruction of speakers on campuses.

HIRING POLICIES: *Bias/Diversity Training*

During the first debate of the 2016 presidential election, Hillary Clinton famously urged the audience to engage in self-reflection regarding their own implicit biases. "I think implicit bias is a problem for everyone, not just police. I think unfortunately too many of us in our great country jump to conclusions about each other and therefore I think we need all of us to be asking hard questions about you know, 'Why am I feeling this way?'" (Washington Post, 2016). Clinton's statement echoed a sense of urgency surrounding the need to raise awareness of how bias impacts our behavior. This idea has provided the impetus for mandatory bias/diversity trainings that have swept across American institutions, including academia.

Perhaps no psychological concept has captivated the public as quickly and dramatically in the 21st century as implicit bias—that is, forms of bias that operate beyond the conscious awareness of individuals. Implicit biases are discriminatory biases emerging from subconscious attitudes or stereotypes. They are especially problematic (as well as intriguing) because they are said to produce behavior that diverges from a person's explicit beliefs.

In American society, implicit bias became a buzzword largely due to the enormous popularity of the "Implicit Association Test" (IAT) that purports to offer a quick, easy way to measure people's implicit bias. The IAT is one of the most famous psychological instruments in recent history and has received more attention than just about anything else to come out of social psychology. Since it became available to the

public in 1998, Harvard's "Project Implicit" website has been visited millions of times and the results have been cited in thousands of peer-reviewed papers.

The IAT works by measuring how quickly people can, for instance, associate African American faces with positive words versus European American faces with those same positive words. In one round of the test, the test taker is instructed to press a certain key if a positive word like "pleasure" or "wonderful" flashes on the screen and to press that same key if a white face appears. Then, in another round, the test taker is instructed to press the same key for positive words and darker faces. The IAT tracks how many mistakes test takers make and measures in milliseconds how quickly test takers press those keys. Although the site also offers tests to measure bias against other groups such as people who are obese, disabled, and elderly, the skin-color version has dominated academic and public discourse.

When Harvard Psychologist Mahzarin Banaji and University of Washington Psychologist Anthony Greenwald introduced the IAT to the world at a 1998 press conference in Seattle, the accompanying press release ran the headline, "Roots of unconscious prejudice affect 90 to 95 percent of people, psychologists demonstrate at press conference" (Schwarz, 1998). In the years that followed, Banaji, Greenwald, and others emphasized the test's ability to predict racial discrimination among people who see themselves as egalitarian. "The automatic White preference expressed on the Race IAT is now established as signaling discriminatory behavior. It predicts discriminatory behavior even among research participants who earnestly (and, we believe, honestly) espouse egalitarian beliefs. That last statement may sound like a self-contradiction, but it's an

empirical truth. Among research participants who describe themselves as racially

egalitarian, the Race IAT has been shown, reliably and repeatedly, to predict

discriminatory behavior that was observed in the research" (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013,

p. 47).[51]

In a review of implicit measures of social cognition, Olson and Fazio (2003)

discuss how whites who score higher on implicit measures of racial bias are more likely

to engage in microbehaviors such less touching, greater sitting distance, less eye contact,

less smiling, less extemporaneous social comments, more speech errors, greater

hesitation, and greater body tension when observed interacting with black targets.

According to Padilla (2008), these microbehaviors are what underrepresented minorities

(URMs) detect when they believe whites are biased against them.[52]

Mainstream media outlets were quickly captivated by idea that implicit bias

manifests as subtle behaviors that exert concrete, pernicious effects on society. In an

episode of *Dateline*, Greenwald explained, "If a police officer is going to shoot two-

tenths of a second faster at an African American than a European American, well, that

could be a matter of life and death" (Nexis search "Dateline March 19, 2000"). In the

2005 national best-seller, *Blink*, Malcolm Gladwell argued, "The IAT is more than just an

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[51] The fact that we engage in unwanted behaviors across many areas of life implies that psychological processes beyond our conscious awareness or control exert an influence on our behavior (Smith & DeCoster, 2000). Discrepancies between intentions and behavior may arise when automatic and deliberate processes are not aligned (Axt, Ebersole, & Nosek, 2014). Because racism is seen as among the most pernicious social problems characterized by unwanted behavior, researchers have sought to change automatically retrieved associations with the goal of changing behavior (Mann & Kawakami, 2012). However, correlations between implicit measures and behaviors tend to be smallest for issues where automatic and deliberate processes are least likely to facilitate each other, as is the case for race relations (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009).

[52] Immediately after making this claim, Padilla (2008) explained, "There is still no empirical basis for this assertion, but there is anecdotal evidence for this in the life experiences of minority individuals" (p. 29).

abstract measure of attitudes. It's also a powerful predictor of how we act in certain kinds of spontaneous situations" (Gladwell, 2005, p. 85). In his 2010 book, *The Hidden Brain*, National Public Radio (NPR) science correspondent Shankar Vedantam explained, "Theories about the unconscious mind went back centuries, but the new research [on the IAT] appealed to me because it was based on measurable evidence. It relied on controlled experiments. It produced data" (Vedantam, 2010, p. 4). In 2006, *Scientific American* praised Banaji and Greenwald for informing investment bankers, media executives, and lawyers that their "buried biases" can cause "mistakes" (Lehrman, 2006).

Since the IAT was introduced in 1998, its architects, along with numerous researchers and commentators, have enthusiastically embraced it, believing that the results reveal to test takers the uncomfortable reality that people may not see themselves as racist, but they will nevertheless act racist in a variety of intergroup settings. This idea may be more powerful now than ever. In the United States, explicit measures of racism have been in decline for decades (see, e.g., Charlesworth & Banaji, 2019; Krysan & Moberg, 2016; Newport, 2013). It seems that it is no longer socially acceptable to say that black people and white people should not get married, or that black people are less intelligent than white people (though a small minority of Americans still endorse these views). However, more than 50 years after the end of Jim Crow, many racial discrepancies persist. On average, black people have less access to high-quality education (Bryant, 2015, CRDC, 2014), housing (Charette, 2017) and health care (Williams, Priest, & Anderson, 2016) than white people, and face various other forms of discrimination (Grollman, 2014). The idea of implicit bias is compelling because it suggests that

although our country has addressed many of the most outrageous and explicit forms of racism, implicit bias prevents us from achieving true racial equality.

This narrative, adopted as a rationale for bias/diversity training workshops, is intuitively satisfying to those who want to understand and dismantle racism in a manner that is rigorous and quantifiable. Moreover, when people who see themselves as fair minded and culturally sensitive receive news that they are unconsciously prejudiced, they may experience a cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) they are motivated to reduce.[53] Once people become aware of the ways that their implicit biases impact their behavior, they may become motivated to reduce their bias and prevent it from affecting their future behavior. In this way, bias/diversity training may be effective to the extent that it both creates a sense of cognitive dissonance and offers a way of alleviating it.

Across a variety of institutional contexts (e.g., universities, public school districts, newspaper agencies, police forces, corporations), the format of bias/diversity training programs is fairly standardized. Instructors begin by explaining that we all have unconscious prejudice. Next, to demonstrate the effects of implicit bias on discriminatory behavior, the instructor describes psychological studies such as Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2004) highly cited paper showing that resumes with white names receive more callbacks than those with non-white names. Attendees then take the IAT and

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[53] The IAT's own inventors explained that they were disturbed by the realization that they harbor unconscious prejudice. At the 1998 unveiling of the IAT, Banaji and Greenwald admitted to being "surprised and troubled" by their own test results (Schwarz, 1998). In 2005, Banaji told the *Washington Post*, "I was humbled in a way that few experiences in my life have humbled me" (Vedantam, 2005). In *Blind Spot*, Greenwald described his first IAT results as a "moment of jarring self-insight," as he was both "personally distressed" and "scientifically elated" by the discovery of "something in my own head that I had no previous knowledge of" (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, p. 45).

typically discover that they are at least slightly biased against disadvantaged groups. Finally, the workshops conclude with discussions about how to recognize and combat biased behavior in their specific context.

The powerful combination of learning about the pervasiveness of implicit bias, discovering one's own implicit biases, and seeing how such biases manifest in discriminatory behavior may make people more receptive to the toolkits on how to become part of the change. Thus, bias/diversity training offers a lot of psychological rewards to those who are concerned about racism. Whether they are white people concerned about the bias they and other whites may exhibit, or they are people of color concerned about the bias they and other people of color may face, many who take the training come away feeling like they can become part of the solution. In addition, discussing what they have learned with their colleagues allows them to socially signal that they are serious about addressing the complex ways that implicit biases perpetuate systems of oppression.

Despite these benefits, some argue that the concept of implicit bias has become highly politicized. According to Patrick Forscher, a former University of Wisconsin postdoctoral researcher who has conducted extensive research on implicit bias, "The problem is that implicit measures, and the IAT in particular, became a critical part of a political narrative about why disparities between social groups exist in the United States. Thus, claims about implicit measures became, to a certain extent, political claims, not just scientific claims" (Singal, 2017). Moreover, he believes that the popularity of the IAT,

fueled in part by an eagerness to cite implicit bias as an explanation for group disparities, may have outpaced empirical evidence.

The link between implicit bias and discriminatory behavior has long been debated among scholars. The first papers that found links between IAT scores and discriminatory behavior was widely circulated, but contained problems that would not be discovered or discussed until years later. The first paper (McConnell & Leibold, 2001) was cited well over 1,000 times before a separate group of researchers almost a decade later identified methodological flaws that they argued nullified the correlation between IAT scores and discriminatory behavior (Blanton, Jaccard, Klick, Mellers, Mitchell, & Tetlock, 2009).[54] Another influential paper (Heider & Skowronski, 2007) reported impressive associations between IAT scores and behavior in two studies. However, in 2011, Blanton and Mitchell (two members of the research team that published the 2009 paper) identified several errors—including the exclusion of data in one study and the inclusion of partially fabricated data in the other—that they that argued again nullified the link between IAT scores and discriminatory behavior (Blanton & Mitchell, 2011).

More recently, a 2019 meta-analysis by Forscher and colleagues also called into question the strength of the connection between implicit bias and discriminatory behavior. Researchers at the University of Wisconsin, Harvard, and the University of Virginia examined two decades of research—including 492 studies involving 87,418 participants—and found that implicit attitudes accounted for 0.8% of the variance in behavior, and did not find any evidence that changes in implicit attitudes were associated

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[54] The original authors, however, contested that refutation (see McConnell & Leibold, 2009).

with changes in behavior. According to the research team, "These results produce a challenge for practitioners who seek to address problems that are presumed to be caused by automatically retrieved associations, as there was little evidence showing that change in implicit measures will result in changes for explicit measures or behavior" (Forscher, Lai, Axt, Ebersole, Herman, Devine, & Nosek, 2019).

The lag of several years (even decades) between the publication of the original IAT studies and their critiques allowed the initial findings plenty of time to be heavily circulated and cited by those in academia and the media as an explanation for racial disparities in American society. As a result, highly educated people who do not follow closely the literature on implicit bias may not be familiar with the later critiques and may unequivocally believe that implicit bias strongly predicts discriminatory behavior. Forscher believes that there has been pressure on researchers over the years to make the science of implicit bias sound more definitive and relevant than the evidence justifies. "A lot of people want to know: how do we tackle these disparities? It makes us feel important to say, Aha, we have these measures that can tell us what the problem is, and, not only that, we can tell them how to fix the problem" (Goldhill, 2017). Forscher, who began graduate school believing that reducing implicit bias was a powerful way to change behavior and conducted research on how to do so (see Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012), now thinks this approach is misguided. "I currently believe that many (but not all) psychologists, in their desire to help solve social problems, have been way too overconfident in their interpretation of the evidence that they gather. I count myself in

that number," he wrote. "The impulse is understandable, but in the end, it can do some harm by contributing to wasteful, and maybe even harmful policy."

Research on the (in)effectiveness of bias/diversity training suggests that Forscher might be correct. A survey of more than three decades of data from over 800 U.S. businesses shows that most diversity programs are not increasing diversity—in fact, diversity programs like the ones seen all over America's campuses be having the *opposite* effect (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly (2006) examined whether the implementation of diversity trainings was followed by actual growth in minority representation in those businesses over a five-year period and found that "after instituting required training for managers, companies saw no improvement in the proportion of white women, black men, and Hispanics in management, and the share of black women actually decreased by 9 percent, on average, while the ranks of Asian-American men and women shrank by 4 percent to 5 percent."

The authors also speculated that managers, business executives, and employees in general are less likely to be receptive to a message that is presented to them in a mandatory manner. Indeed, compulsory diversity trainings have been met with "resistance and anger" (Kulik, Pepper, Robertson, & Parker, 2007) or have led participants to actually report greater animosity toward other groups afterwards (Anand & Winters, 2008). This is not surprising given the abundance of social science research that has documented how people often rebel against rules as a means of asserting their autonomy. In social psychology, for example, reactance theory describes how pressure to change, when exerted by an influencing agent (e.g., an employer, the administration,

one's colleagues), may induce people to do the exact opposite (Brehm, 1966). In other words, when people feel coerced to do something, they do the opposite as a means of asserting their independence. Given the centrality of professional autonomy to academics (Austin, 1990; Hamilton, 2007), faculty may be resistant to administrative attempts at bias intervention, especially when it comes to hiring deliberations, a context where faculty governance is particularly valued.

Despite more than 20 years of research and billions of dollars spent on interventions, implicit bias has not delivered the explanatory and transformative results it once promised. For many, implicit bias once offered—and for some, still offers—an intriguing, provocative story of race in America and provides hope that we too can become part of the solution by noticing when our implicit biases are leading us to make unfavorable judgments about historically marginalized groups. However, the limited predictive validity of the IAT, combined with the unintended negative consequences of bias training, have created a conundrum for those who want to see a reduction in the racial disparities observed within and across American institutions, including institutions of higher education. How much does implicit bias contribute to racial disparities observed in academia? To what extent is bias, as compared to other factors, responsible for such disparities? How much can be done to reduce implicit bias? Do reductions in implicit bias reduce racial disparities? The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty grapple with these complex and difficult questions pertaining to implicit bias in academia.

HIRING POLICIES: *Diversity Statements*

Should applicants for faculty positions be required to submit diversity statements? As part of the hiring process, applicants seeking faculty positions at many institutions of higher education, including all of the University of California campuses, are required to submit a statement about their past, present, and future contributions to diversity, equity, and inclusion in their professional careers. At UC Davis, for example, according to the "Guidelines for Writing a Statement of Contributions to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion" (UC Davis Office of Academic Affairs, 2017), search committees evaluate diversity statements based on the applicant's "awareness of inequities and challenges faced by underrepresented minority students and faculty; track record (commensurate to career stage) of activities that reduce barriers in education or research for underrepresented minority students and faculty; vision and plans for how their work will continue to contribute to UC Davis' mission to serve the needs of our diverse state and student population and create an inclusive campus." Universities such as UCLA ("UCLA Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion News," 2018) and University of Oregon (University of Oregon Division of Equity and Inclusion, 2020) have also begun adopting the mandatory diversity statement policy for review, tenure, and promotion of current faculty.[55]

Many within academia see the policy of mandatory diversity statements as a positive way to signal the institution's values and to ensure that faculty are committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). This is viewed as especially important because

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[55] Sylvester, Sánchez-Parkinson, Yettaw, & Chavous (2019) explain the rationale for this policy as follows: "If institutions assert that DEI is central to their university mission and are moving toward selecting faculty in part based on the expectation that they will support institutional efforts to bring about DEI, then institutions should also be prepared to evaluate and reward faculty for work done in these areas" (p. 165).

despite the UC's policies aimed at promoting DEI, women and ethnic minorities remain vastly underrepresented at the faculty level. In 2015, for example, women comprised 33 percent of tenure-track faculty, and only 10 percent of faculty were black or Latino (University of California Accountability Report, 2017). Mandatory diversity statements are an attempt to address these disparities and ensure that faculty become more demographically similar to undergraduates. "The purpose of statements of contributions to diversity, equity and inclusion is to bring in and retain faculty who can effectively teach our diverse student body," explained Raquel Aldana, UC associate vice chancellor for academic diversity. The rationale is that women and underrepresented minorities (URMs) have greater empathy for the struggles of students from similar backgrounds and are better able to support these students. "When faculty understand the barriers that have prevented full participation of individuals from groups historically underrepresented in higher education, they are more likely to provide an inclusive environment" (Hampton, 2019).

Echoing this sentiment, Shason Briscoe, a UC Davis student and campus president of the National Society of Black Engineers, believes that when professors are unable to relate to students from diverse backgrounds, they exhibit harmful biases that undermine their students' self-efficacy. "A lot of professors have biases about black students. They think we come into class knowing less than other students," he explained. Briscoe is concerned that these biases undermine students' self-efficacy. "You don't want to go and seek help because people might think you're stupid."

With these concerns in mind, Tanya Golash-Boza, an associate professor of sociology at UC Merced, gives faculty job applicants tips for writing an excellent diversity statement (Golash-Boza, 2016). She encourages applicants *not to* worry about coming across as "too political," because such fears might lead them to write a "blasé statement." Instead she recommends that they demonstrate their "awareness of how systemic inequalities affect students' ability to excel" and their commitment to "activism." She also encourages applicants to "tell *your* story"—that is, to point out the obstacles you have faced, or "acknowledge your privilege." She also recommends that applicants focus on issues of "race, gender, social class, and sexual orientation"— specifically, "racial oppression, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, or some other commonly recognized form of oppression." Importantly, one should not write about the "how hard it is to be a Kansan in Missouri." In fact, to "avoid false parallels," she instructs applicants to not attempt to equate the mild exclusion experienced by whites to the racism face by blacks. "You do not have to be African American to have insight into the challenges they face, but if you do not have experiential knowledge of racism, then do not claim it." When it comes to teaching, she encourages applicants to express their commitment to "antiracist pedagogy."

Although many have expressed strong support for mandatory diversity statements as a strategy for ensuring that candidates understand the importance of DEI and increasing the representation of women and underrepresented minorities (URMs) among faculty, others have expressed concern that such a requirement risks introducing a political litmus test into the hiring process. They worry that especially in today's

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polarized political climate, hiring committees may exhibit a strong preference for candidates whose professional agenda reflects a commitment to the progressive and liberal values described in the chapter, "Ideology and DEI Policy." Peter Wood, president of the National Association of Scholars, explained that administrative bureaucrats have decided to "ratchet up the requirements" by having candidates "make a public confession of faith." He argues, "You're essentially citing a creed," and it is all the more effective because "they force you to put that creed into your own words" (Diamond, 2018).

Requiring candidates to submit diversity statements may be particularly effective because of what Cialdini (1993) describes as the principle of Commitment and Consistency. We want our attitudes and actions to be consistent with our values and self-image. Therefore, when we express our commitment to something, we are motivated to behave in a way that is consistent with that commitment. Moreover, public declarations of our commitment motivate us to behave in ways that are consistent with the image we have conveyed to others. In this way, requiring candidates to explain to hiring committees how and why they are personally committed to DEI helps the institution ensure that candidates are motivated to act in ways that are consistent with their commitment if/when they are hired. This strategy may be seen as desirable or disturbing, depending on how one interprets the sorts of commitments that candidates are expected to express in their diversity statements.

The rubric used by the UCs to evaluate diversity statements under the Advancing Faculty Diversity Grant (UC Davis Office of Academic Affairs, 2018-2019) delineates criteria for scores ranging from 1 ("poor") to 5 ("excellent"). An applicant who "doesn't

discuss gender or race/ethnicity" should receive a "poor" score, as should an applicant who sees DEI as "antithetical to academic freedom or the university's research mission." By contrast, an applicant who discusses DEI as "core values that every faculty member should actively contribute to advancing" should receive an "excellent" score (UC Davis Office of Academic Affairs, 2018-2019).

Perhaps the highly publicized critique of how diversity statements are evaluated came in 2019 when Abigail Thompson, a professor of mathematics and department chair at UC Davis, wrote an essay likening mandatory diversity statements to political loyalty oaths. Thompson's essay (Thompson, 2019) was posted in the *Notices of the American Mathematical Society*, the most widely read mathematics publication in the world.[56] Thompson urged academics to "continue to do all we can to reduce barriers to participation," which includes "encouraging students from all backgrounds to enter the mathematics pipeline, trying to ensure that talented mathematicians don't leave the profession, creating family-friendly policies, and supporting junior faculty at the beginning of their careers." However, she explained that the way mandatory diversity statements are evaluated makes them "a political test with teeth" that discriminates against those who aspire to "treat every person as a unique individual, not as a representative of their gender or their ethnic group."

Thompson's essay garnered much controversy, with academics furiously gathering signatures on petitions and writing letters to the NAMS immediately following

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[56] Thompson wrote a similar piece, titled "UC Davis Defends Its 'Diversity Statements,'" in the *Wall Street Journal* (Thompson, 2019b).

its publication. A 25-page document contains petitions supporting and opposing Thompson's stance (Notices of the AMS, 2019). In addition, at article posted by the Institute for the Quantitative Study of Inclusion, Diversity, and Equity (QSIDE) provided a list of actions to take in opposition to Thompson, including: 1) emailing the AMS leadership to explain that they "made a grave and very damaging mistake by publishing Thompson's essay"; 2) refusing to publish in the AMS *Notices* "until they reckon with their decision to publish Thompson's piece"; 3) spreading word about the "debacle" on social media and in workplaces; 4) contacting UCD to "express your concerns about diversity in the Department of Mathematics and about Thompson's role as Chair," and explaining that "If she has gone on record in a very public way as being opposed to diversity statements, and if UC Davis requires them, the school must look into whether or not she has been abiding by institutional policy"; 5) advising undergraduates, "especially students who are minoritized along some axis" not to apply to UC Davis for graduate school, advising graduate students and postdocs on the job market "not to apply to UC Davis"; and 6) donating to QSIDE so they can continue to do "quantitative work on social justice issues" (CHADTOPAZ, 2019).

The chancellor and vice-chancellor of UC Davis also responded to Thompson's essay by defending the policy on the grounds that hiring committees use diversity statements to evaluate "a candidate's readiness and potential for serving the diverse population of students in California" (UC Davis News and Media Relations, 2019). They also clarified that all candidates are to be evaluated holistically, based not solely on their diversity statements, but also on their letters of recommendation and publication records.

However, Daniel Ortner, an attorney with Pacific Legal Foundation, argues that the evaluation materials he received through a public record request reveal that diversity statements are used as an initial cutoff for applicants (Ortner, 2020). In a PowerPoint presentation offered by the Office of the Vice Provost for Academic Affairs to prepare search committee members who are part of the school's "Advancing Faculty Diversity," committees were instructed to review a candidate's "Contributions to Diversity" statement *before* any other part of an application, and that candidates who do not "look outstanding with regard to their contributions to diversity" should not advance for further consideration in the hiring process. Reiterating this message, the vice chancellor explained at a conference on faculty diversity that "in these searches, it is the candidate's diversity statement that is *considered first*; only those who submit persuasive and inspiring statements can advance for complete consideration." The vice chancellor emphasized that this change is a "game changer."

There is now some evidence of how this procedure has impacted the hiring process. UC Berkeley has published information about the effects of the policy mandating the use of diversity statements for faculty hiring (Heald & Wildermuth, 2019). In one faculty search, fewer than a quarter of otherwise qualified candidates submitted diversity statements that were sufficient for advancement to the next hiring stage. "A total of 993 applications were received, of which 893 met basic qualifications. The LSI [Life Sciences Initiative] Committee conducted a first review and evaluated candidates based solely on contributions to diversity, equity and inclusion. Only candidates that met a high

standard in this area were advanced for further review, narrowing the pool down to 214 for serious consideration."

The files for these 214 candidates were then sent to the appropriate departmental search committees to create a short list for interviews (there are typically 3-6 candidates per job). During their job talks and interviews, candidates were asked to explain their ideas about diversity, and their responses determined whether they were eligible to be hired. "Finalists were asked to describe their efforts to promote equity and inclusion, as well as ideas for advancing equity and inclusion at Berkeley, as part of their job talk. They also met with the department equity advisor, and/or with a student panel during their on-campus interview. Only candidates who demonstrated, through their knowledge, past contributions, and/or future plans for advancing diversity, equity, and inclusion, potential to meet Berkeley standards were advanced as finalists and ultimately proposed candidates." Thus, at every stage of the hiring process, candidates were eliminated because they were perceived as being insufficiently committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

It is also worth noting that race and gender characteristics of the applicant pool in the UC Berkeley search changed substantially after candidates were evaluated on the basis of their diversity statements. The representation of women increased by roughly 20 percent (from approximately 42 percent of applicants to 64 percent of finalists), whereas the representation of men decreased by roughly 20 percent (from 57 percent of applicants to 36 percent of the finalists). The representation of African Americans tripled (from 3% of the applicants to 9% of the finalists); and the representation of Hispanics more than

quadrupled (from 13% of the applicants to 59% of the finalists). By contrast, the representation of Asian Americans decreased by 8% (from 26% of the applicants to 18% of the finalists); and the representation of whites decreased by 40% (from 54% of the applicants to 14% of the finalists). The shift in the demographic composition of the applicant pool may not be surprising given that the rubric for evaluating diversity statements explicitly defined URM as "African Americans, Latin(x)/Hispanics, and Native Americans."

Jerry Coyne, a professor of biology at the University of Chicago, was alarmed by UC Berkeley's initiative promoting faculty diversity via mandatory diversity statements. He, along with colleague Brian Leiter, a professor of law at the University of Chicago, believe the university should be sued for unconstitutional viewpoint discrimination and possible race discrimination as well (Coyne, 2019; Leiter, 2019). Moreover, Leiter recommends that those applying for jobs in the University of California system state, "I decline to supply a statement that constitutes illegal viewpoint discrimination in violation of my constitutional rights."

Critics of the mandatory diversity statements policy argue that such requirements are an affront to academic freedom because of the implicit and explicit expectation that faculty conform to a specific progressive liberal ideology regarding DEI. They worry that candidates will be (and already have been) discriminated against not only because they do not subscribe to a particular set of political beliefs (as suggested by the UC scoring rubric criteria for "excellent" versus "poor" scores), but also because they do not fit a specific demographic profile (as suggested by the drastically different gender and racial-

ethnic compositions of the finalists as compared with the initial pool of candidates in UC Berkeley's search).

Advocates of mandatory diversity statements, by contrast, argue that such requirements are necessary to increase the representation of women and racial-ethnic minorities in academia and ensure that faculty are able to relate to the unique struggles faced by diverse students. They worry that candidates will be (and already have been) discriminated against because they do not fit with the traditional model of what it means to be a good academic, and that diversity statements allow candidates to demonstrate other ways they can contribute to the academic enterprise, thereby creating a new model of what it means to be a good academic.

There remains strong disagreement regarding the function and impact of diversity statements in the hiring process. How important are diversity statements relative to other application materials? Are women and underrepresented minorities (URMs) better able to teach diverse students? Are there political elements to the criteria used in evaluating diversity statements? Do diversity statements undercut academic freedom? The present research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty address these key issues surrounding the use of mandatory diversity statements in higher education.

HIRING POLICIES: *Affirmative Action*

Should selection committees consider the race and/or gender of applicants and give preferences to underrepresented minorities (URMs)? Perhaps no public policy has received as much scrutiny and controversy as affirmative action. This policy has been evolving since the 1960s. In the process, goals and strategies have shifted, contributing to widespread disagreement and confusion in the present. Originally praised as a mechanism for ensuring equal educational and professional access, it has increasingly been characterized by critics as a tool for granting unfair advantages.

Today, it is unclear whether affirmative action involves outreach efforts with the goal of diversifying the pool of qualified candidates at the earliest stage, or it involves selection efforts with the goal of granting preferences to diverse candidates at the final stage (for detailed discussion of these differing approaches, see, e.g., Fryer & Lowry, 2005; Oppenheimer, 1988; Sabbagh, 2011). The former reflects a desire to increase the opportunities for success among individuals from historically marginalized groups, whereas the latter reflects the desire to ensure the success of individuals from historically marginalized groups by improving their outcomes. One side wants to make sure success is *possible*, for that is how we create a just society in the present, whereas the other wants to make sure success *happens*, for that is how we make amends for having failed to create a just society in the past.

When it comes to affirmative action, as with other diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies discussed previously, there appears to be a fundamental tension between the protection of rights for individuals in the present versus atonement for rights withheld

from groups in the past. In essence, it is a conflict between the commitment to equality of *opportunity* versus the commitment to equality of *outcome*.

Those who advocate for equality of opportunity and believe institutions must protect the rights of individuals in the present assert that we should aspire to Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream to live in a nation where people will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character (King, 1963). They contend that even though our country has not lived up to this ideal in the past, it has made huge progress. Although different levels of representation among groups today may be partially a residual effect of historic discrimination, the reasoning goes that people today should be seen as individuals rather than as members of marginalized groups.

By contrast, those who advocate for equality of outcome and believe institutions must atone for the rights withheld from groups in the past assert that we cannot realize Martin Luther King's dream of treating people as individuals when our society still sees them as members of groups, as evidenced by the vastly unequal levels of group representation seen in various American institutions. Thus, they believe that to ensure that individuals who are members of historically marginalized groups do not continue to suffer, it is important to be aware of how differences in societal rewards are allocated between groups today.

These fundamentally different orientations—protection of rights for individuals in the present and atonement for rights withheld from groups in the past—have powerful moral overtones. Both sides believe they are helping realize Martin Luther King's dream, yet have fundamentally different views about how to get there. Rather than recognize

their shared goal of creating a society where people are seen as individuals, each side promotes its own moral superiority by deriding the other. Advocates for equal opportunities accuse advocates for equal outcomes of engaging in reverse discrimination, or attempting to combat historical discrimination by practicing it in the present. Advocates for equal outcomes, in turn, accuse advocates for equal opportunities of engaging in subtle racism, or attempting to uphold systems that perpetuate historical discrimination. This division is perhaps clearest when it comes to how opposition to affirmative action is framed.[57]

Those who oppose affirmative action (or are at least sympathetic to the arguments) often assert that opposition reflects a commitment to equality and little, if any, anti-black animus (see, e.g., D'Souza & Edley, 1996; Lipset & Schneider, 1978; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993). Some may see affirmative action as violating the merit principle that an individual's outcomes should be proportional to one's input or effort (Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, & Zanna, 1998). In addition, affirmative action may be perceived as unjust because it violates the ideal of treating individuals in a consistent manner. As Sniderman and Piazza (1993) explain, "At the deepest level though, racial politics owes its shape not to beliefs or stereotypes distinctly about blacks but to the broader set of convictions about fairness and fair play that make up the American Creed"

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[57] A collaborative analysis by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research and the General Social Survey (GSS) staff using the 2018 General Social Survey revealed that less than a quarter (23%) of respondents support preferential hiring and promotion (but this is an increase compared 18% to 2014). In addition, more than half (57%) agreed that blacks should work their way up without special favors (but this is down from 68% in 2014). This shift occurred across racial groups and among political parties, but was particularly large among white Democrats (Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, 2019).

(p. 176). Thus, to uphold traditional American values by aspiring for a color-blind society, one must not discriminate for or against people on the basis of skin color (see, e.g., Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000).

Moreover, racism is seen as minimal (or at least minimally consequential) in modern American society, and those who are preoccupied by racism are seen as largely manufacturing a problem for their own purposes. In other words, it is argued that the impact of racism today is exaggerated by those who wish to attribute racial disparities to racism.[58] Such exaggeration is also believed to have the harmful effect of politicizing scholarship (see, e.g., Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986; Tetlock, 1994). Moreover, it is argued that as those advocating for civil rights shifted their focus from equality to *equity* and the ideal of color blindness came to be framed as denial of the impact of skin color, they lost their legitimacy because they were no longer upholding the values upon which our country was founded (see, e.g., Sniderman & Piazza, 1993).

At odds with this explanation are those who defend affirmative action and assert that opposition is rooted in a new form of anti-black racism (see, e.g., Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Sears, Van Larr, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997). This "modern racism" (McConahay, 1983) is believed to be more subtle than the overt racism of the Jim Crow era, and is said to involve early learned anti-black thoughts and emotions, combined with traditional American values of individualism, hard work, and self-discipline (see, e.g.,

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[58] William Julius Wilson (1987), for example, argued that liberals lost their dominant position on social welfare and poverty policy because they refused to acknowledge important, albeit unsettling, realities about the nature of life in low-income communities. Some have raised concerns that liberal scholars of public opinion on affirmative action have made the same error by denying or disparaging the social reality that different racial groups inhabit cultures that place differing levels of importance on certain skills (see, e.g., D'Souza, 1995; D'Souza & Edley, 1996; McWhorter, 2001; 2005; Sowell, 1981, 1994, 2018).

Jones, 1997; Kinder & Sanders, 1996). It manifests as resentment or hostility toward special treatment for blacks, along with denial of the pernicious effects of racial bias today (McConahay, 1983). These attitudes are attributed not to the personal experiences of whites, but to the society at large that inculcates various harmful biases in whites beginning at a young age (Neville, Worthingon, & Spanierman, 2001). Importantly, these harmful attitudes are thought to be rooted in fundamentally irrational anti-black thoughts and emotions rather than accurate, valid conflicts of interest (Sears, 1988). Thus, those who attempt to frame opposition to affirmative action as anything besides racism have "white-washed racial prejudice" (Kinder & Sanders, 1996, pp. 269-272).

It is important to note that opposition to affirmative action varies as a function of how the goal and strategy are framed. Overall, the closer the framing is to equality, the greater its favorability, whereas the closer the framing is to equity, the lower its favorability. Affirmative action has a range of policy goals and strategies (Chemerinsky, 1997) and those involving race-targeted scholarships or outreach efforts tend to be highly popular (Bobo & Kleugel, 1993; Bobo & Smith, 1994), whereas those calling for the use of quotas and explicit racial preferences tend to be highly unpopular (Schuman, Steeh, Bob, & Krysan, 1997). An important distinction is between *opportunity*-enhancing forms of affirmative action and *outcome*-directed forms of affirmative action (see, e.g., Bobo & Kluegel, 1993; Bobo & Smith, 1994; Lipset & Schneider, 1978). The former evokes the goal of equality, whereas the latter evokes the goal of equity. Policies with the goal of increasing opportunities for minorities to attain human capital tend to be far more popular than those aimed at equalizing outcomes. For this reason, the precise framing of

affirmative action may strongly influence perceptions. The wording is more than a simple methodological artifact—instead, it reflects key differences between equality and equity, or promoting the rights of individuals in the present versus atoning for rights withheld from groups in the past.

Affirmative action, along with the aforementioned DEI policies surrounding hiring processes (i.e., bias/diversity training, diversity statements), are an attempt to atone for historical discrimination by ensuring that more underrepresented minorities are brought into academia today. However, these policies are only the first step toward achieving diversity, equity, and inclusion. Although affirmative action may help bring underrepresented minorities (URMs) into academia, there is a concern that they will not stay or succeed if the environment is not perceived as welcoming. Thus, for affirmative action to achieve its goal of increasing the representation of URMs in the long run, it is argued that a series of additional policies need to be implemented to ensure that URMs are valued and experience a sense of belonging in the academic community. In this way, many other the other types of DEI policies—those involving language and the physical campus—have emerged as a natural result of affirmative action.[59] Taken together, DEI

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[59] DEI policies involving language, for example, are aimed at preventing not only racial epithets, but also the expression of offensive ideas about people from who may have benefited from affirmative action. Notably, many phrases that are considered microaggressions contain the subtle implication that women and URMs would not have gotten to where they are had it not been for the preferential policy of affirmative action. Such phrases include, "I believe the most qualified person should get the job," "Of course he'll get tenure, even though he hasn't published much – he's Black!" "Men and women have equal opportunities for achievement," "Gender plays no part in who we hire," "America is the land of opportunity," "Everyone can succeed in society, if they work hard enough," and "Affirmative action is racist." All of these phrases fall under the microaggression category, "Myth of Meritocracy" and are believed to send the message that (a) women and URMs are given unfair advantages due to their race and gender; (b) that the playing field is even, so if women or URMs do not succeed, it is their problem; and (c) that the reasons URMs do not succeed is because they are lazy and/or incompetent (UCLA Diversity & Faculty Development, 2014).

policies involving language (e.g., micro-aggression awareness efforts, speech codes,

trigger warnings, bias responding systems), the physical campus (e.g., renaming

buildings, removing portraits, disinviting and/or obstructing speakers), and hiring

processes (e.g., diversity training, diversity statements, affirmative action) are intended to

ensure that URMs gain entry into academia at higher rates, have more positive

experiences once they are there, and ultimately exhibit better outcomes. The present

research offers a framework for evaluating and classifying how faculty address key issues

surrounding the implementation of these DEI policies.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

PARTICIPANTS

Participant Recruitment

Following the logic of survey research (Warren, 2002), I conducted interviews with a representative sample of the larger population, drawn systematically to ensure the findings would be maximally generalizable to the population. The faculty sample was representative of the 20 departments in the College of Social Sciences and Humanities (CHASS) at the University of California, Riverside (UCR).[60] I used a theoretical sampling approach to select participants who were likely to epitomize the analytic criteria of interest—namely, academic rank and field of study.

Given that the goal of qualitative interviewing is to discern meaningful patterns within thick description (Warren, 2002), I sought to maximize differences among faculty's professional characteristics. As such, I sampled faculty whose academic ranks ranged from assistant to distinguished professor and who were located in one of the 20 CHASS departments at UCR. The demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, nationality, age) reflect the natural departmental compositions, as faculty were randomly selected from department websites.

I recruited faculty via email.[61] If they did not respond to the first email, I contacted them one week later with a follow-up email requesting their participation. If they did not respond to the first or follow-up email, they were not contacted again. For

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[60] See Table 1 for list of represented departments.
[61] See Appendix A for content of the initial email.

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those faculty who replied to the email and agreed to participate, I scheduled interviews at their convenience. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours, and were held in faculty's offices or in rare cases, outside or in my office (if requested by the interviewee).

At the start of the interview, I gave faculty the consent form to read and sign.[62] They were informed that the research study received IRB approval[63] and that the interviews would be audio-recorded on a password-protected device. At the end of the interview, I asked faculty to share the following demographic characteristics: gender, age, race/ethnicity, political affiliation, and religious affiliation.

After conducting the audio-recorded interviews, I assigned an ID number to each audio recording. I then created a document saved under each interviewee's IDE and transcribed entire interviews, including filler and nonverbal behavior, but omitting identifiable information (e.g., field of study, research area, courses taught, distinctive events).

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[62] See Appendix B for consent form.
[63] See Appendix C for IRB approval form.

Sample Characteristics

The sample (N=55) contained assistant professors (n=15; 27.3%), associate professors (n=9; 16.4%), full professors (n=22; 40%), and distinguished professors (n=9; 16.4%). There were more males (n=38; 69.1%) than females (n=17; 30.9%), and slightly more non-minorities (n=33; 60%) than minorities (n=22; 40%). In terms of age, there were fewer faculty under 40 (n=12; 21.8%) than there were faculty between the ages of 40 and 60 (21; 38.1%) and over 60 (22; 40%). The majority of the sample identified as some version of liberal/left of center (e.g., liberal, progressive, left, democrat; n=47; 85.5%), and the rest were independent (n=4; 7.3%), or either did not have/state a political affiliation (n=4; 7.3%). The majority of the sample were also atheist (n=38; 69.1%), and the rest identified as religious (n=9; 16.4%), agnostic or spiritual (n=5; 9.1%), or unknown (n=3; 5.4%).[64]

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[64] See Table 2 for complete breakdown of the demographic and professional characteristics of the sample.

Table 1. List of Represented Departments

Department	Department Type
Art	Humanities
Theatre	Humanities
Music	Humanities
History	Humanities
English	Humanities
Philosophy	Humanities
Comparative Literature	Humanities
Hispanic Studies	Humanities
Religion	Humanities
Writing	Humanities
Anthropology	Soft social
Gender & Sexuality Studies	Soft social
Media & Cultural Studies	Soft social
Ethnic Studies	Soft social
Political Science	Hard or Soft social
Sociology	Hard or Soft social
Psychology	Hard or Soft social
Economics	Hard social

Table 2. Sample Characteristics

	Frequency	Percentage
Department Type		
Humanities	21	38.2
Soft Social	18	32.7
Hard Social	16	29.1
Academic Level		
Assistant	15	27.3
Associate	9	16.4
Full	22	40
Distinguished	9	16.4
Gender		
Male	38	69.1
Female	17	30.9
Age		
Under 40	12	21.8
40-60	21	38.2
Over 60	22	40
Race		
White	33	60
Asian	7	12.7
Hispanic	5	9.1
Mixed	3	5.5
African American	2	3.6
Indian	2	3.6
Middle Eastern	1	1.8
Native American	2	3.6
Religious Affiliation		
Atheist/None	38	69.1
Religious	9	16.4
Agnostic/Spiritual	5	9.1
Unknown/Did not state	3	5.4
Political Affiliation		
Left/ Far Left/Radical	5	9.1
Very liberal/Progressive	11	20
Liberal/Democrat	31	56.4
Independent/Other	4	7.3
None/Unknown	4	7.3

Characteristics of Faculty Who Declined to Participate

There were 60 faculty who declined to participate (yielding a 47.8% acceptance rate). The most common reason faculty declined to participate was that they were too busy. Interestingly, a few Asian and African American faculty cited different reasons for not wishing to participate—namely, personal discomfort and suspicion. One Asian American faculty member explained, "I don't think I am a good person to give thoughts on those issues." Another stated, "Unfortunately, I prefer not to share my views on these topics under this circumstance." A third Asian American faculty member wrote, "I'm not sure I'd frankly be the best person to discuss anyway as I've gone through some rough things professionally that make me a more than jaded about diversity initiatives." These comments suggest that some Asian faculty members may be opposed to DEI policies.

With regard to African American faculty, one asked, "Is this a UCR research study? Can you please share with me the UC and UCR 'norms and policies' designed to create a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus? Can you also provide the definitions for diverse, equitable, and inclusive? Since words matter, how these terms are defined and who defines them often shapes the responses received or not received. The socio-cultural contexts and psycho-social contexts shaping and influencing these experiences matter." Another African American faculty member asked, "Can you share a bit about who you're reaching out to interview and why that demographic?"

It was noteworthy that personal discomfort and suspicion were expressed only be Asian and African American faculty members. However, there were too few of these responses to draw any conclusions. Future research with a larger sample of Asian and

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African American faculty is needed to see the extent to which discomfort and suspicion surrounding DEI is unique to these racial-ethnic groups.

Determining Sample Size

To determine the sample size for this phenomenological[65] qualitative study, I used Malterud, Siersma, and Guassora's (2016) concept of "information power," which is similar to Glaser and Straus' (1967) goal of "data saturation," but is accompanied by more clear criteria. Information power is the idea that the more information each participant offers that is relevant to the study, the lower the number of participants that is needed. Whether a sample contains sufficient information power may depend on (a) the aim of the study, (b) sample specificity, (c) use of established theory, (d) quality of dialogue, and (e) analysis strategy.

A broad study aim requires a larger sample than a narrow aim because the phenomenon under study is more comprehensive. In addition, the more specific the participants' characteristics are to the study aim, the less extensive the sample needs to be. Next, a study that is starting from scratch with no theoretical background must establish its own foundation for grounding the conclusions, and thus requires a larger sample size. Furthermore, the stronger and clearer the communication is between the researcher and participants, the fewer the number of participants is needed. Lastly, an exploratory cross-case analysis requires more participants.

In the present study, each faculty participant provided extensive information, with transcript lengths ranging from 4 to 12 pages, single spaced. This would suggest that a

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[65] According to Welman and Kruger (1999), "phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved" (p. 189).

relatively small sample size is appropriate.[66] However, other aspects of the study suggest

that a larger sample size is needed for there to be sufficient information power. For

example, the aim of the study—to examine how faculty perceive various policies that

promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)—is very broad, so a larger sample size is

warranted. In addition, the participants' characteristics—being faculty in the humanities

and social sciences who are at various stages of their academic careers—were somewhat

specific to the study aim, suggesting again that a larger sample size is warranted to ensure

that the range of fields and professional stages were included. Moreover, because the

study was exploratory and was not grounded in a theory, more participants were needed

to establish a foundation for grounding the conclusions. In terms of communication

quality, there was a wide range of clarity, implying that it was necessary to have a large

sample that could help ensure that the confusion reflected in one or a few participants

could be better understood by examining similarities to other, more clear participants.

Lastly, because this study involved an exploratory cross-case analysis, a large sample size

was needed to compare the participants' responses.

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[66] For phenomenological studies, Creswell (1998) recommended 5 to 25 participants, and Morse (1994) recommended at least six. Ultimately, the research must decide what sample size is large enough, based on "data saturation" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

THE INTERVIEW METHOD

The Use of Interviews in Psychology

The interview is one of the most widespread knowledge-producing techniques used in the social sciences and humanities (Brinkmann, 2014). In the field of psychology, Jean Piaget and Theodore Adorno are among the most influential figures to have used the interview method. As Piaget listened to children talk spontaneously about the weight and size of objects, he observed patterns of thoughts as they unfolded. Then, as he was developing intelligence tests, Piaget focused not only on the items that children answered incorrectly, but also the reasons children gave for their incorrect answers, for he believed their erroneous reasoning revealed underlying structures of thought. "If we follow up each child's answers, and then, allowing him to take the lead, induce him to talk more and more freely, we shall gradually establish for every department of intelligence a method of clinical analysis analogous to that what has been adopted by psychiatrists as a means of diagnosis" (Piaget, 1923, p. 276).

The key insights gleaned from the interview method did not go unnoticed by Theodore Adorno, whose post-WWII research on fascism culminated in *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950). In their interview chapter, Adorno and colleagues explained that the best way to approximate an adequate view of the whole person is through the freedom of expression uniquely offered by the interview, as it permits inferences of the deeper layers of subjects' personalities underlying their antidemocratic ideology. Although the quantitative construction of the Fascism scale has dominated discourse surrounding authoritarianism, Adorno notes that "there is a marked similarity

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between the syndrome which we have labeled the authoritarian personality and *The Portrait of the Anti-Semite* by Jean-Paul Sarte. Sartre's brilliant paper became available to us after all our data had been collected and analyzed. That this phenomenological portrait should resemble so closely, both in general structure and in numerous details, the syndrome which slowly emerged from our empirical observations and quantitative analysis, seems to us remarkable" (p. 475; *see, also* Hannush, 1973).

In the present research, I listened to faculty generate spontaneous connections among various DEI policies, observing patterns of thoughts as they naturally occurred. Then, as I developed a framework for coding faculty's thoughts, I focused less on whether faculty ultimately expressed support or opposition than on the factors that faculty considered on the path to their decisions. By investigating faculty's reasoning, I was able to identify the underlying structure of values.

The goal of the interview was to facilitate the free association of faculty as they explained their perceptions of various distinct yet related policies. Of greater interest than whether faculty express support or opposition was the thought process that led them to determine whether or how a policy should be implemented. It is important to note that the expression of reasons may also represent a post-hoc legitimation for underlying dispositions. Indeed, the literature on confirmation bias illuminates this complex phenomenon (see, e.g., Jonas, Schulz-Hardt, Frey, & Thelen, 2001; Klayman, 1995; Nickerson, 1998). Faculty may be ideologically predisposed to support or oppose DEI policies, and the assumptions they make regarding the efficacy of such policies may be influenced by their prior beliefs.

The Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-interview is designed to obtain "descriptions of the lived world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008, p. 3). In the present study, I used the semi-structured interview protocol as a guide, but worked flexibly, allowing and encouraging the faculty interviewee to generate spontaneous descriptions and narratives.[67] This format is meant to facilitate reciprocity between the interviewer and participant (Galletta, 2012) and to enable the interviewer to ask follow-up questions based on the participant's response (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

I used the semi-structured interview method to facilitate deep investigation into the complex, personal, and emotional issues surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI). The semi-structured interview method is particularly well suited for studying individuals' perceptions and opinions, particularly when the issue is complex (Barriball & While, 1994) or emotionally sensitive (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994; Barriball & While, 1994). This method is also appropriate when participants are not very aware of the issues or are not used to discussing them, as is often the case with values, intentions, and ideals (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994). In the present research, many faculty interviewees had not yet formulated their thoughts regarding specific DEI policies, so they found themselves "thinking out loud" and trying to evaluate the merits of ideas during the interviews.

The form of the semi-structured interview guide is loose (Dearnley, 2005) and flexible (Turner, 2010), allowing a dialogue to occur (Whiting, 2008), providing the

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[67] See Appendix D for interview protocol.

opportunity to change the order of questions (Dearnley, 2005), and facilitating movement

from one question to another (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994). These elements were

crucial to ensuring that faculty could spontaneously generate connections between the

issues and follow a coherent train of thought further than they could have otherwise. In

this way, the interviewee's ideas helped guide the interview.

The questions in the interview guide were designed to elicit the richest possible

data (Turner, 2010). The questions were participant oriented (Barriball & While, 1994),

clearly and neutrally worded (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994; Turner, 2010), and open-

ended (Chenail, 2011; Dearnley, 2005, Turner, 2010; Whiting, 2008). Each question was

phrased in terms of whether a given DEI policy or procedure should be implemented, and

why or why not. The goal was to generate responses that were spontaneous, in-depth

(Dearnley, 2005), unique (Krauss, Hamzah, Omar, Suandi, Ismail, & Zahari, 2009), and

vivid (Dearnley, 2005).

Follow-Up Questions and Clarifications

The semi-structured interview guide consisted of main questions and follow-up questions. The main questions covered the general content of the DEI policy or procedure and encouraged participants to speak freely about their perceptions and experiences. Following the recommendations of Astedt-Kurki and Heikkinen (1994), every faculty interviewee was asked the main questions. Follow-up questions were used to make the main questions easier for the participant to understand (Turner, 2010) and to direct the conversation toward the issue (Baumbusch, 2010). The aim was to maintain the flow of the interview (Whiting, 2008) and acquire information that was both accurate (Barriball & While, 1994; Baumbusch, 2010; Rabionet, 2011; Whiting, 2008). Follow-up questions were a combination of pre-designed (Rabionet, 2010; Whiting, 2008) or spontaneous, based on the participant's answer (Chenail, 2011; Turner, 2010; Whiting, 2008).

Verbal probing techniques were also used as follow-up questions. The interviewer repeated the participant's point, expressing interest with verbal agreement (Whiting, 2008; Turner, 2010), or giving the interviewee the impression that the interviewer is aware of certain information. At other times, the interviewer engaged in non-verbal probing, remaining silent and allowing the participant to think out loud (Whiting, 2008).

If the interviewee agreed that a given DEI policy or procedure should be implemented, I asked one or two follow-up questions to specify how the DEI policy or procedure should look in practice. With regard to microaggressions, for example, if the interviewee agreed that there should be a training or workshop designed to raise awareness of microaggressions, I asked if attendance should be voluntary or mandatory.

For speech codes, if the interviewee agreed that there should be a speech code that restricts legally protected language some see as highly offensive, I asked whether there should be penalties for violating the speech code, and if so, what the penalties should be. When it came to trigger warnings, if the interviewee agreed that faculty should administer trigger warnings before discussing sensitive topics in class, I asked if faculty should also permit students to opt out of classes or assignments that involve sensitive topics. Regarding bias reporting systems, if the interviewee agreed that there should be bias report forms and response teams, I asked if there should be disciplinary action for those accused, and if so, what disciplinary action is warranted.

On the issue of renaming buildings, if the interviewee agreed that buildings named after controversial individuals should be renamed, I asked what criteria should be used to determine that the individual is too controversial to have a building named after him/her. When asked about disinviting and/or obstructing speakers, if the interviewee agreed that speakers with controversial views should not be permitted to speak on campus, I asked what criteria should be used to determine that the speaker is too controversial to be permitted to speak on campus.

For diversity statements, if the interviewee agreed that applicants for faculty positions should be required to write diversity statements, I asked how important of a role the diversity statement should have in the hiring process. Lastly, when asked about affirmative action, if the interviewee agreed that a candidate's race and/or gender should be considered in the hiring process, I asked whether a URM candidate in a predominantly

white field—or a female candidate in a male-dominated field—should be given preference in the hiring process.

In some cases, interviewees were unfamiliar with a specific DEI policy or procedure and requested additional information before taking a stance on whether or how the DEI policy or procedure should be implemented. If the interviewee had not heard of a microaggression, for example, the interviewer provided examples from a handout provided during the UC-wide microaggression workshops (UCLA Diversity & Faculty Development, 2014). If the interviewee did not understand how saying something like, "America is the land of opportunity" could constitute as a microaggression, the interviewer again referred to the handout and explained that such statements are seen by some as an assertion that race or gender does not play a role in life success.

If the interviewee did not know what sorts of language would be prohibited by a speech code, the interviewer explained that profanities or hate speech are among the most common forms of speech restricted by speech codes (Uelmen, 1992).

Pilot Testing

By testing the interview guide, it is possible to make informed changes and adjustments to the interview questions (Barriball & While, 1994; Chenail, 2011) and to improve the quality of data collection (Chenail, 2011). Pilot testing of the interview guide is often conducted through field testing, with preliminary questions being given to potential study participants. This is the most common test for developing the semi-structured interview (Barriball & While, 1994, Krauss et al., 2009, Turner, 2010). Field testing simulates the real interview situation (Barriball & While, 1994, Chenail, 2011) and offers crucial information about how to conduct the interviews (Turner, 2010).

Testing the interview guide on potential participants also ensured that the questions were intelligible (Barriball & While, 1994, Chenail, 2011), relevant (Krauss et al., 2009; Chenail, 2011), and elicited participants' honest perceptions (Barriball & While, 1994, Chenail, 2011). Based on the field testing, the order and form of the questions were re-formulated to be more effective. Field testing was also beneficial for determining how much time was needed for each session (Chenail, 2011).

In the present research, I conducted pilot interviews with five faculty who were chosen for their diverse views. These pilot interviewees were recommended by a colleague who was familiar with their preexisting views toward DEI policies. The goal of the pilot testing was to gain practice me to ensure that the questions were phrased in a neutral manner. If participants with different perspectives were able to understand the questions and feel that their answers were understood, then the interview guide and my

interpersonal style were appropriate for a diverse audience, and could thus elicit honest responses.

In developing the semi-structured interview, my aim was to produce a clear, logical guide for optimal data collection. The ultimate guide was based on, and a reflection of, the previous phases of the development process outlined by Krauss and colleagues (2009). It provides a useful method of serving the purpose of the study and is generalizable enough for other researchers to also use it.

Transcribing the Interviews

I assigned each interviewee's audio recording an ID number and saved it on a password-protected phone. If the phone were stolen, the audio files would still not be accessible to anyone without the password. If the phone were broken, I would still have access to the audio files through the password-protected phone's iCloud storage.

Prior to beginning the transcription process, I followed the recommendations of Schilling (2006) and considered the following: whether to transcribe responses to all of the questions (including the follow-up and clarification questions), or only the main questions; whether to transcribe the responses literally or only in a summary; and whether to transcribe observations made during the interviews (e.g., sounds, pauses, other audible behaviors). The answers to these questions were based on the research questions. Although a complete transcript is the most comprehensive, Schilling (2006) explains that the additional value may not justify the additional time required.

I decided that it was important to have as thorough and accurate a representation of the audio-recorded interviews as possible. Thus, I manually transcribed entire responses verbatim, including non-verbal utterances. This allowed my qualitative content analysis that followed to be informed by rich verbal and non-verbal cues. Immediately after I conducted each audio-recorded interview, I took notes about the memorable moments in the interview (e.g., emotion, tone, issues emphasized). Throughout the process of conducting interviews, following Field and Morse's (1985) recommendations, I also wrote 'memos' about the main ideas and potential ways of categorizing the data. These served to jog my memory and record the theoretical explanations that were

considered "mid-stream" (i.e., while still collecting the data). Such memos included anything that attracted my attention during the initial phases of the analysis.

After I manually transcribed each audio-recording and reviewed my corresponding notes from the interview, I wrote additional notes on the interviewee's thought processes. Here, the aim was to become immersed in the data, thereby becoming more fully aware of the faculty interviewee's perspective; entering what Rogers (1951) described as the other person's "frame of reference." As I re-read the transcripts and reviewed my notes, I identified as many key points as possible to describe all aspects of the content, excluding what Field and Morse (1985) refer to as 'dross,' or unusable fillers such as issues unrelated to the topic at hand.

Removing Unusable Material

In any qualitative analysis, there is the dilemma of what to leave out. Although the audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim, the key points were extracted deliberately to remove 'dross.' In principle, as Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated, all the data should be accounted for under a category or sub-category. In practice, however, there are inevitably elements of the transcripts that are not viable for several reasons, including confidentiality, tangentiality, repetitiousness, and incoherence.

With regard to confidentiality, interviewees sometimes disclosed information that could be traced back to them as individuals. This information included names of faculty in the department, names of faculty in the person's field, names of universities the faculty previous taught at or attended, names of courses taught, descriptions of one's research, specific details of departmental conflicts, specific details of personal conflicts with colleagues within the department, and specific populations studied. These details were not reflected in the key points.

With regard to tangentiality, interviewees sometimes described topics that were completely unrelated to the DEI policy or activity at hand. Such information did not provide insights into the interviewee's perceptions of the DEI policy or activity, but instead seemed to unintentionally divert the conversation toward an irrelevant topic. Therefore, such information was not included in the key points.

To address repetitiousness, points that were raised numerous times in response to the same prompt were omitted from the compilation of key points so that in the results table it would not seem as though multiple interviewees had raised the same point when

in reality the same interviewee raised the point multiple times. It was crucial that each key point raised in an interviewee's response reflected a distinct idea.

To address incoherence, the parts of an interviewee's response that contained nothing but fillers, an internal dialogue, and/or fragmented sentences lacking substance were omitted. In some cases, these utterances reflected the interviewee's ambivalence and therefore did convey important information; however, in such cases the interviewee's ambivalence was captured in the key point(s) raised before or after the incoherent elements.

DATA CODING

Qualitative Content Analysis

I decided that qualitative content analysis was the most appropriate strategy for analyzing the interview data. Qualitative content analysis involves a process of condensing raw data into categories and themes based on valid inference and interpretation. This process involves inductive reasoning, as categories and themes emerge from the data through careful examination and constant comparison. It is a research method involving subjective interpretation of text through a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The idea is that it allows researchers to understand social reality in a manner that is both subjective and scientific. Social scientists developed qualitative content analysis to explore the complexities hidden beneath straightforward, quantifiable information. This method was ideal for the present investigation, as my goal was to discover patterns within faculty's nuanced perceptions of multifaceted social issues.

Because qualitative content analysis is inductive, I allowed categories and themes, as well as inferences drawn from them, to emerge from the data. In this way, I was able to identify areas where additional theorizing and empirical research are warranted. This method also yields rich descriptions of how subjects perceive their social world. Through qualitative content analysis, I was able to describe how the unique themes illustrate a range of meanings imposed on the DEI policies.

Because the study did not have a theoretical framework, the categories and coding scheme were derived inductively from the data. Inductive content analysis is particularly

useful for developing theory rather than describing a particular phenomenon or verifying an existing theory. As I inductively categorized the raw data, I performed the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This allowed me to not only glean original insights, but also identify important differences between categories. I used the constant comparative method to systematically compare each key point assigned to a category with each of the other key points already assigned to that category, to fully understand the theoretical properties of that category. I then organized key points within each category according to unique themes. Following the recommendations of Lincoln and Guba (1985), I defined the categories and themes in the coding scheme in a way that was as internally homogeneous and externally heterogenous as possible.

When performing qualitative content analysis, the researcher must identify the basic unit of the text that will be coded. Differences in the unit definition can affect coding decisions as well as the comparability with other studies (De Wever, Schellens, Valcke, & Van Keer, 2006); therefore, defining the coding unit was a fundamental and important decision (Weber, 1990). Importantly, the coding unit represents the expression of an idea. As a result, coding units can come in text chunks of various sizes, so long as they represent a single issue of relevance to the research questions.

In the present research, the key points extracted from faculty's full responses to each DEI policy were the smallest coding units of analysis. Key points were sometimes expressed in a single word, a phrase, sentence, paragraph, or an entire response. After transcribing each interview, I created a corresponding outline that contained the interviewee's key points regarding each of the ten DEI policies.

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Interestingly, interviewees expressed very nuanced, complex views regarding the DEI policies. Their key points could not be categorized as either "for" or "against" the DEI policies. Instead, some faculty often expressed uncertainty and described the policies in terms of tradeoffs. Other faculty expressed cynicism and dismissed the policies as superficial. Thus, I developed a coding system that was sensitive to detecting these additional perspectives.

Developing the Categorization System

The coding system needed to account for nearly all of the key points. In this stage, known as 'open coding' (Berg, 1989), I freely generated categories. Following the recommendations of Weber (1990), to ensure consistency of coding, I developed coding guidelines containing category labels, definitions, rules, and examples. Using the constant comparative method, I developed the coding guidelines throughout the data analysis process. Also following the recommendations of Weber (1990), I engaged in the iterative process of coding sample text, checking consistency, and revising coding rules until sufficient coding consistency was achieved.

After categorizing all of the interviewee's key points raised in regard to a each DEI policy, I compared the key points with other key points in the same category for that DEI policy to ensure that the categorization system was being applied consistently across interviewees, and to systematically examine how key points resembled those in the same category and differed from those in the other categories for each DEI policy. Throughout the coding process, I repeatedly checked the coding to prevent myself from "drifting into an idiosyncratic sense of what the codes mean" (Schilling, 2006, p.33).

Because I was coding the data while still conducting other interviews, I continually identified patterns to include in the coding guidelines. The new guidelines would occasionally require me to go back and recategorize key points, but for the most part, each revision of the coding guidelines specified the qualities of each category that already existed in the composite table.

When asked about a given DEI policy, interviewees often expressed several key points. These key points were categorized on the basis of (a) whether or how the faculty believed the DEI policy should be implemented, and (b) the faculty's affect and tone. I categorized a key point as "Radically critical" if the interviewee (a) believed the DEI policy was inadequate regardless of how it was implemented, and (b) had a cynical or dismissive affect and tone. I categorized a key point as "Supportive" if the interviewee (a) believed the DEI policy was appropriate and was open to various forms of implementation, and (b) had a positive, enthusiastic affect and tone. I categorized a key point as "Ambivalent" if the interviewee (a) believed the DEI policy might be inappropriate, depending on how it is implemented, and (b) had a concerned or uncertain affect and tone. Lastly, I categorized a key point as "Opposed" if the interviewee (a) believed the policy was inappropriate because of how it would be implemented, and (b) had a suspicious or resentful affect and tone.

In the following table, I show how the key points in each of the four categories (i.e., radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, opposed) differ by (a) emotions conveyed, (b) non-verbal cues, and (c) verbal cues.

Table 3. Categorization Criteria

	RADICALLY CRITICAL	SUPPORTIVE	AMBIVALENT	OPPOSED
Emotions	cynicism, pessimism, disappointment, disillusionment, frustration	enthusiasm, optimism, gratitude, joy, happiness	hesitation, confusion, worry, uncertainty	resentment, irritation, sarcasm, frustration, suspicion, worry, fear
Non-verbal Cues	eye rolls, sighs	smiles, nods, applause	fidgeting, extended pauses, stuttering	furrowed brow, crossed arms, shaking head
Verbal Cues	"I used to be hopeful," "No one cares," "It won't make a difference," "It's all superficial"	"Absolutely!" "I'm encouraged by…" "It makes a lot of sense," "That's completely reasonable"	"On the one hand, on the other hand," "I'm not sure," "Let me think about that," "In theory…but in practice…"	"I don't like that," "That goes too far," "That's not ok," "It creates more harm than good" "It's not worth it"

After categorizing key points, I added them to a composite/master table containing all of the key points made by all of the interviewees regarding each DEI policy. I placed the key points under their respective categories (i.e., radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, opposed). The goal here was to understand the key points that fell under each category, specifically to gain a deeper understanding of how the corpus of key points expressed under each category related to one another and differed from the key points expressed in the other categories.

Categorizing Key Points

Below is an example of an interviewee's full response to the question, "Should there be a list or a training or workshop to raise awareness of microaggressions?"

Interviewee:

> "Should they release a list of microaggressions? I don't know. I have really mixed feelings about releasing a list. I'm not sure, I think that's a very complex question and not one that I think we can do justice to. I think certainly we need to be having conversations about what constitutes microaggressions, but I don't think we'll come to agreement. First of all, I'm really wary of the university as an institution. I don't really grant the moral authority of this institution to tell me what is and isn't a microaggression. Now that said, is there some value for us to collectively agree about what does and does not constitute microaggression and for us to spread awareness about that? Absolutely, I'm 100% behind that, but I worry about the university as an institution appointing itself the arbiter."

Here is how each key point within the full response was categorized:[68]

Key point #1: "Should they release a list of microaggressions? I don't know. I have really mixed feelings about releasing a list. I'm not sure, I think that's a very complex question and not one that I think we can do justice to."

- Category: Ambivalent

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[68] Multiple key points raised in one full response were placed into the same category because they each conveyed a distinct idea.

Key point #2: "I think certainly we need to be having conversations about what constitutes microaggressions, but I don't think we'll come to agreement."

- Category: Ambivalent

Key point #3: "First of all, I'm really wary of the university as an institution. I don't really grant the moral authority of this institution to tell me what is and isn't a microaggression."

- Category: Opposed

Key point #4: "Now that said, is there some value for us to collectively agree about what does and does not constitute microaggression and for us to spread awareness about that? Absolutely, I'm 100% behind that, but I worry about the university as an institution appointing itself the arbiter."

- Category: Ambivalent

Organizing Key Points by Theme[69]

After I categorized all of the key points and placed them in the composite/master

table, I grouped them under higher-order headings, or themes. Here, the aim was to

consolidate the key points under each category by 'collapsing' similar ideas into broader

themes. Each theme represented the overarching idea that a group of key points held in

common.

Using the previous example, here are the themes that were assigned to each of the

interviewee's key points:

Key point #1: "Should they release a list of microaggressions? I don't know. I have really

mixed feelings about releasing a list. I'm not sure, I think that's a very complex question

and not one that I think we can do justice to."

- Category: Ambivalent

- Theme: *Microaggressions are a complex issue that is hard to capture with lists*

Here are three examples of other key points under the theme, '*Microaggressions are a

complex issue that is hard to capture with lists*':

Example # 1: "If an incident happens that falls into a recognized list, it's taken

more seriously than one that typically wouldn't be officially recognized."

Example # 2: "The problem is one has to create a situation where the training is

sensitive to the complexity of the issue, so the problem with the list beyond,

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[69] Although multiple key points in a given response could be placed in the same category, those key points could not be placed under the same theme, because doing so would create redundancy. Thus, on the rare occasion that an interviewee raised multiple key points that fell under not only the same category, but also the same theme, the key points were combined with a "…" between them, to ensure that the key points in each theme would reflect the ideas of different interviewees.

'Here's some case examples you might not have thought of,' is that people might

start thinking, 'Well, all those things are bad,' (which they're not), or anything

else is good, so it's one of these things where, how do you teach understanding?

Example # 3: "If you don't have an empathic relation with someone, then the

behaviors people object to are things where you don't even realize the things are

objectionable, so just distributing a list of things you should and shouldn't say

doesn't address that problem and in fact it might harden opinions in an unintended

way."

Key point #2: "*I think certainly we need to be having conversations about what*

constitutes microaggressions, but I don't think we'll come to agreement."

- Category: Ambivalent

- Theme: It is difficult to reach a consensus regarding what does/does not constitute
  as a microaggression

Here are three examples of other key points under the theme, 'It is difficult to reach a

consensus regarding what does/does not constitute as a microaggression':

Example # 1: "Perhaps what needs to be preached or promoted is fostering a

culture where we all recognize we all have different things we care about, we will

at some points in communicating be unable to appreciate someone else's position

or them in one way or another, but we want to foster communication and the

ability to address it in respectful ways."

Example # 2: "Where it becomes difficult in the university setting is that there

happens to be little scope for the benefit of the doubt. I mean, the assumption

straight away is that if you use that inappropriate word or term then that's an act of bad faith rather than "That's not a word I'd use."

Example # 3: "The people who do speak out about microaggressions might be kind of labeled as snowflakes or people that are too sensitive or whatever or 'Oh, you're splitting hairs that not what I meant. You should know what I meant' or whatever."

Key point #3: "*First of all, I'm really wary of the university as an institution. I don't really grant the moral authority of this institution to tell me what is and isn't a microaggression.*"

- Category: Opposed
- Theme: The institution/administration should not be allowed to decide what does/does not constitute as a microaggression

Here are three examples of other key points under the theme, 'It is difficult to reach a consensus regarding what does/does not constitute as a microaggression':

Example # 1: "Have you read George Orwell's *1984*? I, for one, I would be very careful about the first thing because this is like asking the university administration to impose something down. I don't like that. I may sound like I'm politically incorrect, but I would say that restricts academic freedom."

Example # 2: "I definitely value that we need to get more and more sensitive about targeting specific attributes, those kinds of attributes of people and slurs but, on the other hand this whole idea of 'You were saying something that hurts someone,' you see what I'm saying? That to me seems like I can make a joke that

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can be perceived offensive, but if you want the university to adjudicate that kind of thing, where are you going to stop?"

Example # 3: "These may be very small things where in some cases I don't think administrative action is warranted. I think they cause damage, but there are certain forms of damages or conflict where you have an administrative process to resolve them and they make it worse rather than simply finding another way to deal with it."

Key point #4: "*Now that said, is there some value for us to collectively agree about what does and does not constitute microaggression and for us to spread awareness about that? Absolutely, I'm 100% behind that, but I worry about the university as an institution appointing itself the arbiter*."

- Category: Ambivalent
- Theme: Informal, interpersonal strategies are preferable to formal, institutional policies

Here are three examples of other key points under the theme, 'Informal, interpersonal strategies are preferable to formal, institutional policies':

Example # 1: "Part of me says, I think it's a very good idea to talk about it and say, 'These things can happen' and provide, let's say, workshops or training if you want, so over your career you may want to enroll in these awareness workshops, but going toward establishing policies, I'm a little bit skeptical because I believe the damage could be more than the benefit."

Example # 2: "I think education is good, what we're doing in these later years understanding all these subconscious biases we have, so I think this has more value in my mind than trying to form a committee and saying, 'Now we're going to codify all of this.'"

Example # 3: "I think that it's very hard to legislate for them, that's one thing I would say. I think it's hard for the university to legislate that. Many times, they're things that are not easily – most of the time when there's a problem that can be solved by the university, there has to be evidence and it has to be of a certain kind, and that's the kind of thing that's very difficult to do that with. I think it's probably more on the level of certain types of awareness that one can have of that."

Categorizing Entire Responses and Faculty

Once all of the key points within a given response were categorized, I categorized the interviewee's *entire* response as "Supportive," "Radically critical," "Ambivalent," or "Opposed," depending on how the key points had been categorized. Importantly, to prevent myself from being influenced by knowledge of how faculty responded to other DEI policies, I coded entire responses policy by policy rather than faculty by faculty. In addition, the reason I categorized key points within responses before categorizing entire responses was so I could examine the specific reasons the interviewees cited to justify their claims about whether or how DEI policies should be implemented.

Once all of the key points within each interviewee's response to each DEI policy were categorized, I categorized the *full responses* as "Radically critical," "Supportive," "Ambivalent," or "Opposed" based on (a) the category/categories of the key points within the response, (b) the placement of key points relative to one another, and (c) the overall affect and tone of the response.

For most responses, the majority of the key points fell under the same category and the entire response was categorized accordingly. However, when the majority of the key points did not fall under one category, I relied on the relative importance and placement of the key points. For example, an interviewee's final key point often conveyed the main message to take away from the response and was weighed more heavily when deciding how to categorize the full response.

A final factor I considered when determining how to categorize entire responses was the overall affect/tone. Was the interviewee cynical and pessimistic (indicating that

the entire response should be categorized as "Radically Critical"), hopeful and optimistic (indicating that the full response should be categorized as "Supportive"), hesitant and worried (indicating that the full response should be categorized as "Ambivalent"), or resentful and irritated (indicating that the full response should be categorized as "Opposed")? In general, the category assigned to the entire response reflected the affect and tone that was expressed with the greatest intensity and frequency.

Full response example #1:

Category: Supportive

"I'd be totally in favor of expanding people's linguistic understanding of those ideas, like phrases that might be considered microaggression. My one concern would be codifying that so people would be afraid, that it would sort of shut down conversation, but just to say, 'Here are some things that could be interpreted,' it just depends on how it's deliberated. I would love the training part because I think what we have found at least in my area is that people don't have the language to talk about this stuff and then no one talks and then people perceive nonresponse in one way and so I think people in my department have even talked about doing more intensive training around these issues either to talk about the idea of positionality, which is an idea we talk a lot about or just to respectfully engage in things that are difficult topics."

Full Response Example #2:

Category: Radically Critical

"The concept is real and includes things like POC being mistaken for one another even though they look totally different or faculty of color being mistaken as undergrads. I appreciate that there's a name for it, but I've also heard, one of my colleagues has pointed out, that they're also not micro they're macro. Perhaps using that language minimizes the symbolic violence that those interactions actually do. I used to be a lot more optimistic about the possibility that people had a higher consciousness of this or learned that this existed and is real might engage in microaggressions less frequently. What I've seen from research and real life is I don't think that there's empirical data that that actually happens. EDI has become such an industry in which you just pay people like a lot of money to make these trainings or be consultants who come in. Maybe they don't work because people who have privileges are very unwilling to acknowledge that and relinquish them. I know of one department that has had these kinds of sensitivity trainings about gender and race in particular and some of the people who are the worst offenders just don't show up. When you do fulfill it, then it becomes a box that was checked off like now we've fulfilled this requirement, now we don't have to do anything else. How do you assess the impact of that training? It becomes a way for the institution to not be liable because, well, they offered the training. I think some people don't understand that there's a difference between trying to mitigate their active engagement of microaggressions vs. actively trying to dismantle things like structural white supremacy. There's a difference between 'I'm going to try not to

be terrible' vs. 'I'm going to try to actually dismantle this like system of unequal power.'"

Full Response Example #3:

Category: Ambivalent

"I mean a lot of this stuff seems to me, is just good manners. It's just politeness. I don't think people should go out of their way to insult people and upset them and I actually think most people, most of the time are happy to hear when people say "Don't use that it happens to be upsetting," I think most of the time some kind of heads up or warning about this is fine. I think it's good to be made aware of the language you use. I mean I've got friends who will say, "You know, you shouldn't say that" and then I'm happy to adjust the language I use. Where it becomes difficult in the university setting is that there happens to be little scope for the benefit of the doubt. I mean, the assumption straight away is that if you use that inappropriate word or term then that's an act of bad faith rather than "That's not a word I'd use." I mean, especially in a place like ours where everybody is from all over right so we're very international. We are diverse and so people will bring to the table different understandings of words and what may be a microaggression for me may not be for you or vice versa. So, on the one hand I think it's important we're aware of these and not upset each other and recognize the language we use, and on the other hand there has to be some sort of benefit of the doubt so we don't say right from the outset that somebody is out – that shouldn't be the first assumption."

Full Response Example #4:

Category: Opposed

"I guess my first impression about microaggressions was, 'For god sake, people are worried about this kind of trivial shit?' That was my first impression, and like, 'Move on.' And since then, I think I've opened up to the legitimacy of the concern to some extent, but I do worry about just getting too over-sensitized to stuff and ending up missing the larger picture in terms of getting along with people and so on."

Categorizing Faculty

In the final step, I examined patterns in how individual faculty responded across DEI policies. Once I categorized all of the interviewees' full responses to all of the DEI policies, I investigated the extent that faculty responded in a categorically consistent manner across DEI policies. The greater the categorical consistency, the more reliable faculty's response patterns, suggesting that there are higher-order considerations that influence how faculty broadly think about DEI policy.

Minimizing Researcher Bias

At every point in this multi-step coding process, it was crucial that I be aware of and control for potential biases. After all, researcher bias poses a pervasive threat to the validity of the findings. In qualitative content analysis, researcher bias can take the form of selective observation and selective recording of information, as well as allowing one's personal views to affect how data are collected and interpreted (Johnson, 1997). Reflexivity is one strategy I used to address my researcher bias. This involves critical self-reflection about one's potential biases and predispositions, followed by attempts to monitor one's biases (Mantzoukas, 2005). Some researchers include a distinct section titled Researcher Bias, where they discuss their personal background, how it may affect their research, and what strategies they used to address the potential problem.

Although critical self-reflection is an admirable goal, it may not be an effective strategy for ensuring the validity of qualitative findings. After all, knowledge of biases, even the ability to recognize the impact of biases, neither prevents one from engaging in bias nor makes one aware of having been biased (Pronin, Lin, & Ross, 2002). Moreover, "naïve realism" holds that we think (or assume without thinking) that our own view of the world is especially accurate and is shared by others who are seeking the truth (Ward, Ross, Reed, Turiel, & Brown, 1997). In light of social psychological evidence on cognitive and motivational biases that compromise our inferences and judgments (see, e.g., Dawes, 1998; Gilovich, Griffin, & Kahneman, 2002; Nisbett & Ross, 1980; Plous, 1993), it did not seem judicious to write a Researcher Bias section. Instead, I will allow

readers to decide for themselves how well I have controlled my biases based on how accurately I have portrayed the issues and the data.

Another strategy I used to reduce bias was negative case sampling (Johnson, 1997). I attempted carefully and purposively to search for examples that disconfirmed my expectations and explanations. Specifically, I tried to identify key points that did not fit easily into any category, or theme within a category, under the existing coding system. When I identified such key points, then used them to revise the coding system accordingly. The utility of this approach is that it became difficult to ignore important information and forced me to generate a more credible and defensible coding system.

A related matter is interpretative validity—the extent that the interviewees' thoughts, feelings, and experiences are accurately understood and described by the researcher (Johnson, 1997). To understand the interviewees' perceptions, and to accurately describe these perceptions, required me to take the perspective of each interviewee, to look at the issue through his or her eyes, to see and feel what he or she sees and feels. During the interviews, I repeated and paraphrased interviewees' statements to demonstrate and ensure that I had an accurate understanding of the ideas they wished to convey.

If, as Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain, the goal of phenomenological research is to offer a glimpse into another person's perceptual world, then I must attempt to offset the bias and subjectivity that might creep into any attempt at interpreting interview data. Thus, two faculty members who were not involved in any other aspects of the study were invited to review the final table, identifying themes that belonged in other categories and

key points that belonged either in other themes within or outside of that category. I then adjusted the categories, themes, and key points accordingly. The aim of this stage was to attempt to enhance the validity of the coding system and to guard against researcher bias.

One of the greatest difficulties with qualitative research is finding a way to present the findings in an honest and reliable way. Perhaps the only method of presenting interview findings without any manipulation would be to offer the interview transcripts whole and unanalyzed. However, this would not be feasible, and it would leave reading having to come up with their own ways of categorizing the material. Thus, despite its limits, the chosen method of qualitative content analysis, accompanied by various steps to minimize researcher bias and maximize validity, allowed me to stay as close to the original material as possible as I identified categories and themes that furthered my and the reader's sense of the data.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

INVESTIGATING THEMES AND CONFLICTS *WITHIN* EACH DEI POLICY

The following table shows the number of faculty whose *full responses* were categorized as radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, or opposed for each DEI policy.

Table 4. Category Breakdown for Each DEI Policy

DEI Policy	Radically Critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
Microaggressions	12	16	11	15
Speech Codes	8	9	17	19
Bias Reporting	10	12	15	16
Trigger Warnings	6	12	15	16
Renaming Buildings	12	17	14	8
Removing Portraits	7	12	16	13
Banning Speakers	9	6	21	16
Bias Training	14	18	8	13
Diversity Statements	17	13	16	9
Affirmative Action	15	13	16	11

The policy that garnered the most radical criticism was diversity statements, with 17 of the 55 faculty members responding in a radically critical manner to the question, "Should applicants for faculty positions be required to write a diversity statement?" The policy that garnered the most support was bias/diversity training, with 18 of the 55 faculty members responding in a supportive manner to the question, "Should faculty be required to undergo implicit bias training?" The policy that garnered the most ambivalence was disinviting/obstructing speakers, with 21 of the 55 faculty members responding in an ambivalent manner to the question, "Should those who are upset by the views of an offensive speaker be permitted to disinvite and/or shut down the speaker?"

Lastly, the policy that garnered the most opposition was speech codes, with 19 of the 55 faculty members responding in an opposed manner to the question, "Should there be a speech code that restricts language some see as highly offensive?"

The following section provides a table on each DEI policy, immediately followed by a qualitative content analysis of the specific conflicts relevant to that policy. The tables provide an overview of the one-to-three most frequent themes (each containing five or more key points) in each category within each of the ten DEI policies. There are ten tables, one for each DEI policy. The tables are designed to provide a detailed description of how faculty perceive each DEI policy. (The tables in later sections provide a detailed description of each category of faculty's perceptions.)

Immediately after the table on each DEI policy, I explain specific conflicts that emerged among the themes within that policy. These conflicts offer key insights regarding the reasons why faculty are divided on each DEI policy. The specific conflicts reveal the areas where faculty are directly at odds with one another, where the statements made by some faculty are mutually exclusive with the statements made by other faculty. Each side of the conflict is represented by at least five faculty. Elucidation of these conflicts is crucial for understanding why these policies are highly contentious and for hopefully reaching mutual agreement regarding whether (and if so how) DEI policies should be implemented.

Table 5. Most Common Themes for Microaggressions

Microaggressions			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
The institution just offers superficial rhetoric and perpetuates systemic racism *People won't change, they don't understand the harm they inflict*	*It is important for everyone to understand and be aware of microaggressions* *There needs to be a collective effort to be better as a community* *It is important to take others' perspectives and consider one's own positionality*	*There are Type I and Type II errors: people might not believe when a microaggression occurred when it did, and people might believe a microaggression occurred when it did not* *It is good to raise awareness, but not in a way that makes forces people or makes them defensive* *Faculty should try to engage in more constructive dialogue about what is and is not a microaggression*	*Fears and accusations of engaging in microaggressions shut down conversation* *Microaggressions are unintentional and benign* *The administration should not be allowed to decide what is and is not a microaggression*

Specific Conflict: Whether it is possible to reach a consensus regarding the definition of a microaggression

Belief A: People can reach a consensus regarding what language/behavior constitutes as a microaggression.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"It is important that people understand what microaggressions look like, how language and what we decide to use is either inclusive or exclusive, or deriding of people's identities, and so forth."

"Is there some value for us to collectively agree about what does and does not constitute microaggression and for us to spread awareness about that? Absolutely, I'm 100% behind that."

Belief B: People can NOT reach a consensus regarding what language/behavior constitutes as a microaggression.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"I'd say that it's one of the categories that is the most complicated because these you know I think the difficulty with a microaggression is that it's as much a function of the observer as the instigator and the exact same interaction with a different observer is not a microaggression."

"Microaggressions are really in the eye of the beholder. It's really this sort of nebulous, very difficult to get at. Someone's microaggression is simply someone else's behavior, so it's just extremely hard to give a firm hard rule about what is a microaggression and what is not."

Specific Conflict: Whether to mandate workshops/trainings

Belief A: It is necessary to mandate microaggression workshops/trainings because if it is voluntary, the worst offenders will not participate.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I actually think it should be mandated. I think a lot of people do it, especially when you have, not that I want to be ageist, but you have the older faculty who sort of came up in a different age. I think young people right now live in a different world, they're more aware. There was a time 20, 30 years ago when young heterosexual men would never hang out with someone who was gay, but today it's sort of different, they tolerate more and they're more understanding. I think our younger generation is more sensitive to these issues. I think the older generation is not so sensitive and they just don't like being called out on it."

"Yes I do think that would be a good idea [to mandate] because I think it's about behavior and how people treat each other and the social norms of how we treat each other and some of that relates to reeducating people of things they grew up with or things they've been doing for a lot of their lives that maybe are no longer as acceptable as they used to be."

Belief B: It is unproductive, even counterproductive, to mandate microaggression workshops/trainings because people will become resentful and even more unwilling to understand/change
- Belief expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"To answer your question, yes, I think it is very valuable. Whether it's required or not, I don't know."

"There's actually quite a bit of social science research that shows that when you require things, you produce negative effects so I would probably be more in support of encouraging it and presenting it or creating a situation where it's the normative thing to do."

Specific Conflict: Whether social norms are established through top-down or bottom-up processes

Belief A: The administration shapes social norms and has the responsibility to do so.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"For the UC to take that on – for any institution to take it on and acknowledge microaggressions – is necessarily to understand that minorities, people of color, the oppressed in general, not only have a voice but have another avenue of redress when do feel threatened or when they do feel discriminated against. I see it as a legal term, and in that sense very powerful."

"I think anything systemwide would be great, especially the UC because I think we set a standard for inclusivity."

Belief B: The administration cannot shape social norms; members of the academic community need to do that through constructive discourse and mutual respect.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"Perhaps what needs to be preached or promoted is fostering a culture where we all recognize we all have different things we care about, we will at some points in communicating be unable to appreciate someone else's position or them in one way or another, but we want to foster communication and the ability to address it in respectful ways."

"Where it becomes difficult in the university setting is that there tends to be little scope for the benefit of the doubt. I mean, the assumption straight away is that if you use that inappropriate word or term, then that's an act of bad faith rather than that that's not a word I'd use. Especially in a place like ours where everybody is from all over, we're very international, we are diverse and so people will bring to the table different understandings of words and what may be a microaggression for me may not be for you or vice versa."

Specific Conflict: The effects of becoming aware of one's language

Belief A: Encouraging people to think more about their language leads them to be more sensitive to how others feel.
   - Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Part of the human coexistence is always fraught by difference, but it's also true that we can try to be reflective about how those differences are operating. Disrespect hurts, we're social creatures, and if we're social creatures then disrespect hurts. If you start from that starting point, for me that's been a useful way of encouraging self-awareness.

"I don't know whether it's true, but rolling your eyes when a woman speaks in a meeting, it's not something one just does because someone is thinking, "oh that's wrong," but in fact when women are speaking and men do it, it's good to bring this up and say, "Look, there's this behavior and if you notice, you never do it towards anybody else, and so it's not really an expression of you listening but rather it's an expression that you're not even going to listen," then you can show that maybe it's something the person should think about."

Belief B: Encouraging people to think more about their language leads them to self-censor because they feel afraid of being labeled/called out.
   - Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"In academia, remember what we do, by the nature of what we do, ideas have to be flowing, and the only way to communicate ideas is to go on to talk to your colleagues.

But if when you're talking to your colleagues, you're thinking, "I shouldn't offend, I should bring this, or the policy I learned say this behavior is not ok."

"Ok, so the first word that pops into my prefrontal cortex is cynicism. This is the stuff of late-night comedy. Bill Maher really gets off on all this: "trigger warnings," and "safe spaces" and "microaggressions," "every dept. should be well-stocked with smelling salts because you know, 'Oh he looked at me the wrong way.'" I mean it's the stuff of late-night comedy. What have we raised, a generation of people who are so hypersensitive that it really makes you think twice about saying anything at all because, "My god, what if it's a microaggression?"

Specific Conflict: The severity/impact of microaggressions on the perceiver

Belief A: Microaggressions cause severe psychological distress and negative outcomes.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Underrepresented faculty (particularly black faculty) constantly tell me how they are placed under unusual forms of surveillance, under suspicion the whole time – suspicion that they might not be good enough, suspicion that the work that they're teaching is less valuable that their standards will not be as high."

"We need to be aware, especially because we're social scientists, that barriers and not feeling welcomed and feeling excluded can make people perform worse in classes, can make people drop out, cause all these unintended consequences, so I see my role as a faculty member is to try to not do that."

Belief B: Microaggressions are commonplace, minor annoyances.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"I guess my first impression about microaggressions was, "For god sake, people are worried about this kind of trivial shit?" That was my first impression, and like, "Move on." And since then, I think I've opened up to the legitimacy of the concern to some extent, but I do worry about just getting too over-sensitized to stuff and ending up missing the larger picture in terms of getting along with people and so on."

"I don't know, for me it's sometimes difficult to have a separate category of things which I mean, we have this concept of not insulting each other right and I that is an accepted social norm that we don't insult each other."

Specific Conflict: How to cultivate understanding

Belief A: People can understand microaggressions as a result of learning about them.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Getting the workshop on microaggressions was, we always roll our eyes a little bit when it's these mandatory workshops, but you know it was like, yeah, that makes sense. I get cranky when little things like that happen to me. What if they happened all the time?"

"You can imagine how frustrating, we [white males] have no idea how often especially African Americans but other minorities, people of color, whatever, are cut off, ignored, all these little things that are almost below the threshold of perception if you're not attuned to them."

Belief B: People can NOT understand microaggressions as a result of learning about them.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"I think some people don't understand that there's a difference between trying to mitigate their active engagement of microaggressions vs. actively trying to dismantle things like structural white supremacy. There's a difference between "I'm going to try not to be terrible" vs. "I'm going to try to actually dismantle this like system of unequal power.""

"There's an artist friend of mine, we were on a panel together, and he had mentioned that "I'm just waiting for all of you to die," because it's the young generations who are more open to that. I'm not sure there are policies that can overcome that, to be honest with you."

Specific Conflict: How to change behavior

Belief A: People change [their language/behavior] as a result of learning about microaggressions because they become aware of how it affects others.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I tell my students, "I'm constantly being educated as well and there will be times when I'm going to make a mistake and the power dynamic needs to be such that you

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feel equally comfortable to call me out and say, 'When you say that or when you express it that way,' and I'm good with that."

"I think it's good to be made aware of the language you use. I've got friends who will say, 'You know, you shouldn't say that,' and then I'm happy to adjust the language I use."

Belief B: People do NOT change [their language/behavior] as a result of learning about microaggressions because they don't care about how it affects others.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"I used to be a lot more optimistic about the possibility that people had a higher consciousness of this or learned that this existed and is real might engage in microaggressions less frequently. What I've seen from research and real life is I don't think that there's empirical data that that actually happens."

"Maybe trainings don't work because people who have privileges are very unwilling to acknowledge that and relinquish them. I know of one department that has had these kinds of sensitivity trainings about gender and race in particular and some of the people who are the worst offenders just don't show up. When you do fulfill it, then it becomes a box that was checked off like, 'Now we've fulfilled this requirement, now we don't have to do anything else.'"

Table 6. Most Common Themes for Speech Codes

Speech Codes			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
Harmful language is part of a larger problem that needs to be addressed	*Intentional use of uncivil, dehumanizing language should not be tolerated* *The institution has the duty to respond and set rules about what language is and is not acceptable*	*It is difficult to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable language because certain things are protected by free speech* *Norms that encourage respectful discourse are preferable to a formal code*	*Protecting free speech and academic freedom are more important than protecting people from being offended* *Administrators are overreaching by implementing a speech code*

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: The effects of speech codes on the learning environment

Belief A: Offensive language/hate speech causes harm, and that prevents students from learning.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"A professor's freedom of speech is completely subordinate to our ethical pedagogic mission to educate all of our students and have every one of them feel empowered, appreciated, encouraged, and never ever belittled. People who come from backgrounds where they're routinely belittled, they don't need still more of it, especially in a so-called learning environment."

"That's really important. It would be a sad educational outcome if students weren't learning simply because of the language people use unknowingly. That's a crude reason for education to be undermined."

Belief B: When people are afraid that their views will be offensive, they self-censor and that prevents students from learning.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"I would go a long way in terms of offensive speech to make sure people on a university campus don't worry about speaking unpopular thoughts, even if I don't agree with the person."

"We need to be careful prescribing language, making it standard practice. Being on campus means exploring language, opinions, possibilities. If there's infringement, there's also question of academic freedom. Academic freedom is more valuable than providing a safe space for everyone."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: Whether social norms are established through top-down or bottom-up processes

Belief A: Administrators need to encourage positive social norms by setting boundaries for acceptable speech.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I don't think it's necessarily bad to have specific policies precisely because sometimes it might happen that people behave in ways which any other remedy other than the institution is not possible and if the institution does not have an explicit rule about it, it's very hard for the institution to do anything about it."

"The UCs say that those types of speaking about others, epithets, are against the Principles of Community. If language, behavior, speech affects the climate, we need to focus on how the climate is being affected by the use of language to deride others."

Belief B: There should already be social norms that preclude the need for administrative involvement/mandates.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"University should have a culture where people engage in good-faith behavioral practices, not codes, rules, checkboxes."

"A fine person said, 'Certain things should not be regulated,' so there's a certain failure of culture and education if you need to regulate these things."

Specific Conflict: How to address offensive language

Belief A: Offensive language is best addressed by creating a formal code with penalties.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"It would make it easier in class to just say "We don't allow that kind of language," and point to speech code when a student is inappropriate."

"If someone submits something littered with hate speech, I have to address that. It would be helpful to have language to put in that discussion inside a container with certain things, sanctioned by university policy."

Belief B: Offensive language is best addressed by creating informal guidelines with recommendations.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"It's fine if couched in a way that says, 'These are terms that some groups may find offensive and we recommend that you be careful'"

"I don't think you want to ban the usage of certain words, but on the other hand, there's clear language people shouldn't use, but I'm not sure having a list of words that people are not allowed to use is the right way to go about things so I think it was maybe more useful in terms of these trainings, so basically educate people about what terms might be considered offensive."

Table 7. Most Common Themes for Bias Reporting Systems

Bias Reporting Systems			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
The issues are institutional/systemic, not individual	*More information about bias incidents is helpful for educating the academic community* *Anonymous report forms help people feel safe reporting* *Follow-up procedures involving the accused party may be necessary to ensure behavioral change*	*There needs to be greater transparency about how the reporting systems operate* *Those who are accused should be able to defend themselves and the team should be able to use all available data to determine whether a bias incident did or did not occur*	*Reporting systems are unnecessary surveillance* *Administrators are not qualified to evaluate reports in a fair and just way*

Specific Conflict: The purpose of bias reports[70]

Belief A: Bias reports are useful for data collection purposes, to know what's being reported but not act on it.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

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[70] This conflict is particularly interesting because the conflicting beliefs are both in the supportive category. Thus, some faculty may be supportive of bias reporting systems for reasons that conflict with the reasons other faculty are supportive of bias reporting systems. This suggests that there is a lot of ambiguity surrounding bias reporting systems.

"I think the forms are good for data collection, helping DEI initiatives on campus, to see that reporting, to get a fuller sense of things people are seeing and perceiving on campus. That can help with thinking about the most effective ways to improve climate on campus"

"It would make things out in the open and create opportunities for people. In a way, that right now if you saw some sort of passing or glancing bias, there really isn't a mechanism to say something and bring it out in the open and I do think in the end that people do see themselves as being fair people who are inclusive and so the more opportunities you give people to recognize that they're not [the better]"

Belief B: Bias reports are useful for intervention purposes, to identify when something problematic happens/is happening and to get involved (e.g., in search committees)
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Black face discussion, Virginia governor – without social media, info tech, people wouldn't have known about issue, it would've been published in local paper. It allowed the governor to confront implicit bias, it might make him a much better man. He could become part of the solution. If he doesn't, you have evidence to put him out"

"It's important for the university to know if something's wrong. It's the only way to find out, follow up, review what's going on, uncover, correct, close down a search."

Specific Conflict: Anonymous reporting

Belief A: Anonymity is important for allowing people to feel safe reporting bias incidents.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Need anonymity because power dynamics, potential retaliation"

"It's important to have venues where people submit anonymously; it's an outlet, people are empowered."

Belief B: Anonymity is problematic/dangerous because people are uninhibited when allowed to hide behind a computer screen.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"I hate anonymous accusations, there's no justice"

"With anonymity – internet, worst violence, very scary"

Specific Conflict: Whether administrators are able/qualified to make bias determinations

Belief A: Administrators are able/qualified to determine whether an incident of bias occurred because they have a formal, trustworthy process.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I trust that response teams know how to handle issues appropriately"

"It's like Title IX. I find it very sensible because if something is genuinely problematic at level sufficient to bring institutional response, then they do, or they may say, "It was unwise, it was not a good way of putting things, the person is not perfect, nobody's perfect." It's a bureaucratic system, sometimes you roll your eyes, there's paperwork burden, ass covering, but fair enough, it's a small price to pay"

Belief B: Administrators are unable/unqualified to determine whether an incident of bias occurred because they are biased and were not present.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"People usually put in task forces usually not trained, not scientists, don't know the tools, the concept, application becomes arbitrary ridiculous, not related to origin of what research shows"

"It's hard to imagine bureaucracy able to sort mature, subtle discussion of tricky matters"

Specific Conflict: Whether the institution should respond to bias incidents

Belief A: The institution has the responsibility to intervene and enforce community values.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If you don't have ways to capture that, you're allowing it to exist, having people continually experience behaviors, contexts counter to institution, unaddressed."

"If you're only waiting for things to be reported, you'll will miss a lot. We need a mandatory campus wide survey, direct energy accordingly."

Belief B: The institution does not have the right to intervene and issues can/should be resolved between individuals.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"These issues can be resolved between individuals."

"Initial inclination is for the student to talk to the prof directly, but I understand that's scary."

Themes and Conflicts Involving Trigger Warnings

Table 8. Most Common Themes for Trigger Warnings

Trigger Warnings			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
Trigger warnings are themselves triggering	*Professors should ensure that students are not triggered* *It is appropriate for professors to allow students to opt out of learning certain material*	*A formal trigger warning may not be necessary if the professor just creates a comfortable, open environment* *It is hard to know whether the right pedagogical solution is to require students to learn the content or to allow them to opt out*	*Students need to learn how to approach difficult topics in a rational way* *Students should be already prepared to learn difficult material when they voluntarily sign up for a course*

Specific Conflict: The nature of a trigger warning

Belief A: Trigger warnings should involve a formal notice in advance with an explicit statement that students are not required to attend if they find the topic too sensitive.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If you cover subject someone may have been victimized by, you want to warn them, give them freedom to not be in class that day if it's going to be a trigger."

"From the first day I started teaching, I've focused on trigger warnings, prepared them when I cover material or a topic that might create PTSD for an experience they had."

Belief B: Trigger warnings should involve a casual "heads up" regarding the sensitive topic that will be discussed, followed by an open discussion of the topic.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"It's fine to say, "I'm going to say something controversial" then don't worry about what's discussed."

"It depends on the topic. I err towards just putting it out there that some students might find the subject matter difficult."

Specific Conflict: Whether students should be permitted to opt out

Belief A: Students should be permitted to opt out of classes/assignments that involve sensitive topics – they should not be forced to relive a trauma or experience something that will be traumatizing.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I led a course involving gruesome material and trigger-warned students the week before what it was, that it's not required, that they can check out without any impact on their grades. I didn't want them to be traumatized (which can happen – a person was traumatized 20 years ago, and I was like, "I'm going to make sure that doesn't happen")."

"A professor might not know they triggered someone, but it's still their responsibility, they owe it to students to have awareness, sensitivity, to create an environment where students thrive. I don't want them to feel like they're having great day until came to class."

Belief B: Students should NOT be permitted to opt out of classes/assignments that involve sensitive topics – they knew what would be covered when they signed up for the course, and college is about learning to deal with difficult topics.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"Students should know what they're signing up for, they don't have to take the course."

"I say, 'This is a creative activity that involves conflict, and that's got to be something you can accept or you're in the wrong class.' I don't allow students to selectively opt out—they're in or out."

Themes and Conflicts Involving Renaming Buildings

Table 9. Most Common Themes for Renaming Buildings

Renaming Buildings			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
If you erase history, it can repeat or perpetuate oppression	*It is necessary to remove names of people who supported slavery or were otherwise oppressive* *It is necessary to remove names of people the university community no longer wishes to honor*	*It is a difficult decision that requires a case-by-case discussion of multiple factors* *It is difficult to set criteria because the past is different from the present*	*There is no logical endpoint if people start renaming any building named after someone who did something bad* *It is important to consider the historical context and the value of the person's contributions*

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: The symbolic meaning of having a building named after someone

Belief A: Having a building named after someone means that the person should be honored in the present. It should change based on that standard.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"When you decide to keep something named after someone, you're reaffirming that the person is worth celebrating."

"As a Marxist, history is dialectical, processual, reflects the consciousness of the time."

Belief B: Having a building named after someone means that the person was honored in the past, regardless of the present. It's a historical fact that does not change based on present views.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"The campus, institution, was built on a particular demographic that's not how we see ourselves now. Some had opinions of their time, generation that weren't always be nice to people, but they built this institution we're now recrafting."

"It's a disservice to students to take down markers of the history of people who were glorious in the past, but not glorious by present views."

Specific Conflict: Whether owning slaves is grounds to decide that someone should not be honored.

Belief A: Anyone who owned slaves, was complicit in the slave trade, or supported the confederacy should have their names removed from buildings, regardless of who they are.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If you have a building named after a slave owner, you should change it."

"For god's sake, we don't have to celebrate James C. Calhoun and Robert E. Lee and if it offends some people who claim they're 'Making America great again,' tough noogies, a lot of other people got offended because they were enslaved."

Belief B: Many important/influential people in our nation's history (e.g., presidents, founding fathers) owned slaves but should not have their names removed from buildings.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"It's hard because the founding fathers owned slaves."

"Slavery was economic. There was racism, but the Civil War hinged on economics. The country may not have flourished without slavery."

Specific Conflict: The effects of being reminded about dark aspects of our nation's history

Belief A: It is necessary to remove reminders of dark aspects of our nation's history because they cause pain and make people feel unwelcomed.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"The stars and bars are to black people what the swastika is to Jewish people."

"It's a problem if a black person feels hurt walking by confederate soldier. We have to listen."

Belief B: It is necessary to keep reminders of dark aspects of our nation's history because that way people will not deny or repeat what happened.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"I don't want history to go away because that creates room for denial that it happened."

"You can't undo history. Sometimes by renaming stuff we can pretend. It's a better reminder to keep the name, the image, to show people what we're coming from rather than pretending nothing happened. That could lower sensitivity toward the issue."

Themes and Conflicts Involving Removing Portraits

Table 10. Most Common Themes for Removing Portraits

Removing Portraits			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
Portraits should be kept as a reminder, an impetus for change	*The portraits send a negative message and make people feel like they are not welcome*	*There should be a discussion about how to compromise or reach a practical solution*	*White men have made important contributions and shouldn't be judged negatively just because of their race and gender* *We should not erase history*

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: Whether people's thoughts and emotions about the portraits should influence the decision to remove them

Belief A: The portraits should be removed because they make people feel unwelcomed.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I went to an Ivy League, and everywhere you look there's a white dude who looks like a white dude next to him. It's annoying, it makes you feel like you're not part of the legacy."

"Departments should ask themselves why they have portraits up. If it's for history, I'd argue that it makes people feel unwelcome, like they don't belong, could never become chair."

Belief B: The portraits should not be removed because they're a historical fact, regardless of how they make people feel.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"It's paternalistic to say, "I'm not going to expose you to things that were really bad in past b/c curtail chances of becoming..." I would rather have the opinion, "This is what happened up to now," understand why, have new generations where we have remedial measures, be patient with history because portraits will change in a few years. I understand the arguments [for removing portraits], at some point they have validity, but I'm against paternalistic policies."

"I'm against the idea of removing history when history doesn't go as we wish."

Table 11. Most Common Themes for Disinviting/Obstructing Speakers

Disinviting/Obstructing Speakers			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
People should not speak if they abuse their power or represent something problematic *The university legitimizes the speaker by providing a platform*	*Do not permit speech that leads to violence (directly or indirectly)* *Do not permit hate speech* *Do not permit speech that undermines the institution's commitment to DEI*	*It is difficult to establish criteria for determining whether a speaker should or should not be permitted to speak on campus* *It is important to consider the educational value of the speaker* *Administrators are in a difficult position because they will face backlash whether than allow the speaker to speak or not*	*It's important for students to learn how to debate, hear disagreeable views, and understand multiple perspectives* *Freedom of speech must be protected, even when that speech is deeply offensive*

Specific Conflict: Whether students should be exposed to offensive speakers and what are the effects of being exposed to offensive speakers

Belief A: Students should not have to be exposed to the harm inflicted by offensive speakers.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If a white nationalist speaker is coming, their cynical language I think is obviously inappropriate and it's going to be offensive to many students. On the other hand, if the talk is just about some of the rights certain groups should have and every group should have the same rights no matter black or white or other ethnicity, I think that's fine but then the problem is those speakers, you can look at their records, they're not doing that, so I think the university should decide and prevent/preempt."

"Certain groups invite certain speakers and what they're going to say is offensive to many, many students on campus, so to me if someone is going to say something that's going to offend a large group or trigger a lot of pain, I don't think, I think freedom of speech should be conditional on not harming others, so I think universities should retain that they have the power to decide whether to disinvite someone and to avoid either the silent protest or the physical conflict."

Belief B: Students should be exposed to offensive speakers and learn to debate them/rebut their views.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"I am somebody that feels like, learn how to deal with that and if you feel passionately about that, then give the alternate point of view or come armed with the facts and say, 'Here are the reasons I object to the point of view you're putting out into the world.'"

"People didn't want universities to talk about evolution in early 20th century because it was offensive, could harm people. Should we have shut down that speech because people felt harmed?"

Specific Conflict: Whether there are ideas that should not be expressed

Belief A: Certain ideas are beyond the pale and must not be permitted.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I'm not ok with someone coming to say some students dumber than others because of genetics. That's already been refuted, there's no point, it's just harmful."

"Students come in weeping that parents are illegal, don't know what they're going to do; don't want Kristen Nielson, the woman putting children in cages, to come

here and say anything; don't want that on campus; trigger for students; they don't feel safe; they already don't feel safe in their homes."

Belief B: All ideas, even the most offensive ones, should be permitted and debated on their merits.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"In a university, a universal institution, all points of view subject to debate. You may agree or disagree, but dialogue, put brain into the other person's brain. If you're unable, you're not open to college education."

"No matter what someone's opinions are (even Adolf Hitler to go to the extreme), they should be allowed to express their opinions and not have their speech interrupted."

Specific Conflict: Whether there are forms of speech that are unacceptable

Belief A: There are clearly forms of speech that are unacceptable (e.g., hate speech, oppressive speech, incitement of violence).
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I think there are cases where shouldn't people shouldn't be invited, shouldn't be allowed in the academy, like Milo or Ann Coulter because I think most of these people really promote hatred toward some people and they're actively doing this."

"I'm against speakers whose life work is destroying the lives of minoritized peoples, promoting lies: climate change deniers, science deniers, people with a history of implementing homophobic policies. They have no place at university because they undermine the educational mission of protecting students."

Belief B: It is difficult/impossible to draw the line what is vs. is not acceptable because even offensive speech may have educational value, and the offensiveness of the speech may be subjective.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"There's no line you can draw that somebody can't find a speaker that screws up your rule. I think if decency and common sense were to prevail, this issue wouldn't exist, but there are a lot of folks out there whose goal it is to confound these goals. Just

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think of one issue: Israel, Palestine. There is no speaker on the planet that one of those groups won't consider unacceptable because the space, there's no overlap, esp. if you get into BDS, there's no space there, so the only thing you can say is, "We're not going to talk about that issue," which happens to be one of the most important issues in the world."

"With Milo Yiannopoulos, a college right-wing group invited him to Berkeley to piss people off. If people do things that they know will piss people off, that's provocation space. Are they doing it for deeply held moral view? They would say yes, so the conflict is real."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: Risks of allowing vs. shutting down speech when protestors threaten violence

Belief A: Offensive speakers should be disinvited or shut down if there are threats of violence from protestors because campus safety is more important than allowing the person to speak.
-   Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If a speaker would draw protestors, counter-protestors who might start shooting at each other, admin has a greater responsibility to keep campus alive."

"I don't want Charlottesville for the sake of free speech."

Belief B: If offensive speakers are disinvited or shut down due to threats of violence, then people will be incentivized to threaten violence as a means of suppressing speech they oppose.
-   Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"If they're threatening violence, the event should be shut down, but if groups know that they'll threaten violence to get their way."

"Not about censoring speech, but threat of violence – the problem is giving in to people who threaten violence."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: How to respond to offensive speakers

Belief A: It is acceptable to protest, disinvite, or shut down provocateurs whose views are oppressive or whose only purpose is to be offensive.
-   Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I fully support uninviting, heckling, theatrical activity. When Charles Murray spoke [at Middlebury College], students used the projector to make an arrow to pointing to him as a racist. Bravo, claps, good job."

"The Irvine 11, Michael Oren, Israeli ambassador to US. Palestinians, Palestinian rights supporters thought Oren involved in tremendous human rights violations, massacres as a military officer. He wasn't just invited to speak as representative. Independent bodies accused him of war crimes. A student coalition, Justice for Palestine, disrupted the speech, stood up, shouted, heckled. Students heckled a representative of one of most powerful states in world. Students were subsequently criminalized by district attorney of Orange Country (which has a large Zionist base). I would have fought to have Oren disinvited, not because I'm not in favor of free speech, but because inviting him wasn't to give him platform for free speech; he was invited to reproduce support for the state of Israel, by extension for stolen land, his acts. It was ok that students heckled him, they shouldn't have been penalized."

Belief B: It is better to ignore provocateurs because their goal for being offensive is to cause a scene.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"In my head I'm thinking, 'Come on students, if this guy doesn't have an audience then he's just shouting out into the air,' and that's the way to do it."

"With a revolting person like Ann Coulter, just ignore her because she wants a demonstration so she can go on Fox News and make fun of intolerant Marxist college students."

Themes and Conflicts Involving Bias/Diversity Training

Table 12. Most Common Themes for Bias/Diversity Training

Bias/Diversity Training			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
People won't change their thoughts or behavior *Trainings are just a way for the administration to pretend it's doing something*	*Training can raise awareness and educate people* *We all have implicit biases we can recognize and correct* *Bias is disproportionately directed at URMs and negatively impacts their outcomes*	*Training makes people defensive because they believe they are being told they are biased when they are not* *Trainings lead to unconstructive discourse among faculty*	*Trainings are burdensome and unnecessary* *Trainings lead to unnecessary administrative expansion*

Specific Conflict: How to change behavior

Belief A: People change [their language/behavior] as a result of learning about bias because they become aware of how it affects others.
  - Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I think any of those kinds of trainings are just helpful for awareness, and you know, ever since I've been here, the sexual harassment training has been mandatory, that's every two years, and so much of it you go duh, who doesn't know that? who would be the idiot who doesn't know, but it doesn't hurt to be reminded, it doesn't hurt to have things brought to your attention, and so with the implicit bias again to raise awareness, to make you sensitive to, I see no problem with that."

"Training to think about those sorts of situations where you are not aware of your biases and red flags, that get you to stop and think about, "Why am I even saying that?" Skill enhancing, helping people – most people (not everybody but most) see themselves as fair and value diversity and equality and see themselves as that person so, if you get them to see when they're in the situation, to recognize a red flag that gets them to stop and think, "Am I meeting my own aspirations? Am I living up to my own ideals in this situation?" I think that's really helpful. I found it helpful. I think it's helpful when it's keyed to specific scenarios, thinking about it in terms of the search committee."

Belief B: People do NOT change [their language/behavior] as a result of learning about bias because they're in denial.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"I don't think training works on the older generation because they made up their minds, they go through motions, go to diversity workshops, bias workshops, nod heads, just sit there, then go back to search committee and it's like they had hands over ears during workshops. They don't admit they're being biased. They take whatever they say as though it's natural, real, that's the real problem."

"I'm concerned that people go through them and think others do it, not them."

Specific Conflict: Whether to mandate workshops/trainings

Belief A: It is necessary to mandate workshops/trainings because if it's voluntary, the worst offenders won't participate.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Training is needed, needs to be emphasized more and more, should mandate, require faculty to go to workshops every year."

"Workshops should be mandated, they're super helpful."

Belief B: It is unproductive, even counterproductive, to mandate workshops/trainings because people will become resentful and even more unwilling to understand/change.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"When you treat something that's fundamentally about ethics, the ethics of how we engage each other, if you make it a compliance issue, "You have to do X numbers of Y training," so if you were to have mandated training for people at some time, when they're hired as faculty or when they enter as freshmen, you're treating training, converting this ethical problem into a compliance problem, and it turns out people don't like to be compelled to do things and in a way it backfires."

"Several studies have shown that an hour or two hours after, the training does nothing, and in fact it can make things worse because employees start to feel policed, they start to feel like their behavior is being directly controlled; so it's clear that that operates as a band-aid that could make things worse."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: The effects of becoming aware of bias

Belief A: Encouraging people to think more about bias leads them to be more accurate at identifying bias when it occurs, or when they are prone to exhibit it.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"When we have a candidate giving a talk, I try to imagine them being of a different sex and a different pitched voice and see if I still am into or not into that just to do some mental exercise because there are these cultural things -- somebody has a booming deep voice and speaks in a certain way, you think of the way certain paradigms in your mind work, "oh super smart, super serious person" and then women who often have high pitched voices and not booming and maybe speak fast don't seem as, but it has nothing to do with the content, it's just the cultural associations, so I think it's good to be aware of this and try some mental gymnastics."

"Have an external member that's part of the committee, somebody who can say, "Look, you all rejected or promoted this candidate, could you address more why?" Sometimes in therapy, so let's say sometimes people have illusions of grandeur, so they try to go through the reasoning how they got to that conclusion and sometimes that helps them because they see, so something like that, it's not like you have to tell them they're wrong, but can you go through the reasoning from an external point of view and people often are reflective enough if they see the problem."

Belief B: Encouraging people to think more about bias leads them to see it everywhere/attribute to bias things that are not bias.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"What comes up a lot in faculty searches where there's 2 males and 1 female, one of the faculty members might make a criticism of the female candidate, and someone else in the room might say, "The reason you're making that criticism is because you're biased against women or the kinds of research women do," which would be the bias we're trying to get people to think about, but what I see when I watch this unfold with my colleagues is that the person who's making the allegation does so because they themselves for their own strategic reason want the female candidate to be chosen and they wouldn't have made the allegation if they didn't"

"Sometimes in discussion, certain things can be censored in that forum even though they come up when hiring – when talking about a female candidate, people think a certain comment is made because she's female"

Specific Conflict: The format/structure of training

Belief A: Bias training should be more frequent and more intense (i.e., mandatory and in person rather than online) or else people will not learn/change.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"They happen too infrequently and because they happen infrequently, every single time I've been to training sessions, they're always f*cking white men who are really resistant to the point of rudeness to whoever's leading the session, which to me is odd b/c ostensibly we're at a university and I imagine my colleagues to be progressive, but they're usually from the sciences and they always consider themselves to be apolitical because that has something to do with 'objectivity.'"

"It needs to be consistent and constant, or else again it runs the risk of creating a stupid reactionary behavior or in employees of something like Sephora, that's a corporation coming down on them, so it becomes impersonalized in some ways."

Belief B: Bias training should be less frequent and more convenient (i.e., voluntary) or else they are too burdensome.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"Weigh the costs of enforcing, requiring – time, resources, general perceived burden."

"I have concerns about impositions on faculty, grad students, students – the less regulation the better, up to a point."

Table 13. Most Common Themes for Diversity Statements

Diversity Statements			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
Diversity statements are just a way for the university to make itself look diverse without doing anything *Diversity statements should be taken more seriously by committees*	*Diversity statements are good because they send the message that work at a university, faculty need to value DEI* *Diversity is not about the person's race and gender, it's about what the person does* *Diversity IS about the person's race and gender BECAUSE it influences what the person does*	*Diversity statements are difficult to evaluate using a standardized rubric* *Diversity statements should be considered along with other materials*	*Prioritizing diversity statements when evaluating candidates undermines academic excellence* *There should be less focus on the race and gender of candidates in their statements*

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: Whether the focus of the diversity statement is identity or action[71]

Belief A: The diversity statement is about who the person is. Race/gender play an important role in that.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

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[71] The conflict is particularly interesting because the conflicting beliefs are both in the supportive category. Thus, some faculty may be supportive of diversity statements for reasons that conflict with the reasons other faculty are supportive of diversity statements. This suggests that there is a lot of ambiguity surrounding diversity statements.

Examples of key points:

"I actually think race can be part of your excellence in the sense that it can be linked to your work in a certain field. There was a case recently in X field where this person is an absolutely brilliant scholar, and his being black in a field like X, which is very traditionally white, it's not just a perspective, but his becoming who he is, you cannot separate that achievement from his starting point so it's an interesting thing so I don't think that need not be discussed."

"It's a de-facto way for applicants of color, gender, to say so and that's ok, I can live with that because I had the implicit advantage for many generations, so I can put up with them having implicit advantage for a few generations. It's fair enough, it's the least I can do."

Belief B: The diversity statement is about what the person does. Race/gender does not play an important role in that.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"The purpose [of diversity statements] is often misconstrued, fundamentally misread. You can study diversity in research, teaching, professional organizations, service, the students you teach (e.g., different backgrounds, SES, racial, ethnic, gender, sexuality, documentation). People learn differently, there are many ways to talk about that, how to address different people."

"There are meaningful ways of engaging on both ends (the writer and reader). It's not about who you are, but what you do."

Specific Conflict: Whether it is acceptable to focus on an applicant's race/gender when evaluating diversity statements.

Belief A: Focusing on the race/gender of the applicant is necessary.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"Faculty of color attract different students."

"Faculty of color can teach courses that non-minorities can't or don't."

Belief B: Focusing on the race/gender of the applicant is problematic.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"It only matters how diverse the person is. That's not real diversity."

"It's couched in terms of efforts to promote diversity, but that's not what they're after. They don't want to know whether you want to promote diversity, they want to know whether you're diverse – whether you come from certain ethnic group."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: The relative importance of diversity statements.

Belief A: Diversity statements should be given priority over other materials and a weak statement should be reason to not hire someone.
   - Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"Applicants have been excluded based on their diversity statements, appropriately."

"Diversity statements should be the first cutoff."

Belief B: Diversity statements can be a consideration, but a weak statement should not be a reason to not hire someone.
   - Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"If we reach the level where a set of candidates has academic credentials, then the diversity statement help discriminate among people about same quality, but not the other way. Unfortunately, in hiring in the past few years, the diversity statement was the decision."

"I've been in a search where candidates were eliminated by their diversity statements. I'm against that as standard training for campus. It's generally bad practice."

<u>Specific Conflict</u>: Whether all faculty should be expected to value diversity.

Belief A: To work at UCR, all faculty should value diversity.
   - Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"It's counterintuitive for an institution that values diversity to hire people who don't."

"It's important because students need to understand where they're coming from."

Belief B: UCR faculty should be not be expected to value diversity, especially if they're in fields where DEI is not relevant (e.g., STEM).
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"It's great if you want to commit to diversity, but maybe you want to commit to be great mathematician. You should be allowed to do that."

"We shouldn't expect faculty who research something unrelated to be committed."

Specific Conflict: The authenticity of diversity statements.

Belief A: The reader can tell whether a person's diversity statement is sincere.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"It helps search committees get a different dimension of that person's character because if you really are somebody who has a commitment to diversity I just believe that will manifest itself in a diversity statement in a way, you're just typing it up because the form, the submission requires it, that it's hard to mimic somebody who truly has a commitment to diversity so I think diversity statements are really valuable in the search process."

"I have read diversity statements of people who doesn't know how to justify that they applied diversity or inclusiveness, don't know how to respond to the question."

Belief B: There is no way to know if the person's diversity statement is sincere; they could say anything that sounds good.
- Theme expressed in the **radically critical** category

Examples of key points:

"Diversity statements are remissible, hypocritical. You can get them online, download them. You can find generic rubric online. When you go to diversity training when on a hiring committee, they tell you where to find diversity statement, they're promoting plagiarism. I don't think they care if you believe or enact it. They want a diversity statement they openly admit you can get online."

"I'm not sure it gets job applicants to be terribly truthful about what they say, so I don't think it's a great mechanism for making sure candidates actually care about diversity."

Themes and Conflicts Involving Affirmative Action

Table 14. Most Common Themes for Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action			
Radically critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
The institution needs to do more than hire URMs/women, it needs to retain them too	*Traditional metrics used to evaluate candidates are biased and lead to discrimination against URMs* *Affirmative action is necessary because URMs/females are underrepresented* *Diversity changes the power dynamics and improves the workplace for all*	*It is ok to give preference to a female/URM candidate so long as the difference in qualifications is not great* *There is a high demand, but low supply of well-qualified females/URMs in certain fields, so it's a difficult problem to solve* *It's a difficult decision because a committee may want to hire the female/URM candidate, but giving gender/racial preferences is illegal and unfair*	*Academic qualifications matter more than a candidate's race and gender*

Specific Conflict: Whether hiring committees are biased *against* vs. *in favor of* female/URM candidates.

Belief A: Hiring committees are biased against female/URM candidates, and there are many who are qualified.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"I read in the *Chronicle* or *Inside Higher Ed* that the Michigan leadership in the Engineering school takes into account how people address particular problems, problem solving, and inadvertently raised the number of women. Think about the criteria, the criteria themselves are skewed toward certain populations over others. Yes, research is important, but creativity of research, other stuff."

"For faculty hiring, none of us, at least in the X dept, rely that heavily on the numeric scores or indicators, so for all of us, we read the files thoroughly and I think the way you define excellence could itself have bias built into it."

Belief B: Hiring committees are biased in favor of female/URM candidates, but there are very few who are qualified.
- Theme expressed in the **ambivalent** category

Examples of key points:

"We're desperate to hire a Latinx. We've tried for years, we've done everything, but the problem is we want to hire people who are really good. We had the opportunity to hire, but voted them down because if judged holistically, they weren't competitive."

"There's an element of pragmatism. The desire to hire more African Americans has remained constant, but I also understand problem of supply and demand. Demand is there, but supply of available, qualified African American PhD candidates in the field is very small."

Specific Conflict: Whether lack of female/URM representation is evidence of bias/discrimination vs. objective assessment of candidates' qualifications

Belief A: The demographic composition of the department is reflective of how biased hiring committees are against females/URMs.
- Theme expressed in the **supportive** category

Examples of key points:

"We're trying to build a diverse community. There are qualities correlated with diversity. If you have a department of just white guys, there's probably a problem, that's not how the market is, you should be mindful."

"If you're picking people out of the 80% who aren't qualified, that's one thing, but there are always enough qualified people. If all who are qualified are white male ivy grads, it's a problem with the field. Why isn't the field able to support wider range of people who have something to say? It's self-perpetuating."

Belief B: The demographic composition of the department is reflective of the qualifications of the pool of applicants.
- Theme expressed in the **opposed** category

Examples of key points:

"When we had a position open up a few years ago, almost everyone who applied was a white man, but they had incredible resumes, they're very skilled and qualified for the job, for what we do in this position, and we're going to pick the best candidate so I think it's again keeping that awareness, but I'm a little leery of things being so structured and commanded that then you don't end up with the best person for the job."

"If you have limited resources, you need to go to top of pipeline. It's sad that the most qualified candidates are white, from UCI/ivy leagues, but the department has to produce. With little time, every hire counts a lot."

Across the ten DEI policies, faculty responded in a categorically consistent way—that is, their full responses tended to fall into the same category across DEI policies. The following table shows the number of faculty who were categorized as radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, and opposed.

Table 15. Category Breakdown Across DEI Policies

Category	Number of Faculty
Radically Critical	16
Supportive	13
Ambivalent	13
Opposed	13

On average, faculty's responses were categorically consistent across approximately 7 out of 10 policies (SD = .20). In addition, 7 out of the 55 (13%) interviewees responded in a categorically consistent way across *all ten* DEI policies. Of the other 48 out of 55 (87%) of faculty whose responses were not categorically the same across all ten DEI policies, 40 of them (83%) gave as their second most frequent type of response the category closest to their first. For example, if an interviewee's most frequent category of response was radically critical, there was an 83% chance that their second most frequent response was support (rather than ambivalence or opposition). When the two middle categories (support and ambivalence) were considered closest to only the response category that was more extreme (i.e., support to radical criticism and

ambivalence to opposition), interviewees' second most frequent responses were categorically similar for 28 out of the 48 interviewees, or 58% of the time.

The following tables show how faculty's categorizations break down according to their professional and demographic characteristics—namely, academic title, department type, gender, race, age, political affiliation, and religious affiliation. Although there appears to be patterns in the groups of faculty members that fall into different categories, the numbers of faculty in each professional and demographic group are too small to generalize to the larger population of faculty in the humanities and social sciences. Thus, these results are descriptive, not inferential.

Table 16. Category Breakdown by Department Type

Department Type				
Category	Total	Soft Social	Humanities/Arts	Hard Social
Radically Critical	16	10	3	3
Supportive	13	5	6	2
Ambivalent	13	1	5	7
Opposed	13	2	7	4

Table 17. Category Breakdown by Academic Level

Academic Level					
Category	Total	Assistant	Associate	Full	Distinguished
Radically Critical	16	7	3	3	3
Supportive	13	5	3	5	0
Ambivalent	13	3	0	7	3
Opposed	13	0	3	7	3

Table 18. Category Breakdown by Gender

Gender			
Category	Total	Female	Male
Radically Critical	16	7	9
Supportive	13	5	8
Ambivalent	13	1	12
Opposed	13	4	9

Table 19. Category Breakdown by Age

Age				
Category	Total	Under 40	40-60	60+
Radically Critical	16	4	7	5
Supportive	13	4	7	2
Ambivalent	13	3	4	6
Opposed	13	1	3	9

Table 20. Category Breakdown by Race[72]

Race			
Category	Total	White	Non-White
Radically Critical	16	5	11
Supportive	13	7	6
Ambivalent	13	12	1
Opposed	13	9	4

Table 21. Category Breakdown by Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation					
Category	Total	Atheist/None	Religious	Agnostic/Spiritual	Unknown
Radically Critical	16	11	0	3	2
Supportive	13	10	2	1	0
Ambivalent	13	10	0	1	1
Opposed	13	6	7	0	0
Total	55	38	9	5	3

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[72] To ensure the confidentiality of participants, the non-white racial groups were combined under the "Non-White" category.

Table 22. Category Breakdown by Political Affiliation

		Political Affiliation				
Category	Total	Left/ Far Left/ Radical	Very liberal/ Progressive	Liberal/ Democrat	Independent/ Other	None/ Unknown
Radically Critical	16	2	6	5	2	1
Supportive	13	0	4	9	0	0
Ambivalent	13	1	1	9	1	1
Opposed	13	2	0	8	1	2
Total	55	5	11	31	4	4

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

AN IDEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF EACH CATEGORY

With regard to ten diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies, the views of academics may be categorized as radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, or opposed. These categories reflect distinct value assessments—namely, whether progressive academic values of DEI conflict with traditional academic values of free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge, and if so, which set of values to prioritize. Importantly, the present research reveals how these assessments lead to distinct perceptions of whether or how DEI policies should be implemented.

The four ideological categories— radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, opposed—represent the central tendencies that emerged from interviews with more than 50 faculty members in a college of arts, humanities and social sciences at a public research university campus in Southern California. Many commentators on the political Right argue that faculty members, especially those in the humanities and social sciences, are overwhelmingly supportive of DEI policies, except in so far as they are critical of them from a more radical, or systemic, perspective. However, I find considerably more variation, with roughly equal numbers of faculty falling into each of the four categories.

Some variation exists among those who are grouped together such that there is likely a spectrum that exists within and across orientations. Some radical critics, for example, are more radically critical than others, and some radical critics express views that almost lead them to be classified as supporters. The ideological categories represent what is known in sociology as Weberian ideal-types (Gerhardt, 1994; Weber, 1904), or

what is known in psychology as Rosch's prototypes (Rosch, 1975). The reality is more complex than the categorization system would suggest, but the ideological orientations nevertheless reveal important distinctions because they capture the qualities most commonly associated with each "type" of academic.

To radically critical faculty, progressive values **conflict with** and are **superordinate to** traditional values. Radical critics believe traditional values reinforce white privilege and institutional racism, thereby undermining DEI. Thus, they contend that DEI policies must be implemented in ways that overturn traditional values.

To supportive faculty, progressive values are **compatible with** traditional values, and any perceived conflicts can be resolved through greater education surrounding DEI. Supporters believe progressive values allow historically marginalized groups greater access to traditional values, thereby allowing free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth to be more widely shared. Thus, they contend that DEI policies must be implemented in ways that emphasize how DEI policies further these traditional values.

To ambivalent faculty, progressive values **conflict with** traditional values and it is **unclear which to prioritize** within the university. Ambivalent faculty believe that prioritizing one set of values will inevitably upset those who prioritize the other. Thus, they contend that DEI policies must be implemented in ways that balance competing interests and recognize tradeoffs.

Lastly, to opposed faculty, progressive values **conflict with** and are **subordinate to** traditional values. Opponents believe progressive values reinforce—intentionally in the case of radical critics, or unintentionally in the case of supporters—a political agenda,

thereby undermining the commitment to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. Thus, they contend that DEI policies must implemented with great caution, lest institutions of higher education undermine their commitment to traditional values.

These value assessments—and the ideological orientations from which they stem—have important implications for understanding how academics perceive themselves, their colleagues, administrators, students, and the institution. In the following section, I describe how each ideological category maps onto these perceptual domains.

The Ideology of Radically Critical Faculty

Radically critical academics view DEI policies through the lens of social justice. Their goal is to overthrow systems of oppression—especially historically white institutions of higher education—and remake them in the image of historically marginalized groups. To radically critical faculty, existing DEI policies are insufficient and ineffective because they fail to address systemic issues and do not force people with institutional power to fundamentally restructure the institution. Radical critics are fed up with what they see as lip service and crave more substantial change.

Radical critics are concerned about not only overt and covert forms of prejudice and discrimination among individuals, but also systemic, institutional discrimination. They see racism at the individual level as a symptom of a larger problem that will not go away until deeper institutional issues are addressed. Radical critics believe group disparities reveal the "disparate impact" of institutional norms and customs, or the subjugation of underrepresented minorities (URMs) by racialized institutions. Racism today, radical critics argue, is less about calling a black person the "N" word or wondering whether a black student in a university is as academically qualified as a white or Asian peer than it is about the systemic displacement of URMs by American institutions. In this way, radical critics argue, the institution can perpetuate oppression regardless of the people in it. Radically critical faculty contend that were it not for institutional practices that exert a disparate impact, the pernicious effects of overt and subtle racism by individuals would be nullified. Thus, to reduce (and ultimately reverse) group disparities, institutional customs and norms need to be dismantled and transformed.

To radically critical faculty, norms and customs within academia and all other historically white American institutions are responsible for the underrepresentation of URMs. Because DEI policies operate within a larger system that is so fundamentally flawed, there is only so much that DEI policies can do to redress historical injustice. In the minds of radical critics, DEI policies merely achieve superficial goals and breed a sense of complacent self-gratification among people who should be demanding radical change to achieve social justice. It is only by dismantling the institution, they argue, that URMs can have the academic experiences and outcomes they deserve and that have been stolen from them.

Radical critics see conflict as an expected and inevitable consequence of dismantling institutions of higher education. Privileged members of the academy *should* feel uncomfortable because the power they have historically hoarded and abused is, in fact, being taken from them. Radically critical faculty may harbor suspicions that their tenured white colleagues pretend to be progressive, but in reality, are unwilling to relinquish their own unearned privileges and thus are hypocrites who are insufficiently committed to DEI. Similarly, radical critics believe administrators would rather promote superficial measures of DEI that make themselves look good than use their authority to radically transform the institution from the inside. Radical critics would like to see administrators intervene more in DEI matters at various levels of the institution. To the extent that they refuse to do so, they are seen as complicit in the perpetuation of institutional racism.

Given that radically critical faculty are deeply concerned about the systemic displacement of those from historically marginalized groups, it is not surprising that they worry that untenured URM female faculty are professionally vulnerable to exploitation by the institution. Radical critics believe untenured URM women have been silenced, and they want to remake the university so the rights to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge are not only extended to this historically excluded group of faculty, but also prioritized above the rights of those who have historically exercised them to the greatest effect—namely, senior white men with conservative views. In this way, radical critics believe the commitment to DEI must supersede traditional university commitments to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. Otherwise, these traditional commitments will continue to reinforce white privilege and institutional racism.

To the extent that radically critical faculty are unwilling to share their views, it is because they believe they will not be taken seriously or considered fairly. Untenured faculty are particularly concerned that expressing their radically critical views will count against them when they are evaluated by their senior, conservative colleagues who serve on review committees. In this way, untenured faculty who are radically critical of DEI policies believe their free speech and academic freedom are curtailed due to their junior status. They experience psychological distress as they find themselves battling between the desire to call attention to systemic racism (the central charge of their professional duty as academics) versus their desire to achieve professional security via tenure.

Radically critical faculty who have obtained tenure tend not to fear being professionally sanctioned for expressing their views publicly; however, they struggle to be taken seriously by their colleagues and administrators. Thanks to tenure, they are no longer afraid to demand radical change, but they do not believe their demands are acted upon. They feel that they can share their honest views, but they cannot catalyze the change they wish to see. In essence, radically critical tenured faculty can say what is on their minds, but they are not heard.

To radically critical faculty, the rights to free speech and academic freedom are empty promises. Insofar as free speech and academic freedom are measured by their effects—that is, the extent that one's language and ideas are heard, understood, and instrumental—what is the point of expressing discontent with the institution of higher education and freely inquiring about strategies for dismantling the system when such ideas are dismissed? Thus, radically critical faculty believe that only once DEI is prioritized can they (and the historically marginalized populations for which they speak) exercise their rights to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge in the academy. The following table provides an overview of the one-to-three most frequent themes (containing five or more key points), along with prototypical key points[73] expressed in radically critical faculty's own words, for each of the ten DEI policies.

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[73] By "prototypical," I mean that these quotes best approximate the average response that falls under a given theme within one of the four categories (i.e., radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, opposed). The prototypical key points were ones that were neither so specific that they conveyed information that was not expressed in other key points under the same theme, nor were they so vague that they conveyed information that was expressed in other key points under different themes.

Table 23. Radically Critical Themes and Key Points

Radically Critical Faculty		
DEI POLICY	MOST COMMON THEME(S)	PROTOTYPICAL KEY POINTS
Microaggressions	*The institution just offers superficial rhetoric and perpetuates systemic racism*	"I think the way the institution claims to be diverse inclusive sometimes is just basically pure rhetoric because really sometimes you find out how institutionalized microaggressions are, that's what I think. I'm very strong about that." "Just look at the numbers, I mean, the lack of underrepresented faculty in the sciences is quite appalling. Underrepresented faculty of color enter into the system where they will already be seen as on the outside. The question of training and sensitivity tries to make something that is a structural issue into what looks as if it's just a matter of personal sensitivity."
	People won't change, they don't understand the harm they inflict	"I used to be a lot more optimistic about the possibility that people had a higher consciousness of this or learned that this existed and is real might engage in microaggressions less frequently. What I've seen from research and real life is I don't think that there's empirical data that that actually happens." "Maybe trainings don't work because people who have privileges are very unwilling to acknowledge that and relinquish them."
Speech Codes	*Harmful language is part of a larger*	"It gets at the consequences, not the source of problem. You won't get to the larger

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	problem that needs to be addressed	problem if you're only attacking byproduct. We need education about the larger problem. Speech is just one byproduct, but there's also body language, whether you interact, ignore, respond." "There's an argument for keeping certain things around so you can point to them."
Bias Reporting Systems	*The issues are institutional/systemic, not individual*	"We need to be aware that it's structural, not individual. There may be individual cases of egregious racial hostility that have to be checked out, but in most cases, it's part of structure, the assumptions built into training, experience – constitutive ignorance." "Admin institutes things to protect own legal situation. They're terrified of gender, racial discrimination cases. They're not motivated by a desire to change structures creating racially, gender hostile environment."
Trigger Warnings	*Trigger warnings are themselves triggering*	"I use them, but I don't call them that because it triggers people." "I don't use 'trigger warnings.' I don't like that language."
Renaming Buildings	*If you erase history, it can repeat or perpetuate oppression*	"You can't undo history. Sometimes by renaming stuff we can pretend. It's a better reminder to keep the name, image, to show people what we're coming from rather than pretending nothing happened—that could lower sensitivity toward the issue." "I don't want history to go away because that creates room for denial that it happened."

Removing Portraits	*Portraits should be kept as a reminder, an impetus for change*	"If they're all white men, that says something about the department: how it was, but not how it will be from now on." "The time to change that [portraits] is when you actually have faculty who no longer need to talk about inclusion."
Banning/Shutting Down Speakers	*People should not speak if they abuse their power or represent something problematic*	"It depends on who the speaker is, what they represent, the power imbalance between what they represent and what others are fighting for." "The line between discrimination vs. not discrimination is power, who is targeted. A lot of white people say they're being discriminated against, but by definition you can't discriminate against a group that's already in power."
	The university legitimizes the speaker by providing a platform	"There are cases where because of personal political commitments, I will stand up and say, 'Giving person platform is tantamount to supporting a powerful entity that doesn't deserve to be more powerful.'" "It's not about them being offensive, but what they represent, what the university would be legitimating."
Bias/Diversity Training	*People won't change their thoughts or behavior*	"For job searches, they go to workshops that are informative, eye opening, but on the search committee it's like they never attended. It's all about what school they went to, how many citations…" "I don't think training works on the older generation because they made up their minds, they go through motions, go to diversity workshops, bias workshops, nod

		heads, just sit there, then go back to search committee and it's like they had hands over ears during workshops. They don't admit they're being biased. They take whatever they say as though it's natural, real, that's the real problem."
	Trainings are just a way for the administration to pretend it's doing something	"A lot of discrimination happens at the institutional level, not micro individual level. People could do offensive things, but if there's no structure institutionally, it's not going to matter. Unfortunately, we do have system that institutionally discriminates." "The UC is so conservative in terms of the way it evaluates faculty. This is an interesting place because everything is open, everything is totally transparent all the time, and in a way, it results in bean counting like you wouldn't believe and publishing in the right journals and impact factor and I find it pathetic."
Diversity Statements	*Diversity statements are just a way for the university to make itself look diverse without doing anything*	"I think most of them sound like what I would think of as cheap talk. They sound like just sort of bureaucratic lines to check off, that you can do whether or not you actually care about diversity." "Admin only care about race and gender stats to put on their website."
	Diversity statements should be taken more seriously by committees	"What happens to them? There's no accountability. We make commitments, talk about it, but I'm not sure it's actually evaluated." "When you're hired, first is research, then teaching, then service, then the diversity statement. I'm not sure how much diversity statement counts toward rank and tenure. I'm not saying it should

		necessarily, but it seems like lip service if it's not."
Affirmative Action	*The institution needs to do more than hire URMs/women, it needs to retain them too*	"No one talks about retention. With hiring, you show the stats, but we can't retain half of faculty of color because they're not given same level of consideration in negotiations as white colleagues." "There's a big disparity between what people profess vs. what happens on a concrete hiring, policy level. The same is true for the campus as a whole. We hire faculty of color, but we're bad at retaining them."

The Ideology of Supportive Faculty

Supportive faculty view DEI policies through the lens of social cohesion and equality. Their goal is to improve the existing system so underrepresented minorities (URMs) have better experiences and outcomes in academia. To supporters, DEI policies are appropriate and effective because they make people more aware of and sensitive to the needs of URMs. As such, supporters speak of DEI policy with enthusiasm and optimism, for they are proud of what they see as positive change.

Supportive faculty are concerned about both overt and subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination among individuals, but they focus less on systemic institutional forms. Supporters want the institution to address group disparities, but they do not hold the institution responsible for the existence of group disparities. Instead, they believe the institution is as good as the people in it. Therefore, group disparities can be reduced (even eliminated) through education that raises awareness of DEI among individuals within institutions. Supporters want there to be strong institutional sanctions imposed on those who engage in overt racism (e.g., calling a black person the "N" word) and mandated institutional efforts to raise awareness of subtle forms of racism (e.g., wondering if a black student in a university is as academically qualified as a white or Asian peer). Together, these DEI policies, supporters believe, will substantially reduce the overt and subtle forms of individual racism that cause group disparities within institutions of higher education.

Supporters believe that all members of the academic community should be able to get behind this laudable, collective effort. Supportive faculty predict that some may feel

threatened at first, but when they are taught that DEI is not a zero-sum game, they will ultimately embrace the policies. To supportive faculty, the purpose of DEI policies is to modify norms and customs within academia in ways that make people more aware of and sensitive to the needs of URMs. Administrators play a key role in this cause. Thus, supportive faculty are grateful to administrators for implementing and enforcing DEI policies. They believe administrators use their authority properly and can be trusted to intervene when appropriate. Because supportive faculty tend to see their colleagues as caring, decent people who are open to change, they believe their colleagues will be receptive when administrators intervene for the sake of promoting DEI. Supporters acknowledge that their colleagues are sometimes unwilling to publicly voice opposition to DEI policies, but they believe some amount of such censorship among opposed faculty is appropriate, even laudable, because it shows how times are changing: views that were previously accepted are no longer being expressed or tolerated.

Supportive faculty tend to be willing to share their views about DEI policies with their colleagues and administrators. They enjoy meetings that involve discussion of DEI policies because they believe everyone has the same goal, even if there are minor disagreements about how to get there. Supportive faculty are proud to be part of the implementation of DEI policy because they believe they are furthering efforts that improve the campus climate for all. They believe they are making a difference, and they are grateful for the opportunities that administrators offer for them to engage with their colleagues about DEI issues.

To supportive faculty, the commitment to DEI is compatible with traditional academic commitments to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. They believe that any perceived conflicts can be resolved through greater education surrounding DEI. Importantly, supporters believe that by encouraging the academic community to be more aware of and sensitive to the needs of URMs, DEI policies allow URMs to more fully exercise their rights to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. After all, as people become more motivated to understand the perspectives of those from historically marginalized groups, people who have felt silenced will feel empowered and will use their voices. In the process, traditional academic commitments will be more fully realized because they will be more widely shared. The following table provides an overview of the one-to-three most frequent themes (containing five or more key points), along with prototypical key points expressed in supportive faculty's own words, for each of the ten DEI policies.

Table 24. Supportive Themes and Key Points

Supportive Faculty		
DEI POLICY	MOST COMMON THEME(S)	PROTOTYPICAL KEY POINTS
Microaggressions	*It is important for everyone to understand and be aware of microaggressions*	"It is important that people understand what microaggressions look like, how language and what we decide to use is either inclusive or exclusive, or deriding of people's identities, and so forth." "I'd be totally in favor of expanding people's linguistic understanding of those ideas, like phrases that might be considered microaggression."
	There needs to be a collective effort to be better as a community	"We can't do it overnight and we need to figure out a way to do it together and I definitely at the largest level possible." "I think anything systemwide would be great, especially the UC because I think we set a standard for inclusivity."
	It is important to take others' perspectives and consider one's own positionality	"You can imagine how frustrating, white males have no idea how often especially African Americans but other minorities, people of color, whatever, are cut off, ignored, all these little things that are almost below the threshold of perception if you're not attuned to them." "Disrespect hurts, we're social creatures and if we're social creatures then disrespect hurts. And if you start from that starting point, I mean for me that's been a useful way of you know self-criticism or just self-awareness, encouraging self-awareness."

Speech Codes	*Intentional use of uncivil, dehumanizing language should not be tolerated*	"I think it's good to have people reminded and then they're aware. Maybe initially they didn't have any intentions, they didn't know it's offensive, but if they know it's offensive and still say it, at that point there should be some sort of sanction." "Obviously, if a professor or student in the classroom starts using the N word in a classroom, as a real utterance rather than analyzing it, that's not the kind of level of discourse that a classroom should have."
	The institution has the duty to respond and set rules about what language is and is not acceptable	"It might happen that people behave in ways which any other remedy other than the institution is not possible and if the institution does not have an explicit rule about it, it's very hard for the institution to do anything about it." "In general, it seems to me that it all goes well when everybody obeys implicitly these things and in most cases I think people actually do, but then what happens when you have someone who does not? And then of course it can be shocking, but what then to do about that if it's not forbidden, it's allowed?"
Bias Reporting Systems	*More information about bias incidents is helpful for educating the academic community*	"I think the forms are good for data collection, helping DEI initiatives on campus, to see that reporting, to get a fuller sense of things people are seeing and perceiving on campus. That can help with thinking about the most effective ways to improve climate on campus." "It would make things out in the open and create opportunities for people in a way that right now, if you saw some sort of passing or glancing bias, there really isn't a mechanism to say something and bring it out in the open."

	Anonymous report forms help people feel safe reporting	"People need anonymity because of power dynamics, potential retaliation." "If they're going to be faculty or in a workplace for a long time, why should they sit there and have to suffer for a long time?"
	Follow-up procedures involving the accused party may be necessary to ensure behavioral change	"You can't change the existing mindset without sanctioning." "There may be cases where people need to be taken aside, reminded that whatever action they've taken is a violation of diversity norms, procedures."
Trigger Warnings	*Professors should ensure that students are not triggered*	"It's entirely appropriate for a professor to listen to what students care about, consider how they might respond." "A professor might not know they triggered someone, but it's still their responsibility, they owe it to students to have awareness, sensitivity, to create an environment where they can thrive. I don't want them to feel like they're having great day until came to class."
	It is appropriate for professors to allow students to opt out of learning certain material	"If you cover a subject that someone may have been victimized by, you want to warn them, give them the freedom to not be in class that day if it's going to be a trigger." "I led a course involving gruesome material and trigger warned students the week before what it is, that it's not required, that they can check out without any impact on their grade. I didn't want them to be traumatized."
Renaming Buildings	*It is necessary to remove names of people who*	"If you have a building named after a slave owner, you should change it."

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	supported slavery or were otherwise oppressive	"There were two major controversies: Georgetown and Yale, both honoring white men who were slaveholders, racists. Students' agitation, movement to bring them down, to rename was successful. I agree."
	It is necessary to remove names of people the university community no longer wishes to honor	"When you decide to keep something named after someone, you're reaffirming that the person is worth celebrating." "Ask, 'Is this someone we want to honor now?'"
Removing Portraits	*The portraits send a negative message and make people feel like they are not welcome*	"I went to an ivy league, and everywhere you look there's a white dude who looks like white dude next to him. It's annoying, it makes you feel like you're not part of the legacy." "They send a message of who's allowed, they're off putting."
Banning/Shutting Down Speakers	*Do not permit speech that leads to violence (directly or indirectly)* *Do not permit hate speech*	"If the speaker would draw protestors, counter-protestors who might start shooting at each other, the admin has a greater responsibility to keep campus alive." "Some provoke violence just through their speech. They state views that are hurtful to others because of religious, racial, ethnic backgrounds, characteristics." "There are limits to everything, so if it's a hate speech person, someone like Richard Spencer who engages just in hate speech, then that's an easy one to ban from campus, just for me." "I think there are cases where people shouldn't be invited, shouldn't be allowed in the academy, like Milo or Ann Coulter

		because I think most of these people really promote hatred toward some people and they're actively doing this."
	Do not permit speech that undermines the institution's commitment to DEI	"Speakers are problematic if their views go against the institutional mission, multiculturalism, diversity." "It's reasonable for campus to say, 'If someone who's invited violates principles of community in significant way…' We should feel free as a campus to have discussion."
Bias/Diversity Training	*Training can raise awareness and educate people*	"I think raising awareness about the issue is worthwhile and makes sense." "I think implicit bias training can be useful, especially because it's implied, so people are not aware of it. I think being exposed to the training is useful."
	We all have implicit biases we can recognize and correct	"We all have bias because we live in this world. Recognize it, reverse it, question it, edit in the moment. You can self-correct if you're knowledgeable." "I think it's helpful, I think everyone can benefit because everyone falls prey. You can't help it, you have your perspective, you don't always know when you're limited to your perspective because you don't see something because you're not seeing it."
	Bias is disproportionately directed at URMs and negatively impacts their outcomes	"You diminish the diversity of the pool by saying that if someone doesn't come from the top 10 programs in country, the ivy leagues, you don't look at their application." "I have my antenna up. I hear implicit biases, I identify ways those lead to basically selection, deselection process disproportionately hits certain categories of people."

Diversity Statements	*Diversity statements are good because they send the message that work at a university, faculty need to value DEI*	"It's important at this university. We're multiethnic, multiracial, you can't be oblivious to that." "In southern California schools, it would be a simpler life if faculty were comfortable, hardly noticed diversity because they're so used to it, they grew up around it, they accept diversity because they see it everywhere."
	Diversity is not about the person's race and gender, it's about what the person does	"I used to skim diversity statements, but recently I learned that there's a lot to learn. There are meaningful ways of engaging on both ends (the writer and reader). It's not about who you are, but what you do." "There's a stereotype that a white dude isn't going to get it, but that's not always true. Everyone has the potential to become ally if they're not aligned with that group."
	Diversity IS about the person's race and gender BECAUSE it influences what the person does	"It's important that faculty perform diversity, perform a certain way of thinking, what it means to be an intellectual. Identification and performance are linked. It's important that faculty are diverse." "Faculty of color can teach courses that non-minorities can't or don't."
Affirmative Action	*Traditional metrics used to evaluate candidates are biased and lead to discrimination against URMs*	"Put the thumb on the scale and the reason is that, first of all, the measures, in terms of how they contribute once they come, they aren't objective. Everyone is good in their own way, in different ways." "People say it has to do with quality, but it doesn't. In my own field, it has to do with access, opportunity, practice. Anyone can become an expert in this field if they really want to, it's not like becoming a surgeon. "

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	Affirmative action is necessary because URMs/females are underrepresented	"At present, most departments don't represent the diversity of campus, of the country. Most have a problem. The national stats of people of color, women faculty, is a huge problem. The only way to deal with the problem is by taking into account race, gender." "We're trying to build a diverse community. There are qualities correlated with diversity. If you have a department of just white guys, there's probably a problem, that's not how the market is, you should be mindful."
	Diversity changes the power dynamics and improves the workplace for all	"I think the diversity of the faculty makeup affects usually the quality, so I think if that means going out of your way to create a department that has greater diversity, I think it probably will have benefits in the process." "Diversifying especially fields that are male dominated, in fact they need to. Our Engineering school needs to address that really badly because homogeneity makes people worse scientists. I don't want to live in a world where men decide what are the engineering problems to solve and how to solve those things, or it's just men deciding, I think it's a worse world for that."

The Ideology of Ambivalent Faculty

Ambivalent faculty view DEI policies through the lens of pragmatism. Their goal is to promote a system where people compromise to reach the best overall solution for all. Ambivalent faculty are concerned about individuals engaging in both overt and subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination, but they wonder how much can be done without creating new problems. They believe the law of diminishing returns may be operating such that at a certain point, efforts to solve a problem (e.g., group disparities) create other, potentially worse problems than those they were meant to solve. For this reason, ambivalent faculty speak of DEI policy in terms of trade-offs. They are hesitant, for they do not want to exacerbate existing tensions or create new ones.

Ambivalent faculty may believe the institution needs to change, but they are cautious because they believe change involving DEI issues inevitably creates conflict. This conflict may be counterproductive and may deepen existing divisions, so it is important to carefully plan how DEI policies are implemented. To ambivalent faculty, norms and customs within academia may need to be modified so they can better serve the needs of underrepresented minorities (URMs). At the same time, however, norms and customs may need to be preserved so the institution can continue to uphold its traditional academic commitments to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. Ambivalent faculty are concerned that calls for institutional reform or transformation, although well-intentioned, may backfire. Instead, they call for a nuanced discussion of logistics and tradeoffs. Only then will they be able to determine whether or how DEI policy should be implemented.

To ambivalent faculty, existing DEI policies are potentially inappropriate and ineffective because they evoke negative reactions, particularly among colleagues who are resistant to coercion and are prone to defensiveness when accused of things they do not think they did, such as engage in implicit bias or exhibit microaggressions. Ambivalent faculty see this dilemma as particularly challenging for administrators, who are in the difficult position of trying to promote DEI without infringing on faculty's rights to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth. Because administrative intervention will inevitably upset some people who perceive such efforts as an infringement on individual rights, ambivalent faculty do not see an easy solution. For this reason, they are relieved to not be an administrator charged with implementing DEI policies.

Ambivalent faculty see institutions and the people in them as imperfect, but limited in their capacity to become (or to be made) perfect. Consequently, a certain amount of insensitive language and behavior may be inevitable. Thus, they argue that perhaps there ought to be a greater effort to cultivate tolerance. Moreover, rather than rely on the institution, ambivalent faculty believe that in general, it is preferable for individuals to draw attention to inappropriate expression and resolve conflicts on a one-on-one basis. Because ambivalent faculty believe the causes of group disparities are complex, they do not know how much the institution (or individuals within institutions) can do to reduce disparate experiences and outcomes among URMs without introducing ethical, legal, and practical problems. They are hesitant to support or oppose DEI policies until they have carefully investigated these logistical concerns. They would like to see a

reduction in group disparities, but they do not know to what extent individual and/or institutional racism can be reduced.

Ambivalent faculty believe that only the loudest, most extreme views are heard in the discourse surrounding DEI. They worry that calm, rational voices like theirs are not being heard, and they see this as having the corrosive effect of leading faculty to retreat to their respective echo chambers and become increasingly extreme and unwilling to compromise. They wish their colleagues would not take such firm, stubborn stances on DEI policies; they would rather see greater perspective-taking and open-mindedness on both sides. Ambivalent faculty want their fellow ambivalent colleagues to speak up more, but more importantly, they want their partisan colleagues on both sides to listen more to those with whom they disagree.

To the extent that ambivalent faculty are unwilling to share their views about DEI policies, it is because they worry that their nuanced views will be misconstrued by colleagues on either side. They are concerned that the discourse surrounding DEI policies is highly charged, making it difficult to have a calm, rational discussion. Because they prefer to avoid conflict, ambivalent faculty often do not express their views openly. Importantly, ambivalent faculty believe that those committed to DEI will inevitably clash with those committed to free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. It is unclear to them which set of values to prioritize within the university. Because embracing one set of values may compromise the other, it is difficult to implement effective DEI policy. Ambivalent faculty would like to serve as intermediaries, but because they perceive the value conflicts as deeply divisive and potentially irreconcilable,

they find it difficult to establish common ground. The following table provides an

overview of the one-to-three most frequent themes (containing five or more key points),

along with prototypical key points expressed in ambivalent faculty's own words, for each

of the ten DEI policies.

Table 25. Ambivalent Themes and Key Points

Ambivalent Faculty		
DEI POLICY	MOST COMMON THEME(S)	PROTOTYPICAL KEY POINTS
Microaggressions	*There are Type I and Type II errors: people might not believe when a microaggression occurred when it did, and people might believe a microaggression occurred when it did not*	"The instigator doesn't always know that or can control for that so it's important to recognize that, 'Oh for you this is something I can recognize this is harmful,' but the problem is one has to create a situation where the training is sensitive to the complexity of the issue." "I'm from another country, so there's also a question of interpretation. How do we make sure people are coming up with the right interpretation, which we're suggesting they are because when we determine something is offensive we anticipate the reaction of a single individual or group. That is something I would be interested in knowing more about."
	It is good to raise awareness, but not in a way that makes forces people or makes them defensive	"There's actually quite a bit of social science research that shows that when you require things, you produce negative effects, so I would probably be more in support of encouraging it and presenting it or creating a situation where it's the normative thing to do." "I think education is good, what we're doing in these later years understanding all these subconscious biases we have. I think that has more value in my mind than trying to form a committee and saying, 'Now we're going to codify all of this.'"
	Faculty should try to engage in	"Where it becomes difficult in the university setting is that there happens to be little scope

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	more constructive dialogue about what is and is not a microaggression	for the benefit of the doubt. I mean, the assumption straight away is that if you use that inappropriate word or term then that's an act of bad faith rather than 'That's not a word I'd use.'" "Perhaps what needs to be preached or promoted is fostering a culture where we all recognize we all have different things we care about, we will at some points in communicating be unable to appreciate someone else's position or them in one way or another, but we want to foster communication and the ability to address it in respectful ways."
Speech Codes	*It is difficult to draw the line between acceptable and unacceptable language because certain things are protected by free speech*	"I think speech codes are among the trickiest things, so I wouldn't say I object to them or I don't object to them. Having spent some time in administration, I would hate to be the one to work out a speech code that fits our notions of first amendment freedoms, freedom of inquiry on campus, academic freedom, and weed out the stuff we want to weed out without weeding out a bunch of other stuff too." "It's a difficult line to walk because some things are protected."
	Norms that encourage respectful discourse are preferable to a formal code	"The university should have culture where people engage in good faith behavioral practices, not codes, rules, checkboxes." "We need to train tolerance, and that might also include sensitivities people are holding onto on the basis of assumed identities. Put it into perspective. In some way, we're all not doing best job interacting with others. Rather than pretending it's possible, it's more important to be aware of what it takes to exchange openly."

Bias Reporting Systems	*There needs to be greater transparency about how the reporting systems operate*	"More and more people are being held accountable. That's a good thing, but it can be a slippery slope if the transgression is relatively minor and within bounds of the learning environment." "It's either going to be a surveillance machine or carried through in way good faith people think it should. If it starts being ideological control, that would be a problem."
	Those who are accused should be able to defend themselves and the team should be able to use all available data to determine whether a bias incident did or did not occur	"A lot of students complain a professor was biased to fight for a higher grade. I tell students to go negotiate, talk to the chair, have proof documented, make an appeal; they don't come back. Maybe student deserves the grade or not, I don't know. It's good if the committee might evaluate it's not bias." "It could be helpful as long as there's accountability, a procedure for accused to defend themselves."
Trigger Warnings	*A formal trigger warning may not be necessary if the professor just creates a comfortable, open environment*	"I'm not in a discipline that raises offensive ideas, but others do as way of getting people to think through them. For example, philosophy raises ideas beyond the pale to keep the thinking process going, to get people to think outside the box. People may transgress, so give them the benefit of the doubt and at the same time be aware of language we use, that the way we use it can upset people." "I bring it up in class, but balance it with talking about openness of discussion."
	It is hard to know whether the right pedagogical solution is to require students to learn the content or to	"There are cases where people have severe triggers and it's appropriate to give them the opportunity to avoid the situation, but there are many other cases where it's used as avoidance and leads to failure of extinction of probs. It's really complicated to differentiate cases."

	allow them to opt out.	"I'm sensitive to the issues, I think they're real. The conflict is between the ideal concept of a bastion of education that allows difficult things to be discussed, and circumstances where people need to step out. There may be many fewer than what people are seeking when looking at policies, but there's legitimacy. It's hard, complicated to find right balance."
Renaming Buildings	*It is a difficult decision that requires a case-by-case discussion of multiple factors*	"Judge each case individually and decide who is being harmed by this, what is the ramification of this, what is the history of this, as opposed to a blanket policy. I just don't think the world works that way." "Try to discern, get feedback from historians, the history department, about issues. Ask them to write a report, tell us if it's something they support or wouldn't. Defer to experts. I would be ok with either decision."
	It is difficult to set criteria because the past is different from the present	"I don't know because figures come in and out of controversy in history. I don't know who we'd find controversial a few years from now. I don't have practical answer." "So many scientists and so many social scientists in the period between 1900 and 1940, including social reformers, were eugenicists and you can't be, I guess you can be a eugenicist without being a racist but it's so closely tied, now what do you do about that? I mean it, becomes extremely difficult."
Removing Portraits	*There should be a discussion about how to compromise or reach a practical solution*	"If the question is just 'Who are we representing?' you could decide you want to remove some. If you have 20 photos, all of older white men, maybe remove 10. Another thing is to keep the 20, include 20 women, people of marginalized communities that made important contributions that we don't know about or celebrate."

		"If they're not controversial, leave them up and try to include more inclusive images."
Banning/Shutting Down Speakers	*It is difficult to establish criteria for determining whether a speaker should or should not be permitted to speak on campus*	"I think one of the problems is always going to be that it's always the grey in how do you draw the line? Hate speech is clearly problematic, then when there's political but controversial. If you keep moving the goal post then you end up having no speakers at all, so I think it's clearly a sensitive issue." "There's no line you can draw that somebody can't find a speaker that screws up your rule. I think if decency and common sense were to prevail, this issue wouldn't exist, but there are a lot of folks out there whose goal it is to confound these goals."
	It is important to consider the educational value of the speaker	"Consider what the speaker brings to campus that we don't already have. Provocation for sake of provocation weighs less than someone who thinks differently (no matter how unpopular)." "What is the value of you coming and spewing this if you're not willing to come and be faced with rebuttal and debate? For me it's always evaluation in terms of, we already know what you stand for, we already know what you believe in, if you're just coming to talk *at* us and not talk *with* us, I'm not interested."
	Administrators are in a difficult position because they will face backlash whether than allow the speaker to speak or not	"I think being an admin is a really tough job because there are clearly people who are out of bounds, but then in a university it's antithetical to prohibit speech if that speech has value." "Admin are not going to win no matter what. If a group invites a speaker and the university doesn't approve, but supports free speech, it costs $100,000 in security, the group says it's

		oppressed because they have to pay for security."
Bias/Diversity Training	*Training makes people defensive because they believe they are being told they are biased when they are not*	"It's complicated because well-meaning people are biased. Without explicit intent, they are providing harmful environments for others. It's more complicated to deal with than when it's someone explicitly unethical." "When you make people defensive, they don't respond in way appropriate to training goals."
	Trainings lead to unconstructive discourse among faculty	"There is a question about how to discuss these things and I don't know how to do it because very often the discussions I witnessed were sort of strange: "Who is more Latina than whom," "She didn't strike me as Latina enough," or "This person is not really as culturally black as this other person," talked about among 10 white people. IT almost looks like we're having a circus show rather than a serious discussion." "Implicit bias exists. If it exists in hiring, student treatment, then it should be something addressed, but we don't do that in thoughtful, subtle, effective way."
Diversity Statements	*Diversity statements are difficult to evaluate using a standardized rubric*	"There are systematic difficulties. Faculty don't know how to review them, and candidates don't know how to write them. It'll take time for people to understand how to evaluate them properly." "It's hard to assess diversity at one of the most diverse campuses in the US."
	Diversity statements should be considered along	"I accept it if it's considered among other factors." "Recognize it alongside other materials, as part of the eval procedure."

	with other materials	
Affirmative Action	*It is ok to give preference to a female/URM candidate so long as the difference in qualifications is not great*	"Merit is essential. If there's a slight difference, one that faculty perceive as not significant, I might give it to person from the URM, a woman, but if there's substantial difference, person who's not minority is significantly better, lean toward merit." "If it's close call between someone of color and someone who's white, tip toward the person of color. If it's a dramatic difference, you need to recognize merit where it exists, and not penalize someone born with the skin they've got."
	There is a high demand, but low supply of well-qualified females/URMs in certain fields, so it's a difficult problem to solve	"The desire to hire more African Americans has remained constant, but I also understand problem of supply and demand. Demand is there, but supply of available, qualified African American PhD candidates in the field is very small. They compete for jobs at top universities. I'm a realist, I understand it's extremely difficult to make a hire, but my motivation is still the same. I'm highly motivated, but I balance that with other criteria." "There are so few women and minorities in my field that we usually don't get many who apply because they're grabbed by other schools."
	It's a difficult decision because a committee may want to hire the female/URM candidate, but giving gender/racial preferences is illegal and unfair	"We don't account for consequences for the boy. It wasn't his fault that computer science ended up male. People say, 'Who cares?' but we should care, we should recognize the consequences of what we're doing." "In my department there used to be more male faculty and now there are more females and I think that's a good thing when we look at the kind of end results, but that's also still tough

		too because the male applicant maybe worked really hard, and just because of gender, you deny him a position."

The Ideology of Opposed Faculty

Opposed faculty view DEI policies through the lens of just rewards. They are very supportive of efforts to improve the opportunities of historically marginalized populations, but maintain that inequality of rewards is necessary and just because the academic system only works if those who have contributed the most are rewarded accordingly. Thus, their goal is to uphold and strengthen systems of meritocracy so anyone who is able and motivated to succeed can succeed, whether one comes from a historically marginalized group or not. They are grateful for the barriers that have already been removed and the progress that has already been made toward achieving this goal. As they tend to be older and further along in their careers, opponents may reflect on how much better things are now than when academia was truly a "gentleman's club." They believe those who are preoccupied with prejudice and discrimination today are grasping at straws, for to the extent that such problems persist, they are unlikely to truly hold people back unless those people allow them to.

Opponents see current DEI policies as inappropriate and counterproductive because they undermine the traditional academic commitments (free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth) and avail academia to political corruption. To fend off these threats, opponents contend that the institution needs to be preserved and strengthened. As more diverse voices enter academia, opponents believe it is imperative that they be encouraged to embrace the same traditional values as those who came before them.

Opposed faculty believe calls for reform or transformation are misguided. They are concerned that supporters who call for reform are naïve (or dishonest) in asserting that DEI can be implemented without compromising free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge. Furthermore, they believe radical critics who call for transformation are guided by a political agenda that is destructive to the integrity of the institution. Opponents are also leery of administrators, who they believe use their commitment to DEI as an excuse to expand the bureaucracy and grant themselves greater authoritative reign over the institution. Thus, opponents are deeply distrustful of administrative intervention and would like to retain faculty governance to the greatest possible extent.

Opposed faculty see their colleagues as coming from different generations, cultures, and backgrounds that make it unrealistic and undesirable to expect them to conform to DEI policies. They believe faculty should be unified solely in their commitment to the traditional academic values of free speech, academic freedom, and the pursuit of truth. Other expectations—especially those that may compromise this commitment—are unreasonable because they undermine the integrity of the academic enterprise. Opponents are particularly concerned about any DEI policy that attempts to limit the expression of ideas that are perceived to be offensive. They worry that when offensive ideas are suppressed, they do not go away, but rather go underground. Opposed faculty believe the best disinfectant for bad ideas is sunlight—that is, to be brought out into the open for all to behold, consider, and discuss. Opponents believe the costs of preventing offense are outweighed by the costs of making people fear being offensive,

because the more people fear, the more there is to fear, and the Overton window—the range of socially acceptable views to express in public discourse at a given time—shrinks as an increasing number of ideas are deemed offensive. Opponents caution against DEI policies that may perpetuate this tendency. They are also deeply skeptical of administrative involvement and believe that if conduct that undermines DEI values is legally protected, it should be addressed between individuals. Any top-down enforcement in such cases is seen as tyrannical and counter to the ideals of the institution. To the extent that people express their disrespect for DEI values in ways that are legally protected, their rights to do so must be respected. Opponents argue that the desire to reduce or eliminate group disparities by targeting various forms of prejudice and discrimination cannot be a reason to undermine the fundamental individual rights upon which institutions of higher education are founded.

Opposed faculty are concerned that the only views that are heard (and that are acceptable to express) are those demonstrating unwavering support of DEI policy. They believe their colleagues are often unwilling to publicly express opposition to DEI policies for fear of being labeled racists, sexists, or otherwise insensitive to the experiences of historically marginalized groups. Although opponents admit that this fear is understandable, they also see it as cowardice on behalf of academics who should be committed to exercising their free speech and academic freedom to protect the disinterested pursuit of truth, even (or perhaps especially) when it means challenging the status quo. Thus, opposed faculty tend not to be held back by the fear of being labeled. They tend to explain that (a) they are more senior, so expressing their beliefs is unlikely

to have consequences; (b) they are close to retirement, so they have nothing to lose; or (c) they have never cared how others see them. Opposed faculty tend to take pride in their ability to think independently and speak their minds, so they do not worry about disapproval from their colleagues. They value their own free speech and academic freedom too much to allow others—be they colleagues, administrators, or students—to silence them, or prevent them from defending the values upon which institutions of higher education were founded. The following table provides an overview of the one-to-three most frequent themes (containing five or more key points), along with prototypical key points expressed in opposed faculty's own words, for each of the ten DEI policies.

Table 26. Opposed Themes and Key Points

Opposed Faculty		
DEI POLICY	MOST COMMON THEME(S)	PROTOTYPICAL KEY POINTS
Microaggressions	*Fears and accusations of engaging in microaggressions shut down conversation*	"For me, if you have to err on one side or the other, I would say that the campus especially I believe should be a place where people can actually exchange ideas without thinking, without worrying about being offensive."
		"Microaggressions mostly come in this day-to-day language, so then one feeling I have when we try to make policies about this aspect is that we also curtail the freedom of people to speak to each other because there may be things that may be misunderstood."
	Microaggressions are unintentional and benign	"The word 'aggression' is misplaced; it should be a 'microinsult.' Aggression has a very particular meaning, and it implies intent as well. The kinds of things people are talking about are unintentional."
		"Microaggressions are really in the eye of the beholder. It's really this sort of nebulous, very difficult to get at. Someone's microaggression is simply someone else's behavior, so it's just extremely hard to give a firm hard rule about what is a microaggression and what is not."
	The administration should not be allowed to decide what is and	"First of all, I'm really wary of the university as institution. I don't really grant the moral authority of this

	is not a microaggression	institution to tell me what is and isn't a microaggression."
		"I would be very careful about the first thing because this is like asking the university administration to impose something top down. I don't like that. I may sound like I'm politically incorrect, but I would say that restricts academic freedom."
Speech Codes	*Protecting free speech and academic freedom are more important than protecting people from being offended*	"We need to be careful prescribing language, making it standard practice. Being on campus means exploring language, opinions, possibilities. If there's infringement, there's also question of academic freedom. Academic freedom is more valuable than providing a safe space for everyone."
		"Once you have formal thing, then you have people tailoring their behavior to think 'Oh, this is how I should speak.' You're an academic, no one should tell you how to speak."
	Administrators are overreaching by implementing a speech code	"People already know what language to avoid. They don't need another restrictive policy."
		"I don't like restrictions. If had to choose between many vs. none, would choose none."
Bias Reporting Systems	*Reporting systems are unnecessary surveillance*	"It's a slippery slope to start measuring everyone's implicit bias. That's a dystopian future. Tracking people, especially in the university, I don't agree with that."
		"I'm entirely against, and will always be against, turning campus into surveillance

		area. That could easily lead to finding certain research topics unacceptable, and that would be terrible. Suspicion can be easily constructed."
	Administrators are not qualified to evaluate reports in a fair and just way	"The likelihood of unjust proceedings developing from this is very great indeed. It's hard to know how far it goes, it can really ruin people's outlook and career. I don't see it happening right now, but I see the fuel." "People usually put in task forces usually not trained, they're not scientists, they don't know the tools, the concepts. Application becomes arbitrary, ridiculous, not related to origin of what research shows."
Trigger Warnings	*Students need to learn how to approach difficult topics in a rational way*	"I philosophically feel they infantilize students. Part of coming into your majority is learning how to hear difficult things, respond, and deal." "I never use trigger warnings because we need to talk about unpleasant realities; horrible things happen all the time, they need to be sterner. Universities train future leaders."
	Students should be already prepared to learn difficult material when they voluntarily sign up for a course	"Students should know what they're signing up for. They don't have to take the course." "In courses on the holocaust, sexual violence, where difficult topics part and parcel, it should be expected."
Renaming Buildings	*There is no logical endpoint if people start renaming any building named after*	"A lot of historical figures have controversial backgrounds given context now, even the context then. People are concerned that if you take names off

	someone who did something bad	buildings, eventually you'll get to Jefferson, Lincoln, Washington. Who can we name buildings after?"

"How many people are you going to remove if you start looking into the past?" |
| | *It is important to consider the historical context and the value of the person's contributions* | "I think the inability to judge based on the era in which these things happened is not helpful, it's not honest."

"At places like Harvard that are over 300 years old, consider the historic context. It's idiotic to remove the statue of John Harvard because women weren't admitted at the time." |
| Removing Portraits | *White men have made important contributions and shouldn't be judged negatively just because of their race and gender* | "I wouldn't remove portraits because it's history. I was in a committee meeting in a building where the portraits are up, they're almost all white men, but they're judged by their work, and they did great work."

"Not all Caucasians suffer white supremacy. They taught me. I would go to war beside them if I go to war against someone who looks like me. I can't understand why such a broad brush." |
| | *We should not erase history* | "It would be like taking down the portraits of the presidents that have come before Obama because they're all white men, but they were."

"To go and take them down, or take every third one down, it's not honest, it's not honoring that this is the history." |
| Banning/Shutting Down Speakers | *It's important for students to learn how* | "In a university, a universal institution, all points of view subject to debate. You |

	to debate, hear disagreeable views, and understand multiple perspectives	may disagree, but have a dialogue, put your brain into another person's brain. If you're unable, you're not open to a college education."
		"A person comes to campus because they already have a platform, followers. The idea is, the reason you want to invite them is to understand where they're coming from, their point of view."
	Freedom of speech must be protected, even when that speech is deeply offensive	"I grew up in a generation of strong free speech ideology. The antidote to bad speech is good speech, it's better to let them speak then to let them grow under rocks."
		"I come from the tradition, to quote Voltaire: I may not agree with what you say but I will defend to death your right to say it."
Bias/Diversity Training	*Trainings are burdensome and unnecessary*	"I feel personal aggravation with having to take it."
		"I have concerns about impositions on faculty."
	Trainings lead to unnecessary administrative expansion	"With a bureaucracy, things tend to start off well intended, minimalistic, but almost inevitably grow in terms of oversight. I have strong concerns about that."
		"We need to have limits. Mission creep—incremental changes, each one makes sense, then you look at beginning, compare it to where it ended up, ask how we got there, but every single decision makes sense in the context of the period."

Diversity Statements	*Prioritizing diversity statements when evaluating candidates undermines academic excellence*	"We pick the best academically. You would never turn against someone who's diverse, but it's fine if they're not." "The principle is to hire the best of the best, and best person may not have much experience with diversity, especially if you hire from abroad (in Europe it's more homogeneous)."
	There should be less focus on the race and gender of candidates in their statements	"It's couched in terms of efforts to promote diversity, but that's not what they're after. They don't want to know whether you want to promote diversity, they want to know whether *you're* diverse, whether you come from certain ethnic group." "I'm concerned we're looking for the right DNA, background, upbringing. The goal and purpose of diversity should be to expose students to a variety of views, backgrounds, attitudes, cultural experiences."
Affirmative Action	*Academic qualifications matter more than a candidate's race and gender*	"When we had a position open up a few years ago, almost everyone who applied was a white man, but they had incredible resumes, they're very skilled and qualified for the job, for what we do in this position, and we're going to pick the best candidate." "What matters is what the person accomplished, can accomplish, the kind of teacher you are, the things needed in colleague. I don't think where you're from is part of that mix."

PUTTING IT TOGETHER

There are fundamentally different ideological orientations revealed by the four

categories of faculty. The following table shows how radically critical, supportive,

ambivalent, opposed faculty differ when it comes to how they perceive American society,

themselves, their values, the idea of DEI, the implementation of DEI policies, their

colleagues, administrators, administrative involvement, students, teaching, and the

institution. As with the previous tables that detail categorical differences in faculty

perceptions, the following table is based on the prototypical ideas. The descriptions are

not intended to apply perfectly to each faculty member in each category. Instead, they

offer as close to a perfect description as possible of the average faculty member in each

category.

Table 27. Ideological Differences Among Categories

Perceptions of…	Radically Critical	Supportive	Ambivalent	Opposed
American society	People at the top of the system are morally "bad" and people at the bottom have been victimized by the system	All people can be morally "good," but some are just ignorant	Some people morally "good" and others are not	People can choose to behave in ways that are morally "good" or "bad"
	The system needs to be dismantled and remade in the image of victims (esp. URMs)	The system needs to teach ignorant people how to think/behave better	There is only so much the system can do about "bad apples" without infringing on the rights of all	The system holds people responsible for their choices and protects people's basic rights
Self	Identifies with marginalized groups, feels personally and/or professionally marginalized on the basis of race, gender, nationality, research area, field of study	Identifies as someone who does not want to inflict harm on others and is open to learning from others, esp. URMs	Identifies as someone who thinks in terms of tradeoffs, is a realist, and does not believe in easy answers	Identifies as someone who is independent, wants to be around people who think differently, and wants to be free to think differently from others
Values	Progressive values conflict with and are more important	Progressive values are compatible with	Progressive values conflict with traditional	Progressive values conflict with and are less important than

	than traditional values Promoting traditional values reinforces white privilege and institutional racism, thereby undermining progressive values	traditional values, so there is no conflict Promoting progressive values allows URMs to adopt traditional academic values, thereby improving traditional values	values and it's unclear which are more important Promoting either set of values might undermine the other set of values, so it's difficult to implement policy	traditional values Promoting progressive values introduces a political agenda, thereby undermining traditional values
DEI	Focus: social justice Goal: overthrow systems of oppression and remake them to maximize the success of URMs	Focus: social harmony Goal: improve the system so URMs have better experiences/ outcomes	Focus: pragmatism Goal: promote a system where people compromise to reach the best overall solution	Focus: just rewards Goal: uphold systems of meritocracy so those with greater ability receive greater rewards
DEI policy	Insufficient	Appropriate	Potentially inappropriate	Excessive
Colleagues	Most colleagues are insufficiently committed to DEI	Most colleagues are committed to DEI, but they need to learn how to think/behave better	Some colleagues are committed to DEI and others are not, but forcing them isn't effective or appropriate	Colleagues should not be expected to be committed to DEI

	Colleagues are unwilling to relinquish their privilege	Colleagues are caring, decent people who are open to change	Colleagues are resistant to coercion and get defensive when accused of things they don't think they did	Colleagues have academic freedom and cannot be forced to conform
Administrators	Admin are insufficiently committed to DEI—they only care about superficial measures and won't use their authority to transform the institution	Admin are fully committed to DEI—they're making huge improvements to the university	Admin are committed to DEI, but they're in a difficult position because they're also supposed to uphold traditional academic values	Admin use their commitment to DEI as an excuse to grant themselves authority to dictate how faculty should think/act
Administrative involvement	Admin do not intervene enough	Admin intervene an appropriate amount	Admin intervention upsets some people	Admin intervene too much
Students	Students are disadvantaged and harmed by words/actions that diminish their identities	Students are more aware of DEI issues and can educate faculty	Some students are highly sensitive to DEI issues, but avoidance may diminish the educational experience for all	Students are too sensitive and need to learn how not to take things personally

Teaching	Controversial ideas need to be examined through the lens of critical theory so students learn how systems of oppression operate	Some ideas are too controversial, and students need to be listened to when they find such ideas upsetting	Some ideas may be too controversial, but students should be encouraged to engage with ideas they find upsetting	No ideas are too controversial for academia and faculty need to present all sides of issues from a dispassionate perspective
	Goal: students become committed to social justice activism because they realize the ubiquity of oppression	Goal: students feel safe expressing themselves and become empowered	Goal: students try to engage with difficult issues, but with boundaries in mind	Goal: students respond to controversial issues using reason rather than emotion and realize there are multiple sides
Institution	The institution needs to be transformed/ dismantled	The institution needs to be reformed	Institutional change inevitably creates conflict	The institution needs to be preserved

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are several strengths of this research, beginning with the sample. The present investigation involved faculty from all twenty departments within the College of Humanities, Arts, & Social Sciences, the largest college within the University of California, Riverside. The faculty were also at various stages of their academic careers, ranging from assistant to full. Overall, the professional and demographic characteristics of the sample approximate the characteristics of the faculty across the University of California (2019) system.

With regard to the research design, this is the first study that has involved extensive interviews (ranging from 45 minutes to 2 hours each) conducted with faculty in a confidential setting that allowed them to express their honest views without fear of social and/or professional sanctions. Other research on faculty has involved large-scale surveys (see, e.g., Stolzenberg, Eagan, Zimmerman, Berdan, Cesar-Davis, Aragon, & Rios-Aguilar, 2019; Snyder, Brey, & Dillow, 2019) and myriad campus-specific surveys used for internal purposes. In general, the purpose of these surveys has been to understand a broad range of issues related to teaching, research and service, rather than issues specific to diversity, equity, and inclusion. Advantages of the survey format include a larger sample of faculty and the potential for more sophisticated quantitative analyses, but the disadvantage is that the pre-set questions and answer options prevent faculty from being able to spontaneously generate their own responses. Given the

exploratory nature of the present investigation, open-ended responses were crucial to the development of the four-category framework.

In a study somewhat more relevant to the current research, *RealClear Education* conducted a "Survey of Campus Speech Experts" where they asked a panel of 22 experts on free speech about (a) how serious of a speech problem exists in higher education, (b) whether the problem is widespread or just relegated to a small group of campuses, and (c) which colleges and universities are doing a good job protecting speech (RealClear Education, 2019). However, unlike the present research, *Real Clear Education*'s study identified and provided a detailed biography about each panelist, thereby eliminating the confidentiality element that was crucial to the present study. In addition, the current research covered a range of DEI policies far greater than that of any other study to date. Such rich data allowed me to conduct an in-depth qualitative content analysis and inductively generate a framework for understanding why faculty are divided with one another (and within themselves) regarding whether or how to implement DEI policy.

Although the present study contains numerous strengths, it is also necessary to address its limitations. First, the coding and analysis were performed by one person (in consultation with several faculty members), not a team of researchers. I did not go through formal channels of establishing inter-rater reliability because the audio-recorded interviews were strictly confidential, and many of the non-verbal cues and other indicators of the tone could not be readily inferred through the transcripts alone. In addition, the inductive, exploratory nature of the study would have made it difficult for me to train a team of research assistants who could be flexible to changes in the coding

system and who would be able to devote the amount of time and attention to the data that was required to explore the deeper patterns of reasoning underlying the four categories I ultimately identified. Now that the categorization system has been established, future research conducted by me or others can more readily include additional coders, thereby enhancing the reliability and validity of the findings.

Another limit of the present research is its small sample size, compared to the larger samples obtained from other types of research. One limitation of the small sample size is that I cannot extrapolate from the demographic patterns observed in the four categories of faculty. Although there are trends (especially with older, senior faculty tending toward being opposed, and younger, junior faculty tending toward being radically critical), the number of faculty in each category is too small (and even smaller when broken down by demographic and professional characteristics). Thus, I cannot make inferences about how radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, and opposed faculty differ from one another as a function of their demographic and/or professional characteristics.

In addition, the high rate of declines to participate leaves open the question of which types of faculty are potentially underrepresented in the sample[74] and why. Might

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[74] After the study was completed, I contacted the 60 faculty who declined to participate and asked them which of the four categories (i.e., radically critical, supportive, ambivalent, opposed) best describe how they perceive DEI policies. Of the 35 faculty who responded, 18 faculty (51.4%) categorized themselves as "radically critical," 9 faculty (25.7%) categorized themselves as "supportive," 7 faculty (20%) categorized themselves as "ambivalent," and 1 faculty member (2.8%) categorized him/herself as "opposed." These findings would suggest that at least in the abstract (i.e., without knowing the details about each DEI policy) the vast majority of faculty resonate with the ideology of radical critics. It is important to note that these data were collected after the Black Lives Matter protests that followed the death of George Floyd. Thus, recent social upheaval may have influenced this distribution, making it less than completely comparable to the original data.

radically critical faculty have declined to participate because they do not see the purpose of discussing superficial DEI policies? Might supportive faculty have declined to participate because they do not see why DEI policies are controversial? Might ambivalent faculty have declined to participate because they do not know where they stand when it comes to DEI policies? Might opposed faculty have declined to participate because they did not want to come across as culturally insensitive?[75]

Another limitation of the study pertains to the fields of study that were represented. Faculty in the humanities and social sciences were an ideal sample because of the overwhelmingly liberal nature of these fields, along with the relevance of DEI to the research of faculty in these fields. However, it is important to acknowledge that these faculty's views may not be generalizable to faculty in fields, or other schools such as the College of Nature and Agricultural Sciences, Bourns College of Engineering, and the School of Business within the same institution. These other faculty may inhabit different political contexts and may possess different discipline-specific knowledge that may influence their perceptions of DEI policy in interesting and unexpected ways.

Some of these faculty in other fields may experience similar pressures in response to accusations of pervasive bias in their fields (see, e.g., Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Ong, Wright, Espinosa, & Orfield, 2011) and

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[75] At the end of each interview, I asked faculty how comfortable they are publicly expressing their views about DEI policies. Overall, supportive faculty were the most comfortable, but the radically critical, ambivalent, and opposed faculty all tended to express moderate discomfort, but for different reasons. Radically critical faculty tended to fear that their colleagues would not take them seriously, ambivalent faculty feared that their colleagues would misunderstand their views, and opposed faculty feared that their colleagues would ostracize them. However, it remains unknown which type(s) of fear may have had a stronger impact on faculty's decisions to decline to participate.

growing attention paid to the lack of representation among women and racial-ethnic minorities (see, e.g., National Science Board, 2018; National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). However, in many cases, STEM faculty may exhibit a stronger commitment to the scientific objectivity[76] and value-free science.[77] This may make them more likely than the faculty in the current sample to oppose DEI policies—especially those that involve considering DEI when recruiting, hiring, and promoting scientists—on the grounds that such efforts may result in compromising scientific excellence for the sake of moral and/or political values. Future research is needed to investigate how well the categorization system established in the present research describes the perceptions of faculty in STEM fields.

Beyond fields of study, it is worth noting that all of the interviews were conducted at one institution. An immediate question is whether the results generalize to other UC campuses and other institutions across the country. UC Riverside takes pride in its commitment to DEI, and even received the 2018 Higher Education Excellence in Diversity Award from *INSIGHT into Diversity* magazine (Warren, 2018). Furthermore, the entire UC system may be unique in its strong commitment to DEI and extensive coverage of ongoing DEI efforts. Moreover, UC administrators may be more inclined than administrators elsewhere to broadcast their support for DEI policies. This raises the question of how the UC culture compares to the culture within other university systems.

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[76] Scientific objectivity consists of the freedom and responsibility of the researcher to (a) pose refutable hypotheses, (b) test hypotheses with relevant evidence, and (c) state the results in an unambiguous manner (Popper, 1957). The more "scientific" the field, the more automatic objectivity becomes (Castle, 1968).
[77] Value free science is the ideal that findings not be based on non-epistemic (e.g., moral, political) commitments (Betz, 2013).

The geographic location likely influences the institutional context and reflects the personal values of the faculty in the sample. California is the most diverse state in the country (World Population Review, 2020; McCann, 2019) and is also a very liberal state (McGhee, 2020) with Democrats overwhelmingly occupying state governmental positions (GovTrack.us, 2020). As such, faculty at UC Riverside may be accustomed to liberal politics and may see DEI policies as a natural extension of ongoing state efforts.

With that in mind, the results of the present research may actually offer a conservative estimate of the ideological variability that exist in other institutional contexts. If faculty express complex views *even* in an institutional context with strong social norms that promote DEI, there may be even greater complexity of views among the faculty who do not experience such strong social pressures. Thus, it is necessary to see how faculty's perceptions may differ as a function of their institutional context.

At a national level, this is a particularly tense political period that might have heightened liberal faculty's unity around their group's agenda of promoting DEI. Extensive social psychological research has revealed that when we join a group, we develop positive feelings toward other members of our in-group and negative or distrustful feelings toward our outgroup (see, e.g., Brewer, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This is especially true when we identify with a political group (Iyengar, Lelkes, Levendusky, Malhotra, & Westwood, 2019).

In America's two-party system, people often have negative views about members of the other party, making it difficult to have productive conversations about policies across the political divide. Moreover, members of the same party will switch their

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political views to be more closely aligned with what they perceive to be the positions of their party, thereby increasing political polarization (Layman, Carsey, & Horowitz, 2006). In today's polarized context, those on the political Left may perceive DEI policies as a necessary weapon against Trump's executive orders and offensive rhetoric. Thus, it is important to see whether the relative distribution of faculty in the four categories may shift during less politically polarized times in the nation.

Political coalitions become especially pronounced under conditions of extreme political polarization, and the widest partisan gaps are seen on the issues of guns and race, two issues known to pit civic liberties against civic values (Pew, 2019b). In addition, much has happened since the interviews took place. In the midst of nationwide protests surrounding George Floyd's death (Hill, Tiefenthäler, Triebert, Jordan, Willis, & Stein, 2020), a resurgence of the Black Lives Matter movement (Wortham, 2020), and the #ShutdownSTEM (2020) movement, it would be interesting to see whether (and if so, how) faculty's views on DEI may have shifted. The results of the upcoming 2020 presidential election may also influence faculty's perceptions of DEI issues in interesting and surprising ways. Divisive political events and the overall polarization we see in our country may lead faculty—the vast majority of whom identify as left of center—to exhibit greater solidarity with the democratic party and to show greater support for liberal DEI policies.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We are living in a time of profound disunity across the country. It is a period where what is clearly needed—and clearly missing—is a willingness to inquire honestly about how others, particularly those with whom we disagree, see our current political situation. In the process, we may discover unsettling realities about ourselves. We may realize gaps in our reasoning, limitations of our theories, and self-serving motives behind our positions. When this happens, regardless of what "side" we are on, it is crucial to remain open and willing to change our views in response to the new information, however disillusioning it may be. This requires courage, as changing our beliefs in response to evidence may result in alienation from the communities we rely on for self-affirmation, group solidarity, and social support. It is a testament to our intellectual maturity when we are able to recognize and acknowledge that there are reasonable people of good will who do not share the deepest, most cherished beliefs that form our identity.

Issues surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) are a microcosm of what we see in across our country. What makes it so difficult to become unified around DEI policies is a zero-sum competition that exists between values—specifically, traditional academic values of academic freedom, free speech, and the pursuit of truth versus progressive academic values of diversity, equity, and inclusion. Each side believes their values are incompatible with those of the other side. As a result, polarization deepens. Under these circumstances, it becomes increasingly difficult to express uncertainty, lest one give ammunition to the "other side" or endure censure from those on their side. Furthermore, even when people believe they are expressing their ambivalence, their

views may be perceived by others as more consistent and extreme than they really are

(Gilovich, Savitsky, & Medvec, 1998; Gilovich & Savitsky, 1999). The discrepancy

between internal emotions and external displays may contribute to a state of pluralistic

ignorance (Miller, Monin, & Prentice, 2000; Prentice & Miller, 1993). In such a situation,

people may be hesitant to reveal feelings of uncertainty lest they be perceived as being on

the wrong side of the issue.

What can be done to reduce polarization and enhance the capacity of both sides to

discover common ground? One potential solution is to provide people with accurate

information that can correct erroneous preconceptions about the other side. Keltner and

Robinson (1997) examined literature professors' perceptions of the degree of overlap

between "traditionalists'" and "revisionists'" reading lists and found that the real amount

of overlap was much greater than the two groups (especially the traditionalists) had

assumed. Importantly, correcting erroneous preconceptions led to more positive views of

the other group and to the pursuit of integrative solutions. Thus, what seems needed are

discussions that allow both sides to publicly express their apprehensions and reach

mutually agreed upon solutions. Such discourse may clarify the types of

misunderstandings that are so often characteristic of disputes regarding DEI policies.

That said, it is important to acknowledge that simply asking both sides to express

and justify their beliefs may be ineffective or even counterproductive. On the issue of

affirmative action, for example, Puccio and Ross (2000) illustrated this point by

comparing the efficacy of two potential techniques for reducing polarization. Using the

first technique, participants with opposing views were instructed to explain their own

positions on affirmative action. This approach did nothing to reduce polarization. Using the second technique, participants with opposing views were instructed to explain not their own positions, but the aspects of the other side's positions that they found most compelling. This approach significantly reduced polarization. It appears that partisans on affirmative action acquired a more accurate impression of the other side's views when the two sides sympathetically presented each other's arguments than when they merely justified their own arguments. Applied to the current research, the benefits of having partisans on all sides of DEI policies display an understanding and appreciation of others' arguments might be greater than a mere increase in intergroup accuracy and may facilitate a more cooperative, optimistic pursuit of DEI policies by all.

It is difficult to convey how the present research promotes the social good, however. In a sense, the goal is to cultivate a greater recognition and acknowledgement of the various ideas surrounding what even is the "social good" in the minds of academics. For example, it does not seem that seeking the truth is what all academics believe is a social good—in fact, some believe truth is a subjective, socially constructed notion that perpetuates oppression, so the goal is to question all "truths" until we see that the only real truth is that no "truth" exists. Thus, the social good for some is the discovery of truth, whereas for others it is the discovery that there is no truth.

Rather than venture down that philosophical rabbit hole, I hope there is social good inherent in providing an approximately accurate, detailed representation of the psychological reasoning that shapes how academics evaluate the most contentious sociopolitical issues facing the academy today. Doing so can help dispel stereotypes and

strawman arguments that prevent constructive discourse from occurring. Many in the public sphere have expressed concern that academia has become a breeding ground for progressive politics. This concern is increasing among not only those on the Right, but also those in the center and on the Left. The present research offers somewhat of a corrective to this common perception. Although radically critical faculty (and to some extent supportive faculty as well) express views that may be seen as evidence that academics are engrossed in progressive political commitments, such faculty comprised only half of the sample. The other half—the ambivalent and opposed faculty—have strong concerns that echo those expressed in the public sphere. Even academics who one might expect to be the most enthralled with DEI express a range of views precisely because of their competing commitments.

Policies that concern DEI may pit civic values against civic liberties in ways that are difficult for us to reconcile not only with one another, but also within ourselves. How do we honor the contributions of people who came before us—people who articulated and defended principles of justice, built our current institutions, and espoused key virtues—while also recognizing the troubling, sometimes depraved ways they failed to model and uphold their own ideals? How do we encourage all people in our society today to cherish the American values of equality, liberty, and justice that have made our country a shining beacon across time and place, while also recognizing that our light is dimmed by a history in which many people were deliberately denied the opportunity to claim ownership of those values? How do we call attention to the tremendous progress that has been made since the founding of our country and since the establishment of our

institutions, while also recognizing that additional changes may still need to be made? How do we become unified if we automatically attribute disunity to the moral shortcomings of the other side?

My research does not provide answers to these questions. Instead, I offer a framework for understanding how academics who have spent their careers studying the intricacies of human nature grapple with these difficult questions. It is only through an honest, accurate understanding of where and why people are conflicted with one another—and within themselves—that we may be able to recognize the humanity in those with whom we disagree. In doing so, we may discover our shared humanity as well.

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APPENDIX A: Recruitment Email Sent to Faculty

Dear Professor ___,

I'm a fourth-year PhD candidate and a recipient of the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship. My faculty advisors are Steven Brint, who is a distinguished professor of sociology and public policy, and Howard Friedman, who is a distinguished professor of psychology.

The reason I'm contacting you is to see whether you're willing to be interviewed about norms and policies designed to create a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus. I am particularly interested in how you perceive and respond to suggestions and concerns that some ideas are seen as "politically incorrect." Some people don't feel comfortable talking about these topics for fear of being labeled too liberal or too conservative, or otherwise being misunderstood regarding these important but complex issues. I come from a position of wanting to understand multiple perspectives on these topics, which is why I will deeply respect your honest thoughts and will take numerous precautions to ensure confidentiality.

Everything you share with me will be confidential and no personally identifiable information will be disclosed. The goal is to better understand more subtle issues about diversity, equity, and inclusion that are sometimes not fully disclosed, even though they are important and relevant to university excellence. This interview will take approximately 1 hour.

Thank you for taking the time to learn about this research. Please let me know if you are interested in being interviewed. I would be happy to send you the informed consent in advance of the interview. I look forward to your response!

Best regards,
Komi

Komi T. German

PhD Candidate
Department of Psychology
University of California, Riverside

APPENDIX B: Informed Consent

UC Riverside

RESEARCH INFORMED CONSENT

Title of research study: Interviewing Faculty About Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

Researcher:	Komi German, PhD Candidate
	Department of Psychology
	(415) 250-8048
	Kgerm002@ucr.edu

Faculty Advisor:	Steven Brint, Distinguished Professor
	Department of Sociology
	(951) 827-2103
	Steven.brint@ucr.edu

Introduction:

This is a research study about your thoughts on efforts to promote diversity, equity and inclusion on college and university campuses. The study researcher, Komi German, from the UCR Department of Psychology, will explain this study to you. Research studies include only those people who choose to participate in the study.
You are being asked to take part in this study because you are a faculty member in the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (CHASS).

What happens if I say yes, I want to be in this research?

- The interview will take approximately 1 hour
- You will speak one on one with the researcher
- The interview will be conducted in your office at a time that is convenient for you
- The researcher will audio record the interview to ensure accuracy
- You will be given the opportunity to retract any statements during or after the interview
- You will be given the opportunity to indicate whether you wish to be contacted for a follow-up study, or notified regarding the results of this research

You can skip questions you do not want to answer or stop participating at any time. We will keep your answers confidential and will not share your personal information with anyone outside the research team.

If you decide to discontinue participation altogether, your data will be altogether removed from the study. You may also retract any statements you make during this interview that you do not wish to have transcribed and used for research purposes. Furthermore, you will be provided a copy of the transcript to review.

Whom can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, please contact:

Steven Brint, Distinguished Professor, Dept. of Sociology and Public Policy, University of California, Riverside (951) 827-2103 steven.brint@ucr.edu

If you have questions about your rights or complaints as a research subject, please contact the IRB Chairperson at (951) 827 - 4802 during business hours, or to contact them by email at irb@ucr.edu.

CONSENT

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. The decision to participate, or not participate, is solely up to you.

If you wish to participate in this study, you should sign below.

_____   _____
Date   Participant's Signature for Consent

As the research study includes audio recordings, are you willing to be audio recorded for this research?

    [ ] Yes   [ ] No

Please indicate below your willingness to continue your involvement in this research.

    I would like to be contacted again for a follow-up interview or a related study.

        [ ] Yes   [ ] No

    I would like to be notified of the results and implications of this research.

        [ ] Yes   [ ] No

APPENDIX C: IRB Approval Form

DETERMINATION OF EXEMPTION

INVESTIGATOR: Brint, Steven; German, Komi   **Faculty Advisor:** Steven Brint

DEPARTMENT: Sociology

PROJECT TITLE: "Interviewing Faculty About Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion"

IRB-SB NUMBER: HS - 19-048

FUNDING SOURCE: None

SPECIAL CONDITIONS: The PI MUST submit the following information to the UCR IRB-SB:
       None

NOTE: Approval by the Institutional Review Board does not, in and of itself, constitute approval for the implementation of this research. Other institutional clearances and approvals may be required (e.g., EH&S, IACUC, IBC, other institutional IRBs). **Accordingly, the project should not begin until all required approvals have been obtained.**

THE UCR IRB-SB HAS REVIEWED THE PROPOSED USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN THE REFERENCED APPLICATION AND MADE THE FOLLOWING DETERMINATIONS:

1. Level of Review - 45 CFR 46.104(d)(2) Exempt [revised Common Rule]

2. Special Population - None

3. Risk - Minimal

4. The risks to participants minimized by using procedures consistent with sound research design that do not unnecessarily expose participants to risk.

5. The risks are reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits to individual participants and the importance of the knowledge that may reasonably be expected to result.

6. The selection of participants is reasonable and equitable.

7. The PI has had the appropriate human subjects research training.

8. Consent - Signed Consent Approved

9. Expiration Date: Not applicable

THE INVESTIGATOR SHALL PROMPLTY REPORT THE FOLLOWING TO THE IRB-SB:
(1) Changes to the protocol (e.g., increase the number of participants, or changing the participant population, recruitment methods, procedures, documents) via an amendment, or
(2) Unanticipated problems involving risk to participants or others (please contact the IRB-SB for instructions).

2/26/19
DATE

DESIGNATED STAFF/COMMITTEE MEMBER
UCR HUMAN RESEARCH REVIEW BOARD
DR. MICHAEL PAZZANI (UCR IO), VICE CHANCELLOR, RESEARCH
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

HS-19-048

uc**RIVERSIDE**

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Application for Use of Human Participants/subjects in research

UCR faculty researchers, students, visiting professors, and postdocs)

tion

This IRB application must be typed out and submitted via e-mail (irb@ucr.edu) along with all the appendices and signatures. All the applicable questions should be answered. Do not delete or alter any questions on this application form. Try to follow the suggested length requirements and focus on ethical issues.

1. Title of Research Study:

Interviewing Faculty About Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

2. Researcher (e.g., UCR faculty, student, postdoc, visiting professor):

Title (e.g., Dr., Mr., etc.): Ms.	Name: Komi German
Department: Psychology	
Phone: (415) 250-8048	Institutional e-mail: kgerm002@ucr.edu
Alternate contact (e.g., research coordinator, department administrator) name: N/A	Alternate contact Institutional e-mail: N/A

3. UCR Status:

Faculty (50% f/t) ☐   Doctoral ☒   Masters ☐   Undergrad ☐   Post-Doctoral ☐
Visiting professor/External researcher ☐   Other ☐ (specify:)

4. UCR Faculty Advisor or Sponsor

a) **List the UCR Faculty Advisor or Sponsor. Advisor or Sponsor must meet PI eligibility as defined by UCR Policy #527-3. (Q4a is to be filled out only if person in Q2 is a UCR student, trainee, postdoc, or visiting scholar; for faculty research, this question should be blank):**

Title (e.g., Dr., Prof): Prof	Name: Steven Brint
Department: Sociology and Public Policy	Email: steven.brint@ucr.edu

b) **Department information (for UCR faculty or Faculty advisor):**

Department chair name: Augustine Kposowa and Jan E. Stets

5. Personnel

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a) **Are co-investigators involved in this project?** Yes ☐ No ☒

b) **List all <u>key personnel</u> in the project roster as an appendix.**

6. Funding
a) **List all anticipated or secured funding source(s):** N/A

b) **What category do(es) the funder(s) belong to (check all that apply):**

☐ Industry (e.g., Pharmaceutical, biotech, etc.)	☐ Non-profit sponsor (e.g., AHA, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, John Templeton, etc.)
☐ Government funding (e.g., NIH, NSF, CDFA, Riverside County, etc.)	☐ Departmental funds
☐ Other (describe):	☒ Not applicable/unfunded

c) **Status of Funding:**

☐ Funding obtained	If YES, provide the PAMIS award number(s):
☐ Funding applied for	If YES, provide the anticipated start date:
☒ No Funding required Participation is voluntary	If YES, explain why no funding is needed:

7. Conflict of Interest
Do you or any other study personnel (or the spouse, registered domestic partner and/or dependent children thereof) have a direct or related financial interest that might affect, or even appear to affect, the rights and welfare of participants involved in this research?

☐ Yes ☒ No (If Yes, please contact <u>PRO</u> for a separate review)

8. Additional Reviews
a) **Has the research project received a scholarly, scientific, or peer review prior to this submission (this may involve a review by a funder, faculty supervisor, or a departmental committee):**

☐ Yes, specify:

☒ No (NB: IRB recommends a prior scholarly review for studies that are more than minimal risk)

☐ Pending, specify:

b) **Will this research involve any of the following (check all that apply & specify status of review):**

2

☐ Research using biohazardous materials including any human-derived materials such as blood, body secretions and tissues, primary and established cell lines [Institutional Biosafety Committee (IBC)]

☐ Research using human pluripotent cells [Stem Cell Oversight Committee (SCRO)]

☐ Research using vertebrae animals [Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC)]

☐ Promoting Research Objectivity Committee (PRO) – formerly COIC

☐ Other (e.g., UCR or non-UCR entities – such as UC Reliance Registry or another IRB) Specify:

☒ None – IRB is the only approval I need

II – Study Summary

9. Location of research: Where will this study take place? If it's a collaborative study, provide details regarding other site(s). If there is an online component, provide details.

(Max ¼ page)

The interviews will take place in the on-campus office of each faculty member who consents to participate.

10. Abstract (suitable for a lay audience)

(Max ¼ page)

I am interested in how faculty members perceive norms that are designed to create a more diverse, equity, and inclusive campus environment.

11. What is the scholarly rationale for this study?

(Max ½ page)

The practical goal of this research is to better understand which aspects of campus efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion are going well, as well as what areas could benefit from improvement. The feedback provided by faculty will allow us to make informed, concrete recommendations to students, faculty, and administrators regarding how to effectively think about and promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.

12. What are the study hypotheses or research questions?

(Max ¼ page)

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The interview will involve a series of questions pertaining to professors' perceptions of norms designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.

13. Describe the design and methodology specific to how human participants will be involved in the research.
    If there is to be an intervention or interaction with the participants, describe what the researcher and participants will do, who will conduct the procedures, where and when the procedures will take place, how frequently, for how long, what equipment will be used, etc.

(Max ½ page)

Each interview, which will ~~take 30 minutes to~~approximately 1 hour, will be scheduled at the professor's convenience and will be held in his/her office on the UCR campus. At the beginning each interview, the professor will be given the consent form to read and sign before proceeding. Each interview will be audio-recorded and the graduate-student researcher will transcribe the responses.

14. a) Does this study involve deception or intentional lack of disclosure? ☐ Yes ☒ No

    b) If YES, justify and indicate how participants will be debriefed. Indicate if participants are free to withdraw or selectively edit data after being fully debriefed.

(Max ¼ page)

15. Provide a list of appendices here for all additional materials submitted with this IRB application (e.g., Appendix A – Informed Consent; Appendix B – Interview Guide; Appendix C – References, Appendix D – Recruitment flyers/materials; Appendix E – Access letters.) at the end of this document. The list should be in the same order as you append the materials at the end of the document with headers for ease of review and referencing.

Appendix A – Informed Consent

Appendix B – Interview Protocol

Appendix C – Recruitment Email

Appendix D – Project Roster Form

III – Participants/Subjects

16. Study Timelines
    Estimated start date for involvement of participants: January 3, 2019
    Estimated completion date for the involvement of participants: July 3, 2019

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17. Please describe the participants/subjects. List the inclusion/exclusion criteria. If applicable, please provide a rationale for your choice in sample size and/or sample size calculation.

(Max ¼ page)

To maximize the representativeness and generalizability of the results yielded by the interview, recruitment efforts will be targeted at UCR professors at all stages of their careers (e.g., assistant, associate, full, distinguished, university, step IX) and are appointed UCR's College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (CHASS). The goal is for the final sample to consist of 50 professors.

18. a) Are there any age, language, gender, or race-related inclusion/exclusion criteria?
☒ Yes   ☐ No

b) If YES, please justify:

(Max ¼ page)

Participants must speak English and be at least 18 years of age in order to participate.

19. a) Will any participants/subjects be specifically recruited from the following categories listed below (check all that apply):

☐ **Under the age of 18**
☐ **Prisoners, probationers, or parolees**
☐ **Pregnant women, fetuses, or neonates**
☐ **Other characteristics that may cause them to be considered 'vulnerable' (e.g., cognitively impaired, educationally/economically disadvantaged, patients, students, staff, history of distrust, etc.) describe:**

b) If YES, please justify the use of the above populations, and detailing what additional safeguards will be included in the study to protect the rights and welfare of the subjects and will there be direct benefits. If NO, skip to the next question.

(Max ¼ page)

20. Recruitment methods: Describe the mode of communication, how participants will be approached. Any recruitment materials, e-mails, & scripts must be submitted for review and listed as an appendix in Q15.

(Max ¼ page)

UCR professors will be invited via email to participate in the interview. In the email, professors will be given details about the nature of the interview. The recruitment email is included in Appendix C of this application.

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21. Compensation: Will participants be compensated for their time? Describe the methods, amount and schedule for payment. If relevant, justify why compensation is not offered. What will happen to compensation if participants chose to withdraw?

(Max ¼ page)

No, participants will not be compensated for their time. The hope is that UCR professors will recognize the importance of contributing to research that is aimed at understanding the costs and benefits of diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts that impact them indirectly, if not directly as well.

22. Reimbursement: Will participants personally incur any expenses as a result of participation (e.g., fuel, missed work)? If relevant, justify why no reimbursement is offered.

(Max ¼ page)

No, the interviews will take place in professors' offices and will be scheduled according to professors' availability.

23. If you are recruiting participants through the Psychology Department's subject pool, please note that you must have a debriefing form (which should be listed in Q15 and appended for review) and be familiar with the procedures and policies approved in the UCR Psychology Subject Pool Protocol (HS-08-045).

IV. Consent process - Ensure you are following the UCR Informed Consent Guide. Sample Informed Consent
     Templates can be found on the ORI Resources page.

24. a) Describe the process that will be used to obtain informed consent. How will it be recorded? Who will be authorized to conduct the process? Note that it's the quality of the consent that's most important not the format.

(Max ¼ page)

Before beginning the interview, professors will be given a paper copy of the informed consent form, which they will be asked to read and then sign. The graduate-student researcher will sign on a line directly below the professor participant, thereby securing authorization to conduct the interview.

b) If you are applying for a waiver or alteration of the consent process (e.g., verbal, online, etc.), please explain how you are meeting the conditions for waiver or alteration outlined in the UCR informed Consent Guide.

(Max ¼ page)

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25. **Will anyone other than the participants provide consent (e.g., parents, guardians, legally authorized representatives, etc.)? Describe the process by which capacity/competency will be assessed.**

(Max ¼ page)

No, only the participant will provide consent.

26. **Where applicable, please describe how participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the study and outline the procedures that will be followed to allow them to exercise this right. Also, what will happen to the data already collected.**

(Max ¼ page)

The informed consent form will contain details regarding participants' right to withdraw from the interview and the procedures that will allow them to exercise this right. In the consent form it will also be explained that participants may retract any statements they do not wish to be transcribed and used for research purposes. Participants will also be provided a copy of the transcript to review.

27. **If research is taking place within a community or an organization, describe how access will be obtained. Are there any special considerations for obtaining consent? Access letters may be requested from the community or organization. Sample Access Letter template can be found on the ORI Resources page. Attach any relevant supporting documentation in Q15.**

(Max ¼ page)

N/A

28. **If relevant, please describe what information/feedback, if any, will be provided to the subjects and/or communities after their participation in the project is complete. How will they be able to access the information? If relevant, describe the debriefing process.**

(Max ¼ page)

In the consent form, participants will indicate whether (a) they would like to be contacted again for a follow-up interview or a related study, and (b) they would like to be notified of the results and implications of the interview.

29. **Possible Risks**
    a) **Please check off all potential risks to participants as individuals or as members of a community or to the researchers that may arise from this research.**

    i. **Physical Risks (e.g., bodily contact, administration of substance):** ☐ **Yes** ☒ **No**

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    ii. **Psychological/emotional risks (e.g., feeling uncomfortable or upset):** ☒ **Yes** ☐ **No**

    iii. **Social risks (e.g., economic, loss of status or reputation):** ☐ **Yes** ☒ **No**

    iv. **Legal risks (e.g., arrest or subpoena):** ☐ **Yes** ☒ **No**

  b) **Describe the possible risks and consider the probability and magnitude of possible harms and discomforts. Describe the procedures that will be used to minimize potential risks to participants.**

(Max ¼ page)

To gain a deep understanding of professors' thoughts about diversity, equity, and inclusion on campus, some of the interview questions will prompt professors to think about their personal, potentially sensitive experiences. This poses the risk of making participants uncomfortable. To minimize this risk, participants will be offered the choice of skipping certain questions altogether or returning to them at a later point in the interview. <u>Moreover, participants will be reminded that they will have the opportunity to review their transcript and omit any information they do not wish to share.</u>

30. Possible Benefits
  a) **Describe possible direct benefits to participants. If there are no direct benefits, please state so.**

(Max ¼ page)

There are no direct benefits to participants.

  b) **Describe possible benefits to communities, society, or scientific knowledge in general.**

(Max ¼ page)

The purpose of the interview is to understand what faculty believe are the costs and benefits of efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion on campus, which extends to communities, society, and scientific knowledge in general. Professors, having spent decades in academia and potentially researching these topics in their respective fields, are in an ideal position to shed light upon the impacts of efforts to diversity, equity, and inclusion. They may have a keen understanding of what has worked, and why, as well as what has not worked, and why. This knowledge can be used to refine our conceptualization and efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.

31. <u>Privacy, Confidentiality</u> & Data

8

a) <u>Privacy</u>: **Where and how will participants be providing information? Are the researchers collecting identifying information (e.g., names, addressed, phone numbers, DOBs, phone numbers, licenses, audio/video recordings, etc.)? If yes, please describe:**

(Max ¼ page)

The following is a list of participants' demographic information that will be linked to the transcripts of their audio-recorded interviews: gender, age, race/ethnicity, political affiliation, first-generation college graduate, number of years since obtaining PhD, department, area, specialty/focus, number of years at UCR, number of years at previous institution(s), current position, previous position(s), universities/colleges where previous positions were held, type of position held at each university, courses taught in the past 5 years, courses planned to teach in the next year, organizational affiliations. <u>This information will be stored in files secured with encryption software.</u>

b) <u>Confidentiality</u>: **Describe the procedures used to protect the confidentiality of participants. If not relevant, describe any limitations to protecting the confidentiality of participants whether due to the law or method used (e.g., confidentiality is not appropriate). For use of electronic identifiable information outside of a secure server environment, the IRB recommends the use of encryption software.**

(Max ¼ page)

After each audio-recorded interview, the graduate-student researcher will transcribe the contents, omitting any names or other potentially identifying information (e.g., field of study, title) verbally disclosed by the professor during the interview. The transcribed content will be assigned an unrelated ID number. Only the researcher will have access to the professors' demographic characteristics. Furthermore, demographic trends associated with professors' interview responses will be analyzed on a summary, rather than case-by-case, basis.

c) **Where will the data be stored and for how long? Who will have access to identifying information and for what reason?**

(Max ¼ page)

The data will be stored on a password-protected computer and hard drive for an indeterminate period of time. The audio-recordings and transcripts will be available only to the graduate-student researcher and the faculty advisor overseeing the study.

32. **The US research regulations define '*Minimal Risk*' as the probability and magnitude of physical or psychological harm that is normally encountered in the daily lives, or in the routine medical, dental, or psychological examination of healthy persons. (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 50)**

a) **Do you believe your proposed research activities meet the above definition of '*Minimal Risk*'?**

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| ☐☒ Yes   ☐☒ No

b) If yes, please elaborate by engaging your particular IRB proposal with the definition above.

(Max ¼ page)
Participants in the study are faculty who have likely encountered the topics of diversity, equity, and inclusion in their everyday professional lives due to the many academic settings in which these topics are raised (e.g., faculty meetings, hiring committees, research content, grant and fellowship applications). In Question 29a.ii.) I acknowledged that 'Psychological/emotional risks' exist, and in Question 29b.) I explained the efforts that will be taken to minimize these risks (e.g., confidentiality assurance, anonymity of data, freedom to withdraw or skip questions, or retract answers). Once these precautions are taken, I believe the research activities will pose a 'Minimal Risk' to participants.

Final decision of whether an application is minimal risk or higher is up to the IRB

IRB application submission instructions:

All IRB applications must be submitted via email (irb@ucr.edu) with the required signatures in place. The application should be submitted as a single attachment in PDF or Word format. All the appendices are to be inserted in the single attachment in the order that they are listed in question Q15 with descriptive headers to facilitate cross referencing and review of the application.
If this application is more than minimal risk, please note the submission deadlines for IRB meetings on our website. Ultimately, the IRB may choose to escalate an application for full board review if it deems the level of risk to be more than minimal. While this is a subjective assessment, it is not a haphazard one. For additional guidance and assistance, please visit the ORI IRB FAQ's and Resources pages.

For student/trainee or UCR-faculty sponsored research applications, all 3 signatures are required (student/trainee + UCR faculty + chair). For faculty research, only two are required (faculty + chair).

V. Signatures (electronic or scanned signatures are acceptable; taking a single picture of all the signatures in place is acceptable; inserting a jpeg of the signature is acceptable, also)

My signature as researcher, confirms that this study has been designed to protect human participants. I am responsible for the scientific and ethical conduct of the research and providing all reports and information to the IRB, as well as other related groups. I further confirm that I am not in violation of UCR's conflict of interest policy while participating in this research.   All members of the research team are appropriately credentialed and trained to perform the work undertaken and all the research-related activities. I will provide all continuing review documentation to the IRB.

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V. <u>Signatures</u> (electronic or scanned signatures are acceptable; taking a single picture of all the signatures in place is acceptable; inserting a jpeg of the signature is acceptable, also)

My signature as researcher, confirms that this study has been designed to protect human participants. I am responsible for the scientific and ethical conduct of the research and providing all reports and information to the IRB, as well as other related groups. I further confirm that I am not in violation of UCR's conflict of interest policy while participating in this research. All members of the research team are appropriately credentialed and trained to perform the work undertaken and all the research-related activities. I will provide all continuing review documentation to the IRB.

Researcher's signature --- Date: ------------------ **2/4/19**

My signature as UCR faculty advisor and/or supervisor, confirms that this study has been designed to protect human participants. I have read and approved all aspects of this proposal. As a UCR faculty supervisor, I am ultimately responsible for the scientific and ethical conduct of the research and providing all reports and information to the IRB, as well as other groups. I further confirm that I am not in violation of UCR's conflict of interest policy while participating in this research. All members of the research team are appropriately credentialed and trained to perform the work undertaken and all the research-related activities. I will provide appropriate supervision to the undergraduate / graduate student or postdoc.

UCR Faculty advisor's / faculty sponsor's signature ---*See next page*--- Date: ------------------

My signature as departmental chair, confirms that I am aware of the project and that it has received appropriate review prior to submission to the IRB. In addition, my administrative unit will follow guidelines and procedures to ensure compliance with all relevant UCR, state, federal govern research involving human participants. My signature also reflects the willingness of the department, faculty or division to administer the research funds, if there are any, in accordance with University policies.

Department chair signature (If chair is the faculty advisor or it is departmental chair's research, the Dean should sign below; if it is Dean's research, no additional signatures are required)

Chair's / Dean's (or designate's) signature ------------------------------------- Date: Feb 3, 2019

If this application is more than minimal risk, please note the submission deadlines for IRB meetings on our website. Ultimately, the IRB may choose to escalate an application for full board review if it deems the level of risk to be more than minimal. While this is a subjective assessment, it is not a haphazard one. For additional guidance and assistance, please visit the ORI IRB FAQ's and Resources pages.
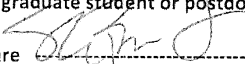
For student/trainee or UCR-faculty sponsored research applications, all 3 signatures are required (student/trainee + UCR faculty + chair). For faculty research, only two are required (faculty + chair).

V. Signatures (electronic or scanned signatures are acceptable; taking a single picture of all the signatures in place is acceptable; inserting a jpeg of the signature is acceptable, also)

My signature as researcher, confirms that this study has been designed to protect human participants. I am responsible for the scientific and ethical conduct of the research and providing all reports and information to the IRB, as well as other related groups. I further confirm that I am not in violation of UCR's conflict of interest policy while participating in this research. All members of the research team are appropriately credentialed and trained to perform the work undertaken and all the research-related activities. I will provide all continuing review documentation to the IRB.

Researcher's signature --- Date: -------------------

My signature as UCR faculty advisor and/or supervisor, confirms that this study has been designed to protect human participants. I have read and approved all aspects of this proposal. As a UCR faculty supervisor, I am ultimately responsible for the scientific and ethical conduct of the research and providing all reports and information to the IRB, as well as other groups. I further confirm that I am not in violation of UCR's conflict of interest policy while participating in this research. All members of the research team are appropriately credentialed and trained to perform the work undertaken and all the research-related activities. I will provide appropriate supervision to the undergraduate / graduate student or postdoc.

UCR Faculty advisor's / faculty sponsor's signature ------------------------- Date: ------------------
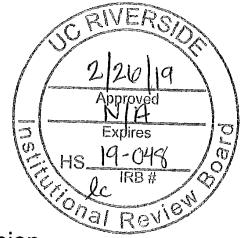
My signature as departmental chair, confirms that I am aware of the project and that it has received appropriate review prior to submission to the IRB. In addition, my administrative unit will follow guidelines and procedures to ensure compliance with all relevant UCR, state, federal govern research involving human participants. My signature also reflects the willingness of the department, faculty or division to administer the research funds, if there are any, in accordance with University policies.

Department chair signature (If chair is the faculty advisor or it is departmental chair's research, the Dean should sign below; if it is Dean's research, no additional signatures are required)

Chair's / Dean's (or designate's) signature ---------------------------------- Date: ------------------

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Appendix A – Informed Consent

UC Riverside
RESEARCH INFORMED CONSENT

Title of research study: Interviewing Faculty About Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

Researcher:	Komi German, PhD Candidate
	Department of Psychology
	(415) 250-8048
	Kgerm002@ucr.edu

Faculty Advisor:	Steven Brint, Distinguished Professor
	Department of Sociology
	(951) 827-2103
	Steven.brint@ucr.edu

Introduction:

This is a research study about your thoughts on efforts to promote diversity, equity and inclusion on college and university campuses. The study researcher, Komi German, from the UCR Department of Psychology, will explain this study to you. Research studies include only those people who choose to participate in the study.

You are being asked to take part in this study because you are a faculty member in the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (CHASS).

What happens if I say yes, I want to be in this research?

- The interview will take approximately 1 hour
- You will speak one on one with the researcher
- The interview will be conducted in your office at a time that is convenient for you
- The researcher will audio record the interview to ensure accuracy
- You will be given the opportunity to retract any statements during or after the interview
- You will be given the opportunity to indicate whether you wish to be contacted for a follow-up study, or notified regarding the results of this research

You can skip questions you do not want to answer or stop participating at any time.

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We will keep your answers confidential and will not share your personal information with anyone outside the research team.

If you decide to discontinue participation altogether, your data will be altogether removed from the study. You may also retract any statements you make during this interview that you do not wish to have transcribed and used for research purposes. Furthermore, you will be provided a copy of the transcript to review.

Whom can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, please contact:

Steven Brint, Distinguished Professor, Dept. of Sociology and Public Policy, University of California, Riverside (951) 827-2103 steven.brint@ucr.edu

If you have questions about your rights or complaints as a research subject, please contact the IRB Chairperson at (951) 827 - 4802 during business hours, or to contact them by email at irb@ucr.edu.

CONSENT

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. The decision to participate, or not participate, is solely up to you.

If you wish to participate in this study, you should sign below.

_____   _____

Date   Participant's Signature for Consent

As the research study includes audio recordings, are you willing to be audio recorded for this research?

    [ ] Yes   [ ] No

Please indicate below your willingness to continue your involvement in this research.
    I would like to be contacted again for a follow-up interview or a related study.
        [ ] Yes   [ ] No
    I would like to be notified of the results and implications of this research.
        [ ] Yes   [ ] No

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Appendix B – Interview Protocol

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. I'll begin by introducing myself and sharing some background about my research. I'm a fourth-year PhD candidate and a recipient of the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship. My faculty advisors are Steven Brint, who is a Distinguished Professor in Sociology and Public Policy, and Howard Friedman, who is a Distinguished Professor in Psychology.

The purpose of this interview is to understand your thoughts about norms and policies designed to create a more diverse, inclusive, and equitable campus. I am particularly interested in how you perceive and respond to suggestions and concerns that some ideas are seen as "politically incorrect." Some people don't feel comfortable talking about these topics for fear of being labeled too liberal or too conservative, or otherwise being misunderstood regarding these important but complex issues. I come from a position of wanting to understand multiple perspectives on these topics, which is why I will deeply respect your honest thoughts and will take numerous precautions to ensure confidentiality. Everything you share with me will be anonymous and no personally identifiable information will be disclosed. The goal is to better understand more subtle issues about diversity, equity, and inclusion that are sometimes not fully disclosed, even though they are important and relevant to university excellence. This interview will take less thanapproximately 1 hour. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Part I: Thoughts About Specific Norms/Policies Designed to Promote Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

At many universities (including UCR), norms have emerged, and policies have been established to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion. I'll briefly define these terms and then ask you for your thoughts about specific norms and policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion. These definitions were taken from the Ford Foundation.
- Diversity is the representation of all identities and differences, collectively and as individuals.
- Equity refers to fair treatment, equality of opportunity, and parity in access to information and resources for all.
- Inclusion is the contribution and participation of all people.

I'd like to hear your thoughts about specific norms and policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion…

[Racial/gender considerations] Should a graduate admissions committee **consider** an applicant's race and/or gender in addition to his or her academic background? Why do you say that?
- [Racial preferences] Should an applicant who has a significantly lower but still qualifying GPA (e.g., a B+ vs. an A average) and who scored significantly lower (but still qualifying) on standardized assessments (e.g., GRE, ACT), but comes from a historically underrepresented ethnic or racial minority group, be equally likely to be **admitted** to a graduate program, if all other things are equal? Why do you say that?

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- [Gender preferences] Should an applicant who has a significantly lower but still qualifying GPA (e.g., a B+ vs. an A average) and who scored significantly lower (but still qualifying) on standardized assessments (e.g., GRE, ACT), but is a female in a predominantly male field like computer science or engineering, be equally likely to be **admitted** to a graduate program, if all other things are equal? Why do you say that?

[Diversity mission] Should a university have, as part of its **formal mission**, a commitment to diversity? Why do you say that?
- [Diversity statement] Should a university require applicants for faculty positions to **submit a diversity statement** along with a standard teaching and/or research statement? Why do you say that?
- [Diversity pledge] Should a university require recently hired faculty to **sign a pledge** demonstrating their commitment to diversity? Why do you say that?

[Multicultural curriculum reform – contributions approach] Should faculty make a **greater effort** than is generally done at UCR to select books and activities that celebrate holidays, heroes, and special events from various cultures? Why do you say that?
- [Multicultural curriculum reform – transformation approach] Should faculty **change the structure** of their curriculum and encourage students to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from several ethnic perspectives? Where is this relevant? Why do you say that?
- [Multicultural curriculum reform – social action approach] In addition to **transforming the curriculum**, should faculty actively encourage their students to **do something** about the important social issues they have studied? Why do you say that?

[Speech codes] Should a university pass a **speech code** to restrict language that may be offensive to members of historically disadvantaged groups? Why do you say that?
- [Gender pronouns] Should a university require faculty to refer to students by their **preferred gender pronouns**? Why do you say that?
- [Microaggressions] Should a university release a list of words, phrases, and questions that constitute **microaggressions**? (E.g., "America is a land of opportunity," "There is only one race, the human race," "Where are you from?" "Why are you so quiet?") Why do you say that?
- [Trigger warnings] Should a department release a list of potentially offensive topics (e.g., rape law, animal cruelty, eating disorders, death, blood, sexism, classism, racism, transphobia, homophobia) that warrant the release of **trigger warnings** before being discussed in a course? Why do you say that?

[Safe spaces – student funded] Should a university allow **student organizations** to raise funds for the creation of **safe spaces** (i.e., places where students who feel marginalized can come together to air their grievances)? Why do you say that?
- [Safe spaces – university funded] Should a **university** provide funds for the creation of **safe spaces**? Why do you say that?

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[Implicit bias training] Implicit bias is the unconscious attribution of particular qualities to a member of a certain social group. Should a university require **implicit bias training** designed to increase awareness of implicit bias and reduce its impact on the campus? Why do you say that?

- [Implicit bias response teams] Should a university have a **bias response team** whose stated goal is to provide support to those who may have been targets of or affected by bias? Why do you say that?

[Speaker protests] Should a group on campus be permitted to vigorously but non-violently **protest** a speaker whose views they see as very offensive (e.g., racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic)? Why do you say that?

- [Speaker disinvitations] Should a group on campus be permitted to **disinvite** a speaker whose views they see as very offensive? Why do you say that?
- [Speaker shutdowns] Should a group on campus be permitted to **verbally or physically shut down** a speaker whose views they see as very offensive? Why do you say that?

Are there additional norms or policies we haven't discussed, or other comments you would like to make?

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about various norms and policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Part II: Thoughts About DEI Norms/Policies in General

Now I'd like to ask you about these norms/policies in general...

- What are your **thoughts** about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?
  - o Which aspects of these norms/policies do you **support**? Why?
  - o Are there aspects of these norms/policies you **oppose**? If so, what aspects do you oppose and why?
  - o Have your thoughts about these norms/policies changed or evolved in recent years? If so, when, how, and why have your thoughts **changed**?

- In general (outside the context of this interview) how **willing** are you to **publicly express** your thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?
  - o In what **settings** are you **most willing** to publicly express your thoughts?
  - o In what **settings** are you **least willing** to publicly express your thoughts?
  - o Has your willingness to publicly express your thoughts about these norms/policies **changed** in recent years? If so, when and why has your willingness changed?

- ~~Would you experience **intrinsic rewards** (e.g., peace of mind, self-respect, integrity) from **publicly expressing** your thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?~~

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- How do you think your **colleagues** in the department would **respond** to you publicly expressing your thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?
  - Would your colleagues' responses be the same regardless of whether you were expressing **support** or **opposition**?
  - Would your colleagues respond the same way in **public** as they would in **private**?

- Have you **been impacted** by norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion? If so, which norms/policies? Has the impact been **positive** or **negative**?
  - Do you believe you **can impact** these norms/policies by publicly expressing your thoughts about them? If so, why? If not, why not?

- What do you think are your **colleagues' thoughts** about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?
  - Do you think your colleagues' thoughts about these norms/policies have **changed** in recent years? If so, when, how, and why do you think your colleagues' thoughts have changed?

- Do you think your **colleagues** are **willing to publicly express** all of their thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion?
  - Do you think your colleagues' willingness to publicly express all of their thoughts about these norms/policies has **changed** in recent years? If so, when and why do you think your colleagues' willingness has changed?

- How would **you respond** to a colleague publicly expressing thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion that you **disagree** with?
  - How would **you respond** to a colleague publicly expressing thoughts about norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion that you **agree** with?
  - Would you respond the same way to your colleague in **public** as you would in **private**?

- ~~Do you believe **your colleagues** have **been impacted by** norms/policies designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion? If so, which norms/policies? Has the impact been **positive** or **negative**?~~
  - ~~Do you believe your colleagues **can impact** these norms/policies by publicly expressing their thoughts about them? If so, how and why? If not, why not?~~

Thank you for sharing your thoughts about various norms designed to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Part III: The Role of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Teaching and Research

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The last few questions involve the role of diversity, equity, and inclusion in teaching and research...

- When it comes to teaching, some professors believe that their primary and only obligation is to educate students about the theories, methods, and findings in their fields. This involves assessing students' knowledge of the subject matter. Other professors believe that it is also important – and perhaps even more important – to educate students about how knowledge can promote diversity, equity and inclusion.
    - o Which of these outlooks resonates more strongly with you? Or do you consider these outlooks to be inaccurate characterizations?
        - ▪ If you consider them inaccurate, why do you see them that way?
        - ▪ If you consider them accurate, why does one outlook resonate more strongly with you?

- When it comes to research, some professors believe that their primary and only obligation is to produce knowledge for the sake of knowledge, regardless of the effect it may have on diversity, equity, and inclusion. Other professors believe it is also their social responsibility to use knowledge to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion.
    - o Which of these outlooks resonates more strongly with you? Or do you consider these outlooks to be inaccurate characterizations?
        - ▪ If you consider them inaccurate, why do you see them that way?
        - ▪ If you consider them accurate, why does one outlook resonate more strongly with you?

Part III: Debriefing

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me and share your views. This final part of our interview is the debriefing.

Are there any additional topics related to diversity, equity, and inclusion, or the corresponding norms and policies that were missing from this interview?

Do you think the structure, content, or tone of this interview contained any biases? If so, what biases did you perceive? Were you affected by these biases? If so, how?

Has this interview changed the way (or simply the extent to which) you think about these topics? If so, how? What might the effect be?

Part IV: Demographics

Gender
Age
Race/ethnicity
Political affiliation
~~Organizational affiliations~~

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Request CV academic background~~First-generation college graduate~~
~~Number of years since your PhD~~

~~Department~~
~~Area~~
~~Specialty/focus~~

~~Number of years at UCR~~
~~Number of years at previous institution(s)~~

~~Current position~~
~~Previous position(s)~~
~~Universities/colleges where previous positions were held~~
~~Type of position held at each university~~

~~Courses taught in the past 5 years (request CV)~~
~~Courses planned to teach in the next year~~

Appendix C – Recruitment Email

Dear Professor _,

I'm a fourth-year PhD candidate and a recipient of the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship. My faculty advisors are Steven Brint, who is a Distinguished Professor in Sociology and Public Policy, and Howard Friedman, who is a Distinguished Professor in Psychology

The reason I'm contacting you is to see whether you're willing to be interviewed about norms and policies designed to create a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus. I am particularly interested in how you perceive and respond to suggestions and concerns that some ideas are seen as "politically incorrect." Some people don't feel comfortable talking about these topics for fear of being labeled too liberal or too conservative, or otherwise being misunderstood regarding these important but complex issues. I come from a position of wanting to understand multiple perspectives on these topics, which is why I will deeply respect your honest thoughts and will take numerous precautions to ensure confidentiality. Everything you share with me will be anonymous and no personally identifiable information will be disclosed. The goal is to better understand more subtle issues about diversity, equity, and inclusion that are sometimes not fully disclosed, even though they are important and relevant to university excellence. This interview will take ~~less~~ approximately ~~than~~ 1 hour.

Thank you for taking the time to learn about this research. Please let me know if you are interested in being interviewed. I would be happy to send you the informed consent in advance of the interview. I look forward to your response!
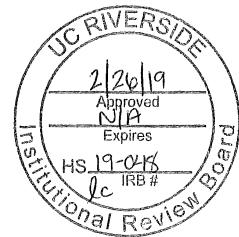
Best regards,

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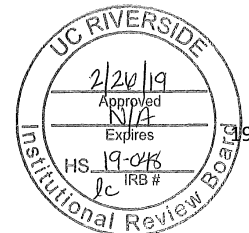
Komi

Komi T. German

Doctoral Candidate

Department of Psychology

University of California, Riverside

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Appendix D – Project Roster Form

Names of all personnel involved in this IRB application's design, conduct, or reporting			
Title of the research study:	Interviewing Faculty Regarding Advising Relationships		
	Name and Title	**Department/School**	**Involved in the consent process?**
Researcher*:	Komi German, PhD Candidate	Psychology	☒
(If applicable) UCR Faculty Advisor/ Supervisor*:	Steven Brint, Distinguished Professor	Sociology and Public Policy	☐
Co - Investigator (Co-I): *Please note a Co-I is required for clinical trials*			☐

*All investigators and staff conducting research must complete CITI <u>training.</u>
Investigators and staff conducting clinical trials are required to take GCP training, either through CITI or by providing a copy of their ACRP or SoCRA certification. Required training must be renewed every 5 years.*
*IRB approval cannot be issued until the researcher and advisor/supervisor (if applicable) have completed the required ethics training.

Name (Last, First) / Role in study (design, conduct, reporting, other)	<u>CITI training</u>	UCR Tutorial or NIH Protection Human Research Participants Course (PHRP)	GCP Training	ACRP/ SoCRA Certified	Involved in consent?
German, Komi / design, conduct, reporting	☒	☐	☐	☐	☒
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Researcher-Faculty Advisor/Supervisor Acknowledgement

I attest that the personnel delegated are qualified to perform the study-related procedures assigned to them and that all conflicts of interest these individuals have with this research have been reported to the UC Riverside Promoting Research Objectivity (PRO) Committee. I also attest that these individuals have received the training or have the qualifications indicated above.

UCR Faculty Researcher or Faculty Advisor signature:	Date

APPENDIX D: Interview Protocol

Introduction:

Thank you for meeting with me. I'm a fourth-year PhD candidate in Social Psychology, and a recipient of the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship. My advisors are Steven Brint, who is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Public Policy, and Howard Friedman, who is a Distinguished Professor of Psychology. The purpose of this interview is to understand how you perceive various efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion. I am particularly interested in your thoughts about the social climate in which these topics are discussed. Some people don't feel comfortable sharing their honest views for fear of being labeled, ostracized, penalized, etc. However, that is precisely the phenomenon I wish to study. My goal is to better understand the deeper, subtler issues surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion that are sometimes not fully disclosed for fear of social and/or professional sanctions. Before we begin, I want to emphasize that everything you share with me will be confidential and no personally identifiable information will be disclosed. This interview will take approximately 1 hour. Do you have any questions before we begin?

The first section of the interview consists of questions about promoting DEI through language policies.

Should there be a list, training, or workshop designed to raise awareness of **microaggressions?**
  - Should the training/workshop be voluntary or mandatory?
Should there be a **speech code** that restricts language some see as highly offensive?
  - Should there be penalties for violating the speech code, and if so, what penalties are warranted?
Should faculty release **trigger warnings** before discussing potentially sensitive topics?
  - Should faculty also permit students to opt out of lectures or assignments that involve sensitive topics?
Should there be **bias report forms and response teams** designed to monitor, investigate, and resolve incidents of bias?
  - Should there be disciplinary action for those accused, and if so, what sort of disciplinary action is warranted?

The second section of the interview consists of questions about promoting DEI on the physical campus.

Should **buildings named after controversial figures** be renamed?
  - What criteria would you use to determine whether a building should be renamed?

Should the **portraits of former department chairs**, many or all of whom are white males, be removed from the walls of buildings?

Should those who are upset by the views of an offensive speaker be permitted to **disinvite and/or shut down** the speaker?
- What criteria would you use to determine whether a speaker should be permitted to speak on campus?

The third and final section of the interview consists of questions about promoting DEI through hiring practices.

Should faculty be required to undergo **implicit bias training**?

Should applicants for faculty positions be required to **write a diversity statement**?
- What role should diversity statements play in the hiring process?

Should a hiring committee **consider** a candidate's race and/or gender in hiring?
- Compared to a candidate who doesn't come from a URM background, should a URM candidate who meets the hiring criteria but significantly lower numerical scores (e.g., fewer publications, publications in lower-impact journals) be **more, less, or equally likely** to be **hired?**
- Compared to a male applicant, should a female applicant who meets the hiring criteria but has significantly lower numerical scores, be **more, less, or equally likely** to be **hired** for a position in a **predominantly male field** (e.g., computer science, engineering)?