



heterodox academy

JUNE 6 - 8, 2024  CHICAGO, IL

*Principles in Action*



# Welcome to the 2024 HxA Annual Conference!

## Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the conference where open minds meet! The theme of our 2024 Conference is Principles in Action. In a historic moment when the function and future of higher education are up for debate like never before, HxA members and allies are gathering to present their research and experience and shed light on questions such as:

What are the principles, practices, and strategies that can make a concrete difference in promoting open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement?

How can our institutions, our teaching, and our research better respond to challenges from politicization, groupthink, polarization, and more-as experts, advocates, and exemplars?

What are the dangers, blind spots, and unintended consequences of an effort like this?

Over the next three days, you'll have the opportunity to connect with fellow HxA members, friends, and allied organizations during meals, receptions, coffee breaks, and in the exhibit hall. You'll hear from acclaimed thought leaders and discuss some of the most pressing issues of our time during plenary and concurrent programming.

As you connect with one another and explore the wealth of programming we have planned, we invite you to embrace your sense of curiosity. At HxA, we strive to exemplify the values we hope to see across higher education: open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement. We encourage you to consider and practice them at this conference and beyond.

Be rigorous and charitable with one another. Learn, challenge, and contribute to the discussion as we work together to ignite change.

Sincerely,

**Team HxA**



## Who We Are

Heterodox Academy (HxA) is a nonpartisan, nonprofit membership organization of thousands of faculty, staff, and students committed to advancing the principles of open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement to improve higher education and academic research. The HxA membership is made up of more than 6,800 faculty, staff, and students who come from more than 1,800 institutions, from large research universities to community colleges.

## Mission

*To advance the principles of open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement to improve higher education and academic research.*

We aspire to create college classrooms and campuses that welcome diverse people with diverse viewpoints and that equip learners with the habits of heart and mind to engage that diversity in open inquiry and constructive disagreement.

We see an academy eager to welcome professors, students, and speakers who approach problems and questions from different points of view, explicitly valuing the role such diversity plays in advancing the pursuit of knowledge, discovery, growth, innovation, and the exposure of falsehoods.

heterodox  
academy



# THURSDAY, JUNE 6

<p><b>11:00 AM - 9:00 PM</b> 5th Floor Registration</p>	<p><b>Check in and Registration</b> Stop by the registration desk on the 5th floor to pick up your name badge and registration packet.</p>
	<p><b>Pre-Conference Workshops</b> *must be registered for Pre-Conference Programming to attend</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM</b> Purdue</p>	<p><b>Putting Principles in Action: A Workshop for HxA Campus Communities</b> <i>Presented by Martha McCaughey and Bethany Boucher of HxA</i> The value and joy of building a community with a shared purpose is foundational to creating a culture shift on your campus. The HxA Campus Engagement team invites you to this interactive workshop exclusively for active members in our HxA Campus Community Network, where camaraderie and creativity will converge as you and fellow Campus Community members identify opportunities, challenges, and strategies through a series of engaging activities that you can bring to your own Campus Communities. Serious progress can also be seriously fun—let’s turn our shared vision into reality. At this workshop, you can expect to identify your Campus Community’s distinctive approach to organizing, building and sustaining relationships across the Campus Community Network, consider what it means to be an expert and exemplar on your campus, determine what your Campus Community needs—from HxA, your campus leaders and stakeholders, and develop some strategic communication strategies for your Campus Community. <b>*EXCLUSIVELY FOR ACTIVE HxA CAMPUS COMMUNITY MEMBERS</b></p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Indiana</p>	<p><b>When to Pull the FIRE Alarm: Understanding Faculty Rights &amp; how FIRE’s Faculty Legal Defense Fund can Help</b> <i>Presented by the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE)</i> The Faculty Legal Defense Fund (FLDF) at the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE) offers “first responder” assistance in protecting freedom of expression and the academic freedom of public college and university faculty members. FIRE’s FLDF staff will explain what these rights encompass, and what threats against them look like, as well as the scope of the program and how it operates as a resource available to you and your colleagues.</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Houston</p>	<p><b>Writing for Mass Audiences: A Primer</b> <i>Presented by Musa al-Gharbi, HxA Fellow and Assistant Professor, Stony Brook University</i> Writing for a general audience is very different from academic writing in many respects. Scholars do not gain much training in conveying complex knowledge and ideas in a clear, concise and accessible way for non-specialists -- however, mastering these skills can pay dividends in enhancing the reach and impact of one's research, improving one's pedagogy and enhancing one's opportunities. But for people who are interested in reaching a wider audience, it can often be difficult to know where to start. This session will provide a primer on how to compose an essay that stands a good chance of getting published in mainstream media outlets. The course will be led by Musa al-Gharbi, current professor of journalism and communication at Stony Brook University and previous Director of Communications for Heterodox Academy. Al-Gharbi's work has been published in the New York Times, Washington Post, The Atlantic, CNN, The Nation, The Guardian, New Republic and many other prominent outlets, and he regularly helps other scholars do the same.</p>



# THURSDAY, JUNE 6

<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Miami</p>	<p><b>Why and How to Collaborate with your Adversaries in Science (and Beyond)</b> <i>Presented by Cory Clark of the Adversarial Collaboration Project at the University of Pennsylvania</i></p> <p>This workshop will discuss Adversarial Collaboration, a methodological procedure in which scholars with contradictory empirical beliefs and hypotheses design new research together to adjudicate their competing perspectives. Dr. Cory Clark, the Executive Director of the Adversarial Collaboration Project at University of Pennsylvania, will discuss how adversarial collaborations can improve and expedite the scientific discovery process and turn enemies into friends. She will instruct attendees on how to carry out adversarial collaborations successfully. Attendees are encouraged to BYOA (bring your own adversary) to facilitate brainstorming of project ideas. There may be opportunities to get involved in ongoing or new adversarial collaborations and to apply for seed money to initiate your own adversarial collaboration. This workshop is suitable for all, but academics and researchers might gain the most.</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Michigan</p>	<p><b>Building Capacity for Civil Exchange Among Students</b> <i>Presented by Benjamin Klutsey, Executive Director of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University</i></p> <p>Pluralism is one of the main ingredients necessary for a healthy democratic republic. It is the capacity in citizens to steward and appreciate diversity towards a healthy, liberal, inclusive society; even while making space for deep divides and disagreements. It's no secret that today's populace struggles to understand and practice it, but the university is the best place to reverse that trend. This hands-on workshop will provide attendees with tools that foster constructive dialogue, reflective listening, and the virtues of curiosity, authenticity, and respect. The workshop will invite participants to simulate Mercatus Center's "Pluralist Lab" experience and then breakdown the key elements so participants can use parts or whole of the training in their classrooms.</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Northwestern</p>	<p><b>Making Space for Contentious Topics in the Classroom</b> <i>Presented by Elisheva Avishai and the Mill Institute at the University of Austin</i></p> <p>It can be very difficult to talk freely about contentious issues on campus. Part of the challenge we face is that certainty about our perspectives drives the oversimplification of ideas that, in turn, shuts down conversation. Join the founders of the Mill Institute at UATX for an interactive session where we'll discuss how to create the conditions where students can challenge their own settled thinking. Agreement isn't the goal. Living with the disagreement is.</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:45 PM and repeated at 3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Minnesota</p>	<p><b>Debating Contentious Ideas through Reacting to the Past: Revisiting Diderot's Encyclopédie</b> <i>Presented by David Eick, Professor of French and Fellow at the Pew Faculty Teaching and Learning Center at Grand Valley State University and Judy Walden, Professor of History at Simpson College</i></p> <p>Explore controversial ideas by taking a role in a complex game, set in the past. That's the idea of Reacting to the Past, now used at over 500 colleges and universities. Participants in this session will play an abbreviated version of the "Reacting" game: The Enlightenment in Crisis: Diderot's Encyclopédie in a Parisian Salon, 1750. In advance of the session, participants will be sent materials and assigned roles—such as Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and other leading scientists and thinkers of the day. Will Diderot's dream team brave the threat of the death penalty for sedition and irreligion? Will they find enough capital to publish the most ambitious undertaking in the history of publishing? Come and reshape the contentious intellectual history of the Enlightenment—and learn about an active-learning pedagogy that's reshaping higher education.</p>



# THURSDAY, JUNE 6

<b>2:45 - 3:00 PM</b> Chicago Foyer	<b>Coffee Break</b>
<b>3:00 - 4:45 PM</b> Purdue	<b>Building an Impactful HxA Community</b> <b>Presented by Martha McCaughey and Bethany Boucher of HxA</b> Leaders of existing HxA Communities, each with a distinctive approach to organizing, will offer those interested in building an HxA community insight into proposing, starting, and structuring a community, as well as identifying goals, priorities, and potential partner groups and organizations. A panel discussion with a heavy emphasis on addressing audience questions and concerns, ending with an informal networking opportunity, will help participants understand the value, responsibilities, and impact of forming an HxA community. This workshop will give you the tools necessary to identify what type of HxA community is right for you, know how to propose an HxA community, determine the appropriate cadence and priorities for meetings and programming, understand the commitments and rewards of building an HxA community, and identify opportunities, strategies, potential challenges, and best practices. This workshop will feature the following individuals in a panel discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Alexandra (Sasha) Lysova, SFU CC</li><li>• Craig Gibson, HxLibraries</li><li>• Andrus Ashoo, UVA CC</li><li>• Jennifer Townsend, WMU CC</li></ul>
<b>5:00 - 6:00 PM</b> Chicago ABC	<b>Pre-Conference Networking Dinner</b> Looking to meet and chat with fellow pre-conference workshop attendees? This time is yours to network, chat, and make new friends. A dinner buffet and wine and beer bar are provided. <i>*must be registered for Pre-Conference Programming to attend</i>
<b>6:30 - 7:15 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom	<b>Opening Remarks and Open Inquiry Awards Ceremony</b> John Tomasi, Heterodox Academy
<b>7:15 - 8:00 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom	<b>Opening Keynote: HxA's State of the University</b> John Tomasi, Heterodox Academy
<b>8:00 - 9:00 PM</b> Chicago Foyer	<b>Networking Reception</b> <i>Passed hors d'oeuvres and wine &amp; beer bar</i>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p><b>7:00 AM - 6:00 PM</b> 5th Floor Registration</p>	<p><b>Check-in and Registration</b> Stop by the registration desk on the 5th floor to pick up your name badge and registration packet.</p>
<p><b>7:30 - 8:30 AM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Buffet Breakfast</b> Sponsored by BridgeUSA</p>
<p><b>8:30 - 9:50 AM</b></p>	<p><b>Morning Concurrent Sessions</b></p>
<p>Denver</p>	<p><b>Teaching Practices: Classroom Management for Constructive Disagreement</b> <i>Susanne Lohmann, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)</i> <i>Ashley Pryor, University of Toledo</i> <i>Simon Cullen, Carnegie Mellon University</i> <i>Moderated by Nicole Barbaro, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Teaching the Conflict in the Age of the Discrimination Prevention Office</b> <i>Susanne Lohmann, Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)</i> I develop and test a systems pedagogy for the disputation of contested issues in the university classroom. Students participate in a structured debate and analyze their structured debate patterns, or they play games and analyze their game play data. Thusly students experience a human complex system in action, first from a frog's perspective, as an inhabitant of the system, then with a bird's eye view, as the analyst of the system. The result is experiential, interactive, and analytical learning as well as systems thinking. The effect is to promote tolerance and toleration.</p> <p><b>An Incantation Against Dogmatists and Academic Poseurs: Reclaiming Socratic Elenchus in an Age of Extremes</b> <i>Ashley Pryor, Associate Professor of Philosophy at The University of Toledo</i> During a time of heightened polarization, where dogmatic ideologies such as “wokeness” grip both sides of the political spectrum, one might yearn for a magic wand or incantation to break the spell of dogmatism and blind convictions. Charmides, an often overlooked dialogue of Plato, presents such an incantation in the practice of elenchus, or authentic Socratic method. The dialogue between Socrates and two ideologues (and aspiring tyrants), Critias and Charmides, directly applies to our current situation as educators seeking practical methods for improving the quality of thought and discussion in our classrooms. I argue that the “incantation” (epodè) Socrates proposes at 155e-157d is a supplement to the drug (pharmakon) of the Socratic method (elenchus), suggesting that true Socratic method is not reducible to a form or technique of argumentation, but equally must attend to its disposition—the disposition of epistemic modesty or moderation (sophrosyne). Socrates first proposes this “incantation” within the context of the question, “What is moderation (sophrosyne)?” Socrates’ interlocutors each demonstrate a curious ability to ape some of “the moves” associated with Socratic elenchus. Neither, however, can practice its most crucial characteristic - epistemic modesty - the unwavering commitment to follow an argument to its logical conclusion - revising - even abandoning preconceived notions, definitions, or other forms of certainty as the inquiry demands. Socrates’ patience and humility exemplify moderation throughout the Platonic oeuvre. By contrast, Critias and Charmides prove incapable of epistemic modesty. Critias barely conceals his narcissism and ambition, while Charmides’ false modesty betrays an opportunistic disingenuousness. Both prove arrogant and unreachable, and their attempts at the Socratic method are merely performative. The dialogue presents a helpful guide for ferreting out those dangerous ideologues and dogmatists who mimic the moves of Socratic inquiry but ultimately lack the spirit of the epistemic method required of it. My presentation will focus on two sure “tells” of sham Socratic practice. The first is the instructor who claims that their pedagogy is “informed by Socratic method” - when they are content to pose a series of leading questions to confirm a pre-established conclusion. The second is the ideologue, who mimics the form of Socratic method by offering (or demanding) a definitive definition but lacks the willingness or ability to test this definition through careful analysis (diaresis). The presentation concludes with some practical tips for identifying examples of inauthentic Socratic method and practices for cultivating and modeling epistemic modesty in classrooms.</p>

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Denver</p>	<p><b>How to Teach Dangerous Ideas in Dangerous Times: Empirical Results and Hands-on Lessons from Carnegie Mellon</b>  <i>Simon Cullen, Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Carnegie Mellon University</i>          In 2021, I launched "Dangerous Ideas in Science and Society," a unique course that's rapidly gained in popularity among Carnegie Mellon students for its focus on developing practical skills and its unique approach to exploring controversial topics in education, free speech culture, abortion, bioethics, guns, religion, race, gender, and more. The class is grounded in the belief that open, rigorous, and civil discussion is the best tool for deeply understanding arguments and strengthening or changing our views. A robust literature in the psychology of reasoning shows that engaging with opponents is the closest thing we have to an epistemic immune system. In Dangerous Ideas, students are confronted by arguments (and guest speakers!) that they are inclined to reject—and encouraged to defend or revise their own views. Last year, enrollment exceeded 200 students with hundreds more left on the waitlist. This overwhelming student demand shows that many students long for spaces where free expression is genuinely valued. Indeed, many report that the course was their first opportunity to truly step outside their ideological silos, leading to profound reflections and a far more nuanced understanding of their own beliefs. Key to the course's success is its focus on developing students' analytical reasoning abilities, essential both to engaging charitably with subtle argumentation and productive discourse. We use innovative argument visualization techniques (Cullen, Fan, van der Brugge, Elga, 2018), supporting students' ability to dissect arguments charitably, detect their implicit claims, and engage in respectful, thought-provoking discussions. The course also employs several other innovations including fine-tuned GPT-4-based "depolarization bots," which students debate prior to discussions with their peers, and "discussion markets" (<a href="http://palaverbeta.com">http://palaverbeta.com</a>) to guarantee fairness when moderating passionate discussions. The class has been home to three years of empirical study, generating deeply encouraging results. Convergent lines of evidence — including behavioral, survey-based, and randomized controlled field studies — demonstrate that combining the classical values of liberal arts education with AI debaters, market-based moderation techniques, and cutting-edge analytical reasoning pedagogy, can yield extraordinary results. In this presentation, I will share easy-to-implement, hands-on lessons from the classroom for instructors, insights from student reflections and pre/post survey data, and the results of a randomized cross-over trial of "depolarization bots."</p>
<p>Los Angeles</p>	<p><b>Encroachment on Open Inquiry I</b>  <i>Elizabeth Weiss, The Mike and Sofia Segal Center for Academic Pluralism</i>  <i>Kristopher Kaliebe, University of South Florida</i>  <i>Tim Davis, Fort Hays State University</i>          Moderated by <i>Martha MCCAughy, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Indian Law and the First Amendment: A Catch-22 for Anthropologists</b>  <i>Elizabeth Weiss, Research Fellow at the Mike and Sofia Segal Center for Academic Pluralism</i>          Indian law is distinct in the US; for instance, tribal sovereignty ensures tribes have immunity from suit, except when they have explicitly waived that right. This makes it nearly impossible for an individual to seek redress when their rights are infringed upon by a tribe. In reburial and repatriation cases, such as in <i>White v. University of California</i> (2012), anthropologist Tim White and his colleagues' attempts to gain access to 9,000-year-old Paleoindians remains discovered on the University of California, San Diego campus were lost on the basis that the Indian tribes could not be included in the suit, but yet they were "indispensable parties." This resulted in the case being dismissed and the remains being buried without study. In my (Weiss) case against San Jose State University (SJSU), I was removed from curation duties, locked out of the room that held skeletal remains, and prevented from using previously collected data due to my outspoken views against repatriation and my expression on social media heralding the importance and joy of studying human remains. My suit against SJSU was severely handicapped when the judge decided the tribes were "indispensable parties" to any claims concerning the interpretation of California's repatriation law and its implementation at SJSU. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Los Angeles

(Cont.)

When academics are faced with retaliatory actions for speech and expression with no legal redress, to save their careers they may decide it is better to kowtow to Native American activists demands. Some of the demands have included discriminatory actions against women, such as prohibiting women who are menstruating from handling artifacts. Other demands include requiring researchers to get preapproval from these activists to publish their findings. Some academics, such as Claw et al. (2017), publishing on Southwest human remains, include apologetic disclaimers for using terms such as crania. As the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) looks to be amended to require deference to Native Americans, restrict Freedom of Information Act requests to safeguard Native American testimony, and increase noncompliance penalties, it is likely that more skeletal remains and artifacts will be lost, but even more tragically academic freedom is also being buried. Co-Authored with James W. Springer

## **The Chain of Trust in Gender Medicine is Broken**

*Kristopher Kaliebe, Professor, Psychiatry and Neuroscience at the University of South Florida*

Within medicine, a failure to uphold standards of scholarly discourse can have deadly consequences; it can also waste resources and reduce trust in the system. Regarding the medical treatments for gender dysphoria, a side effect of the breakdown in constructive dialogue has also helped fuel a culture war with deleterious effects on society. Gender dysphoria is the medical diagnosis that describes the discomfort some individuals have with their sexed body. It is debated and scientifically unclear whether all gender identities are psychologically healthy and should be encouraged and supported. This lack of clarity is especially problematic when gender dysphoria arises in childhood or adolescence. To investigate the disparate claims regarding what gender dysphoria treatments are best, a trustworthy evidence base is critical. Yet, as gender dysphoria treatments are relatively new and difficult to study, we lack solid research. As such, the field requires a rigorous dialogue to examine existing data, weigh competing values, examine ethical implications, and compare competing treatment regimens. Yet the recent history of scholarly exchange regarding gender medicine is replete with low-quality articles, censorship, politicking, taboos, and slogans. One organization, the World Association for Transgender Health (WPATH), has become the dominant force in gender medicine. WPATH seeks to make gender transitions more accessible, socially acceptable, and depathologized. WPATH frames access to medical transition as a civil right. As such, those following WPATH guidelines view gender-affirming treatment as both virtuous and evidence-based. In some cases, this is likely accurate, but in others, it may not be. Many in mental health and medicine believe in the WPATH guidelines. They similarly perceive a moral duty to promote gender-affirmative treatments. Many have crossed the line from following traditional rules of scientific exchange into an activist role. Yet advocacy can have unintended consequences, such as reducing trust in the published literature. Recent research articles and editorials have allowed politicized language and many articles to reach conclusions that overstate what can be drawn from the data presented. In some academic communities, it has become acceptable to censor those who raise questions about gender-affirming treatments. Clinicians, scholars, and researchers who find data or voice logic that opposes gender-affirming treatments have faced ad hominem attacks, and some have lost work or have been fired. This presentation will review the facts supporting these assertions and suggest remedies to increase respectful, constructive disagreement in the field of gender medicine.

## **Program Accreditation and the Looming Threat to Academic Heterodoxy**

*Tim Davis, Professor and Chair, Department of Social Work at Fort Hays State University*

In 2022, The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) adopted new Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS), which included a new competency that mandates programs to "integrate anti-racism, diversity, equity, and inclusion (ADEI) approaches across the curriculum." The competency further obligates programs to; "provide the context through which students learn about their positionality, power, privilege, and difference and develop a commitment to dismantling systems of oppression, such as racism, that affect diverse populations." (Continued on next page)



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Los Angeles	<p>(Cont.)</p> <p>Throughout the EPAS document CSWE utilizes language portraying a narrow and specific ideological narrative. For example, the ADEI competency instructs programs to “recognize the pervasive impact of White supremacy and privilege and prepare students to have the knowledge, awareness, and skills necessary to engage in anti-racist practice.” Accredited social work programs must comply with the new standards by 2025 and will be reviewed under them when seeking accreditation. Programs must demonstrate continuous efforts to implement the new ADEI competency in both the explicit and implicit curriculum and use data to demonstrate efficacy in doing so. As one of the six core values of the profession, focusing on social justice as a guiding principle is not new. However, until recently, CSWE did not enforce an orthodox concept definition. While significant differences exist in how academics conceptualize social justice, the idea has typically been explored through engagement with one another's work in constructive disagreement. This open engagement resulted in more nuanced and balanced theories of social equality. With the adoption of ADEI, social justice is no longer concerned with balanced equality or academic rigor. By imposing this standard, CSWE mandated that social work programs place equity above other forms and theories of social equality. As a result, social work programs are in a difficult position as accreditation obligates them to a narrow and ideological definition of social justice, which effectively supplants the historical Telos of the academy (seeking truth). Further, as accreditation mandates venture into political ideologies, state legislatures are more likely to become involved, placing programs in a double bind. The presentation will outline the new EPAS directives and briefly trace their origins. Through this discussion, the presenter will raise the alarm concerning how academic accreditation may subvert academic discourse and demand ideological orthodoxy. Potential processes through which these orthodox directives have emerged are explored. The presentation will close by investigating possible strategies to promote discipline heterodoxy and encourage a discussion among the attendees related to these efforts.</p>
Kane	<p><b>The State of College Campuses</b>  <i>Nathanial Bork, University of Arkansas</i>  <i>Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i>  <i>Moderated by Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Four Projects Exploring the Challenges to Free Speech and Academic Freedom on American Campuses</b>  <i>Nathanial Bork, Visiting Scholar at Rutgers University and Doctoral Student at University of Arkansas</i>  Alongside researchers at the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE), Heterodox Academy, and the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), we are engaging in a number of projects studying different possible variables that contribute to a healthy or unhealthy free speech environment on campus. While we do not yet believe that we have identified all possible contributors or mapped out how they possibly interact with one another, we have begun work on some likely candidates. This builds upon already in-progress work (Maranto &amp; Bradley-Dorsey 2023; Maranto et al. 2024) we have been doing. In our first project, we are using FIRE's college rankings (Stevens 2023) and studying the governing structures at the 20 highest and 20 lowest ranked schools, looking at university presidents and officers on governing boards. We look at demographics, board size, and career paths as possible contributing factors. Our second project, which we are doing along with ACTA, builds on this, looking at the relationships between boards and administrations, focusing on how board members are trained and how they see their responsibilities towards the administrations they work with, the school itself, and the greater community. Our third project looks at institutional features regarding Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion policies and organizations, including the size and strength of these departments and the number of courses on Critical Theory-related topics and money spent on DEI trainings and salaries. We also look at prestige rankings and are working to identify other possible contributing variables. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

	<p>(Cont.) Our fourth project, which we are doing along with FIRE, is a plan to contact scholars who have been sanctioned, as well as administrators involved in those situations, and add to FIRE's quantitative questionnaire data set while identifying more potential causal factors. These various projects may or may not be combined in their final versions, and may be published as a book or book or as a series of academic articles. References Chubb, J.E. &amp; Moe, T.M. (1990). <i>Politics, Markets, and America's Schools</i>. Washington: Brookings Institution. Maranto, R &amp; M. Bradley-Dorsey. (2023). <i>Yelling FIRE on Campus: Higher Education Free Speech Leaders and Laggards</i>. <i>Academic Questions</i>. 36: 1 (spring), 23-33. <a href="https://www.nas.org/academic-questions/36/1/yelling-fire-on-campus-free-speech-leaders-and-laggards">https://www.nas.org/academic-questions/36/1/yelling-fire-on-campus-free-speech-leaders-and-laggards</a>; DOI: 10.51845/36.1.5. Maranto, R, Salmon, C., Jussim, L. &amp; Satel, S. edited. (forthcoming 2024). <i>The Free Inquiry Papers</i>. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press. Stevens, S. (2023). <i>Harvard gets worst score ever in FIRE's free speech rankings</i>. <a href="https://www.thefire.org/news/harvard-gets-worst-score-ever-fires-college-free-speech-rankings">https://www.thefire.org/news/harvard-gets-worst-score-ever-fires-college-free-speech-rankings</a>, September 6.</p> <p><b>The 2023 Campus Expression Survey Report</b> <i>Alex Arnold, Director of Research at Heterodox Academy</i> This presentation lays out the design, administration, and key findings of the 2023 Campus Expression Survey. It will cover what topics many students are reluctant to discuss, what might explain students' reluctance to discuss controversial topics, how many students suffer actual sanctions for discussing controversial topics, and more.</p>
<p>Indiana</p>	<p><b>Knowledge, Truth, and Culture</b> <i>Oliver Traldi, James Madison Program, Princeton University</i> <i>Adam Gjesdal, Heterodox Academy</i> <i>Richard Gunderman, Indiana University</i> <i>Renaud-Philippe Garner, University of British Columbia Okanagan</i></p> <p><b>Academic Freedom and Epistemic Teleology</b> <i>Oliver Traldi, Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the James Madison Program, Princeton University</i> Jonathan Haidt has influentially argued that the university should have an essential goal or telos of truth. Similarly, at my current employer, the James Madison Program, we talk about the university's truth-seeking mission, and of shaping students into truth-seekers. But this formulation leaves open a lot of questions and generates a lot of puzzles. First, truth is a property of propositions, not people or institutions. Is it enough that the truth be written down somewhere? Is the goal to know the truth? If so, who is the knower in question? A researcher? A student? The collective academic community? The general public? All of these answers might affect the nature of the principles of academic freedom we're concerned with, and the nature of their relationship to truth. Second, it is not clear in what sense truth or the knowledge of it relates to academic freedom. If the notion is that the telos of truth requires that we remain open to every possibility, then it seems to be self-defeating. If instead the idea is that academic freedom has good consequences when it comes to truth, then it, like all principles justified on consequentialist grounds, may be subject to balancing tests, exceptional cases, and other kinds of reversals. Furthermore, it just plainly is the case that our search for truth in one arena does sometimes work by taking some truths in the same or in another arena for granted. Third, in general we assume that once we do know the truth, we can act on it. For instance, the knowledge generated in the academy could affect how we build planes, how we treat diseases, how we conduct war, and so on. But if that's the case, it seems odd that, once truth or knowledge has been achieved in the academy, universities cannot act on it by ruling out alternatives. So academic freedom, if it is to be justified by the search for truth, is in a bind. Either we sometimes find the truth, in which case we have a reason to abandon academic freedom; or we never find the truth, in which case we have no justification for academic freedom to begin with. I myself still think it's likely that academic freedom, and freedom of speech more broadly, can be justified in terms of the truth. But I want to work through these puzzles about that relationship.</p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Indiana

## **Mill's case for viewpoint diversity in political philosophy**

*Adam Gjesdal, Research Fellow at the Mike and Sofia Segal Center for Academic Pluralism*

Viewpoint diversity in academic research is valuable largely because it offers a corrective to individual researchers' biases and blindspots. In this sense, viewpoint diversity helps fields of inquiry as a whole better aim at the truth, given the cognitive distortions individuals are subject to. But it is possible that a sufficiently mature field of inquiry would have viewpoint-internal methods of correcting for such cognitive failures. That is, a single viewpoint—understood as a set of methods and values guiding research—may incorporate tools that reliably secure impartiality to mitigate any need for diversity as a corrective. This presentation considers whether this is the case for normative political philosophy. In particular, I draw on neglected aspects of John Stuart Mill's thought to show why even the most seemingly abstract forms of impartial moral reasoning are vulnerable to bias. Mill famously defends free speech in *On Liberty*, arguing, in part, that conflicting viewpoints can "share the truth between them," leading to loss of truth if one of those two viewpoints is suppressed. One might think that in philosophy, careful moral reasoning that aims at impartiality is a way around this concern with capturing only half-truths. It seems possible there is some single viewpoint—say, utilitarianism—from within which all the important moral truths can be expressed. Relying on interpretative work by Elijah Millgram that shows that Mill's psychological theories of associationism are important for understanding his defenses of free speech, I explain why Mill would reject the claim that in moral philosophy utilitarianism can express the full truth. If moral philosophers need viewpoint diversity to reach the "whole truth," so too do other research fields that are not as centrally focused on impartial reasoning. The presentation is partly exegetical, explaining how Mill's resources for defending open inquiry and viewpoint diversity in universities extend beyond *On Liberty*. But it also aims to provide a theoretical justification for importing into political philosophy from empirical psychology the practice of adversarial collaborations—research collaborations between individuals holding conflicting viewpoints. Extending Mill's thought, I show why political philosophy may benefit from collaborations with philosophically (e.g. liberalism or perfectionism) or ideologically (politically right vs. left) opposed partners.

## **Democracy and the Overcoming of Silence: Tocqueville**

*Richard Gunderman, Chancellor's Professor at Indiana University*

Perhaps the greatest philosopher of democracy is Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *Democracy in America* argues against the widespread misconception that democracy is a political construct and politics is the most important sphere in which to protect and promote liberty. In fact, he argues, the "can-do" character of a democracy's people and the nature of their voluntary associations are far more important. Centralization of authority, whether in government or institutions of higher education, means that only few are in charge. When authority resides at a local level, by contrast, many are in charge -- the only situation in which "rule by the people" is even possible. These crucial features of democracy can only be sustained and developed at the level of the community, a mission for which colleges and universities should serve as laboratories. A central authority that arrogates to itself the task of keeping alive and renewing the circulation of democratic feelings among its people becomes a tyranny, a situation that is even bleaker when it seeks to prevent the circulation of ideas through "cancel culture." Nothing, in Tocqueville's view, deserves more attention than education in character and association, which makes current events on the campuses of American colleges and universities so important. Young people are being cowed into isolation and silence, afraid to present alternative points of view and engage in lively dialogue. If students learn to expect others to do the work and thinking of citizens and neighbors for them, they will never develop the character and associations necessary to sustain democracy. Instead of fragmenting and atomizing students, colleges and universities should be promoting free speech, lively interchange of ideas, and teaching their students the vital roles of character and association in securing the benefits of liberty.

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern

## **Viewpoint Diversity in the Ethnic Studies Field: A Symposium**

*Tabia Lee, Free Black Thought*

*Marcy Goldstein, Jewish Institute for Liberal Values*

*Brandy Shufutinsky, Jewish Institute for Liberal Values*

*Moderated by Marcy Goldstein, Jewish Institute for Liberal Values*

Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary field that aims to increase student knowledge and awareness of ethnically minoritized histories, cultures, struggles, and contributions.. Ethnic Studies programs are advancing in K-12 and higher education systems throughout America. In many instances, local rules and state laws have been instituted that make completing an Ethnic Studies class a requirement for public high school graduation and/or for matriculation into public colleges or universities. This means that in some states every student, irrespective of their academic interests or goals, is required to have an understanding of Ethnic Studies in order to manifest educational goals in a civil society. This symposium presented by thought leaders from Free Black Thought, Jewish Institute for Liberal Values, and Coalition for Empowered Education provides the foundational knowledge needed to understand why viewpoint diversity is essential for the Ethnic Studies field so that we may better address the dangers, blind spots, and unintended consequences of different approaches to teaching and learning Ethnic Studies. The symposium also outlines why and how diverse approaches to Ethnic Studies promote open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement.

## **Comparative Analysis: Critical and Classical Social Justice Approaches to Ethnic Studies**

*Tabia Lee, Educational Consultant at Free Black Thought*

This presentation provides a comparative analysis of the ways that Critical Social Justice and Classical Social Justice approaches to teaching and learning Ethnic Studies promote and support learning environments that are conducive to open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement. The presentation also provides an overview of how Ethnic Studies programs have advanced nationally through the K-12 and higher education systems. In most instances, a Critical Social Justice approach, specifically the "Liberated Ethnic Studies Model" framework is presented as "the only" way to teach ethnic studies. However, there are emergent frameworks such as the "Empowered Ethnic Studies Model" that utilize a Classical Social Justice approach, embracing viewpoint diversity around relevant topics. The presentation specifies the impacts of diverse approaches to academic culture and academic truth-seeking. This presentation contributes to the symposium theme because it outlines important foundational ideological comparisons between different approaches to Ethnic Studies and explores how viewpoint diversity may enrich efforts to encourage more authentic inclusion, intellectual humility, and evidence-based pedagogies. This presentation also outlines how viewpoint diversity in the field of ethnic studies is crucial to consider when educators, administrators, school governance bodies, and legislators seek to elevate the student experience because different approaches have different implications on classroom teaching for critical thinking and the roles of dialogue and debate in the student experience.

## **Ethnic Studies Programs: Who is Considered Ethnically Minoritized and Why it Matters in Today's World**

*Authored by David Bernstein, Founder and CEO of Jewish Institute for Liberal Values*

*Presented by Marcy Goldstein, Director of Academic Affairs at Jewish Institute for Liberal Values*

This presentation explores who is considered ethnically minoritized in Ethnic Studies programs and why it matters in a post-October 7th world. This presentation contributes to the symposium themes because it outlines the dangers, blind spots, and unintended consequences of different approaches to inclusion in the Ethnic Studies field. Specifically, the presentation outlines how different approaches impact various ethnically minoritized groups. The presentation outlines the historical roots that impact who is considered ethnically minoritized when it comes to Jewish people and the potential impacts on Jewish students and other groups that may be included or excluded in Ethnic Studies curricula. The presentation will also explore the topics of why viewpoint diversity is critical for Jewish students and other minoritized students when addressing the topics of decolonization, apartheid, and genocide in Ethnic Studies classes.

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern	<p><b>Minding the Faculty: Ethnic Studies and Teacher Professionalism</b>  <i>Brandy Shufutinsky, Director of Education and Community Engagement at Jewish Institute for Liberal Values</i>          This presentation explores topics related to Ethnic Studies and teacher professionalism by examining multiple public communications made by Ethnic Studies educators and educational leaders from the K-12 and higher education sectors post-October. The presentation illuminates the tensions between activist scholarship and the telos of academic disciplines through the lens of teacher professionalism by outlining the potential benefits and constraints for student learning when ethnic studies teachers use truth as telos and when they use social justice as telos. The presentation considers whether it is professionally possible for Ethnic Studies teachers to have truth and social justice as dual teloses. The presentation also outlines some of the lessons learned about incorporating the topic of Israel-Palestine into Ethnic Studies curricula and some of the ways that communities are becoming more informed about Ethnic studies programs by advocating for greater viewpoint diversity and a focus on truth as telos in the field. This presentation contributes to the symposium theme because it provides insights into the way teachers and educational leaders can better respond to challenges of politicization, groupthink, and polarization that come with embracing social justice as telos and instead lean into truth as telos for the betterment of all students and communities.</p>
<p><b>10:00 - 11:10 AM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Morning Plenary: Jonathan Haidt and Musa al-Gharbi in Conversation</b>  <i>Jonathan Haidt, New York University</i>  <i>Musa al-Gharbi, Stony Brook University</i></p>
<p><b>11:10 - 11:30 AM</b> Chicago Foyer</p>	<p><b>Coffee Break</b>          Sponsored by the Institute for Humane Studies</p>
<p><b>11:30 AM - 12:50 PM</b></p>	<p><b>Mid-Morning Concurrent Sessions</b></p>
Denver	<p><b>How can HxA Partner with Other National Organizations to Increase Reach and Impact: A Symposium</b>  <i>Michael Murray, Arthur Vining Davis Foundations</i>  <i>Kimon Sargeant, Templeton Religion Trust</i>  <i>Ross Irwin, BridgeUSA</i>  <i>Moderated by Michael Murray, Arthur Vining Davis Foundations</i></p> <p>Heterodox Academy seeks to influence the future of higher education by promoting viewpoint diversity and productive engagement across lines of difference. Of course other organizations are dedicated to these aims as well. Where, when, and how can HxA, its members, and its chapters collaborate to reach their common aims? In this session we will focus on one primary example of how such a partnership might develop, and then explore secondary possibilities. The primary example will examine the ways in which HxA chapters can support collaborative activities with BridgeUSA, a national organization that supports student groups at over 70 campuses who seek to curate forums where students discuss challenging topics across lines of difference. BridgeUSA and HxA chapters can collaborate in various ways including civil discourse training sessions, hosted speakers, panel discussions, and more. One goal of this session is to identify faculty with interests in supporting such collaborations. As a secondary example, the panel can explore potential collaborations with organizations such as the Braver Angels, Veritas Forum, and Interfaith America. In addition to a representative from BridgeUSA, the panel would be joined by Michael Murray from the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, and Kimon Sargeant from the Templeton Religion Trust who can describe how other partnership models work that would be transferable to this context.</p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Denver</p>	<p><b>Why Multi-Stakeholder Collaborations are Key to Achieving HxA's Objectives</b> <i>Michael Murray, President at Arthur Vining Davis Foundations</i> The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations support collaborations across many organizations that seek to support civil discourse on campus. In this presentation, President Michael Murray will lay out various models of collaboration that would be transferable to Heterodox Academy's aims and assets, and explore specifically how this might lead to a productive partnership with BridgeUSA. Collaborations with other possible partners would also be explored.</p> <p><b>Collaborating on Campus: A Funder's View on How HxA Communities can Work with Other Groups with Converging Interests</b> <i>Kimon Sargeant, Senior Program Director of Templeton Religion Trust</i> The Templeton Religion Trust funds Heterodox Academy, the Veritas Forum, Interfaith America, and other organizations that are supporting pluralism along various dimensions on college campuses. In this presentation Senior Director Kimon Sargeant will describe how funders do and can support organizations with converging interests to achieve impact that goes beyond the sum of the parts, and how partnerships between HxA and other organizations fit these models.</p> <p><b>Collaborating on Campus: A Practitioner's View on How HxA Communities can Work with Other Groups with Converging Interests</b> <i>Ross Irwin, Chief Development Officer at BridgeUSA</i> Ross Irwin, Chief Development Officer at BridgeUSA has helped to oversee the development and scaling of BridgeUSA's model of promoting civil discourse on campus. The aims of BridgeUSA align strongly with Heterodox Academy and present possibilities for collaboration. There are already many campuses where both BridgeUSA and HxA chapters reside. In this session Irwin will present models for joint activities that promote the respective aims of each organization.</p>
<p>Los Angeles</p>	<p><b>DEI and Higher Education</b> <i>Nathan Honeycutt, Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression</i> <i>Brad Epperly, University of British Columbia Okanagan</i> <i>Anjali Bindra Patel, Georgetown Law</i> <i>Moderated by Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Faculty Evaluations of DEI Statements</b> <i>Nathan Honeycutt, Research Fellow at the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression</i> Diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") statements are used with increasing frequency for academic hiring and promotion, but little to no empirical research has been conducted to assess how faculty evaluate these statements, or what they think about them. The present set of experiments sought to fill this void. Across seven studies (ntotal=4953), tenured/tenure-track university faculty rated DEI statements that lacked equalitarian content (i.e., statements that did not discuss race/ethnicity and gender diversity actions or efforts) significantly lower than those that did. Specifically, faculty perceived these "alternative" DEI statements to be weaker, and perceived the applicants who submitted these statements to be less competent, less hireable, and less likeable. Furthermore, faculty were less likely to recommend that the writers of these "alternative" statements pass an initial screening and be advanced for further review. Evaluative penalties were most severe toward DEI statements focusing on viewpoint diversity actions and efforts (Studies 1-4), but also manifested for statements focusing on rural diversity (Study 6), or socioeconomic diversity (Study 7). Findings for disability diversity (Study 5) were mixed. These studies provide novel insight on how DEI statements are evaluated and perceived by faculty, suggesting that they could potentially function as an ideological screening device in academic hiring.</p>

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Los Angeles

## **Threading the Needle? Diversity Policies and Public Support for Public Universities**

*Brad Epperly, Associate Professor at the University of British Columbia Okanagan*

How do the contemporary diversity initiatives of universities affect how the public views and supports universities? These initiatives and policies are a source of much normative and empirical debate today, but one important aspect of such programs that has gone understudied is their relationship to public opinion. One prominent aspect of diversity policies involves some arguing for a potential tension between programs designed to promote the representation of various identities and merit or excellence; even if no such potential tension actually exists, it remains the case that (i) some segments of public opinion perceive some diversity programs as negatively impacting the quality of academic research and teaching, and (ii) there is majority public opposition to using affirmative action in admission and hiring decisions. It may be that such prevalent perceptions are eroding popular support for public universities, particularly academic programs implicated in the push for diversity initiatives. If this is correct, it will not necessarily recommend abandoning diversity programs, but it would motivate reframing such programs to ensure that they do not endanger public support for universities. In order to understand how diversity programs may affect the future of universities, it is important to understand the relationship between these programs and public opinion. In this study, we propose to ask the following research question: "How do programs and decisions prioritizing diversity impact public trust in universities among the general public, faculty, and students?"

## **DEI Redefined: Anchoring Reform Through Freedom of Expression**

*Anjali Bindra Patel, Chief Diversity Officer at Georgetown Law*

In the current world of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI), educational institutions face the intricate challenge of reconciling the promotion of inclusive practices with the essential principle of free speech. This presentation, crafted from a DEI administrator's viewpoint, argues that freedom of expression is not just a component but the very foundation of effective DEI. It delves into the nuanced complexities of fostering an environment where diverse voices can coexist without succumbing to extremes of self-censorship or intolerance. The proposal emphasizes that, while DEI undoubtedly requires thoughtful reform, the current polarized discourse risks undermining its fundamental goals. Extremist views from both ends of the spectrum threaten to erode the core values of DEI by stifling open dialogue and diverse perspectives. This presentation asserts the importance of avoiding absolute stances that could dismantle the very essence of DEI, which is intended to enrich and broaden our understanding through diverse viewpoints. Furthermore, the abstract addresses the subtleties of navigating social discomfort, shaming, and the emerging culture of safetyism, which often hinders honest and open conversations. It highlights the necessity for educational leaders to foster a culture where emotional intelligence and intellectual rigor pave the way for meaningful discussions. By outlining strategies for administrators, institutions, and individuals, the presentation aims to encourage approaches that balance the need for respect and inclusivity with the imperative of protecting free speech. The session will argue that maintaining this delicate balance is crucial for the continued relevance and effectiveness of DEI initiatives. It calls for a renewed commitment to the principles of open discourse and mutual respect, advocating for a path that recognizes the importance of diverse perspectives while upholding the freedom of expression as the heart of DEI. The ultimate objective is to guide higher education institutions towards a future where DEI reforms are implemented thoughtfully, ensuring that they strengthen rather than weaken the fabric of our diverse educational communities.





# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Kane

## **Data-Informed Teaching Decisions: Lessons from STEM Faculty: A Symposium**

*Alex Small, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona*

*Dorian Abbot, University of Chicago*

*Rohen Shah, University of Chicago*

*Moderated by Martha McCaughey, Heterodox Academy*

Decisions about teaching are often driven by fads and ideology rather than evidence of effectiveness. This session features three STEM professors who gather and/or evaluate data to make non-ideological decisions about what is best for students. They discuss data that is being collected and/or (re-)evaluated to inform faculty decisions about pedagogy and curriculum for true academic improvement. Gathering and properly evaluating data can help instructors pursue promising strategies and avoid curricular reform efforts that lack serious merit.

## **Physics Education, Student Performance, and Test Scores: Narratives vs Data**

*Alex Small, Professor and Chair at California State Polytechnic University-Pomona*

The proper role (if any) for standardized test scores in college and graduate school admissions is one of the most controversial issues in American higher education at present, especially since the 2024 “racial reckoning” motivated many institutions to move away from using SAT scores in undergraduate admissions and GRE scores in graduate admissions. This talk will consider two ways in which statistical reality conflicts with the moral narratives that have driven changes to admissions policies. First, we will examine data (both from the literature and my own department) on the predictive power of SAT/ACT scores for student performance in introductory physics. Then we will examine some of the most widely-cited studies purporting to show that GRE scores do not predict performance in physics PhD programs, and discuss mistaken statistical assumptions that undermine their conclusions.

## **Data-Based and Iterative Approach to a Core-Level Physical Sciences Course**

*Dorian Abbot, Associate Professor at the University of Chicago*

I teach a large core physical science course on global warming at the University of Chicago. 300-400 students typically take it and it is offered twice per year. A major challenge for this course is that a large number of the students struggle with basic mathematics, but I still need to teach them some science. Five years ago I successfully flipped this class. I will describe the data behind this choice and how I introduce it to the students to generate buy-in. I will also show how I used Canvas data on test responses to iteratively improve instruction over many instances of the course. Finally I will describe how I think the course could be improved with more rigorous college admissions standards or a remedial mathematics class as necessary before the physical science core, so I could teach at a higher level.

## **Helping Students Develop Open Inquiry and Critical Thinking Skills: What Field Experiments Can Tell Us**

*Rohen Shah, Doctoral Student at the University of Chicago*

*Co-authored by John List, Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago*

The teaching of critical thinking is a promising way to foster open inquiry in classrooms. Instructors often have a goal to integrate domain-specific critical thinking into one’s teaching, and in some cases they may have a goal to explicitly teach generalizable critical thinking skills. To put this “principle into action,” we are developing a scalable curriculum that teaches critical thinking skills in a light-touch way that can be embedded in a regular classroom. An interesting synergy here is that teaching critical thinking typically involves encouraging open inquiry, and further this open inquiry further builds critical thinking skills. We use field experiments to determine which pedagogical interventions work to develop students with the skills necessary for life-long open inquiry and critical thinking. Co-authored by John List, University of Chicago.



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Indiana

## Campus Culture after October 7th

*Lawrence Amsel, Columbia University*

*Ellie Avishai, Mill Institute at the University of Austin*

*Shira Hoffer, Harvard College and the Institute for Multipartisan Education*

*Moderated by Michael Regnier, Heterodox Academy*

## From Snowflakes to Hand Grenades: What Can be Learned from the Radical Transformation of Campus Political Performance After 10/7

*Lawrence Amsel, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Columbia University*

To many observers there was a remarkable and radical change in the tone and modality of political speech and activity on campus after the 10/7 terrorist attack in Israel. The nature of campus politics seemed to transform overnight from a self-representation of hyper-vulnerability, a sensitivity to microaggressions and trigger warnings and for safe spaces, into an exhilarated embrace of heroically framed, aggressive bloodshed. As this was in full force before the Israeli military response, that response does not account for this transformation. Nor are we interested, in this discussion, in adjudicating the morality of violence on either side of that ME conflict. Rather, we are interested in understanding what this sudden change in modes of political expression, irrespective of content, tells us about the meaning of the political discourse pre-10/7, and what it might predict about the future of campus political style. We will discuss this from three perspectives. First is that of Jonathan Haidt's assessment of the distortions involved in the coddled mind. He calls out the untruth of fragility and of emotional reasoning, and argues that these positions are in fact psychologically harmful and, thus, unsustainable. We will argue that the events on campus surrounding 10/7 were predictable by that analysis, and may serve as empirical support. The second derives from the dangerous bidirectional distortion that equating words and violence imposes on the campus political discourse. In making them equal, just as the potential harms caused by language are elevated to the level of traumatic injury, so the brutality of physical violence is minimized to the impact of words, and made unreal. The dead are so only rhetorically. The third perspective argues that within campus politics the oppressed / oppressor model of the political landscape actually dominates all other more inclusive-sounding rhetoric. Thus, given the 10/7 attack, iconic of the oppressed fighting back, all other kinder-sounding woke or DEI principles take a back seat. In that case the events of 10/7 may serve to unmask the dangerous divisiveness always hiding beneath the coddled façade of radical campus politics. The brutality of the actual ME war is, of course, sufficiently horrific, without turning our campuses into additional battlegrounds of that war. Rather we should see campuses as demilitarized zones in which debate and discussion between interested persons, based on mutual respect, can replace violence, and one day contribute to peace. This analysis hopes to contribute to that campus.

## Helping Students Talk across Divides about the Israeli-Palestinian War

*Ellie Avishai, Director of the Mill Institute at the University of Austin*

Campuses across the United States have struggled, in many cases publicly, with how to respond to the October 7 attacks in Israel and to the subsequent conflict between Israel and Hamas. As many observers have noted, the conflict raised a number of questions about, for instance, what constitutes legitimate political discourse, which ideas can be condemned, why, and who decides. It is in this context that the Mill Institute was asked to deliver a series of workshops for the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto for two Masters of Public Policy programs. The workshops offered strategies for taking an intensely heated topic and creating a space where participants could talk and think openly about their ideas, thoughts, and questions. Specifically, we explored the value of setting clear ground rules and a clear objective for the conversation, moving from certainty to confidence, depersonalizing the conversation, and the importance of defining terms clearly. In this session, we will share this case study with conference attendees and discuss ways to bring strategies like this into classroom discussions.



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Indiana</p>	<p><b>Lessons from a Harvard Student/Nonprofit Founder on Constructive Disagreement around the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict</b>  <i>Shira Hoffer, undergraduate student (2025) and Founder and Executive Director of the Institute for Multipartisan Education at Harvard University</i></p> <p>I will present how my experience as a Harvard student in the aftermath of October 7th led me to found a nonprofit organization — the Institute for Multipartisan Education — the lessons I have learned leading it, and the tools I created as a result. Having served on Harvard’s Intellectual Vitality Committee, and as a Fellow in the Intercollegiate Civil Disagreement Program, I was heartbroken but not surprised by the sharp increase in polarization following Hamas’s attack. When asked to email my dorm sharing Claudine Gay’s condemnation of Hamas, I feared rash judgment, so included my cell phone number and an invitation to be in touch with questions, noting my experience as a mediator and promising to engage without judgment. Heartened by numerous inquiries, I founded the Hotline for Israel/Palestine, a texting hotline dedicated to multi-partisan and dialogue-focused engagement with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I oversee 27 volunteers from different countries, religions, and political backgrounds, united by the belief that understanding multiple narratives is crucial, and by the mission of sharing perspectives without endorsement or moral equation. Together, we have answered over 350 questions, produced 10 (to date) issues of an educational digest, and been featured internationally in the media. A request for help from a teacher led me to build out the broader organization under whose name we incorporated: the Institute for Multipartisan Education. With consulting services, stock and customized resources, and topic-specific initiatives, IME supports schools and universities in facilitating curious and constructive disagreement in and out of the classroom. We have partnered with HxA and Crossing Party lines to create a resource to guide students and professors in constructive disagreement, and, over the next six months, I will be leading a series of zoom and in-person workshops with the Texas school to help improve the quality of discourse on their campus. My conference presentation will include a brief summary of my unique experience in the campus and nonprofit world, followed by key takeaways and tips for engagement from questions received and answers sent on the Hotline, and the sharing of resources created by IME. Participants will come away with a fresh understanding of campus culture, advice on how to engage around Israel/Palestine, tools to promote constructive disagreement in their own communities, and hopefully, inspiration to make change in their own communities.</p>
<p>Northwestern</p>	<p><b>Constructive Dialogue for Engagement and Problem-Solving</b>  <i>Martin Carcasson, Colorado State University</i>  <i>Dane Mauer-Vakil, University of Waterloo</i>  <i>Kelly Anthony, University of Waterloo</i>  <i>Rebecca Russo, Interfaith America</i>  <i>Moderated by Musa al-Gharbi, Stony Brook University</i></p> <p><b>How to Frame Difficult Issues for Improved Engagement: Insights and Tools from Dialogue and Deliberation Practitioners</b>  <i>Martin Carcasson, Professor in Communication Studies, Director of the Center for Public Deliberation at Colorado State University</i></p> <p>Engaging controversial issues is inherently difficult because of human nature, the complexity of the issues, and our dominant polarized political environment. Many simply avoid any such discussions, often leaving the conversations to be dominated by more extreme or sure-minded voices. This session was taught by a faculty member who has designed and run over 500 meetings on difficult topics over the last two decades in the northern Colorado area and recently served eight years as the board chair of the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation. It will provide participants with tools and insights on how frame issues to spark deeper and more productive conversation across perspectives. In particular, the session will focus on the art of designing and the impact of using well framed issue discussion guides.  <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern

(Cont.)

Participants will learn the theories behind such guides, engage examples of different styles of frameworks, and learn the process for developing guides for their own campuses. Ideally, collaborative Heterodox Academy projects may develop across campuses to develop discussion guides on key campus issues for the broader network to utilize. Developing guides can also be an impactful student project incorporated into courses across disciplines, as they inherently work to combine expert research with engagement of public views, bringing them together in a document designed specifically to spark discussion, honor quality arguments, and support multiple perspectives. Rather than assigning students to support and research a particular perspective -- which inherently triggers confirmation bias and strategic cherry-picking -- developing a deliberative discussion guide requires the student to engage multiple perspectives and explore the inherent tensions and tradeoffs between them.

## **Evaluating the Impact of an Online Educational Tool for Fostering Constructive Dialogue in the Classroom**

*Dane Mauer-Vakil, PhD Candidate at the University of Waterloo*

*Kelly Anthony, Teaching Professor at the University of Waterloo*

There is an expanding literature demonstrating the impact of students' self-censoring in the classroom amid fear of speaking out. For example, in an American survey, students reported significant fear of making a 'mistake' when speaking in class and there is no reason to believe that this is unique to the United States. When students are fearful of 'making mistakes' or 'saying the wrong thing,' the very foundation of learning is significantly hindered largely because student engagement is reduced. Students must feel that classrooms are welcoming, engaging spaces for respectful, diverse discussions. In this Canadian mixed methods study, we are currently conducting an empirical investigation into the impact of a psychology-based educational tool for fostering constructive dialogue on student learning experiences. The innovative, evidence-based learning approach, called 'Perspectives,' was created by the Constructive Dialogue Institute (CDI). CDI strives to translate rigorous behavioral science research into educational tools that are evidence-informed, practical, engaging, and scalable for equipping students with skills for constructive communication. In this presentation, we will present preliminary results of our research pertaining to student experiences using the CDI modules in a second-year undergraduate public health course (sample size of 150). This tool helps foster deeper learning by aiding students in cultivating intellectual humility, welcoming and exploring diverse perspectives and worldviews, managing emotions and obtaining mastery in difficult conversations. In addition to presenting our study results, we will walk instructors (conference attendees) through the process of considering this tool's relevance for their teaching purposes, its implementation in the classroom, introducing it to students and getting buy-in, and explaining and assessing the tool's impact. Our learning outcomes include clear understanding of the CDI tool and its purposes, most effective classroom use and assessment strategies, and specific, simple steps for implementation.

## **Pluralism as a Model for Diversity Work in Higher Education**

*Rebecca Russo, Vice President of Higher Education at Interfaith America*

We live in a deeply divided country with rising levels of distrust and isolation, in which religious and cultural diversity are often seen as sources of division rather than as a foundation for cooperation. In the months since the October 7th Hamas attack, tension and conflict related to religious and political identities has risen to new levels on campuses across the country. Though higher education has been a leader in Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging work, the field has been unprepared to respond to the divisions of this moment. Over the last ten to twenty years, critique has been the dominant mode of campus diversity work. Free speech, social justice advocacy, and power analyses have taken center stage. While this work is important and has led to an increase in equity, it is insufficient. As the last three months have shown, campuses need the accompanying priorities of bridge-building and cooperation in order to be functional communities of learning and to prepare students to be responsible citizens in today's diverse society. *(Continued on next page)*

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern	<p>(Cont.) Students need to learn not only how to tear down but also how to build, how to engage with differences they don't like as much as the differences they do, and how to create solutions together instead of retreat to opposing camps when a disagreement arises. Interfaith America (IA), a Chicago-based non-profit, supports American colleges and universities' efforts to engage diversity by modeling pluralism across the campus. At IA, we believe pluralism is defined by respect for diverse identities; genuine relationship-building across diverse communities; and common action for the common good. Institutions of higher education are uniquely situated to be places to practice and promote pluralism and serve as a model for the rest of society. University campuses can be places where people from diverse identities and divergent ideologies learn from one another, and places that actively equip students with the knowledge base, mindset, and skillset to serve as bridgebuilders in a divided world. From the admissions process to first year-orientation to the general education curriculum, students should understand that the university seeks to model pluralism and to build the skills for constructive engagement across differences. In the proposed session, we will draw on leading social science research to make a case for prioritizing pluralism in higher education. We will explore the best practices for advancing pluralism on campuses and equip participants with the skills to launch the work.</p>
<p><b>1:00 - 2:00 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Plated Luncheon</b></p>
<p><b>2:00 - 3:30 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Afternoon Plenary: Principles in Action: University Leadership Panel</b> <i>Presented by the Forum for Free Inquiry and Expression at the University of Chicago</i> President Paul Alivisatos - University of Chicago President Ed Seidel - University of Wyoming President Hiram Chodosh - Claremont McKenna College Chancellor Dan Diermeier - Vanderbilt University Moderated by Tony Banout - Forum for Free Inquiry and Expression at the University of Chicago</p>
<p><b>3:30 - 3:50 PM</b> Chicago Foyer</p>	<p><b>Coffee Break</b> Sponsored by the Foundation for Individual Rights and Education</p>
<p><b>3:50 - 5:10 PM</b></p>	<p><b>Afternoon Concurrent Sessions</b></p>
Denver	<p><b>The Kalven Report and Institutional Neutrality: A Heterodox Conversation™</b> <i>John Wilson, American Association of University Professors</i> <i>Tom Ginsburg, University of Chicago</i> <i>Moderated by Tony Banout, University of Chicago</i></p> <p>The 1967 Kalven Report at the University of Chicago has become one of the most discussed ideas for university reform in recent years, with its model of institutional neutrality being seen as the cure for many campus ills today. This conversation between Tom Ginsburg (Leo Spitz Distinguished Service Professor of International Law at the University of Chicago, and Faculty Director of its Forum for Free Inquiry and Expression) and John K. Wilson (author of the forthcoming book, <i>The Attack on Academia</i>) will examine the history, process, ideals, and applications of the Kalven Report, and discuss contrasting views about how it can be used to promote academic freedom. The Kalven Report has been cited as an ideal of how universities should address institutional stands and statements, with its provisions adopted by the University of North Carolina, included in model legislation, and promoted by the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE) as a goal for all colleges to follow. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Denver</p>	<p>(Cont.) As colleges navigate difficult questions about when to speak and what to say, the Kalven Report has become an essential beacon for these debates. But the details and complexities of the history and meaning behind the Kalven Report are often overlooked even while it is offered as a solution to some of the current challenges faced by higher education. This in-depth discussion about the Kalven Report (which will also include Tony Banout, executive director of the University of Chicago Forum for Free Inquiry and Expression, as moderator) will address questions about what the Kalven Report really means, who gets to be the institutional voice of a university, and how higher education should deal with the problems of making statements and taking stands.</p>
<p>Los Angeles</p>	<p><b>Fostering Intellectual Virtues</b> <i>Craig Gibson, The Ohio State University</i> <i>Stephen Napier, Villanova University</i> <i>Martha McCaughey, Heterodox Academy</i> <i>Moderated by Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Intellectual Virtues in Open Inquiry: A New Learning Design Model</b> <i>Craig Gibson, Professor and Professional Development Coordinator at The Ohio State University</i> This session presents the Open Inquiry Toolkit, a Mercatus Center grant-funded project, as a new approach to teaching library research, information evaluation, and civil dialogue abilities to undergraduate students. The Open Inquiry Toolkit offers learning design strategies for teaching intellectual virtues based on the scholarship of Dr. Jason Baehr in virtue epistemology. The Toolkit offers disciplinary faculty and librarians opportunities to collaborate in (re)designing assignments, courses, and class discussions where students learn to grapple with challenging ideas from different bodies of evidence, schools of thought, ideological and political perspectives, and the mutable information environment of the present. The Toolkit offers three Guides available through a Creative Commons license, which give practical guidance for learning design, using intellectual virtues to mitigate cognitive biases frequently found in information-seeking and evaluation. The Toolkit also aims to forge wider discussions in academic departments and on campus to improve students' ability to seek and contextualize a wide range of information resources. Learning design grounded in intellectual virtues can also create academic assignments that cultivate human creativity (and can't be completed relying on ChatGPT alone!), build students' confidence and resilience as contributors to their overall well-being, and foster freedom of expression amidst a broader campus climate of self-censorship and cancel culture. The project is currently holding workshops to promote awareness and use of the Open Inquiry Toolkit, and manages a repository for faculty and librarians to deposit model assignments and open educational resources (OERs) based on this intellectual virtues-based model. The overarching goal is to promote students' sustained learning with curiosity, intellectual humility, intellectual tenacity, and other key virtues as they progress in their majors and into the practices and norms of informed civic engagement. The specific goals for this session are to (1) introduce the audience to the principles of Open Inquiry for student research, (2) identify the main features of the Open Inquiry Toolkit with its Guides, definitions, bibliography, and assignment repository, and (3) address opportunities for collaboration on campuses in promoting civic dialogue based on more informed student inquiry.</p> <p><b>Achieving Friendship: an Elixir for Intellectual Slander and Pride</b> <i>Stephen Napier, Associate Professor at Villanova University</i> Truly appreciating others is a precondition for having a loving community. Seeing others as competitors to one's flourishing or threats to one's self-interests and cherished values, creates divisiveness. Clinical psychologists define anger as a response to a perceived threat to self. If we see others as threats, we become angry with them. "Anger is a judgmental emotion. Attitudinally, the angry person takes the superior position, looking down on the one at whom he's angry" (Roberts, 1995). <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>

# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Los Angeles</p>	<p>(Cont.) The present paper aims to extend some of my previous reflections on friendship. In particular, I aim to exhume various moral and intellectual vices that destabilize communities of discourse. My entry point is to focus on the vice of slander which can be understood roughly as believing bad things about another that are also false. Slander is realized in various forms empirically discovered by Nosek, Graham and Haidt (2012). They asked academics of various political sympathies to complete the moral foundations survey. They were then asked to complete the survey as if they were responding as a member of a different political identity. Respondents tended to exaggerate moral differences between in group and outgroup members, and failed to understand the extent to which outgroup members were committed to the same values. Slander, I argue, is the root problem in political and academic discourse. Once a viewpoint is deprecated, it is hard to engage with it; and engaging with a viewpoint is a necessary means to understanding it. The bulk of the paper addresses the genesis of slander, its principal effects in discourse, and why it is such a serious problem. Of course, correctly identifying the problem is a necessary condition for crafting effective solutions. The paper ends by limning practices that would curtail or even undercut the incidence of slander in the classroom and possibly beyond. A comment on some HXA 2024</p> <p><b>Scholar Activism as a Misguided Attempt to Re-Enchant the Academy</b> <i>Martha McCaughey, Director of Campus Engagement at Heterodox Academy</i> One response to university scholars' and teachers' feelings of demoralization and disenchantment with their work has been to use their position to advocate for social justice and/or democracy. After providing specific examples of those who embrace such scholar-activism, I will argue that pushing a social or political agenda through one's teaching or research weakens the reputation of all academics and the public trust in higher education. Recovering the ideals of respectable scholarship requires an alternative to scholar-activism, an alternative I call scholar-optimism.</p>
<p>Kane</p>	<p><b>How Can Faculty Advocate for Policy Change from within the University: A Symposium</b> <i>Peter Newton, University of Colorado-Boulder</i> <i>Matthew Burgess, University of Colorado-Boulder</i> <i>Alexandra Lysova, Simon Fraser University</i> <i>Rachel Altman, Simon Fraser University</i> <i>Matt Hickey, Colorado State University</i> <i>Moderated by Peter Newton, University of Colorado-Boulder</i></p> <p>How can one faculty member, or a group of faculty, change policy on a university campus? This symposium will discuss examples and lessons learned from successful organizing efforts by HxA Campus Community (CC) co-chairs on three college campuses. These examples span multiple countries, issues, and political contexts. Five common lessons emerge. First, follow the HxA way. This principle may seem trite, but our experience suggests that engaging in good faith and showing that you want what is best for the institution—engaging 'winsomely', in HxA-speak—leads to productive engagement with colleagues and administrators. Second, know the law and campus policies. While campus policies are sometimes the topic of controversy, sometimes campus controversies result from non-existent policies being enforced or from actual policies not being enforced. Third, understand the political pressures your campus leaders are facing: from students, faculty, local politicians, donors, and others. These pressures vary by campus. Fourth, pick your battles. Fights can be worth it, but the emotional and political-capital costs should be weighed against the probability of success and the goals that can be achieved. Fifth and finally, the HxA CC network is a great way to learn about and be inspired by others' wins, to find support, and to share lessons learned.</p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Kane

## **Improving Hiring Practices at the University of Colorado, Boulder**

*Peter Newton, Associate Professor at the University of Colorado-Boulder*

*Matthew Burgess, Assistant Professor at the University of Colorado-Boulder*

Concerns are growing about legally- and ethically- questionable university faculty hiring practices. On our campus, such concerns include: first, the common practice of requiring 'DEI statements' as part of the faculty hiring process; second, a campus-wide faculty hiring program that appeared to prioritize faculty based on protected characteristics. In this presentation, we talk about our successes in pushing back on both. First, we were successful in replacing DEI statements with 'service statements' in two departments. Our department's DEI committee had advocated for the hiring process to include a requirement for applicants to submit a DEI statement. Such statements have been widely critiqued, including by [FIRE](#). We share those concerns and repeatedly voiced them with our colleagues. But we realized that critiquing bad ideas was insufficient and we needed to propose a more neutral, constructive, and progressive alternative. We developed a proposal for replacing DEI statements with a 'service statement' alongside the usual research and teaching statements. After some initial pushback from colleagues, this policy change was eventually adopted by a unanimous vote in the department. It was also adopted by at least one other department whose leaders had seen our proposal. A service statement has the advantages of: a) being aligned with the criteria used for reappointment, promotion, and tenure; b) valuing service (including service that expands opportunities for disadvantaged students) as well as research and teaching; and c) affording applicants an opportunity to talk about their work on diversity, equity, and inclusion if they wish to, without insisting that every applicant writes about these things and without giving any special priority to such work. Second, we were successful in pushing back against a university-wide faculty hiring program, launched in 2020, that seemed to prioritize (and often target) hires based on their protected characteristics. This program seemed to have been the dominant mode of faculty hiring for roughly two years in our college. Over the course of a year and a half, we called attention to the ethical and legal perils of this program through a combination of raising concerns with the designated anti-discrimination office, administrators, and at faculty governance meetings. In summer 2023, the program was eliminated and replaced with a program that was neutral with respect to protected characteristics and that prioritized open searches.

## **Faculty Initiatives to Strengthen the Academic Mission of Simon Fraser University**

*Alexandra Lysova, Associate Professor at Simon Fraser University*

*Rachel Altman, Associate Professor at Simon Fraser University*

In recent years, the mission of Simon Fraser University (SFU) seems to have shifted from academic (research and teaching) to political (in particular, the advancement of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) ideology). This shift has impacted interactions with colleagues, discussions of difficult questions in the classroom, hiring processes, and the overall campus climate. In 2022, we formed the Academic Freedom Group, dedicated to protecting and promoting academic freedom and viewpoint diversity. Our work has centered around engagement with the university administration regarding their initiatives, guidelines, and policy proposals. We closely monitor their communications and provide feedback. While this process is time-consuming and requires considerable effort, we recognize its importance as a vital component of collegial governance. One major project that our group undertook was to provide feedback on documents originating from the SFU DEI Office. Our efforts resulted in changes to the definition of diversity: the definition now encompasses differences in perspectives and political beliefs. The Office has also committed to creating a glossary of DEI terms so that the community has a shared understanding of the Office's intentions. We were unsuccessful in obtaining clear criteria to evaluate the effectiveness of DEI initiatives, a matter we will raise with the Office again in response to any proposals for such initiatives. Our group also played a significant role in changing our university's new Research Excellence Awards Policy. The revised policy explicitly mentions academic freedom and omits references to DEI frameworks and vague DEI notions in its definition of research excellence. *(Continued on next page)*



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

<p>Kane</p>	<p>(Cont.) Our feedback on the Hiring Guidelines, which pointed out the lack of attention to academic excellence, the promotion of particular political viewpoints, and the weak justification for some proposed hiring practices, led to the removal of this document from the university website. As a consequence of our advocacy, the portal showcasing SFU researchers' work now includes a disclaimer stating that the featured work does not reflect the opinions or viewpoints of the university. This change explicitly positions the university as politically neutral. Finally, following our comments, several administrative positions now include in their descriptions "a commitment to the principles of academic freedom and collegial governance". Our successes demonstrate that faculty members have the power to effect real change on the policies that govern our campuses and, as a result, promote academic freedom and viewpoint diversity.</p> <p><b>Aligning Institutional Learning Objectives with HxA Values at Colorado State University</b> <i>Matt Hickey, University Distinguished Teaching Scholar and Associate Dean for Research and Graduate Programs, College of Health and Human Sciences at Colorado State University</i> Following a Higher Learning Commission (HLC) accreditation visit to Colorado State University, the Provost, in Fall 2017, charged a standing committee of the Faculty Council (the Committee on Teaching and Learning, chaired by MH) with the formation of a Task Force to develop recommendations regarding Institutional Learning Objectives (ILO). The Task Force of 17 members included faculty (both tenured and contract), academic advisors, and administrators (Student Affairs and Office of the VP for Diversity). The committee met for deliberations and draft work over an academic year, sought stakeholder input from across campus, and reconvened in year 2 for discussion and continued drafting. The final ILO report was shared with the Faculty Council and was accepted by the Provost in Fall 2019. The report includes HxA priorities of viewpoint diversity, open inquiry, and constructive disagreement both in the preamble and within the framework of the individual ILO. In the course of discussion and development, the Task Force received feedback urging the inclusion of social justice as one of the ILOs. The Task Force chair and a colleague provided a written rationale to the Task Force and the standing committee articulating why social justice should not be included as an ILO. Following open discussion of the rationale, the Task Force concluded that social justice would not be an ILO. The ILO have not yet been operationalized due to the 2020 COVID pandemic, but the most recent HLC visit has moved them into preliminary stages of steps to translate them into practice (program level review being the primary step).</p>
<p>Indiana</p>	<p><b>Women in Heterodoxy: A Discussion</b> <i>Ellie Avishai, The Mill Institute at the University of Austin</i> <i>Leslie Bienen, Portland State University</i> <i>Catherine Ann Johnson, University of Wyoming</i> <i>Moderated by Meghan Daum, The Unspeakable Podcast</i></p> <p>Is heterodoxy a boy's club? There's no reason it should be, but if you look around at the professors, journalists, podcasters, and other intellectual leaders speaking up against groupthink, you often notice that men outnumber women. This panel, moderated by writer and podcaster Meghan Daum, will explore why women are underrepresented in the heterodox space, whether innate sex differences play a role, and ask how we can encourage more women to voice their dissenting opinions. The discussion will draw partly from Meghan's work building The Unspeakable, a multi-faceted community for heterodox-minded and "politically homeless" women. As a writer and journalist, Meghan has long been a sounding board for people who feel alienated by the culture wars' party lines. But a few years ago, she noticed that women were experiencing this alienation in ways somewhat different from men. Political polarization had not only affected women's professional lives and eroded their trust in the media and other institutions; it had destroyed relationships of all kinds. They'd seen friendships ruined, families divided, workplaces made miserable, and religious communities broken apart. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

	<p>(Cont.) They'd even stumbled onto a strange new battlefield for the mommy wars. With "agreeing to disagree" no longer possible, contentious debates over bathroom bills and COVID lockdowns created the kinds of bullies and scapegoats better known to middle school. As Meghan saw it, this was the heart of the problem. The in-group/out-group dynamics of girlhood cliques were playing out on the landscape of adult cancel culture. And since many women fear excommunication from their peer group, they often nodded along and stayed silent. Worse, some women applied "mean girl" tactics to culture war battles, going after rivals by ruining reputations in the name of social justice. This has led some observers to argue that women are the main drivers of cancel culture. That's a bold assertion, but is there truth to it? Of course, academia can resemble middle school no matter who you are. Some academics, like panelist Dr. Leslie Bienen, have pushed back on the mean girl analysis, pointing out that cancel culture is an equal opportunity gambit in the world of scholars and academic administrators. Nonetheless, there does appear to be a gender gap in heterodoxy. This panel will delve into the reasons for that and seek ways of bringing more women—faculty, students, and laypeople alike—into the tent.</p>
<p>Northwestern</p>	<p><b>Heterodoxy in the Orthodoxy: Free to be Me at University?: A Symposium</b>  <i>Erec Smith, Free Black Thought</i>  <i>Michael Bowen, Vice President at Free Black Thought</i>  <i>Jake Mackey, Occidental College</i>  <i>Moderated by Erec Smith, Free Black Thought</i></p> <p>Faculty and students alike are steeped in environments that stoke politicization, groupthink, and polarization. This symposium seeks to elevate understanding about questions of social (dis)comfort and free expression: tolerance, courage, self-censorship, shaming, and safety-ism. (Cont.)  The presenters have all directly experienced isolation, alienation, and shunning from colleagues and peers for their heterodox viewpoints. In this symposium we aim to build understanding of the lived experiences of faculty and students that hold heterodox views on campus. The first presenter outlines and illuminates the experience of being a black student with heterodox views on campus and navigating isolation and alienation in spaces that embrace conformity; the presenter posits that as long as there is a considered need for racial inclusion, every black student's individuality is compromised. The second presenter highlights the unacknowledged ubiquity of "prescriptive racism" throughout college campuses. Unlike traditional racism, an outlook that deems people of a particular race inherently inferior to one's own, prescriptive racism dictates how a person should behave based on behavioral expectations of that person's racial group. The presenter will argue that contemporary DEI does not just harbor prescriptive racism; it is prescriptive racism. The third presenter shares insights into the challenges and roadblocks that faculty members who embrace truth as telos may encounter when activist scholarship rules on campus and provides an outline of the sticky situations that emerge when working with colleagues that are committed to upholding social justice rather than truth as telos. Through this symposium on heterodoxy in the orthodoxy, we paint a picture of the possibilities that open up to all of us, faculty and students alike, when we promote open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement - even, and perhaps especially when the stakes are high.</p> <p><b>We Should be Talking About Prescriptive Racism</b>  <i>Erec Smith, Research Fellow at the Cato Institute, Professor of Rhetoric at York College of Pennsylvania, and President at Free Black Thought</i>  My presentation addresses "prescriptive racism" in academic spaces. Unlike traditional racism, an outlook that deems people of a particular race inherently inferior to one's own, prescriptive racism dictates how a person should behave based on behavioral expectations of that person's racial group. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern

(Cont.)

Where traditional racism punishes people by stereotyping them, prescriptive racism punishes people for not abiding by a prescribed stereotype. Prescriptive racism is a societal issue, but is most egregious when built into institutional policies labeled “anti-racist.” Within the Critical Social Justice (CSJ) narrative pervading DEI initiatives in academia, blackness is a role, a “pre-script,” by which black people must abide. A black scholar cannot simply study Plato; she has to write about Plato from a black perspective. A black graduate student can write a dissertation on Proust as long as it features the author’s relevance to the black experience. The term “prescriptive racism” may be new for many. However, it’s not a novel concept. It has a historical variation in the concept of the “uppity negro”—that black person who dared to act like an equal to whites. This term, exhibited in this quote attributed to Lyndon Johnson, was lodged at people of color who exercised “agentic” power, i.e., they were competent and did not need a white person’s heroism. For that, they were considered a problem. Because of the rise of agential power among black Americans, political blackness has relinquished substantial power. However, those who want to salvage it for socio-political influence realize a “strategic essentialism” must be created. The more activists can convince Americans that all black people were categorically oppressed, the more ethos they’d maintain as righteous change agents. Because this is no longer a reality (Roughly 80% of black Americans are working class or higher and the number of black immigrants has skyrocketed), the role of the black American has to be prescribed in a more politically strategic way. This is why, unlike the antiquated concept, “uppity,” prescriptive racism is also perpetuated by black people, themselves. Today, black people who do not abide by their prescriptive roles are also considered problems and dismissed as “Uncle Toms,” or “multi-racially white.” Through research in academic anti-racist movements and contemporary popular culture, I will show that prescriptive racism is a concept that deserves much more attention than it is getting. My ultimate argument is that CSJ-based DEI does not simply involve prescriptive racism; it depends on it.

## **GDI: Black Individualism at Risk in College**

*Michael Bowen, Vice President at Free Black Thought*

Before I was a sophomore in college, I had no idea about the existence of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. Not because my own parents were not college educated, but because they put no pressure on me to conform to any such bourgeois conventions. Like any group, the Alphas and other fraternities and sororities mocked those not associated with their organizations as GDIs, god damned individuals. On a campus that was predominately white, this was a real social factor. I believe in the wider society, black Americans face particular pressures to be ‘for the race’ and thus put under various obligations not only to put a good face forward in defiance of racial stereotypes, but to participate in various specific institutions which are not neutral or disinterested in race relations. In this way there is always some kind of ‘Affirmative Action’ assumption placed especially on the heads of black American individuals who are indeed successful. The very existence of Diversity programs of any sort presume a number of things but most subtly that a successful black individual owes a special responsibility to behave as a foil against those black Americans who ‘fit the profile’ of social dysfunction, etc. Regardless on any black individual’s need or desire to fulfill that role, the entirety of inclusion which may or may not use methodologies of tokenism, race norming or quotas, still requires that blacks apply and are accepted as blacks or as people of color, a term of dubious value. So the question arises. What choice does a black individual have to be considered individual in his vector? The author will consider various unusual ambitions and ask, Am I Individual? More importantly, what can a college undergraduate expect?



# FRIDAY, JUNE 7

Northwestern	<p><b>My White Privilege: Ideological Freedom in the Classroom</b> <i>Jake Mackey, Assistant Professor at Occidental College</i></p> <p>My presentation addresses a little-recognized form of “white privilege” that manifests in the academy. It does so from the point of view of an academic racialized as white who has now spent over almost two decades working alongside black academics and seeing the distinctive challenges they faced, as black academics, that I as a white academic did not face. Not having to face these challenges was my “white privilege.” I argue that my white privilege has increased over the years. When I was in graduate school in the 2000s, I hung out with black fellow graduate students. I heard stories of standard “microaggressions,” including one “microaggression” that was coded as respect for the distinctiveness of “black identity” but which was really an insidious form of limitation placed upon the topics that black graduate students could research. This limitation was the expectation that they would work not on “topic X,” as I was free to do, but on “blackness and topic X.” My peers who chose to work simply on “topic X” were regarded as misguided, as if they’d missed an opportunity to express their “blackness.” My white privilege has metastasized recently. Now, it protects me from more than just preconceptions about what I “should” work on. A dynamic has emerged among my black faculty colleagues recently. I am permitted by students and colleagues to teach whatever I like, however I like. Students accept my fitness to teach not only the Greco-Roman classics but also the reception of them by African American authors. They do not question that I teach these black authors, nor do they question my way of teaching them and the theses that I develop over semester. Not so for my colleagues who are racialized as black! Some colleagues who teach in Black Studies departments report to me that when they teach, for example, Du Bois, but teach him “wrong,” they are assailed before the class by students who accuse them of betraying blackness or of not being “qualified” to teach the “true” meaning of Du Bois. They receive emails instructing them how they could teach Du Bois better. It is my white privilege not to be subjected to preconceptions about how I “should” teach. I will make some recommendations for how to extend this “privilege” to all faculty, even black faculty.</p>
5:15 - 6:30 PM Chicago Ballroom	<p><b>Evening Plenary: Narratives, Truths, and Realities</b> <i>Hakeem Oluseyi, George Mason University</i></p>
6:30 - 8:00 PM	<p><b>Group Meetings and Networking Reception</b> Gatherings for HxCommunities, Campus Communities, new and local members, student members, and anyone looking for a good conversation <i>Passed hors d'oeuvres and wine &amp; beer bar</i></p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

8:30 - 9:50 AM	<p><b>Morning Concurrent Sessions</b></p>
Denver	<p><b>Encroachment on Open Inquiry II</b>  <i>Scott Davies, University of Toronto</i>  <i>Renaud Philippe Garner, University of British Columbia Okanagan</i>  <i>Smriti Mehta, University of California, Berkeley</i>  <i>Moderated by Elizabeth Weiss, The Mike and Sofia Segal Center for Academic Pluralism</i></p> <p><b>The Social Movement University and its Challenges for Heterodoxy: A View from Canada</b>  <i>Scott Davies, Professor at University of Toronto</i>          In his seminal essay, Jonathan Haidt distinguished two ideal-typical philosophies that universities can pursue: those for “Social Justice” versus “Truth.” We extend this contrast to institutional / organizational realms by focusing on some emerging EDI initiatives in North American university administration. These initiatives, we argue, exemplify social movement tactics, though they are rarely acknowledged as such. Those tactics can include pushing implicit agendas with ill-defined terms and ever-shifting acronyms, choosing ‘soft’ rather than effective targets, stigmatizing perceived opponents rather than engaging in empirically-oriented persuasion, portraying residues of movement mobilization as empirical data, and transplanting imagery of successful movements to new contexts in order to gain legitimacy. While political processes by which outside social movements enter the mainstream are common in many institutions, in universities they also generate tensions with procedures for truth-seeking and neutrality. We illustrate these arguments with strategic examples from Canadian universities, many of which consider US universities to be their peer institutions, and by deploying these tactics, generate mismatches between their advocacy and actual constituencies. We highlight challenges that administrator adoption of social movement tactics pose for adherents of heterodoxy, namely the compromising and even stigmatizing of traditional forms of university sense-making, and the incentivizing of administrators to deny obvious signals of change.</p> <p><b>All Signal, No Virtue: How an Ineffective and Harmful Pedagogical Practice Spread</b>  <i>Renaud Philippe Garner, Assistant Professor at the University of British Columbia Okanagan</i>          This paper begins with a case-study which it then uses as a springboard to make a broader argument about how the proper exercise of the intellectual virtues, within educational institutions, is undermined by failures of character and existing incentive structures. The topic of our case-study is the rise and spread of trigger warnings as a pedagogical tool. In part I, we define them, differentiate them from other forms of warnings, and explain how they spread. In part II, we review the justifications on offer for trigger warnings. In part III, we review the empirical evidence and then show how these findings undermine these justifications. In part IV, we make a broader argument that draws on Aristotle and Alasdair MacIntyre. Given that we summarized the findings of the first meta-analysis on the effectiveness of trigger warnings in part II, and that we found them to fail to work as their advocates claim, we now seek to explain how they became so ubiquitous. Indeed, our explanation is constrained by two sets of facts. One, that the empirical evidence never provided any real support for the effectiveness of trigger warnings. Two, that their adoption largely predates the publication of much if not all of the empirical research on their effectiveness. Consequently, we argue that their widespread adoption and use is best explained by a lack of prudence which, in turn, is explained by two more fundamental failures. On the one hand, the unwillingness to speak out and point out that the causal claims were unproven and implausible is due to a failure of moral character. Pedagogues are not unable to read the evidence or identify trustworthy sources, however they are unwilling to speak out when doing is costly. Pedagogues do not clearly lack critical thinking, but they do lack courage. On the other hand, educational institutions do not encourage or foster the cultivation of virtue because professional success is often at odds with the excellence that is internal to teaching. The tragedy of education is that the incentive structures that are presently key to institutional success are often at odds with the norms of excellence internal to the practice.</p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Denver</p>	<p><b>Microaggressions: A Case-study in Uptake of Weak Constructs</b>  <i>Smriti Mehta, Postdoctoral Scholar at the University of California-Berkeley</i>          When the existence of a phenomenon is under question, the burden of proof lies with the one claiming the existence of said phenomenon. Researchers who purport the existence of ‘microaggressions’ (Pierce, 1974, 1995; Pierce et al., 1978) as a valid psychological construct shoulder the same burden. The fundamental question in the microaggression research program (MRP; Lilienfeld, 2017) is not, as Syed (2021) claims, what the fundamental assumptions about society are, but whether the concept of microaggressions is backed by enough empirical evidence to be considered a valid construct. A review of the literature suggests that the theoretical foundation of MRP is underdeveloped and the evidence supporting its claims, is weak. Some of the core tenets of the theory haven’t been or are impossible to test empirically. As such, MRP is replete with unfalsifiable—often contradictory—claims, emotionally charged language, and anecdotal evidence. Despite this arrested development, researchers and practitioners have been inadequately skeptical and the construct has prematurely proliferated in legal and clinical scholarship, anti-bias training, as well as common discourse (Cantu &amp; Jussim, n.d.; Sue et al., 2007). In this presentation, I will summarize the history of the construct of microaggressions, provide an overview of the quantitative evidence supporting the construct, and describe the extent of its use in educational, clinical, and organizational settings. Additionally, building on Lilienfeld’s (2017) suggestions, I will provide recommendations for construct validation and existing psychological literature that can help bolster the theoretical underpinnings of MRP.</p>
<p>Los Angeles</p>	<p><b>Policy Models in Higher Education</b>  <i>Ashley Hodgson, St. Olaf College</i>  <i>Bryan Gentry, University of South Carolina</i>  <i>Steven McGuire, American Council of Trustees and Alumni</i>  <i>Moderated by Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Evaluating Multiple Models of Higher Education Reform (Did HxA Fail?)</b>  <i>Ashley Hodgson, Associate Professor of Economics at St. Olaf College</i>          I would like to look at HxA and higher education reform from the perspective of a particular goal: ensuring that the knowledge-seeking environment does not bend toward the will of power (including financial power, social power, and media power). Two main critiques of HxA and educational reform are that it is enabling a foot in the door for right-wing agendas (a power argument), and that it is feeble to make change in the face of the media, social and financial forces that exert power in society. HxA’s main function thus far has been to build social capital among faculty who see the problem. As a HxA community leader, I believe that social capital is a necessary prerequisite to any kind of meaningful reform of higher education. Here I will evaluate the following four models of higher education reform that aim to diminish the relationship between academia and power. 1.An adversarial model of knowledge-generation. For certain important societal questions, what if some truth-seeking spaces were designed to mirror the process of a legal court: with a defense, a prosecution and a judge and jury? Academics who lean strongly toward one side might be allowed to create the strongest case for that side, and other academics could develop the skills of neutral evaluation when looking at the strongest case from scholars on both sides. 2.Pluralism and boundaries spaces: Academia has recently been striving for a one-size-fits-all inclusive culture. A better model would be to have some spaces (call them “home culture spaces” spaces) where groups can use their own unique set of social and worldview norms, and other spaces (call them “connector culture spaces”) that are designed to foster sense-making across different groups. 3.Democratic influence on financial investment in knowledge-seeking: Grants and funding of academic institutes come from a particular class of people who are increasingly out-of-touch with the things that matter to regular citizens.  <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Los Angeles

(Cont.)

It would be possible for a portion of academic funding to be democratically chosen to investigate topics that the general populous believes are under-studied. 4. Boundaries with social media and the news cycle: The emotional tenor of the social media atmosphere and its connection to the news cycle has become a driving force deciding the attention (and therefore the knowledge-seeking) of academia. Emotion reduces the accuracy of people's thinking. Academia could build in intentional time boundaries around the way the institution publicly processes news events.

## **The Open-Minded University Brand**

*Bryan Gentry, Director of Communications at the University of South Carolina*

Students are picketing the president's house, demanding that the university take action on social justice issues around the world—even if that just means issuing a statement of solidarity. But meanwhile, alumni are writing in, angry about the political statement that the university made last week. Some state legislators are hunting for indoctrination in syllabi, and political tensions grow as many people are self-censoring. Challenges like these have put universities in a bind over the past 10 years, and the way universities have responded has backfired in the court of public opinion. (Continued on next page) Americans' confidence in higher education has plummeted. Conservative politicians call colleges "indoctrination factories" and "a scam." Trust in specific disciplines, from arts and humanities to natural sciences and medicine, has fallen as well. From states legislating DEI to congressional inquisitions of college presidents to enrollment growth challenges, it's clear that many Americans are not buying what universities are selling. To overcome these obstacles, universities can employ principles of effective communications and branding — as well as the HxA Way — to reshape their public image. Embracing institutional neutrality, open inquiry, and viewpoint diversity as part of a university's brand gives it an opportunity to rebuild public trust and enhance its value proposition. This presentation will include interactive components to explore how all attendees — university communications professionals, administrators, individual scholars who can influence the brand of their university, or staff — can enhance the brand of their university or their discipline. This session will cover (1) Data about the loss of trust in higher education and various debates about the cause, (2) why institutional neutrality doesn't need to be abandoned in the quest to recruit students, based on a more nuanced view of Gen Z's (supposed) requirement that brands publicly advocate for their social views, (3) several case studies or public examples of university statements or policies that backfired, (4) principles of communication and marketing that can help to advance a culture of open inquiry and viewpoint diversity on campus, and (5) how the HxA Way can guide campus communications, media relations, social media and more.

## **ACTA's Gold Standard for Free Expression: 20 Steps to Free Your Campus**

*Steve McGuire, Paul & Karen Levy Fellow in Campus Freedom at the American Council of Trustees and Alumni*

The American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA) has developed the ACTA Gold Standard for Freedom of Expression, a 20-point action plan for improving the conditions for academic freedom and free speech on college and university campuses. It includes steps such as adopting the Chicago Statement and the Kalven Report, ensuring that university policies are fair and content neutral, hosting debates on campus, and removing barriers to free expression such as bias response teams. This presentation will provide an outline of the Gold Standard for Freedom of Expression and explain how and why its measures can and should be adopted. It will also discuss some of the successes ACTA has had in getting points on the Gold Standard adopted at various institutions with a focus on how these measures were adopted. Finally, it will conclude with recommendations as to how members of the audience might proceed to get parts of the Gold Standard adopted on their own campuses. Feedback from audience members on the 20-points in the Gold Standard will also be solicited.



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Kane

## **Mill's On Liberty, Campus Conversations, and Online Spaces: A Symposium**

*Marc Blitz, Oklahoma City University School of Law*

*Andrew Jason Cohen, Georgia State University*

*Quentin Langley, Manhattan College*

*Moderated by Marc Blitz, Oklahoma City University School of Law*

To what extent can the most famous argument against “cancel culture” – and specifically, the 19th-century variant of it – guide academics and others in battling it, and the threat it presents to viewpoint diversity and intellectual freedom, in the 21st century? In *On Liberty*, John Stuart Mill warned that both “freedom of opinion” and individuality can be suppressed not just by legal penalties but also by “the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling.” Mill’s arguments in *On Liberty* are often repeated and quoted in contemporary defenses of freedom of speech and thought, and of academic freedom. HxA has already done so, republishing chapter 2 of *On Liberty* (in “All Minus One” edited by Reeves and Haidt and illustrated by Cicirelli). This panel aims to continue the conversation about Mill’s contemporary relevance – focusing on two challenges that arise in adapting Mill’s analysis to our own circumstances. First, Mill did not classify all use of social pressure as “tyranny of opinion.” In some cases, he said, individuals are “justly punished by opinion.” When is criticism on social media or university campuses the latter rather than the former? Second, Mill insisted that “individuals and voluntary associations” be able to experiment with various “modes of life.” When may universities or other intellectual groups experiment with organizations that limit speech rather than leave it unhindered? This panel will explore these challenges from the perspective of a philosophy professor who has written about non-state censorship of speech, the harms involved in speech prevention, and how a revised understanding of Mill’s harm principle applies to free speech on college campuses, of a scholar and commentator who has explored how individuals and organizations can be “brandjacked” in social media, suffering severe reputational damage, and of a law professor who has written about how emerging technologies raise challenges for free speech law (and has analyzed the contributions of Mill’s writing on “tyranny of opinion” in doing so). The panelists each serve or have served as moderators of Hx Communities (HxPhilosophy, HxNew York, and HxLegal Scholarship) and, in the case of one panelist, the Co-Chair of an HxA Campus Community.

## **Social Sanctions, Free Speech, & (Thought) Experiments in Living**

*Marc Blitz, Professor at Oklahoma City University School of Law*

In *On Liberty*, John Stuart Mill warned that suppression of any opinion – even of a false one – is “robbing the human race” of the vigorous debate that is necessary not only to uncover the truth but also to show why it survives critique. In the United States, modern First Amendment jurisprudence is often understood as a safeguard against such suppression: Its free speech guarantee protects against government censorship. It recognized, as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said, that “the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas -- that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market.” But Mill’s writing also explains why First Amendment protection is an incomplete antidote to censorship – for two reasons. First, censorship often comes in the form of self-censorship stemming from fear of peers’ rejection (as HxA’s Campus Expression Surveys of college students have found). Mill was acutely aware of this problem. “[S]ocial tyranny,” he said, is “more formidable than many kinds of political oppression” since it “leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating more deeply into the details of life and enslaving the soul itself.” Second, Mill said that freedom is only one of two conditions for the development of individuals’ intellectual and moral power. The other is a “variety of situations.” Such diversity is necessary not only to test the “worth of different modes of life” and ideas through argument and “experiments in living” – but also because “different persons require different conditions for their spiritual development.” Where there is intellectual and cultural homogeneity, freedom will be insufficient. *(Continued on next page)*





# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Kane

(Cont.)

This part of our symposium discussion will consider how these two aspects of Mill's thought – his awareness of social pressures and emphasis on diversity of thought and "modes of life" – can add to his more well-known defense of free speech and inform contemporary analyses of cancel culture and campus conformity. In the spirit of Mill's insistence that we test ideas against counterarguments, it will discuss Mill's claim that some social penalties are just and necessary supplements to law, and the possibility that this is true of some forms of "cancel culture." It will also ask if Mill's insistence on cultivating individual autonomy is itself at odds with a pluralism of ideals that leaves space for unquestioning adherence to tradition.

## **Mill, Harm, and Campus Speech**

*Andrew Jason Cohen, Professor at Georgia State University*

John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* is one of the most important statements about the value of extensive toleration. It thus unsurprisingly provides essential background for understanding the value of viewpoint diversity and freedom of inquiry on college campuses. It also provides a way to assess contemporary claims that certain campus speech is harmful or that certain sorts of university rules or cultures should be impermissible (under either state rules, professional standards, or the norms of academic organizations). In the process, it raises important questions for (rather than conclusively answering) these discussions. This session will draw on the panelist's previous analysis of Mill – particularly in the article, "Psychological Harm and Free Speech on Campus," and the book, *Toleration and Freedom from Harm: Liberalism Reconceived* - to explore these questions. Mill's work is relevant, for example, to contemporary arguments about university culture and university governance. Mill's discussion, in *On Liberty*, suggests that the mind is like a muscle—capable of growing, improving, and strengthening, and equally capable of withering, degrading, and weakening. He tells us that "[t]he mental and moral, like the muscular, powers are improved only by being used; if they are not exercised, they become withered and starved." This is the driving force behind the pedagogical belief that college students expand their horizons and learn to use their minds in new and more analytic ways when we expose them to problems they may not have yet considered. If they were not exposed to any beliefs that contradicted theirs in the four years they were in school, the school failed them. But this doesn't answer questions about whether Mill's harm principle – which allows legal or social interference with the liberty of a person solely "to prevent harm to others" – permits interference to prevent psychological harm (and when) and, if it does, how this applies in the university context. Consideration of this question and whether university cultures that do not value (and perhaps work against) strengthening their students' independence of mind might be permissible will be discussed. More generally, understanding the lesson that Mill's harm principle holds for free societies – and what limits it allows on the realization of certain ideas - requires thinking carefully about what exactly harm is - and the presentation provides one answer to that while recognizing challenges.

## **Cancel Culture - The Technological and Historical Context**

*Quentin Langley, Adjunct Faculty at Manhattan College*

Mill explicitly addressed the question of the social consequences that can befall a person with controversial views. Such consequences are contextual, and the changing face of the media in the years since *On Liberty* was published has been critical to that evolving context. Media have always operated with a herd instinct, and this is magnified in social media. Stories can gather pace extremely quickly if they fit with the pre-existing beliefs of social media users. We are accustomed to the formal fact-checking processes of the mass media age, but these no longer apply. Social stigmas can be applied with extreme speed, often placing people in a category (such as "racist") which will mean their voices are ignored by many. There is a right of reply, but not a right to be heard. Opportunities for faking stories - including deep fake videos - are growing. You can no longer believe your eyes. *(Continued on next page)*



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Kane</p>	<p>(Cont.)          But the social context is not as bleak as it seems. Most of our ancestors were not born in the age of mass media (which arguably began a century ago) and our brains evolved to facilitate cooperation and trust. We can relearn the skills to distinguish truth from gossip, which recent generations have abandoned. Those of us who live in liberal democracies need to acknowledge our privileges. During the age of mass media, central control was operated with largely benign intent. This was never the case for countries dominated by authoritarian governments, and nostalgia for the age of editorial gatekeepers is quite inappropriate for most of the world's population. Mill was writing for the pre-mass media age and we are preparing for the post-mass media age. This makes his warnings about social approbation even more relevant today than they have been at almost any time since he wrote them. College campuses are perhaps the laboratories for social change. They gather a critical mass of the rising generation. Trends which emerge in this generation may well presage wider social changes.</p>
<p>Indiana</p>	<p><b>Elevating the Student Experience with Braver Angels Debates: A Symposium</b>  <i>Doug Sprei, American Council of Trustees and Alumni</i>  <i>Lindsay Hoffman, University of Delaware</i>  <i>Mark Urista, Linn-Benton Community College</i>  <i>Moderated by Doug Sprei, American Council of Trustees and Alumni</i></p> <p>The college classroom provides an advantageous context for promoting critical thinking, developing self-awareness, and practicing the art of dialogue and debate. It is one of the few locations where a diverse collection of students engage in rigorous academic activities under the guidance of a qualified instructor. Braver Angels debates provide a concept-proven approach for seizing this opportunity and fostering a culture of truth-seeking and constructive disagreement. Our proposed full symposium will have three parts: 1) a brief overview of the College Debates &amp; Discourse Alliance (CD&amp;D), 2) a presentation of our curricular toolkit, and 3) a description of data on the efficacy of Braver Angels debates. CD&amp;D is an acclaimed program forged by Braver Angels, the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), and BridgeUSA. Over the past five years, the program has facilitated over 250 Braver Angels campus and classroom debates, engaging close to 10,000 students from over 80 colleges and universities—many of whom are members of HxA’s Campus Community Network. Braver Angels debates are not competitive or performative events separating speakers and audiences. Instead, they invite attendees to participate in a collective search for truth. Conducted in a light parliamentary format and chaired by trained experts, they teach students to express their views, frame logical and persuasive arguments, listen deeply, and engage respectfully on challenging political and social issues. The Braver Angels debate curricular toolkit was created by faculty for faculty to teach critical thinking and the construction of logical, evidence-based arguments. Influenced by the Toulmin Model, it has been successfully utilized by dozens of college instructors for classroom assignments. Students learn how to deliver declarative claims supported by evidence from credible sources. They also are taught how to orally deliver these arguments persuasively. Throughout the process, students are encouraged to scrutinize arguments for weaknesses and logical fallacies. The result is a well-developed brief that students can use during a classroom debate. CD&amp;D is currently conducting a two-year research project funded by the John Templeton Foundation. This project is led by principal investigator, Dr. Lindsay Hoffman. Preliminary results will be shared on how Braver Angels debates affect intellectual humility and the willingness to engage with viewpoint diversity. This research builds on the HxA Flexible Funding Opportunity awarded to Dr. Hoffman in 2021 by further exploring civil discourse interventions on a variety of college campuses, including two that are part of the HxA Campus Community network.</p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Indiana</p>	<p><b>Part 1: A Brief Overview of the College Debates and Discourse Alliance (CD&amp;D)</b> <i>Doug Sprei, Vice President of Campus Partnerships &amp; Director of the College Debates and Discourse Alliance at American Council of Trustees and Alumni</i></p> <p><b>Part 2: Data on the Efficacy of Braver Angels Debates</b> <i>Lindsay Hoffman, Associate Professor of Communication &amp; Associate Director of the Center for Political Communication at the University of Delaware</i></p> <p><b>Part 3: The Curricular Toolkit</b> <i>Mark Urista, Communication Faculty &amp; Civil Discourse Program Advisor at Linn-Benton Community College</i></p>
	<p><b>Rescuing Science: A Symposium</b> <i>Scott Turner, National Association of Scholars</i> <i>Terence Kealey, University of Buckingham</i> <i>Seaver Wang, the Breakthrough Institute</i> <i>Moderated by Scott Turner, National Association of Scholars</i></p> <p><b>Are Universities the Best Home for the Sciences?</b> <i>Scott Turner, Director of Science Programs at National Association of Scholars</i></p> <p>The "modern science ecosystem" was established by a political proposition: that government funding of academic science would boost basic science in the universities. Since the founding of the National Science Foundation in 1950, the academic sciences have been the beneficiary of generous and growing public funding, doubling roughly every seven years. In addition to the NSF, numerous science-oriented federal agencies, like the National Institutes of Health, fund academic research through extramural research programs, which have likewise grown. On its face, government and corporate funding of science seems to be a spectacular success. To the contrary, it has substantially degraded the "academic science ecosystem." It has diminished discovery, and incentivized pursuit of dubious metrics of "scientific productivity." It has transformed scientists into mere generators of revenue for the benefit of institutions. It has co-opted science as a tool to further inherently political agendas. It has had no apparent effect on transforming our understanding of the world. Pursuit of public funding has become the ends for academic science, rather than the means it was intended to be. Arguably, the political experiment that began 74 years ago has been a failure. It is time to step back and plot a path to restore academic science to what it was prior to WW2. The question is: how? I lay out several elements of a rescue plan for the academic sciences. These remove control of the basic sciences from the hands of political and academic bureaucracies, and put it back into the hands of scientists where control belongs. In short, restoring the academic science ecosystem that existed prior to WW2, which include: (1) Declaring independence from the universities. Academic scientists would have more control over science as contractors rather than as employees of institutions which are disinclined to respect their unique interests. (2) Restructuring science funding to disentangle institutional interests from those of scientists. Presently, research grants do not fund scientists, but institutions. This fosters conformity and compliance to institutions rather than independence of thought. There are several alternative models for direct funding of scientists. (3) End the indirect costs flim-flam Institutions tack on a surcharge to research grants: indirect costs, which are inflated and unaccountable. Slash indirect cost rates, bring them back under congressional oversight, and make universities seek funding separately from research grants. (4) Decouple graduate student stipends from research grants. (5) Put government funding of academic research on a trajectory to zero.</p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Northwestern</p>	<p><b>Is Science Impossible without Public Funding?</b> <i>Terence Kealey, Vice Chancellor Emeritus at the University of Buckingham</i></p> <p>In its symposium abstract, the National Association of Scholars (NAS) compares American science today with the former Soviet Union's. Which is hardly surprising, because American science is modeled on the USSR's. Within a century of its founding, the U.S. had shed its frontier poverty to become the world's richest, most industrialized, country. Yet the federal government then funded science only very modestly, and in support only of very discrete, applied missions, mainly defense. Still, in that era of laissez-faire, American researchers, from Bell to Edison to the Wright brothers, flourished. But after the launch of Sputnik in 1957, which apparently put the Soviet Union ahead of the U.S., American public opinion converted to the Soviet belief that markets fail in research. Since then the federal government—with the enthusiastic support of the scientists themselves—has poured money into science. Yet rates of economic growth have not accelerated: rather, large chunks of science have been nationalized, with the consequences we see described in the NAS's abstract. If, therefore, we are to rescue science, we should recognize the failure of the model of government-funded pure science → new technology → economic growth. Recognizing the failure of that model (often known as the Soviet, NSF, linear or pipeline model) is a great liberation, because we can therefore shed it, to restructure science funding to prioritize the social goals we most value. This abstract will not specify the specific changes we should make: rather, it urges us to recognize (i) that we are currently prisoners of a failed model, (ii) that we can shed that model to entrust the research that underpins economic growth to the market, so (iii) we can indeed restructure science funding to serve other social goals.</p> <p><b>How Privately-funded Nonprofits are Making Science Stronger</b> <i>Seaver Wang, Co-Director, Climate and Energy at the Breakthrough Institute</i></p> <p>Even as research in the academy becomes increasingly competitive and as traditional peer reviewed publishing falls under mounting criticism, scientists at privately-funded nonprofit organizations are expanding the frontiers of scientific practice in new ways. Aided by exponential recent growth in online public datasets, open-source software, and access to literature, nonprofit researchers are better equipped than ever before to tackle a near-limitless breadth of interesting, societally-pressing research problems. Yet this expansion of nonprofit research is more than just a mere increase in the number of active researchers—it represents the emergence of new ways to practice science. Driven by their own assessments of novelty, need, and impact, researchers can pivot rapidly between research questions and share their findings using a wide range of formats—in many cases bypassing the traditional refereed publishing system altogether. A focus on societally-impactful work in real time and engagement with colleagues and stakeholders from a diversity of real-world sectors imparts a different kind of scientific rigor. At the personal level, permanent nonprofit staff positions with focused responsibilities free researchers from job search and tenure anxieties, teaching and administrative multitasking, and pressures to hyper specialize. All in all, the rise of nonprofit science may well be one of the more encouraging recent trends in research—a positive development not only for scientific progress, but also for many of those increasingly frustrated with the academic system itself.</p>
<p><b>10:00 - 11:00 AM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Brunch Buffet</b></p>
<p><b>11:00 AM - 12:20 PM</b></p>	<p><b>Mid-Morning Concurrent Sessions</b></p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Denver

## Teaching Practices: Embracing Viewpoint Diversity

*Aeon Skoble, Bridgewater State University*  
*Edward Remus, Northeastern Illinois University*  
*Joshua Salzman, Northeastern Illinois University*  
*Emma Stenstrom, Stockholm School of Economics*  
*Moderated by Nicole Barbaro, Heterodox Academy*

## Building Viewpoint Diversity into Courses

*Aeon Skoble, Bartlett Chair in Free Speech and Expression at Bridgewater State University*  
Viewpoint diversity within a faculty is valuable because it makes a greater variety of perspectives available to students and ensures our research isn't susceptible to bubble problems. But we should also aspire to bring a culture of viewpoint diversity into the classroom. To be most effective, this has to be more than designing a syllabus with "here's one view, here's an opposing view." That's important, but, I argue, two other factors are needed: 1, a strategy for encouraging heterodoxy in student input and managing conflicts before they become problems; and 2, a classroom atmosphere in which students see the value in challenging their own presuppositions and each other's, and - more importantly - will do so. We've seen the disturbing statistics that 83% of students have at some point self-censored, and that in many cases they're more worried about what their peers will say than what the professor will say (though both can be problems), but it's nevertheless on the professor to work on mitigating that fear. In this presentation I will argue for why most classes need an environment like this, why it's more critical in some, and I will outline some strategies for creating this sort of classroom environment, with examples of things that have worked well or that worked poorly.

## Evidence-Based Pedagogy Meets Viewpoint Diversity in the History Classroom: Lessons from Two Course Redesigns

*Edward Remus, Assistant Professor and Social Sciences Librarian at Northeastern Illinois University*  
*Joshua Salzman, Associate Professor of History at Northeastern Illinois University*  
This presentation looks at work undertaken by three HxA members at a single university to redesign two 300-level history courses. These redesigns were inspired by the principle of viewpoint diversity and were informed by evidence-based pedagogy. The first course, "Presenting Public Controversies in History," was redesigned by a faculty librarian and History instructor in collaboration with the university's Coordinator of Learning Innovations. The course focuses on the controversy surrounding The 1619 Project and invites students to explore four central claims made by the project's lead essay. Was the American Revolution fought to "protect slavery"? Did Lincoln view free black people as "incompatible" with democracy? Did black Americans mainly "fight back alone" for a century after the U.S. Civil War? And should black Americans be considered "the solution," politically speaking, in the United States today? Students spend the semester learning how scholars hailing from four distinct political viewpoints—progressive, socialist, conservative, and liberal—have responded to each of these four claims since 2019. The course culminates in a panel discussion in which each student is assigned one political viewpoint (progressive, socialist, conservative, or liberal) and is tasked with upholding this political viewpoint, in response to the four central claims above, in a structured dialogue and debate. The second course, "History of Crime and Violence in the United States," was redesigned by a History professor in collaboration with the university's Coordinator of Learning Innovations. The three-unit course focuses on Reconstruction, Prohibition, and mass incarceration. Students are assigned contemporary scholarly treatments of these topics from progressive, conservative, and liberal viewpoints. The third unit further tasks students with attending and reflecting on a public panel discussion featuring contemporary scholars with differing interpretations of mass incarceration: did mass incarceration result from the criminalization of black life (the identity-based progressive viewpoint), from the criminalization of poverty (the class-based progressive viewpoint), from the efforts of black elites and lawmakers to police the black underclass (a liberal viewpoint), or from skyrocketing crime driven by the cultural pathologies of the black underclass (a conservative viewpoint)?  
*(Continued on next page)*



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Denver</p>	<p>(Cont.) The course culminates in a class-wide panel discussion in which each student is assigned one of these viewpoints and is tasked with interpreting one dimension of mass incarceration according to this viewpoint. This presentation will reflect on these course redesigns as applications of recent research in the field of faculty development. This research highlights practices including discussion, structured academic controversy, detachment, metacognition, and backward design.</p> <p><b>Bubble-hopping - A Method to Understand Others</b> <i>Emma Stenstrom, Associate Professor at Stockholm School of Economics</i> This presentation will introduce a pedagogical method playfully called “bubble-hopping where we encourage students and other participants to have curious conversations with people unlike themselves. The method was published in a book (in Swedish in 2023) and has received a lot of attention. During the session, I would like to introduce the method, the research behind it, and some of its effects, with a particular emphasis on student experiences. When we use the method at the university, we first give the students both a theoretical foundation and hands-on practical skills training. For example, we teach and practice listening, asking, sharing, intellectual humility, non-verbal communication, recognizing cognitive biases, handling conflicts, and many other helpful skills. We start by practicing the skills in the classroom, which is interesting in itself and helps to bring out diversity, since we encourage differences. After practicing with classmates, we ask the students to reach out to someone outside the university who has different political opinions, beliefs, lifestyles, or whatever they find interesting. Over the years, we have seen many different meetings: between different religions, political views, backgrounds, or professions. Between those who believe in science and those who believe in conspiracy theories. Between those who follow the law and criminals. Between the poor and billionaires. The list is endless. Sharing the story afterward is an essential part of the method. Not only do students learn from each other, but it also gives us a chance to explore storytelling in a non-polarizing way, which is not so easy these days. So far, we have used the method with over 3 000 participants at different levels (and in many organizations) and we have collected and analyzed their stories. In the session, we will share some of our findings. The method aims to increase understanding of different perspectives and counteract what we have otherwise noted as an increasing affective polarization between different student groups, accompanied by a growing culture of silence. It is not revolutionary, but a small step in encouraging heterodox perspectives at a Swedish university. To paraphrase Nietzsche, bubble-hopping is a “playful, embodied, and existential exploration” of how principles could be put into action.</p>
	<p><b>How to Create New University Cultures around Free Expression and Kalven</b> <i>Jason Merchant, University of Chicago</i> <i>Michael Regnier, Heterodox Academy</i> <i>Meg Van Baalen-Wood, University of Wyoming, Ellbogen Center for Teaching and Learning</i> <i>Catherine Johnson, University of Wyoming</i> <i>Moderated by Alex Arnold, Heterodox Academy</i></p> <p><b>Implementing the Kalven Report at the University of Chicago</b> <i>Jason Merchant, Vice Provost; Lorna P. Straus Distinguished Service Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago</i> The Kalven Report principles are vital to protecting the rights and ability of individual faculty and students to explore the widest range of ideas without being at odds with institutional positions on social and political matters. But these principles do little unless they are widely understood by campus constituencies and beyond. How can universities ensure that students, staff, faculty, parents, alumni, and friends understand the value of the institutional restraint urged by Kalven, and how are the issues that arise in a complex research university setting addressed? The University of Chicago has developed a number of approaches to this educational and cultural mission. <i>(Continued on next page)</i></p>



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Los Angeles

(Cont.)

In this talk I review the work we in the Office of the Provost at the University of Chicago, at the President's direction, do to help deans, chairs, faculty, staff, and students understand the Kalven Report and address Kalven-related issues that arise. This work encompasses both a framework for understanding what we call Kalven-compliance, and guidance for putting these principles into action in particular situations.

## **Extraordinary U: The HxA Model of Statement Neutrality**

*Michael Regnier, Executive Director at Heterodox Academy*

Colleges and universities are extraordinary places, intended for a shared pursuit of truth and knowledge. That pursuit requires open inquiry and debate—especially on controversial topics. Tough questions belong here. So do unpopular opinions, inconvenient theories, and unsettling data. On campus, scholars and students in deep disagreement don't just co-exist, they engage in an extraordinary way that enriches learning and understanding for everyone. But there's one key condition. If the university itself starts taking positions on the controversial questions that are studied and debated on campus, it undermines the whole community. Like a referee who puts on a jersey to play, a university leader who picks a side can ruin the game for everyone. Michael Regnier will present HxA's brief on Extraordinary U: The HxA Model of Statement Neutrality and discuss how it can be useful to institutions considering adopting this kind of policy.

## **A Community of Principles: Professional Development on the New University of Wyoming Principles**

*Meg Van Baalen-Wood, Associate Director, Critical and Creative Thinking at the University of Wyoming, Ellbogen Center for Teaching and Learning*

*Catherine Johnson, Assistant Lecturer at the University of Wyoming*

In fall 2023, the University of Wyoming officially adopted a Statement of Principles on academic freedom and freedom of expression. Based on the recommendations of a working group commissioned by President Seidel the previous spring, the Statement of Principles was met with mixed reactions from the campus and across the state. In spring 2024, recognizing that the Principles would mean nothing if the university didn't have a genuine culture of support, we facilitated a cross-institutional Community of Principles (CoP) to discuss their implementation and practice. Comprised of faculty and staff who weren't involved in crafting the Principles statement, the CoP participants set out to examine and elaborate on the theoretical Principles: What do the Principles look like in practice? How can/should they be implemented in various segments of the university community? How might they guide, enable, even restrict community behaviors and decisions? In tandem with the CoP, Catherine co-chaired the UW Heterodox Campus Community whose project for the spring semester was to host an event to create a meaningful/constructive space where students, faculty, staff, and members of the community could honestly and openly grapple with the complexities and challenges presented by this Statement of Principles. The University of Wyoming--the only four-year university in the state and a land-grant institution that is uniquely accessible with its 97% acceptance rate--possesses a student population with a unique mix of urban/rural, red/blue students (among many other identity categories). This makes it an especially interesting, and pertinent, case study for exploring academic and intellectual freedom and freedom of expression, and what it means to put these "principles into action." This presentation will share UW's specific journey in meeting the challenge and responsibility of every academic institution to create a space--and foster a culture--where honest conversation among diverse viewpoints can thrive and fulfill the purpose of higher education. We will start by exploring the support and resistance we faced, how we met those challenges while still upholding the values of HxA (for example, embracing different perspectives, not trying to suppress them), and the lessons we learned that may serve other schools who wish to do similar work. Next, we will invite participants to consider implications of UW's findings and to brainstorm potential outlets and outcomes for their own institutions-- whether as institutional initiatives or as grassroots communities--driven by a desire to deepen faculty's and staff's understanding of their universities' missions, purposes, and driving principles.



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Kane

## **What Universities Owe the Liberal Project: A Symposium**

*Emily Chamlee-Wright, Institute for Humane Studies*

*Keith Whittington, Princeton University*

*Lauren Hall, Rochester Institute of Technology*

*Moderated by Emily Chamlee-Wright, Institute for Humane Studies*

### **What Universities Owe the Liberal Project**

*Emily Chamlee-Wright, President of Institute for Humane Studies*

Universities play a crucial role as guardians of the liberal project, championing values such as openness, curiosity, humility, and a strong commitment to individual rights. Given the current challenges faced by liberal democracies, such as rising authoritarianism, political polarization, and the recent pandemic, it is vital for the modern academy to reclaim and emphasize its liberal roots. The culture-war that has arrived on college campuses challenges the idea of a peaceful exchange of ideas, turning intellectual rivals into enemies. Adversarial behavior has emerged in place of a cooperative environment. This mindset on campuses must shift to encourage collaboration among liberal-minded scholars, no matter their political leanings, to tackle the challenges facing the liberal order. Drawing on Enlightenment-era liberalism, this panel will dive into the importance of academic freedom and the liberal ethos, embracing openness, curiosity, and intellectual humility. While recognizing the internal tensions within academia, such as the influence of Marxist thought, we maintain that defending space for critics is intrinsic to liberalism. It is imperative for universities and their scholars to fulfill their role as caretakers of the liberal tradition—by upholding the principles of open inquiry, civility, forbearance, and mutual respect. This commitment will help society navigate the challenges of the 21st century.

### **Academic Freedom and the Mission of the University**

*Keith Whittington, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics at Princeton University*

The utility of academic freedom depends on the particular mission of a university. In a system in which institutions of higher education are dedicated to truth-seeking and the advancement and dissemination of human knowledge, then robust protections for academic freedom for scholars and instructors are essential to effectuating that mission. As American universities adopted this as their central mission, the groundwork was laid for the development of ideas and practices of academic freedom in the United States. Academic freedom is much less useful, or even counterproductive, if universities prioritized some other mission over truth-seeking. Other ideals than truth-seeking have frequently jostled for predominance, including those centering the polis, the consumer, or a set of shared values. The elevation of other guiding principles in universities would bring with it a reconsideration of the continued value of academic freedom and the erosion of universities as bastions of intellectual ferment and progress.

### **Political Moderation and Anti-Polarization**

*Lauren Hall, Professor and Associate Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Rochester Institute of Technology*

Lauren Hall will speak on her ongoing book project on political moderation, especially highlighting the chapter on toleration and moderation. By examining the underpinnings of radical moderation, that chapter discusses its potential to contribute to human flourishing in a polarized society. Through a critical examination of biases, beliefs, and the value of community and civility, the concept of radical moderation is presented as a radical, yet essential, perspective towards understanding and engaging with the complexities of modern social discourse and problem-solving.



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Indiana

## **Renewal and Critique: What Happened when a Revered Social Science Journal Took an Unexpected Turn to Heterodoxy?: A Symposium**

*Kevin McCaffree, University of North Texas*

*Jukka Savolainen, Wayne State University*

*John Iceland, The Pennsylvania State University*

*Moderated by Jukka Savolainen, Wayne State University*

The journal *Theory and Society* was established in 1980. It is considered a leading theory journal in sociology. On January 1, 2024, after years of editorial dysfunction and neglect, the publisher appointed new editors who decided to revise the journal's mission. Among many changes, the current editorial board includes several members of Heterodox Academy. This sudden transition was met with a great deal of resistance among establishment scholars, some of whom have called for boycotting the journal. Given the amount of misinformation about the process of change and the goals of the journal, one purpose of this symposium is to clarify and contextualize the relevant events against the landscape of academic sociology. More important, regardless of the "drama," the emergence of a mainstream journal under the leadership of individuals committed to viewpoint diversity is a significant development for the mission of Heterodox Academy. Accordingly, most of the symposium is dedicated to discussing the opportunities and obstacles for nurturing this intellectual project in an academic environment that is often hostile to viewpoint diversity.

### **Renewal: Why and How did the Journal Change Direction?**

*Kevin McCaffree, Professor at the University of North Texas*

Kevin McCaffree is the Co-Editor, with Jonathan Turner, of *Theory and Society*. His presentation will describe the process whereby *Theory and Society* changed from a poorly functioning outlet for mostly radical/obscurantist social theory into a journal with decidedly scientific, heterodox, and interdisciplinary aspirations. He will cover the reasons behind the decision by the publisher to change the direction, and he will describe his experiences recruiting and retaining the editorial board.

### **Critique: How Did the Field of Sociology Respond to this Unexpected Change?**

*Jukka Savolainen, Professor at Wayne State University*

Jukka Savolainen, a new member of the editorial board, describes the reactions among sociologists to the unexpected change in the character of an established journal. He will review discussions that have taken place in various social media platforms, blogs, and other outlets. Evidence from these sources indicates that there is a great deal of anger and hostility towards the revised mission of *Theory and Society*. (Cont.) What are the chances of success for a journal that has been labeled as the enemy by prominent gatekeepers of the discipline? Are scholars willing to submit their work and review manuscripts if participation in this project is viewed as taking the wrong side in the academic culture war? Is there any truth to the critics' characterization of the journal's ideological agenda?

### **Opportunities: Is there a Path to Success for a Heterodox Journal of Social Theory?**

*John Iceland, Professor at The Pennsylvania State University*

John Iceland provides a point of view from the outside of the editorial board. As a member of HxA, he is sympathetic to the journal's mission. As a former chair of a large and diverse sociology department, Dr. Iceland has a credible perspective on the field. In his remarks, he outlines ways in which *Theory and Society* might best fulfill its mission as an outlet for heterodox ideas and research on social reality. What could the journal and its supporters do to make sure this exciting opportunity will be successful given the obstacles documented in the previous presentations?



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

Northwestern

## Why Academics Need Community

*Matt Recla, Boise State University*

*Leighton Buntain, Purdue University*

*Bethany Boucher, Heterodox Academy*

*Moderated by Bethany Boucher, Heterodox Academy*

## Creating Campus Conversations: An Ongoing Effort to Increase Campus Community across Differences

*Matt Recla, Associate Director of University Foundations, Boise State University*

As part of the first cohort of Campus Communities, one of the Boise State HxA CC's initial goals was to increase opportunities for dialogue among faculty, staff, and administrators, about a diverse range of topics, across a diverse range of perspectives. To help achieve that goal, our Campus Community forged a partnership with another relatively new organization on campus, the Institute for Advancing American Values (IAAV). In addition to our overlapping aims, IAAV brought a depth of local support and institutional buy-in, while HxA offered a succinct value structure, name recognition, and the potential for broader exposure. One of our goals was to provide a welcoming space for faculty and staff from across campus to discuss relevant issues openly and without fear of censorship, whether real or perceived. We brainstormed a variety of formats, from expert presentations, to panel discussions, to debates. We decided that, while these are common formats, none provide a significant opportunity, in the moment, for participants to practice sharing their own views on a topic and listening to others' perspectives. Instead, we planned a series of participant-driven conversations around pre-selected topics. Discussions were held around tables with seven to eight participants at each. Days before each event, participants were provided with short articles from diverging viewpoints to prepare for the discussion. We also provided a list of potential discussion questions based on the readings, which were designed to encourage participants to consider the value of different perspectives on the issue. The discussion evolved organically according to the participants' interests at each table. Using this general format, we successfully held a series of ten Campus Conversations across the Fall and Spring of the 2023–24 academic year. In this presentation, I'll provide brief context on some challenging institutional events that immediately preceded the formation of IAAV and our HxA Campus Community, demonstrating the need to promote open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement across campus. I'll share some practical notes on the organization and structure of our Campus Conversations in the 2023–24 academic year, including successes and some lessons learned from the process. I'll also include feedback from conversation participants about their experience that shows the promise of this approach. For those looking to increase the sense of campus community and the felt freedom—even among a naysayer or two!—to converse across differences, our approach may provide a helpful model.

## Intercultural Learning and Contact as a Remedy for Campus Siloing

*Leighton Buntain, Global and Intercultural Scholar-in-Residence at Purdue University*

Utilizing theory from three frameworks, intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2009), intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), and conviviality (Gilroy, 2006, 2009), this presentation discusses the struggles of integrating international and domestic student populations in higher education. First, there is ample evidence that international students with diverse friend networks that include domestic peers have greater mental health, academic and professional achievements, and overall satisfaction with their institution abroad (Drezner & Pizmony-Levy, 2020; Haverila et al., 2020; Pekerti et al., 2020). Domestic students also benefit from international networks and peer friendships (Krislov, 2019; Lehto et al., 2014). Given those benefits, why do cultural groups segregate on campus, especially between domestic and international peers and how do we encourage students to intermingle in each other's cultural spaces? (Continued on next page)



# SATURDAY, JUNE 8

<p>Northwestern</p>	<p>(Cont.) Utilizing recent research on intercultural contact and friendship at a large public university, the presenter offers the Conviviality Model of Intercultural Contact as a guide for creating spaces of intercultural contact and friendship. This model is accompanied by student stories and examples of engaging with cultural differences. The session also includes small-group discussion of implications for practice on various campuses. Ultimately, the presenter argues for a campus culture that establishes intercultural contact as a goal and that contact need not be pre-conditioned by training or skill-building, rather the experience of engaging personally with difference is often what students want and need. Furthermore, the presenter argues that many pre-existing campus strategies and diversity initiatives may actually discourage intercultural contact and lead to the siloing or segregating of cultural groups. Institutions of higher education should not be spaces where intercultural contact is more difficult, but student experiences seem to suggest they are. Finally, the presenter argues that in seeking to solve this issue there is an added benefit of offering solutions to ideological and racial siloing on campus as well. Goals of this session include (1) providing a new framework and goals when thinking about cultural diversity on campus, (2) brainstorming activities, services, and programs which might align with this framework and those that do not, and (3) encouraging attendees to think productively about global diversity and what we can learn from the experiences of those from outside the United States.</p> <p><b>Cultivating Campus Connectivity: Insights and Strategies</b> <i>Bethany Boucher, Campus Engagement Manager at Heterodox Academy</i> In today's higher ed landscape, fostering a sense of connection on college campuses is more crucial than ever. This presentation explores the transformative potential of cultivating community within higher ed institutions. Drawing upon both theoretical frameworks and practical insights, this session will delve into actionable tips for nurturing community, facilitating meaningful conversations, and igniting engagement to improve campus climate.</p>
<p><b>12:30 - 1:45 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Afternoon Plenary: Where is the University Going?</b> <i>Presented by the University of Austin</i> Amna Khalid, Carleton College Nadine Strossen, New York Law School Jacob Howland, University of Austin Cary Nelson, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Stanley Fish, New College Moderated by: Michael Regnier, Heterodox Academy</p>
<p><b>1:45 - 2:00 PM</b> Chicago Ballroom</p>	<p><b>Conference Closing Remarks</b> John Tomasi, Heterodox Academy</p>
<p><b>2:00 - 3:00 PM</b> Chicago Foyer</p>	<p><b>Resource Table and Meet Team HxA</b></p>



# Plenary Speaker Bios



**Paul Alivisatos**  
President, University of Chicago

Alivisatos previously served as the Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost (EVCP) of the University of California, Berkeley, the Samsung Distinguished Professor of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, founding Director of the Kavli Energy Nanoscience Institute, and from 2009-2016 served as Director of the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory (Berkeley Lab). A member of Berkeley's faculty from 1988-2021, he held professorships in the departments of chemistry and materials science, and served in several administrative roles, including Vice Chancellor for Research. A preeminent scientist and entrepreneur, Alivisatos has made pioneering

research breakthroughs in nanomaterials. His inventions are widely used in biomedicine and QLED TV displays, and his scientific advances have yielded more than 50 patents. Alivisatos received his Bachelor's degree in chemistry in 1981 from the University of Chicago and his Ph.D. in chemistry from Berkeley in 1986. He is a founder of two prominent nanotechnology companies, Nanosys and Quantum Dot Corp, now a part of Thermo Fisher. He is also the founding editor of Nano Letters, a publication of the American Chemical Society, and formerly served on the senior editorial board of Science magazine, a publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



**Musa al-Gharbi**  
Assistant Professor of Communication and Journalism,  
Stony Brook University

Musa al-Gharbi, Ph.D., is the Daniel Bell Research Fellow at Heterodox Academy, and an assistant professor of journalism, communication and (by courtesy) sociology at Stony Brook University. Musa al-Gharbi's research primarily focuses on the political economy of knowledge production and the "social life" of scholarly and journalistic outputs. He examines media and news outlets critically, and has published research papers about how the media cover terrorism, particularly Islamic terrorism, and how coverage changes when a partisan media outlet's preferred political party is in power. His book, "We Have Never Been Woke: Social Justice

Discourse, Inequality and the Rise of a New Elite," is forthcoming with Princeton University Press. He is also active in a variety of professional sociology and communication organizations. His first book, We Have Never Been Woke: The Cultural Contradictions of a New Elite, will be published by Princeton University Press on October 8, 2024. More about Musa and his work is available on his website: <https://musaalgharbi.com/>.



## Hiram Chodosh

### President, Claremont McKenna College

Hiram Chodosh is president of Claremont McKenna College, a highly selective liberal arts college that serves as a national leader for freedom of expression, viewpoint diversity, and constructive dialogue through its distinctive Open Academy and responsible leadership mission. A graduate of Wesleyan and Yale Law, he is a renowned scholar and innovator in higher education and global justice reform.

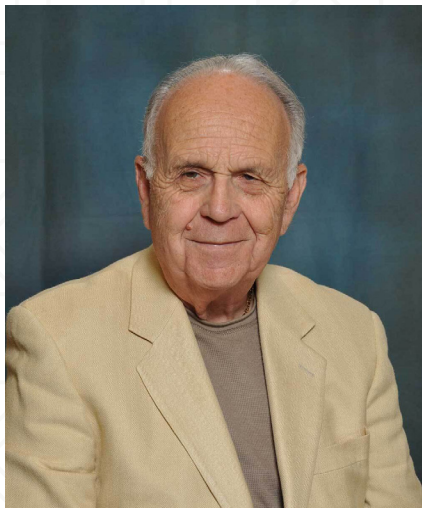


## Daniel Diermeier

### Chancellor of Vanderbilt University

Daniel Diermeier was named Vanderbilt University's ninth chancellor in late 2019. In addition to his role as chancellor, Diermeier is University Distinguished Professor in the Owen Graduate School of Management and Distinguished University Professor of Political Science in the College of Arts & Science. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Guggenheim Foundation. He has published five books and more than 100 research articles in academic journals—mostly in the fields of political science, economics and management, but also in linguistics, sociology, psychology, computer science, operations research and applied mathematics

Throughout his career, Diermeier has proven to be a bold innovator, combining excellence as a leader, researcher and teacher with an entrepreneurial mindset. A first-generation college graduate, Diermeier earned a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Rochester. He also holds master's degrees in political science from the University of Rochester and the University of Munich, and he earned a master's degree in philosophy from the University of Southern California.



## Stanley Fish

### Visiting Professor at the New College of Florida

Stanley Fish is a professor in residence at the New College of Florida. He holds a B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania (1959) and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Yale University (1960; 1962). He has previously taught at the University of California at Berkeley (1962-74); Johns Hopkins University (1974-85), where he was the Kenan Professor of English and Humanities; and Duke University, where he was Arts and Sciences Professor of English and Professor of Law (1986-1998). From 1993 through 1998 he served as Executive Director of Duke University Press.

Dr. Fish served as a Distinguished Visiting Professor at The John Marshall Law School from 2000 through 2002. In addition to being one of the country's leading public intellectuals, Professor Fish is an extraordinarily prolific author whose works include over 200 scholarly publications and books. While his research covers a variety of fields, Professor Fish has written for many of the country's leading law journals, including *Stanford Law Review*, *Duke Law Journal*, *Yale Law Journal*, *University of Chicago Law Review*, *Columbia Law Review*, and *Texas Law Review*.



## Jonathan Haidt

### Thomas Cooley Professor of Ethical Leadership, New York University & Chairman of the Board, Heterodox Academy

Jonathan Haidt is a social psychologist at New York University's Stern School of Business. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1992. Haidt's research examines the intuitive foundations of morality, and how morality varies across cultural and political divisions.

Haidt is the author of *The Happiness Hypothesis* (2006) and of the New York Times bestsellers *The Righteous Mind* (2012) and *The Coddling of the American Mind* (2018, with Greg Lukianoff). His latest book is *The Anxious Generation: How the Great Rewiring of Childhood is Causing an Epidemic of Mental Illness*.



## Jacob Howland

**Provost and Dean of Intellectual Foundations, The University of Austin**

Jacob Howland is Provost and Dean of the Intellectual Foundations Program at the University of Austin. He is the author of five books on Plato, Kierkegaard, and the Talmud. His articles have appeared in *The New Criterion*, *Commentary*, the *Claremont Review of Books*, the *Jewish Review of Books*, *City Journal*, *Mosaic*, *Tablet*, the *New York Post*, *UnHerd*, *Quillette*, and *The Nation*, among other venues.



## Amna Khalid

**Associate Professor of History, Carleton College**

Amna Khalid is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. She specializes in modern South Asian history, the history of medicine, & the global history of free expression. She writes & speaks frequently on academic freedom, free expression & campus politics. She is the host of the podcast & blog, *Banished* (<https://banished.substack.com>).



## Cary Nelson

**Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign**

Cary Nelson is an Emeritus Professor at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He is the author or editor of 35 books and the author of over 300 essays. Nelson served as president of the national AAUP from 2006 to 2012. He has written about modern poetry, academic freedom, the Spanish Civil War, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



## Hakeem Oluseyi

**Research Professor, George Mason University**

Hakeem Oluseyi is an astrophysicist, author, STEM educator, multi-patented inventor, science journalist, TV personality, science communicator, and inspirational speaker. His research is based on “hacking stars” to understand our universe better and develop innovative new technologies. Oluseyi’s work has resulted in 11 patents and more than 100 publications covering contributions to astrophysics, cosmology, and plasma physics and the development of space missions, observatories, focal plane instruments, detectors, semiconductor manufacturing, and ion propulsion.



## Ed Seidel

**President, University of Wyoming**

Ed Seidel is the 28th President of the University of Wyoming, a role he began on July 1, 2020. He is a distinguished academic known internationally for scientific excellence, bold vision and dynamic and collegial leadership with a track record of advancing scientific research, technology development and economic progress at the university, state, and national levels. Ed has leveraged that experience to provide steady leadership during the Covid-19 pandemic, and a vision for excellence moving UW forward. His vision for institutional excellence includes programs designed to enhance student success, broaden UW's service to the state, and ensure the long-term financial stability of UW.





## Nadine Strossen

**John Marshall Harlan II Professor of Law, New York Law School**

Nadine Strossen is the John Marshall Harlan II Professor of Law at New York Law School. She is also a leading scholar, advocate and frequent speaker/media commentator on constitutional law and civil liberties issues, who has testified before Congress on multiple occasions. The National Law Journal has named Strossen one of America's "100 Most Influential Lawyers." The immediate past President of the American Civil Liberties Union (1991-2008), Strossen serves on the national advisory boards of the ACLU, Electronic Privacy Information Center and FIRE (Foundation for Individual Rights in Education).

Her acclaimed 2018 book *HATE: Why We Should Resist It with Free Speech, Not Censorship* was selected by Washington University as its 2019 "Common Read."



## John Tomasi

**President, Heterodox Academy**

John Tomasi is the inaugural president of Heterodox Academy. Prior to joining HxA, Tomasi held the position of Romeo Elton 1843 Professor of Natural Theology at Brown University and taught and wrote about political theory and public policy. At Brown, Tomasi was twice awarded university prizes for excellence in undergraduate teaching. He founded and directed the Political Theory Project, an independent research center at Brown that supports scholarship and encourages political dialogue on campus. Tomasi earned his bachelor's degree from Colby College and did his graduate work in political philosophy at the University of Arizona (M.A.) and Oxford University (B.Phil., D.Phil.). He has held

positions at the University Center for Human Values at Princeton, the Department of Philosophy at Stanford, and the Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard.



# Our Sponsors

The 2024 HxA Conference is made possible in part by our generous sponsors

## Gold Sponsors



University  
of Austin



**MERCATUS CENTER**  
George Mason University

## Silver Sponsors



**FIRE**



INSTITUTE FOR  
HUMANE STUDIES  
AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

## Bronze Sponsors

VOICES FOR  
LIBERTY

 **reason**  
FOUNDATION

## Exhibitors



**ACTA**  
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF  
TRUSTEES AND ALUMNI



**Constructive  
Dialogue  
Institute**



**EXCELSIOR BAY GROUP**  
FUNDRAISING AND PHILANTHROPIC ADVISORS

# Heterodox Academy Speakers Bureau

A directory of over 50 engaged members of Heterodox Academy dedicated to advancing the principles of open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement as cornerstones of academic and intellectual life.



**Amna Khalid**

Academic freedom; campus free expression; viewpoint diversity; anti-CRT legislation; DEI



**Fabio Rojas**

Black politics and social movements; classical liberalism; campus free speech; open borders; peace movement



**Erec Smith**

Rhetoric; civic engagement; DEI/antiracism/civil society



**Bradley Campbell**

Victimhood culture; how to think better about social justice; dignity and civility; conflict and violence



**John Inazu**

Pluralism and deep difference; the right of assembly; free speech and protest; law and religion



**Kimberlee Josephson**

Stakeholder capitalism; CSR/ESG; market principles; business & entrepreneurship



# Become an HxA Member!

Join our **international community of thousands of faculty, staff, and students** committed to advancing the principles of open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement. HxA membership extends from large research universities to community colleges in the US, Canada, and around the world, representing nearly every academic discipline. HxA members are dedicated to improving higher education and academic research in their classrooms, labs, and across their campus. **Apply for your free membership today!**

## Member Benefits

- Access to the HxA Portal — a private online forum for HxA members and HxCommunities
- Invitations to members-only discussions, panels, workshops, and other events
- Subscription to our emails, which includes our Weekly Bulletin newsletter featuring the latest HxA content and curated higher education news
- Award, funding, and professional development opportunities
- Access to HxCommunities
- The opportunity to build a Campus Community at your institution
- Members-only discounts to HxA Summits and conferences
- Access to member-only resources and opportunities on our website

## Membership Requirements

- Be affiliated with a higher education institution (i.e., hold, or have previously held a position at a college or university; be currently enrolled as a student; or be employed at a higher education related organization or institution).
- Affirm the statement, “I support open inquiry, viewpoint diversity, and constructive disagreement in research and education.” Members employed by a college or university are publicly listed on our website.
- Agree to model the HxA Way to the best of their ability when participating in HxA events and publishing on HxA platforms.