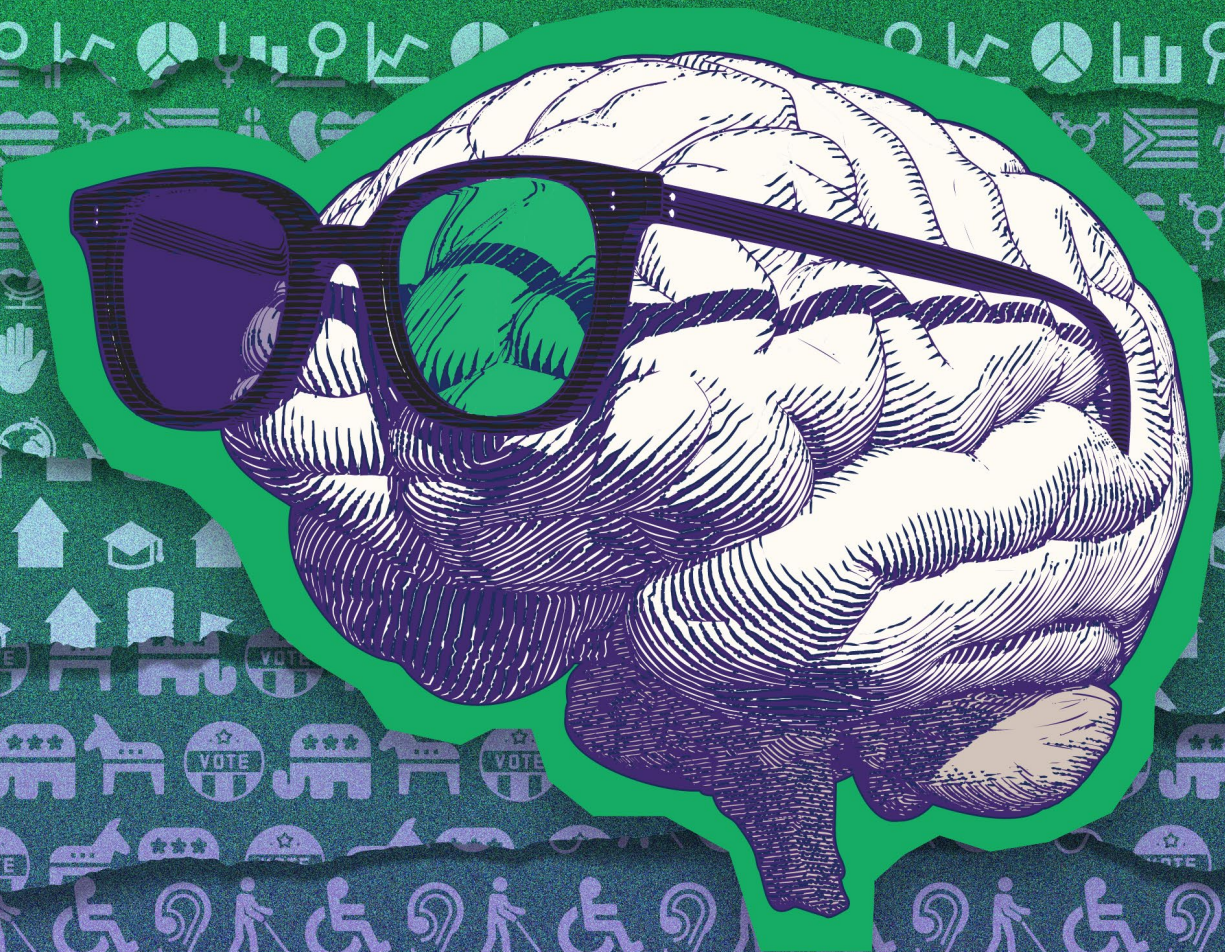


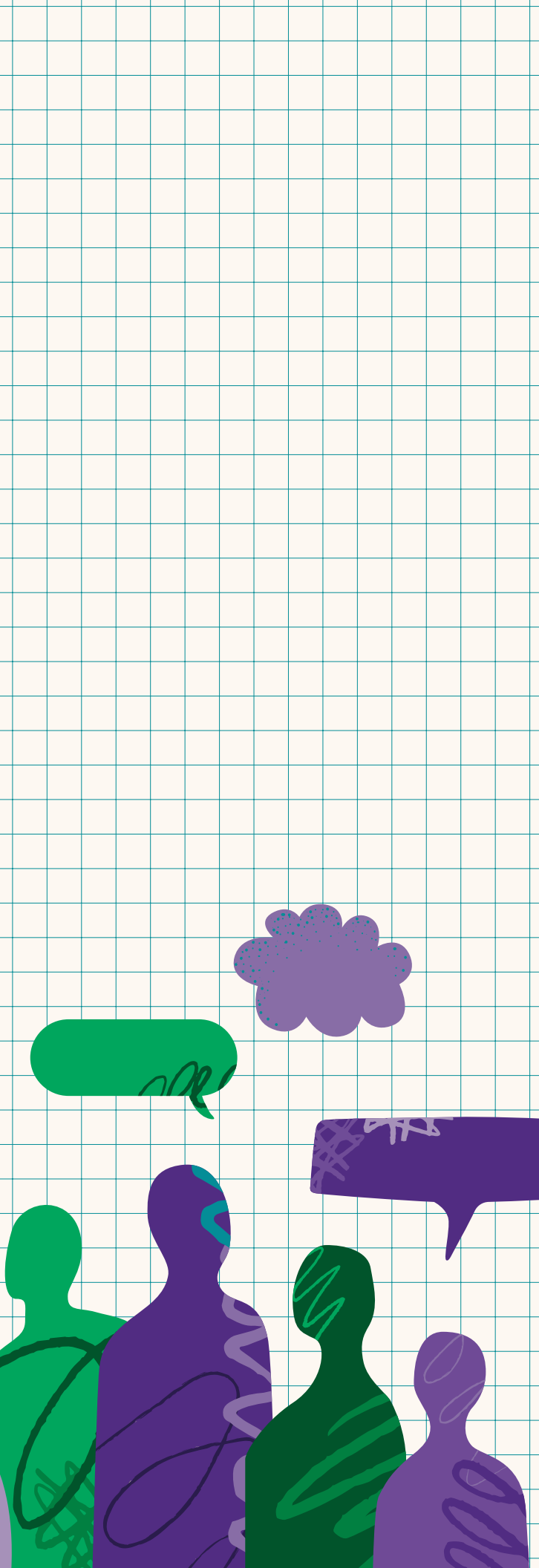
Research Report
JULY 2026



Faculty Attitudes Toward Diversity in their Disciplines: A National Survey

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1

Over 53% of faculty agreed that **political and religious diversity improves research and teaching within their disciplines**. Social science faculty were especially supportive of political diversity – 69% said that it improves their discipline – while arts/humanities faculty were particularly supportive of religious diversity, with 66% saying it improves their discipline.

2

Partisan differences emerged: **62% of left-leaning faculty agreed that political diversity improves their discipline, whereas 46% of right-leaning faculty agreed**. This is contrary to the stereotype that political diversity in higher education is only a conservative cause.

3

Eighty-four percent of faculty agreed that theoretical/methodological diversity improves their discipline, making it the most widely popular form of diversity in the sample. Theoretical/methodological diversity was also the least likely to be rated as having either no effect (13%) or a negative effect (2%) compared to the other dimensions of diversity.

4

Faculty collectively underestimated the extent to which their peers valued political diversity and religious diversity, suggesting distorted perceptions of norms in their fields. Social science faculty showed the largest perception gap regarding political diversity, on average underestimating peers' positive views of this form of diversity by 15%. Arts/humanities faculty showed the same sized gap for religious views, and a 14% gap for political perspectives.

5

More than 1 in 4 faculty personally believed that their peers find political and religious diversity less beneficial for their fields than they themselves did.

Right-leaners were twice as likely as left-leaners to exhibit the starkest version of this discrepancy, simultaneously viewing these forms of diversity as beneficial while feeling that others in their discipline see it as damaging.

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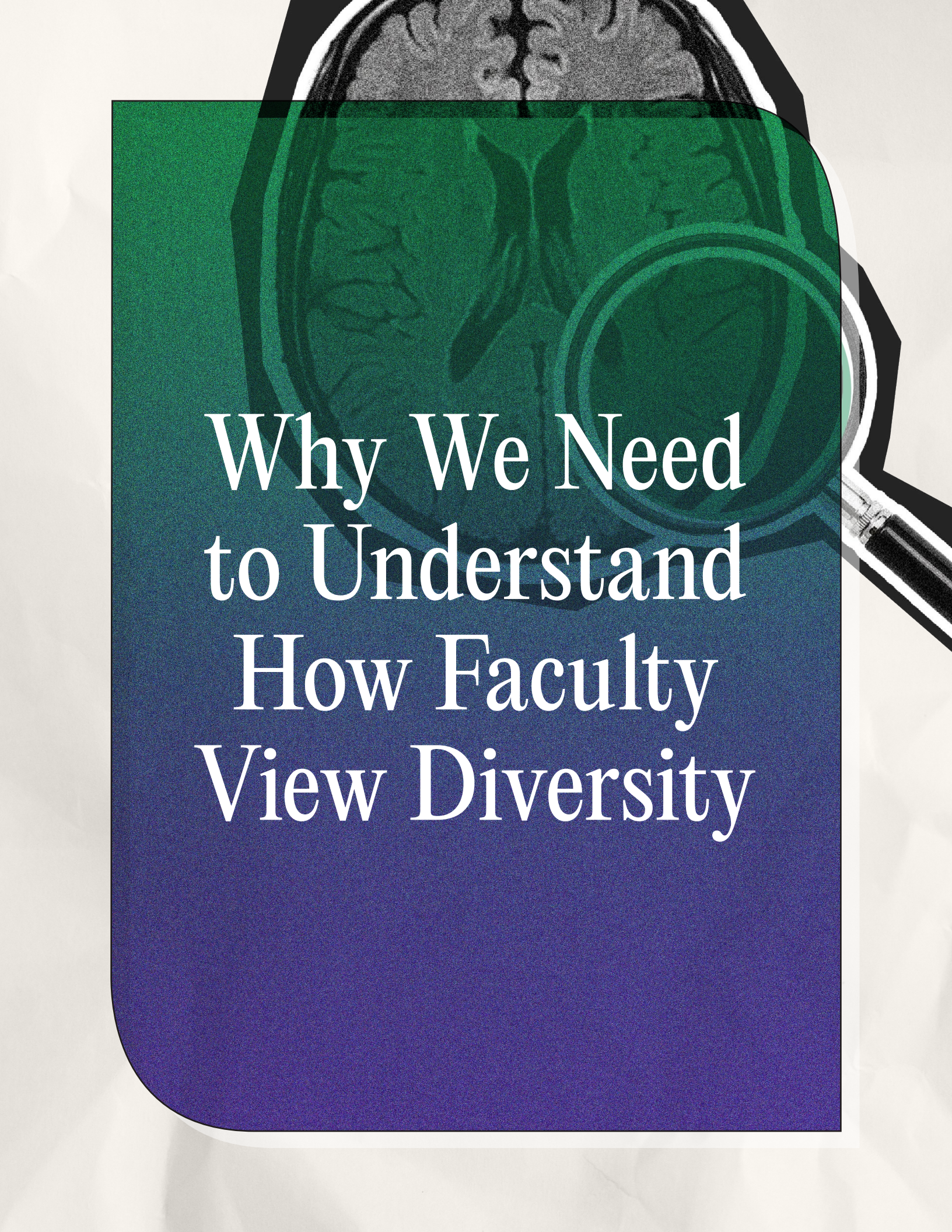
Nearly 30% of faculty report not regularly engaging with anyone who disagrees with them on substantive issues in their discipline.

Adjunct professors were nearly twice as likely as tenured faculty to report this (41% vs. 22%). STEM faculty were 1.5 times as likely as their counterparts in the social sciences (36% vs. 23%) to report so.

7

Faculty reporting the most frequent scholarly disagreement with peers in their disciplines were more likely to view political diversity as beneficial than faculty reporting no regular disagreement, by a margin of nearly 20 percentage points.

Reporting at least some regular disagreement was linked with greater appreciation of diversity overall, but those with the most frequent disagreements valued political diversity more — and demographic diversity less — than those reporting only a handful of disagreements.

The background of the slide features a grayscale medical image of a human brain, specifically a cross-section. A magnifying glass is positioned over the right side of the brain, with its lens focused on a specific area. The magnifying glass has a black handle and a silver-colored frame. The entire image is overlaid with a semi-transparent green and blue gradient that transitions from a darker green at the top to a darker blue at the bottom. The text is centered in the upper half of the slide, overlaid on the green portion of the gradient.

Why We Need to Understand How Faculty View Diversity



One of the university's greatest strengths is its ability to convene people who hold a range of perspectives and come from a wide variety of backgrounds. Viewpoint diversity, or the range of ideological, personal, and academic perspectives that characterize an intellectually vibrant community of scholars, creates an environment where ideas can be challenged by and refined against their strongest opponents. This collision of ideas provides an important quality screen in the knowledge production process, making viewpoint diversity a foundational component of scholarly exchange and intellectual exploration.

While recent decades have seen great interest in expanding diversity in higher education, these initiatives have often been narrowly focused on demographic characteristics such as race and sex-based categories. These characteristics can powerfully influence one's perspective, but they are by no means the *only* aspects of diversity that strengthen the intellectual climate of the academy. Any number of other personal, political, and scholarly perspectives can provide a different lens through which to approach inquiry, fulfilling some of the same purposes often cited to justify demographic diversity (Shariff, 2025).

Viewpoint diversity broadens conventional interpretations of “diversity” to include the range of personal, ideological, and methodological perspectives that can enrich the environment of teaching and research for students and scholars alike. But until now, very little was known about how faculty themselves actually perceive the value of different dimensions of diversity in teaching and research within their disciplines.

Viewpoint Diversity in the Academy

Healthy scholarly inquiry is lively, robust, and even contentious at times. The conditions for such inquiry necessitate that campus and academic life host a broad range of perspectives and abundant opportunities to meaningfully engage with different (and sometimes uncomfortable) ideas.

Knowledge production is a fundamentally human endeavor and is therefore subject to potential biases and scholarly missteps. Evidence suggests that scholars' ideological leanings are associated with their research approaches. For example, Borjas & Breznau (2026) found that researcher attitudes regarding immigration policies were associated with the researchers' methodological approaches to their work, leading different teams of researchers to draw diverging conclusions on an immigration-related topic, even when using the exact same datasets and research questions. Similarly, Rainero et al. (2026) found that among researchers studying secularization, the religiosity of researchers themselves was associated with the research findings. Viewpoint diversity mitigates the risk of ideological or other perspectives unduly influencing the design, implementation, and interpretation of research results. It reduces ideological homogeneity among scholars and ensures that ideas receive scrutiny from their harshest critics, either during the research process or in peer review.

These risks may be particularly salient along political lines, given the relative scarcity of conservative faculty (Shaw & Spitz Siddiqi, 2026). Studies of faculty have found willingness to disadvantage conservative colleagues in the peer review and hiring process (Inbar & Lammers, 2012); willingness to discriminate against faculty applicants who are religious and/or conservative (Yancey, 2011); a tendency for article abstracts to describe conservatives more negatively than liberals (Eitan et al., 2018); and perceived hostility toward ideologically non-conforming faculty, experienced disproportionately by conservatives compared to liberals (Honeycutt & Freberg, 2017; Peters et al., 2020).

Similarly, viewpoint diversity may also reduce tendencies toward self-censorship. Studies suggest that a considerable share of scholars fear social sanctions if they were to share their beliefs on controversial empirical questions (Clark et al., 2025). Moreover, faculty across the political spectrum are less willing to engage with controversial topics even if they broadly endorse the principles of free inquiry in the abstract (Finley & Tiede, 2025; Honeycutt et al., 2023).

Why Study Faculty Views on Diversity?

Despite the importance of viewpoint diversity to the truth and knowledge-seeking process, little is known about how faculty themselves feel about the extent to which different dimensions of diversity improve (or undermine) the quality of teaching and research. This is an important gap in our knowledge for a few reasons.

First, faculty would be among the most impacted by efforts to promote viewpoint diversity on their campuses. Such efforts could affect what (and how) faculty are asked to teach, who they are asked to hire, and how they are expected to carry out their scholarly activities. Second, “personnel is policy,” and the success or failure of viewpoint diversity efforts in higher education will depend in large part on buy-in from faculty. Third, discussions around viewpoint diversity have become highly polarized, raising the likelihood that faculty self-censor their private views on the subject and making it difficult for anyone to assess the true prevalence of support or opposition for various forms of diversity (Elder et al., 2021).

These conditions, in which people privately hold valuations that diverge from what they believe prevails among their group, are known as pluralistic ignorance (Miller, 2023). They can further result in false polarization, where people overestimate the gaps between groups on different sides of an issue (Fernbach & Van Boven, 2022). These distortions are likely to only be further exacerbated by our reliance on online discussion, which tends to be dominated by vocal minorities (Robertson et al., 2024).

Exploring faculty views about different dimensions of diversity can therefore advance the discussion on this topic by clarifying where faculty stand on viewpoint diversity and how their views vary across personal and institutional characteristics.



Our Survey

This report draws on a national survey of faculty across 80 institutions asking faculty about the extent to which certain dimensions of diversity improve (or undermine) the quality of teaching and research in their disciplines. We adopted a broad conceptualization of “diversity,” including both demographic characteristics and also dimensions that may reflect ideological positions and moral values, such as political diversity and religious diversity. Because the term “viewpoint diversity” may be associated with the political right (Johnson & O’Brien, [2026](#)), we did not use the specific phrase “viewpoint diversity” in our survey in order to avoid biasing responses.

We also asked respondents how they think their perspective compares to what they believe their colleagues prioritize. In addition to revealing faculty’s views about diversity in their fields, this “self-report” and “other-perception” design also allowed us to estimate the extent of pluralistic ignorance across dimensions of diversity.

Together, responses to these questions provide insight into how faculty perceive the importance of various dimensions of diversity in academic life.

Methodology

Methodology

Heterodox Academy (HxA) partnered with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago to administer this survey. The survey and sample frame were developed by HxA. NORC conducted final cleaning procedures on the sample frame, provided ethical review, programmed the survey into Voxco survey software, administered the survey and participant compensation, and securely delivered the cleaned data to HxA for analysis.

Faculty Sample

Using the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) database, we randomly sampled ten institutions (five public and five private) from each of eight 2021 Carnegie classifications ranging from R1 to B2, for a total of 80 institutions. We collected all publicly available email addresses for faculty at these institutions, regardless of tenure stream status, part-time vs. full-time status, or career stage, and included any associated professional schools such as medical schools and law schools. We invited 49,476 faculty to complete the survey and obtained a sample of 3,616 complete responses (a response rate of 7.3%); 53 of these were flagged as low-quality and excluded (see *Table A1* for a breakdown of response frequencies by institution and Appendix B for full detail on exclusions). The final sample of 3,563 responses was the basis for all subsequent analyses unless noted otherwise.

Measures

The survey asked faculty about their perceptions of the extent to which exposure to scholars with different perspectives improves (or undermines) the quality of teaching and research in their field. Faculty were also asked about their perceptions of other faculty's views on the same dimensions.

Methodology

We asked about eight specific dimensions of diversity throughout the survey: 1) political perspectives, 2) socioeconomic backgrounds, 3) racial or ethnic identities, 4) gender identities, 5) religious views, 6) competing theories or methods in the respondent's field (abbreviated hereafter as “methodological” in the text and “theories or methods” in figures), 7) sexual orientations, and 8) disability statuses.

To keep the survey brief, respondents were randomly assigned to rate the impact of these perspectives on the quality of either teaching ($n = 1,774$) or research ($n = 1,789$). We pooled responses across those who received either the teaching module or the research module as responses across the two groups were highly similar.

To get a sense of the degree to which faculty engage in constructive disagreement in their scholarship, faculty were also asked about the number of people with whom they regularly engage in substantive disagreement on scholarly matters in their discipline.

The survey closed with questions about academic discipline, rank, tenure status, gender identity, race and ethnicity, political beliefs, religious affiliation, highest level of parental education, and socioeconomic status during upbringing.

Our methodology is presented in further detail in Appendix B. Topline results disaggregated by module (research vs. teaching) are available in Appendix C, and supplementary results are available in Appendix D.



Results



Faculty View Diversity as a Benefit to Teaching and Research

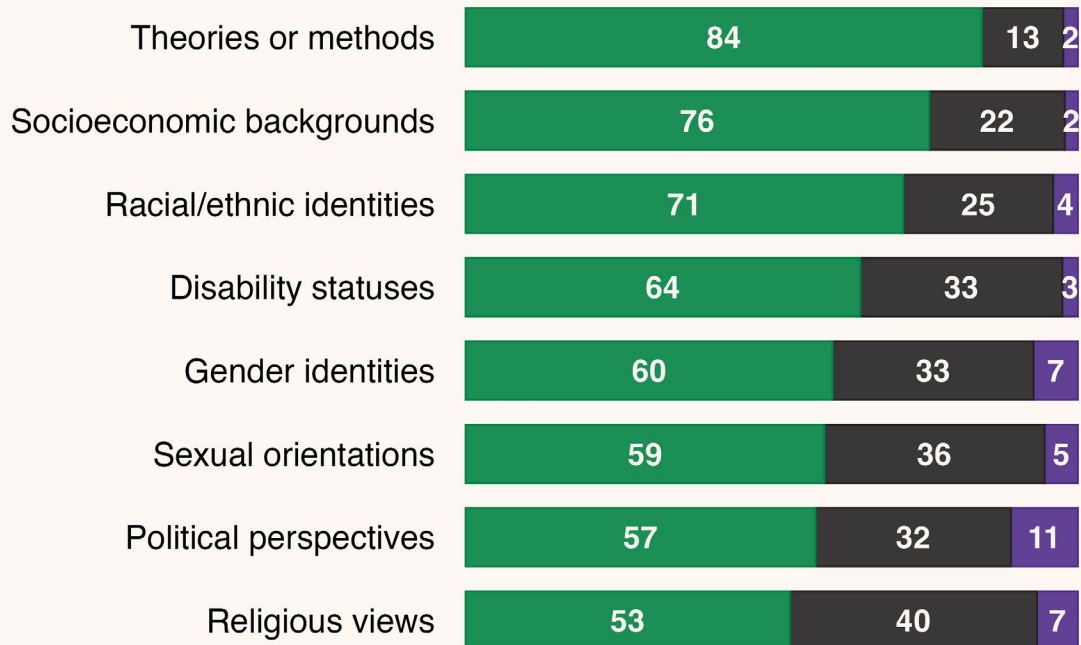
Broadly speaking, faculty felt that diversity of all kinds improves the quality of teaching and research within their discipline. Every form of diversity that we asked about was seen by a majority of respondents to improve research and teaching within their field (see *Figure 1*).

Faculty were especially positive toward methodological diversity, with 84% of respondents believing that this form of diversity improves their field. Socioeconomic diversity was the second most well-received form of diversity, with 76% of respondents feeling that exposure to those with a wide range of socioeconomic statuses improves the quality of teaching and research in their field. Almost all subgroups we explored in the sample viewed methodological diversity and socioeconomic diversity more positively than other aspects of diversity, even though their overall level of endorsement for diversity varied (see *Figure D1*). Still, even the least widely valued form of diversity (religious views) was said by 53% of respondents to improve their field.

Several dimensions of diversity were rated by substantial portions of faculty as having no effect on their discipline, including religious views (40%) and sexual orientations (36%). Respondents only rarely reported seeing any form of diversity as detrimental to their discipline, ranging from 2% (methodological, socioeconomic) to 11% (political perspectives).

Faculty views on the effects of different forms of diversity on their fields

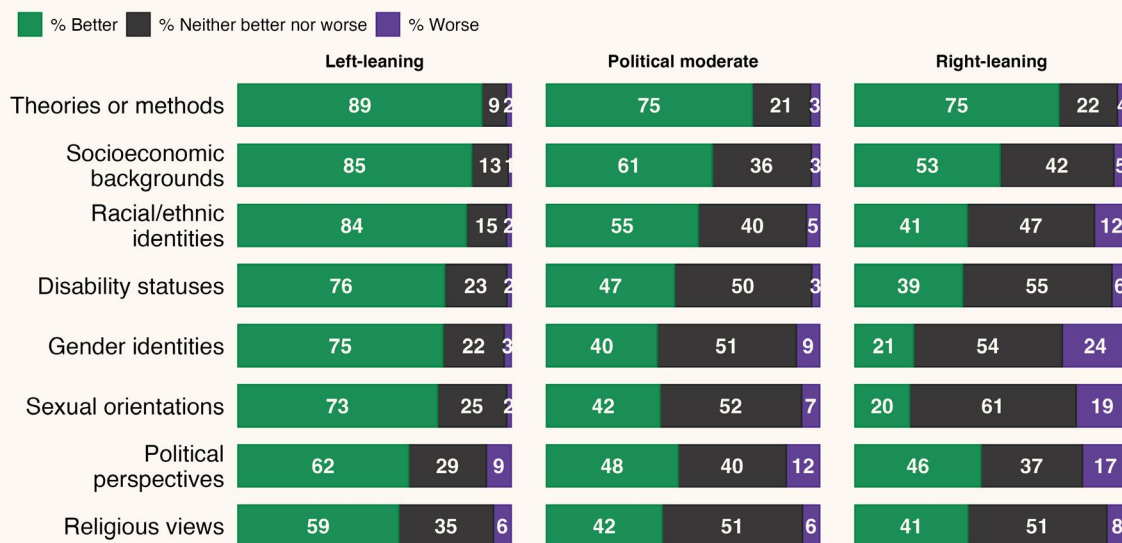
■ % Better ■ % Neither better nor worse ■ % Worse



Question: "I believe the quality of [research/teaching] within my field is made ____ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of..." • N = 3,517 - 3,528
Respondents were randomly assigned to answer with respect to research or teaching within their disciplines.

Figure 1. Faculty views about the effects of various forms of diversity on their discipline.

Faculty views on the effects of different forms of diversity on their fields, by respondent political leaning



Question: "I believe the quality of [research/teaching] within my field is made ____ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of..." - N = 586 - 2,316
 Respondents were randomly assigned to answer with respect to research or teaching within their disciplines.

Figure 2. Faculty views on the effects of various dimensions of diversity, by respondent political leaning.

Stark Divisions Along Political Lines

Although faculty were optimistic about the role that different forms of diversity have in improving teaching and research, there were sharp divisions between left-leaning faculty (who comprised 66% of respondents), moderates (18%), and right-leaning faculty (17%; see *Figure 2*).

Whereas the majority of left-leaning faculty viewed diversity as improving their disciplines, regardless of the dimension, moderates and right-leaning faculty were each more likely to think of diversity as having no effect, or occasionally a negative effect, on their discipline. Among moderates, “no effect” was the most common response for disability statuses (50%), gender identities (51%), sexual orientations (52%), and religious views (52%). Among right-leaners, “no effect” was the most common response for racial/ethnic identities (47%), religious views (51%), disability statuses (55%), gender identities (55%), and sexual orientations (61%). Whereas only 1-9% of left-leaners and 3-12% of moderates indicated that any given dimension of diversity worsened their discipline (political diversity topped the list for both groups), 4-24% of right-leaners indicated this response, with gender identity being viewed the most negatively. Overall, then, while moderates and right-leaners valued diversity less than left-leaners, this was primarily because they were more likely to see it as having no effect (rather than seeing it as detrimental to the discipline).

Gender identities and sexual orientations were particularly polarizing. While 73-75% of left-leaning faculty viewed these forms of diversity as improving their discipline, only 20-21% of right-leaning faculty said the same. (Moderates fell in between, with 41-42% viewing these as beneficial.) Right-leaning and moderate faculty were instead most likely to think of these dimensions as irrelevant for their disciplines, with some right-leaners (19-24%) seeing them as detrimental.

Notably, only 46% of right-leaning faculty believed that political diversity improves their discipline (compared with 62% of left-leaning faculty), contrary to the stereotype that political diversity in higher education is a conservative cause. Moreover, the gaps for both gender and political diversity were present to various degrees even among faculty within the same family of disciplines. For example, in the social sciences, political diversity was valued by 72% of left-leaners and 57% of right-leaners, with all areas other than STEM showing gaps of a similar magnitude (see *Figure 3*). These differences are therefore not simply a product of left-leaning faculty in our sample being more likely to come from socially relevant fields.

Moreover, political and religious diversity were among the least polarizing along political lines compared to other forms of diversity. Interestingly, the gaps left- and right-leaners showed with respect to these dimensions tended to be similar in size and direction to their gap on methodological diversity — differences of around 10-20% in the share of each group who found that dimension beneficial. (The reason for this gap on methodological differences is unclear, given the lack of obvious connection between political leaning and views about the value of methodological diversity.) By contrast, the gaps on demographic dimensions were several times the magnitude, particularly for sexual orientation and gender identity.

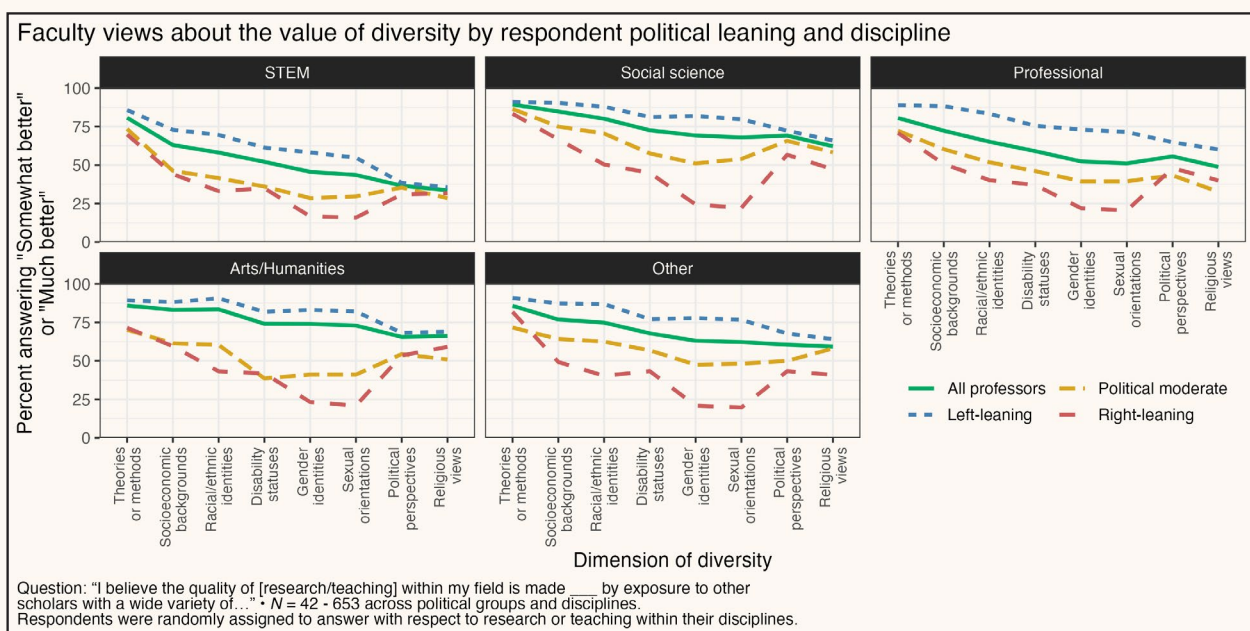


Figure 3. Faculty views about the value of diversity, by respondent political leaning and discipline.

Variation Along Other Dimensions

Among all disciplines, faculty in the social sciences and arts/humanities were typically the most likely to perceive any given form of diversity as benefiting their field. STEM faculty tended to value any given form of diversity the least, often by sizable margins, and those in professional fields or other areas fell in the middle. Methodological diversity was the most well-received and least divisive dimension across all disciplines, with at least 80% of respondents within each area believing that it improves teaching and research in their field. Political perspectives was the most divisive dimension, valued by 69% of social science faculty and only 37% of STEM faculty (see Figure 4, panel A).

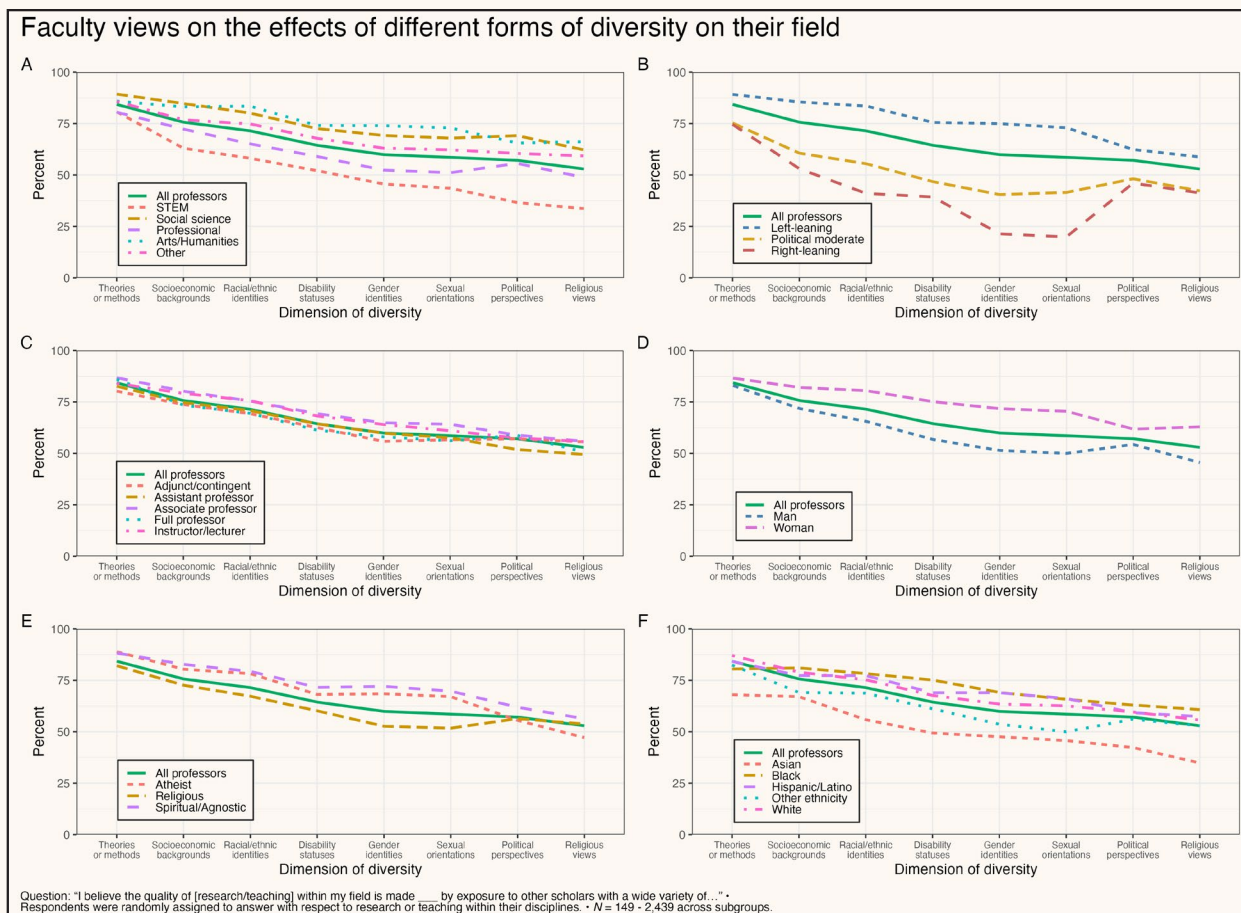


Figure 4.
Percentage of faculty answering that various forms of diversity improve their discipline, disaggregated by selected demographics.

Along gender lines, women valued every form of diversity more than men did, although the divergence was smallest for methodological diversity and political perspectives. For any given form of diversity, Black, Hispanic or Latino, and White respondents valued it roughly equally and substantially more than Asian respondents, who valued it the least; those of other ethnicities (American Indian or Alaska Native, Middle Eastern/North African, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and non-Hispanic multiracial; these groups were combined as they were too small to analyze separately) fell in between. Religious respondents tended to value most forms of diversity less than the non-religious or spiritual/agnostic, with the exception of political and religious diversity (see *Figure 4, panels D-F*). Finally, there was little variation as a function of rank (*Figure 4, panel C*), tenure status, institutional control type, or Carnegie classification.

On Average, Faculty Underestimate Peers' Support for Political and Religious Diversity

Overall, faculty believed that other scholars see most kinds of diversity as beneficial for teaching and research. With the exception of political and religious views, 58-72% of respondents thought the other dimensions of diversity were valued by scholars in their discipline. Political and religious views, by contrast, were seen by only 38-40% of respondents as valued by other scholars (see *Figure 5*). Overall, faculty attributed positive views to their peers less frequently than they themselves reported holding them for any given form of diversity (compare, for example, the 84% of faculty who personally thought methodological diversity improved their field, against the 72% who thought their peers shared this view).

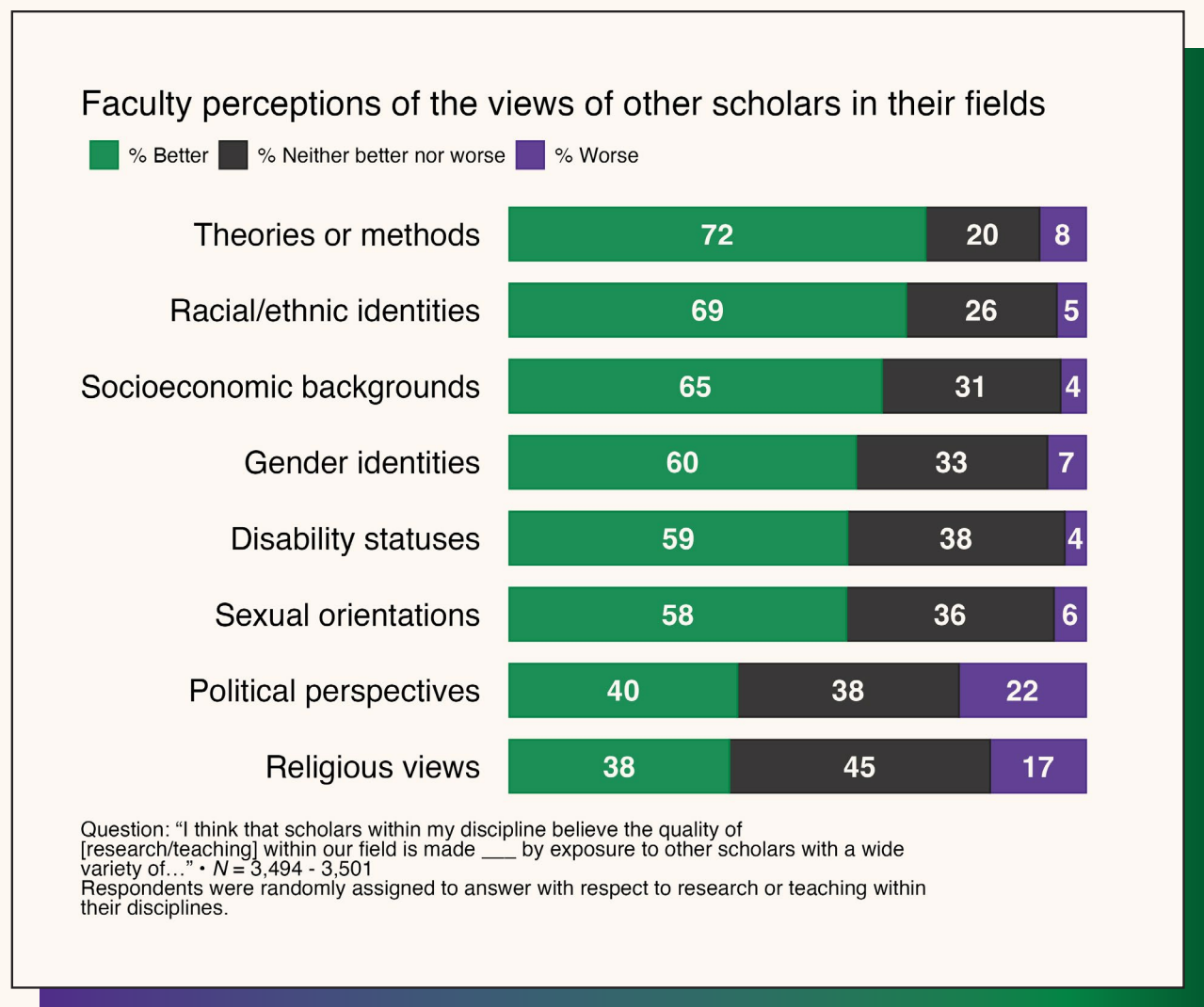


Figure 5. Faculty perceptions of how other scholars in their discipline view the effects of diversity.



To estimate the degree to which faculty misperceived norms within their disciplinary areas, we compared the average view that faculty within each discipline attributed to their peers — their collective perception of the prevailing view — to the average view actually reported by faculty within that disciplinary area. Faculty systematically underestimated the extent to which other scholars valued most forms of diversity, with the largest gaps observed among social science and arts/humanities faculty regarding political and religious diversity.

On the original rating scale, ranging from -2 (much worse) to 2 (much better), the average personal rating among social scientists regarding political diversity was 0.96, corresponding very closely to “somewhat better” (a value of 1 on the scale). Meanwhile, the average rating they attributed to other scholars was 0.38, putting it closer to “neither better nor worse” (a value of 0). This gap of 0.58 scale points constituted 15% of the scale’s range. Faculty across disciplines showed gaps in the same direction, but to a smaller extent (see *Figure 6*).

Faculty's self-reported views about diversity vs. their average estimate of their disciplinary peers' views

Faculty collectively underestimate their peers' positive views regarding most forms of diversity

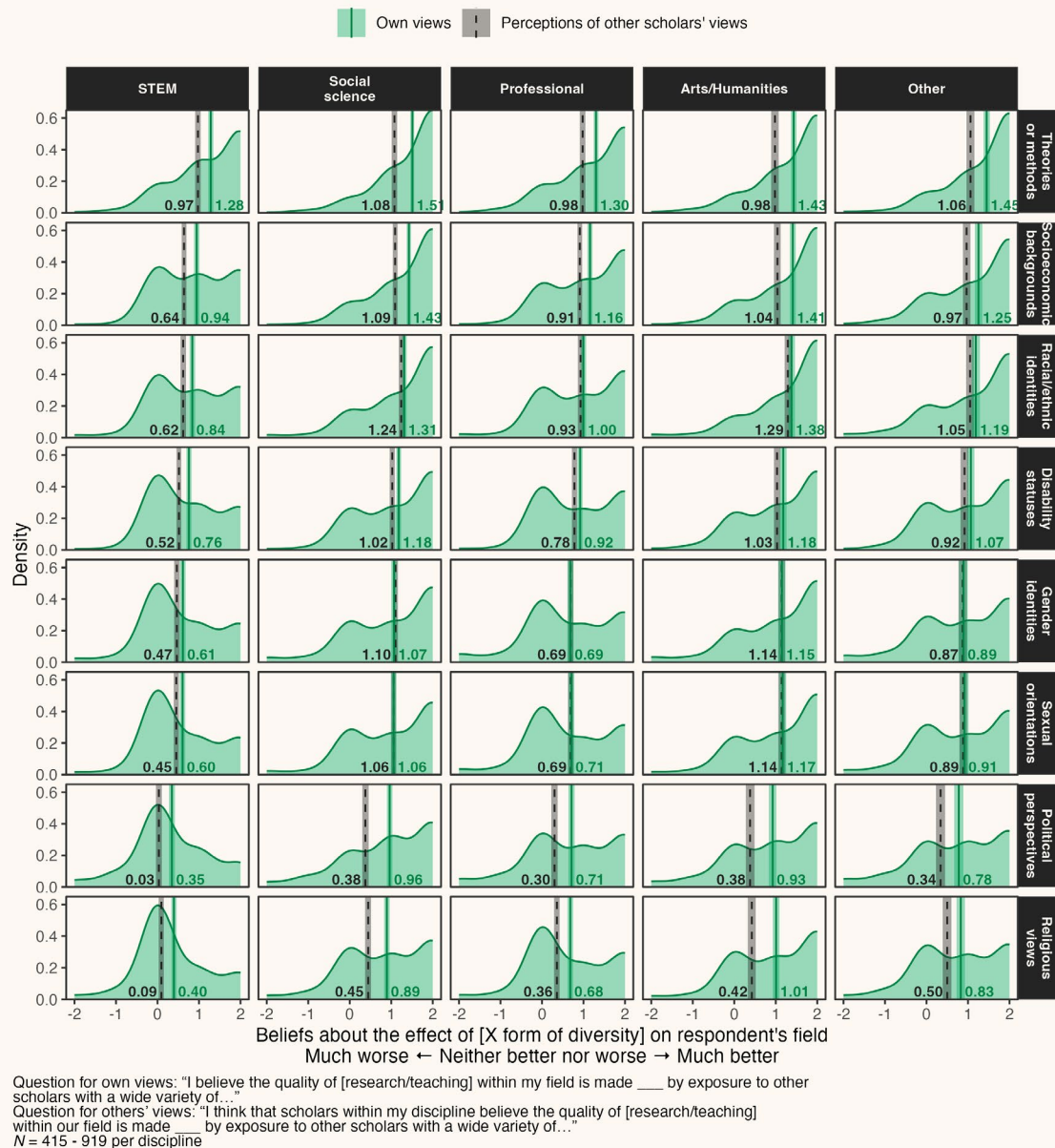


Figure 6. The average view attributed by faculty to their peers (gray) versus the distribution and average of faculty's self-reported views (green). Vertical lines and accompanying numerical labels represent mean ratings, with 95% confidence intervals around the means indicated by shaded areas.

Similarly for religious diversity, the average personal rating among arts/humanities faculty was 1.01, corresponding again to “somewhat better,” but the average view they attributed to other scholars was closer to “neither better nor worse” (0.42), a gap of 15% of the scale’s range. Arts/humanities faculty also showed a gap of nearly the same size regarding political diversity, collectively attributing an average rating of 0.38 to their peers but personally reporting an average of 0.93 (a gap of 14% of the scale’s range).

Substantial Minorities of Faculty Report Valuing Diversity More Than Peers

The analyses above describe a group-level phenomenon: on average, faculty believe their peers are less positive about various forms of diversity than they really are. While this difference between averages indicates that at least some faculty value diversity more than they think their peers do, it does not tell us how many fit this description. This further step requires comparing ratings on the self-report and other-perception items within each respondent, which revealed that a substantial portion of our sample exhibited this pattern — particularly with regard to political and religious diversity.

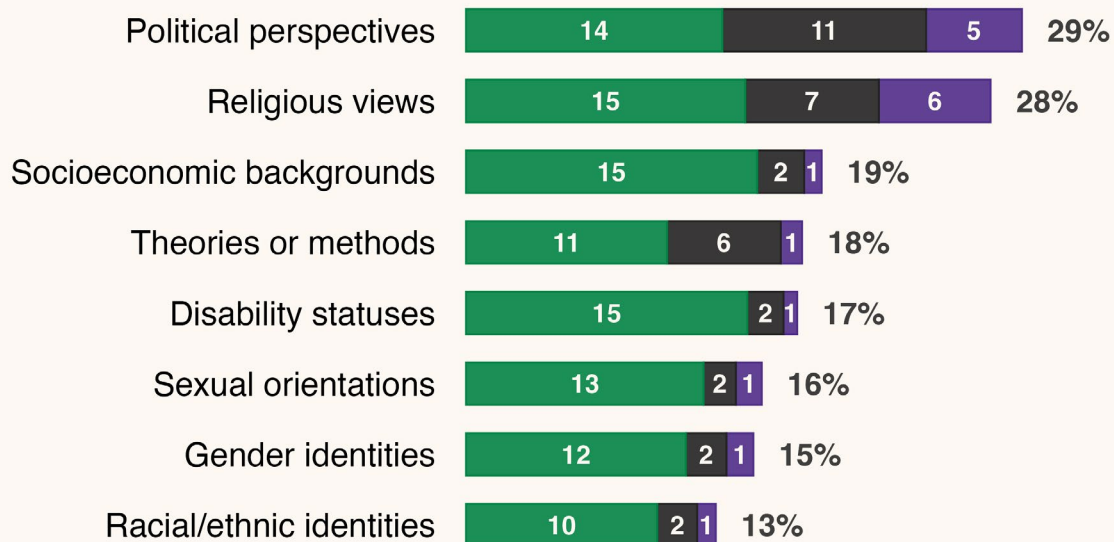
To explore the prevalence of this experience within our sample, for each dimension of diversity we categorized respondents into three groups: those who indicated the same response for themselves and other scholars, those who viewed that dimension categorically more positively than they thought others did (e.g., indicating a degree of “better” for themselves and “neither better nor worse” or a degree of “worse” for others), and those who viewed it less positively than they thought others did. We were particularly interested in the group of faculty who viewed diversity more positively than they thought others did.

Overall, a non-trivial minority of faculty felt that they valued any given dimension of diversity more than others. For most dimensions, between 13% and 19% of faculty fell into this group (mostly comprising faculty who indicated “better” for themselves and “neither better nor worse” for others). (It was even less common for faculty to feel they valued a given dimension *less* than others. The modal combination was perceived alignment between self and others; see *Figure D2* for a heatmap visualizing frequencies across groups.)

The exceptions were political and religious diversity, where 29% and 28% of faculty, respectively, reported more positive personal views than they attributed to others. As opposed to the other dimensions of diversity, it was more common here for faculty to feel that others viewed these dimensions negatively (indicating “worse” for others; see *Figure 7*). Right-leaning respondents were about twice as likely as left-leaning respondents to exhibit the starkest version of this discrepancy — personally valuing a dimension while believing their peers viewed it negatively — for both political diversity (17% vs. 9%) and religious diversity (12% vs. 6%; see *Figure D3*).

Percent of faculty who hold more positive views of diversity than they believe others in their discipline do

■ % Own belief = "Better" and Other perception = "Neither better nor worse"
■ % Own belief = "Better" and Other perception = "Worse"
■ % Own belief = "Neither better nor worse" and Other perception = "Worse"



For each dimension of diversity, respondents reported whether they thought it made the quality of their field better, neither better nor worse, or worse, and then estimated the typical view of other scholars in their field. Respondents were randomly assigned to answer with respect to research or teaching within their disciplines. • N = 3,455 - 3,470

Figure 7. Percentage of faculty who value various forms of diversity more than they think others in their discipline do.

In other words, for most forms of diversity, faculty whose ratings reflected perceived misalignment with their peers did so primarily because they viewed that dimension as beneficial but thought others saw it as irrelevant. But when it came to political and religious diversity, feelings that one's peers view these dimensions negatively were just as much of a contributor. And although it was less common overall for right-leaners to value political and religious diversity compared to left-leaners (as discussed previously), right-leaners were *more* likely to simultaneously value these dimensions while feeling that their peers devalued them.

Engagement With Scholarly Disagreement

We asked faculty to report the number of people they regularly engage with in a scholarly context who disagree with them on important scholarly matters. The resulting distribution was highly concentrated in the single digits, with half of all respondents providing a value of 3 or less (including 0). Most respondents (54.7%) reported regularly engaging between one and ten people they disagree with. A small portion, 16.6%, reported regularly engaging with 11 people or more. But a higher percentage (almost 30%) reported engaging with zero people they disagree with on a regular basis (see *Table 1*).

# of people one regularly disagrees with	Frequency N (%)
0	975 (28.7%)
1-4	978 (28.8%)
5-10	882 (25.9%)
11+	565 (16.6%)

Table 1. Faculty were asked to report the number of people they regularly disagree with on scholarly matters. Respondents could provide a number between 0 and 999. We binned respondents into four frequency bands, aiming for roughly equal size. N = 3,400 (163 respondents skipped).

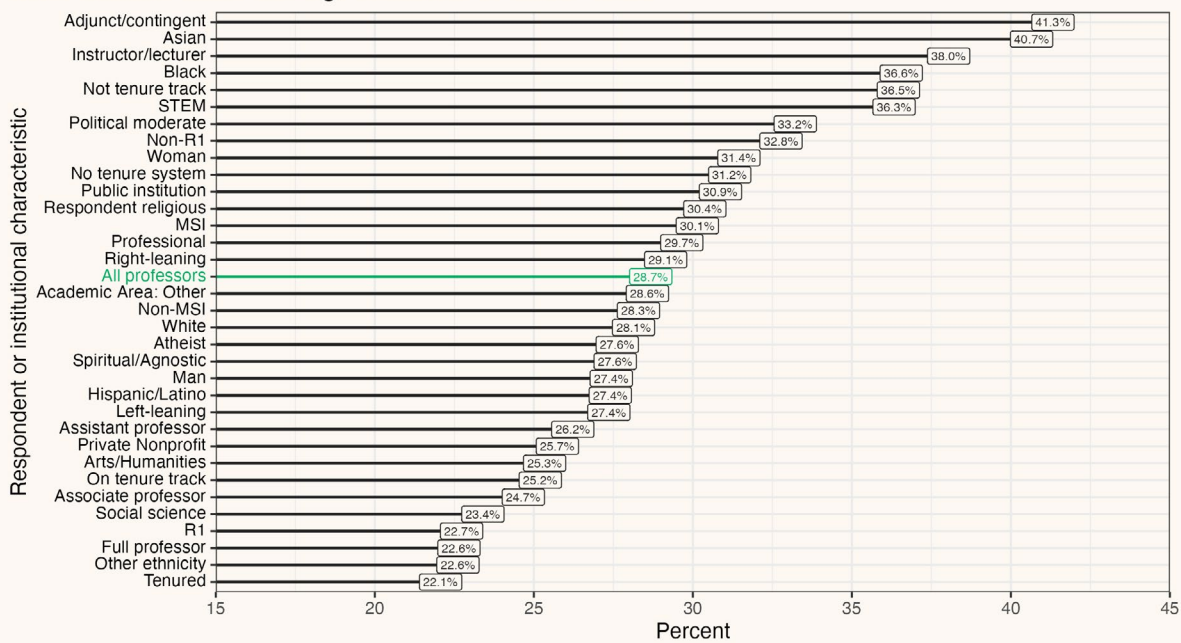


Those most likely to report no regular engagement with disagreement included teaching-oriented and professional/contractual faculty groups like adjuncts/contingents (41.3%), instructors/lecturers (38.0%), and others who were not tenure-track (36.5%). This was not surprising given that their roles within higher education emphasize instruction rather than individual scholarship, giving them fewer opportunities for disagreement in peer review and conference contexts. STEM faculty also stood out relative to the overall sample, with 36.3% reporting no regular disagreement.

Asian and Black faculty were also among the most likely to report no regular disagreement (40.7% and 36.6%, respectively), although this may be because Asian faculty in our sample were particularly likely to be in STEM compared to other disciplines, and Black faculty were particularly likely to be adjuncts as opposed to holding other ranks.

Meanwhile, those least likely to report zero regular disagreement included tenured faculty (22.1%), full professors (22.6%), and those at R1 institutions (22.7%), suggesting that seniority and institutional prestige might promote engagement with disagreement. This again makes sense, assuming that senior faculty and those at research-intensive institutions dedicate more of their professional lives to producing scholarship. Social science faculty were similarly unlikely to report zero regular disagreement, at a rate of 23.4%, with arts and humanities faculty slightly more likely (25.3%), but still less than the overall sample (see *Figure 8*).

Faculty constituencies' frequency of reporting no regular engagement with substantial disagreement in their field



Question: "How many people do you regularly engage with in a scholarly context (e.g., at conferences, during peer review, in informal conversation) who disagree with you on important scholarly matters?" • N = 145 - 3,400

Figure 8. Percentage of faculty reporting no regular engagement with substantial disagreement in their discipline.

Finally, we explored the relationship between frequency of reported disagreements and faculty's beliefs about diversity. Compared to those reporting no regular disagreements, those reporting 1-4 or 5-10 regular disagreements were more likely to view any given dimension of diversity as beneficial by margins of around 10-15% (see *Figure 9*). Interestingly, those reporting the most frequent exposure to disagreement (i.e., reporting regular disagreements with 11 or more people) were *less* likely to view demographic dimensions of diversity as beneficial, but slightly *more* likely to view political diversity as beneficial, compared to those reporting regular disagreements with only 1-4 people.

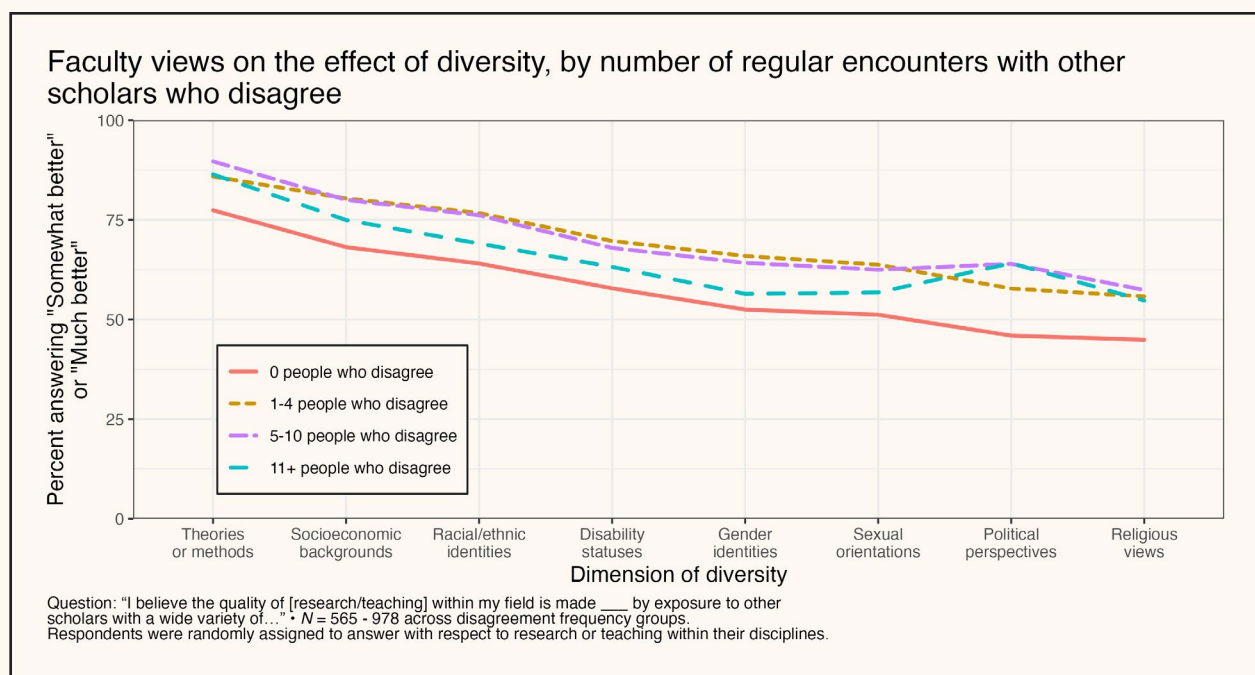


Figure 9. Faculty views on the effect of diversity on their discipline, by frequency of regular engagement with other scholars who substantively disagree.

Put differently, those engaging in the most frequent disagreement were the most likely to see political diversity as beneficial (64%), particularly when compared to those reporting no regular disagreement (46%). Of the groups reporting at least some regular disagreement, the “11+ disagreements” group was also the least likely to value demographic dimensions of diversity like gender identity or racial/ethnic identity.

Our data don't allow for causal conclusions, meaning that we can't know whether

exposure to disagreement increases appreciation for political diversity or whether those who value political diversity find themselves having more disagreements. It would make some sense for frequency of disagreement to correlate with holding a minority position, in which case we might expect conservatives to be more represented among this group (as well as those adopting unorthodox theories or methods, although we did not collect data on this). There was only weak evidence of this, with right-leaning faculty (who were 17% of the overall sample) constituting 17% of the “0 disagreements” group and 22% of the “11+ disagreements” group.

Consistent with the results above, the stronger distinguishing factors seemed to be rank and discipline. Adjuncts (who made up 18% of the sample) constituted 26% of the “0 disagreements” group and only 11% of the “11+ disagreements” group, while STEM faculty (who made up 22% of the sample) made up 27% of the “0 disagreements” group and only 14% of the “11+ disagreements” group. Meanwhile, full professors (34% of the sample) and social scientists (26% of the sample) respectively made up 27% and 21% of the “0 disagreements” group, while respectively making up 44% and 31% of the “11+ disagreements” group.

Whatever the causal mechanism, our findings suggest that valuing political diversity is associated with engagement in the essential scholarly practice of disagreement.



Research Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. First, our point estimates reflect the composition of our sample. Comparing our sample against benchmarks obtained from IPEDS suggests that our sample roughly approximated the distribution of full-time US instructional faculty in the sector from which we sampled (public and private non-profit institutions in the R1-B2 range) along the dimensions of gender, race/ethnicity, tenure status, Carnegie tier, urbanicity, and institutional control. White faculty were overrepresented and Black faculty underrepresented; tenure-track (but not yet tenured) faculty were underrepresented and tenured faculty overrepresented; and doctoral institutions were overrepresented compared to masters' and bachelors' institutions. Similar comparisons with data from the Bureau of Labor and Statistics (BLS) suggest that our sample generally reflects the distribution of disciplines among postsecondary teachers, with social sciences overrepresented and health and miscellaneous areas underrepresented (consistent with this, the emails of medical school faculty were occasionally not made public). Finally, available data on the political leanings of United States professors (see Shaw and Spitz Siddiqi, [2026](#), for a review) suggests that our sample was reasonably representative along this dimension. We report a representativeness analysis in Appendix A and demographics in Appendix C.

Next, in keeping with our conceptualization of viewpoint diversity as a viewpoint-neutral principle, we did not ask respondents about specific groups or perspectives. This introduced a trade-off in terms of the conclusions we could draw from faculty responses to these questions. First, our items were double-barreled in the sense that they assessed beliefs about specific dimensions of diversity (e.g., “religious views”) and beliefs about

Research Limitations

diversity itself (“a wide variety”). Responses indicating “no effect” or “worse” could therefore reflect more than one orientation: a) a belief that groups from a narrow, but not wide, variety along the dimension in question would improve the discipline, and b) a belief that no particular variety along that dimension would improve the discipline.

Third, asking whether faculty view a certain dimension of diversity in the abstract as improving their field is not as precise as asking them about specific groups along that dimension (e.g., “Asians,” “political conservatives,” or “Muslims”). While we opted to assess general values rather than attitudes toward specific groups, we included the wording “a wide variety of...” to mitigate the possibility that respondents were simply envisioning a select group or perspective of which they would like to see more.

Finally, our analyses group faculty into broad disciplinary categories (e.g., STEM, arts/humanities), which may be more expansive than the scholarly communities respondents had in mind when estimating their peers’ views. While this introduces variability into our measure of perceived views among other scholars, it should not bias the gap between own versus other ratings in one direction or another. Our estimates of pluralistic ignorance across disciplines should be interpreted as patterns at the level of these broader groupings and are not necessarily indicative of patterns within specific subfields.

The background features a complex geometric composition. A large, dark green, three-dimensional rectangular prism is positioned in the upper left, with a smaller, lighter green cube nested inside it. To the right, a series of overlapping, angular shapes in various shades of green and blue create a sense of depth and movement. The overall design is modern and abstract, with sharp lines and a limited color palette.

Conclusion

The findings of this work indicate that belief in the benefits of engaging across ideological and demographic differences in the pursuit of truth is not rare among faculty — it is the norm. While faculty may disagree on which aspects of diversity go furthest in improving the quality of teaching and research, the general belief in the value of different perspectives was pronounced in our findings (though faculty systematically underestimated how positively *other* faculty view these perspectives). Even political diversity and religious diversity, while the least popular relative to other dimensions of diversity, were still viewed positively by the majority of faculty in our survey.

To be sure, not all faculty were equally warm towards each of the eight dimensions of diversity featured in our survey. But these differences often presented themselves in surprising ways, particularly regarding partisan differences. Our findings do not support claims that viewpoint diversity is a smokescreen for “affirmative action for conservatives,” given that left-leaning faculty actually reported more positive views on political and religious diversity compared to right-leaning faculty. Though partisan differences were apparent, it was uncommon for any group, including right-leaning faculty, to perceive any specific aspect of diversity as outright harmful to teaching and research in their discipline. The picture that instead emerged was of a left-leaning faculty who broadly value diversity in research and teaching within their disciplines, while moderate and right-leaning faculty view forms of diversity other than methodological as largely irrelevant.

The challenge, then, is not to convince faculty of the importance of viewpoint diversity. Instead, the challenge is to strategically leverage this enthusiasm for viewpoint diversity in a way that resists politicization and demonstrates an unwavering commitment to open inquiry and the free exchange of ideas. Thoughtful efforts to enrich the range of perspectives on campus may even enjoy broad support from faculty, despite the politicization of the term “viewpoint diversity.” In particular, our findings suggest that efforts to increase political or religious viewpoint diversity could find more support when framed as complementing, rather than replacing, demographic forms of diversity that are more highly valued by faculty on the whole.

Open inquiry advocates have a wellspring of enthusiasm at their fingertips. The task now is to harness this enthusiasm into principled, sustained efforts that revitalize the academy.

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Appendix A: Sample

2021 Carnegie Classification	Control Type	Institution Name	Invited (n)	Complete Surveys (n)	Response Rate (%)
Doctoral Universities: Very High Research Activity	Public	Kent State University at Kent	1,491	121	6.59%
		University of Houston	1,682	127	
		Temple University	1,459	128	
		The University of Texas at San Antonio	1,283	77	
		University of Pittsburgh-Pittsburgh Campus	5,935	328	
	Private Nonprofit	Baylor University	828	54	7.53%
		Columbia University in the City of New York	4,847	370	
		Tufts University	1,675	125	
		Brown University	1,653	144	
		California Institute of Technology	403	15	
Doctoral Universities: High Research Activity	Public	Georgia Southern University	983	79	7.50%
		Michigan Technological University	760	55	
		Ball State University	1,083	102	
		University of Missouri-St Louis	437	29	
		California State University-Fullerton	1,854	119	
	Private Nonprofit	University of San Diego	815	59	6.49%
		DePaul University	1,733	125	
		Rochester Institute of Technology	1,161	92	
		Chapman University	1,298	77	
		Clark University	754	21	

Doctoral / Professional Universities	Public	Texas A & M University-Commerce	248	17	10.90%
		Purdue University Global	2,515	343	
		Western Kentucky University	748	55	
		University of Louisiana at Monroe	262	19	
		Florida Gulf Coast University	630	46	
	Private Nonprofit	Seattle University	756	49	7.28%
		Brenau University	139	16	
		Mount St. Joseph University	289	6	
		Fielding Graduate University	139	9	
		Trinity International University-Illinois	147	27	
Master's Colleges & Universities: Large Programs	Public	Kutztown University of Pennsylvania	309	20	5.82%
		Austin Peay State University	437	33	
		Coastal Carolina University	649	68	
		CUNY Queens College	1,214	57	
		Framingham State University	467	1	
	Private Nonprofit	Rider University	197	14	6.06%
		Doane University	313	18	
		Monmouth University	757	25	
		Ashland University	131	15	
		National University	351	34	
Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Programs	Public	Norfolk State University	257	11	6.01%
		Dakota State University	142	11	
		Lincoln University (Pennsylvania)	92	5	
		SUNY Old Westbury	106	8	

		Indiana University-South Bend	301	19	
	Private Nonprofit	Antioch University	613	45	9.62%
		Marian University	214	22	
		La Sierra University	124	17	
		Chaminade University of Honolulu	107	16	
		Prescott College	85	10	
Master's Colleges & Universities: Small Programs	Public	Bemidji State University	199	9	6.15%
		Mississippi Valley State University	102	2	
		Shepherd University	314	16	
		Indiana University-Northwest	271	29	
		Indiana University-Kokomo	188	10	
	Private Nonprofit	Lake Erie College	41	2	7.03%
		Elizabethtown College	203	13	
		Columbia College (South Carolina)	61	10	
		Amridge University	40	6	
		Bethel University	96	0	
Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts and Sciences Focus	Public	University of Virginia's College at Wise	126	7	7.85%
		University of Mary Washington	431	26	
		University of Minnesota-Morris	99	20	
		University of North Carolina Asheville	189	15	
		Cheyney University of Pennsylvania	59	3	
	Private Nonprofit	Scripps College	184	11	8.71%
		Bucknell University	457	56	
		Susquehanna University	285	17	
		Hampshire College	55	3	
		Saint Michael's College	156	12	

Baccalaureate Colleges: Diverse Fields	Public	Mayville State University	65	2	5.39%
		Fort Lewis College	232	21	
		Florida Polytechnic University	108	1	
		Harris-Stowe State University	53	3	
		Lander University	191	8	
	Private Nonprofit	Dakota Wesleyan University	45	4	7.79%
		Belmont Abbey College	138	16	
		Wilmington College	76	3	
		Loras College	94	4	
		Dean College	45	4	
Total			49,476	3,616	7.31%

Table A1. Sampled universities and response rates

Characteristic	Frequency (Total N = 3,563)
2021 Carnegie classification	
R1	1,463 (41.1%)
R2	748 (21.0%)
R3	579 (16.3%)
M1	284 (8.0%)
M2	161 (4.5%)
M3	97 (2.7%)
B1	168 (4.7%)
B2	63 (1.8%)
Control type	
Private Nonprofit	1,547 (43.4%)
Public	2,016 (56.6%)
Minority-serving institution status	
Non-MSI	2,831 (79.5%)
MSI	732 (20.5%)

Table A2. Respondents' institutional characteristics.

Sample Representativeness Analysis

Calculations for all dimensions were done on the personnel level, meaning that percentages were calculated by dividing the number of faculty members in each category by the total number of faculty members in the corresponding population.

	This Sample	IPEDS benchmark: Full-Time Instructional Faculty in R1-B2 Schools	IPEDS benchmark: Full-Time Instructional Faculty and Part-Time Instructional Staff in R1-B2 Schools
Gender			
Male	49.6% (52.5%)	52.1%	49.3%
Female	43.6% (46.2%)	47.9%	50.7%

Nonbinary/ Something else	1.3% (1.4%)	N/A	N/A
(Missing)	5.6% (0%)	N/A	N/A
Race/Ethnicity			
American Indian	0.3% (0.3%)	0.3%	0.4%
Asian	7.1% (7.7%)	12.3%	9.7%
Black	4.4% (4.7%)	5.8%	10.9%
Hispanic	6.1% (6.6%)	6.1%	6.4%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0.3% (0.4%)	0.1%	0.1%
White (including MENA)	69.0% (75.6%)	65.2%	65.4%
2+ races	2.8% (3.0%)	1.4%	1.4%
Something else/Race unknown	1.7% (1.9%)	4.0%	6.1%
(Missing)	7.6% (0%)	N/A	N/A
Tenure status			
Tenured	42.4% (42.6%)	43.5%	26.9%
On tenure track	10.8% (10.9%)	17.8%	10.9%
Not on tenure track/no tenure system	46.2% (46.5%)	38.6%	53.0%
Without faculty status	N/A	0%	9.1%
(Missing)	0.6% (0%)	N/A	N/A
Academic Rank			
Full professor	34.0% (34.2%)	30.1%	*
Associate professor	20.0% (20.1%)	25.1%	*
Assistant professor	16.6% (16.7%)	26.7%	*
Instructor/lecturer	10.9% (11.0%)	15.5%	*

Adjunct/contingent	17.9% (18.0%)	*	*
No academic rank	N/A	2.6%	*
(Missing)	0.6% (0%)	N/A	*
Urbanicity			
City	68.9%	68.7%	65.8%
Suburb	20.3%	17.7%	20.7%
Town	10.1%	11.6%	11.3%
Rural	0.8%	1.9%	2.3%
Carnegie Tier			
Doctoral	79.2%	72.9%	66.0%
Masters	14.2%	19.3%	26.0%
Bachelors	6.6%	7.9%	8.0%
Institutional Control			
Public	57.2%	63.5%	57.5%
Private nonprofit	42.8%	36.5%	42.5%

Table A3. Distributions of respondent characteristics in the present sample and benchmark Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) values for two proxy groups at public and private, non-profit schools in the R1-B2 range: 1) full-time instructional faculty and 2) full-time instructional faculty plus part-time instructional staff. Values outside parentheses were calculated including those in the sample who did not provide an answer; values inside parenthesis exclude these respondents for ease of comparison with the IPEDS benchmarks. “N/A” indicates categories that were not assessed in a given data source.

**IPEDS does not collect academic rank for part-time instructional staff and does not use the category “adjunct” in measurements of full-time faculty rank.*

	This sample	BLS Benchmark: Postsecondary Teachers
Business	6.1% (6.1%)	5.9%
Math/computer science	6.1% (6.1%)	6.1%

Engineering/architecture	4.5% (4.6%)	3.5%
Life sciences	6.3% (6.3%)	4.5%
Physical sciences	5.4% (5.4%)	3.8%
Social sciences	15.5% (15.6%)	8.7%
Health	11.7% (11.7%)	21.8%
Education/Library science	7.7% (7.8%)	4.5%
Law, criminal justice, social work	6.0% (6.0%)	3.6%
Arts/Communications/Hist ory/Humanities	18.2% (18.2%)	17.8%
Miscellaneous/Another area	12.0% (12.0%)	19.9%
(Missing)	0.4% (0%)	0%

Table A4. Distributions of respondent disciplinary areas in the present sample and benchmark Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) values for a proxy group: post-secondary teachers. Values outside parentheses were calculated including those in the sample who did not provide an answer; values inside parenthesis exclude these respondents for ease of comparison with the BLS benchmarks.

Appendix B: Methodology

Sample frame development

We first took a stratified random sample of institutions from eight 2021 Carnegie classifications: Doctoral Universities: Very High Research Activity, Doctoral Universities: High Research Activity, Doctoral/Professional Universities, Master's Colleges & Universities: Large Programs, Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Programs, Master's Colleges & Universities: Small Programs, Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts and Sciences Focus, and Baccalaureate Colleges: Diverse Fields. Within each Carnegie classification, we sampled five public institutions and five private, not-for-profit institutions, resulting in a sample frame with 16 segments (eight Carnegie classifications and two control types) and 80 total institutions.

We then collected all available email addresses for the faculty at each institution, including adjunct and part-time faculty, lecturers, and emeritus faculty. Post-doctoral fellows, graduate students, and administrative staff were excluded. Emails were collected from each university's public-facing webpages (e.g., faculty directories and department websites), or in some cases, scholarly publications where corresponding email addresses were listed. We replaced six institutions in our initial sample that did not list faculty email addresses by resampling six new institutions from the corresponding strata (one private Doctoral/Professional university, one private Masters's Colleges & Universities: Large Programs, three Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Programs - two public, one private - and one private Master's Colleges & Universities: Small Programs). *Table A1* reports the final list of institutions in the sample frame and the number of faculty from each who were invited to participate.

Next, we partnered with NORC, who provided ethical review and distributed the survey on Heterodox Academy's behalf. Given the small size of some of the institutions in our sample frame, we did not collect participants' institutional affiliation within the survey.

Design and Measures

We assessed beliefs and perceptions about the effects of eight sources of diversity — *political perspectives, socioeconomic backgrounds, racial or ethnic identities, gender identities, religious views, competing theories or methods in my field, sexual orientations, and disability statuses* — on their discipline. These sources of diversity were chosen to represent a mixture of demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender) and intellectual characteristics (e.g., political beliefs, religious views) that might influence a person's perspective.

In the core portion of the survey, we asked participants about each kind of diversity in two different ways. For all eight sources of diversity, participants first provided their own views in one question matrix, followed by their beliefs about the views of scholars in their field in a second matrix. We kept this order constant because we felt there was a natural progression that might be confusing to disrupt.

These two matrices were randomized such that half of participants were asked to answer with respect to research in their discipline, and the other half with respect to teaching. The sources of diversity were listed in the same order across matrices, but this order was randomized for each participant.

Thus, for the matrix assessing respondents' own views, the question stem was: "I believe the quality of [research/teaching] within my field is made ___ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of..." (with the text in brackets determined by random assignment). The question stem for the "others' views" matrix was "I think that scholars within my discipline believe the quality of [research/teaching] within our field is made ___ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of..." Participants indicated their response on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Much worse*) to 5 (*Much better*) and anchored around a midpoint of 3 (*Neither better nor worse*), later recoded to range from -2 to 2.

Survey Administration Procedure

The survey was administered by NORC from November 10, 2025 to December 17, 2025 via the Voxco platform. To incentivize participation, the survey included a random drawing for Amazon gift codes of values ranging from \$10 to \$500. After the survey's close, 100 respondents were randomly selected to receive an Amazon gift code.

To minimize the risk of bias in responses, HxA was not named in the original public-facing survey materials. However, respondents who inquired specifically about the survey's authorship ($n = 2$) were informed of HxA's role.

Survey Response and Data Processing Procedures

The final sampling frame contained 49,476 faculty members who were invited to participate in the survey between November 10 and December 17, 2025. Of these, we received 4,892 at least partially complete responses (see *Table A1* for a breakdown of the sample size by institution). We excluded 1,276 break-off responses, 35 participants who left 50% or more of the survey incomplete, and 18 duplicate submissions. We retained 579 participants who failed an attention check given that their inclusion did not substantively alter any of our findings.

For analysis, we grouped faculty into five broad disciplinary categories: STEM (computer science, engineering, life science, math, and physical science; $n = 771$); social science (social science, education, communications, and library science; $n = 930$); professional (architecture, business, criminal justice, health, law, and social work; $n = 874$); arts/humanities (arts, humanities, and history; $n = 546$), and other areas ($n = 429$).

For all questions, "Don't know" responses were recoded as missing.

Appendix C: Topline Report

1. I believe the **quality of [research/teaching]** within my field is made ____ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of...

Dimension of diversity	Research (<i>n</i> = 1,789)			Teaching (<i>n</i> = 1,774)		
	Worse	No effect	Better	Worse	No effect	Better
Disability statuses	2.0%	35.7%	62.4%	3.1%	30.3%	66.6%
Competing theories or methods in my field	2.5%	12.3%	85.1%	2.2%	14.3%	83.5%
Gender identities	6.9%	35.7%	57.4%	7.6%	29.9%	62.5%
Political perspectives	11.1%	34.1%	54.8%	10.7%	29.7%	59.5%
Racial/ethnic identities	3.9%	28.1%	68.0%	4.1%	20.9%	75.0%
Religious views	6.2%	43.5%	50.3%	7.2%	37.2%	55.6%
Sexual orientations	5.0%	38.6%	56.3%	5.8%	33.3%	60.8%
Socioeconomic backgrounds	2.2%	25.2%	72.6%	2.0%	19.2%	78.8%

2. I think that **scholars within my discipline** believe the **quality of [research/teaching]** within our field is made ____ by exposure to other scholars with a wide variety of...

Dimension of diversity	Research (<i>n</i> = 1,789)			Teaching (<i>n</i> = 1,774)		
	Worse	No effect	Better	Worse	No effect	Better
Disability statuses	3.5%	39.5%	57.0%	4.0%	35.8%	60.3%
Competing theories or methods in my field	8.0%	19.3%	72.8%	8.2%	20.2%	71.6%
Gender identities	6.8%	34.2%	58.9%	6.6%	32.1%	61.3%
Political perspectives	21.8%	40.2%	38.0%	22.3%	36.6%	41.1%
Racial/ethnic identities	4.7%	27.7%	67.5%	5.5%	24.5%	70.1%
Religious views	16.7%	48.0%	35.3%	16.6%	42.4%	41.0%
Sexual orientations	5.8%	37.0%	57.3%	5.4%	35.0%	59.6%

Socioeconomic backgrounds	4.9%	31.9%	63.2%	4.0%	30.1%	66.0%
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3. What is your general academic field of study?

Architecture	25 (0.7%)
Arts	174 (4.9%)
Business	218 (6.1%)
Communications	101 (2.8%)
Computer science	114 (3.2%)
Criminal justice	42 (1.2%)
Education	262 (7.4%)
Engineering	137 (3.9%)
Health	417 (11.7%)
History	111 (3.1%)
Humanities	261 (7.3%)
Law	115 (3.2%)
Library science	14 (0.4%)
Life science	225 (6.3%)
Math	103 (2.9%)
Physical science	192 (5.4%)
Social science	553 (15.5%)
Social work	57 (1.6%)
Another area (specify)	429 (12.0%)
Skipped	13 (0.4%)

4. What is your highest level of education?

Bachelor's degree (e.g., BS, BA, AB)	55 (1.5%)
Master's degree (e.g., MS, MA, MBA)	534 (15.0%)
Doctorate (e.g., PhD, DSc, EdD, PsyD)	2,680 (75.2%)
Other professional degree (e.g., JD, LLB, MD, DDS, DVM)	256 (7.2%)
Other degree	25 (0.7%)
Skipped	13 (0.4%)

5. What is your tenure status?

Tenured	1,510 (42.4%)
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On track but not tenured	386 (10.8%)
Not tenure track	1,361 (38.2%)
Not applicable; no tenure system at my institution	286 (8.0%)
Skipped	20 (0.6%)

6. What is your academic rank or title?

Adjunct or contingent	637 (17.9%)
Instructor or lecturer	389 (10.9%)
Assistant professor	593 (16.6%)
Associate professor	712 (20.0%)
Full professor	1,212 (34.0%)
Skipped	20 (0.6%)

7. What is your gender identity?

Man	1,766 (49.6%)
Woman	1,553 (43.6%)
Non-binary/non-conforming	37 (1.0%)
Something else	9 (0.3%)
Prefer not to say/Skipped	198 (5.6%)

8. What best describes your race/ethnicity? (Select all that apply.)

American Indian or Alaskan Native	9 (0.3%)
Asian	252 (7.1%)
Black or African American	155 (4.4%)
Hispanic or Latino	216 (6.1%)
Middle Eastern or North African	28 (0.8%)
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	12 (0.3%)
White	2,460 (69.0%)
Something else (specify)	62 (1.7%)
Non-Hispanic multiracial (category calculated from responses to other options)	98 (2.8%)
Prefer not to say/Skipped	271 (7.6%)

9. How would you describe your political beliefs?

Extremely liberal	529 (14.9%)
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Liberal	1,326 (37.2%)
Slightly liberal	482 (13.5%)
Moderate, Middle of the Road	629 (17.7%)
Slightly conservative	221 (6.2%)
Conservative	277 (7.8%)
Extremely conservative	34 (1.0%)
Skipped	65 (1.8%)

10. How do you identify your religious affiliation?

Christian	1,369 (38.4%)
Jewish	295 (8.3%)
Muslim	48 (1.3%)
Buddhist	50 (1.4%)
Hindu	28 (0.8%)
Unaffiliated	206 (5.8%)
Spiritual but not religious	332 (9.3%)
Agnostic	396 (11.1%)
Atheist	486 (13.6%)
Something else	95 (2.7%)
Prefer not to say/Skipped	258 (7.2%)

11. What was the highest level of education completed by either of your parents?

Some high school	203 (5.7%)
High school	639 (17.9%)
Trade or vocational school	168 (4.7%)
Associate's	176 (4.9%)
Bachelor's	820 (23.0%)
Master's	704 (19.8%)
Professional or doctorate	831 (23.3%)
Skipped	22 (0.6%)

12. People talk about social classes such as the poor, the working class, the middle class, the upper-middle class, and the upper class. Which of these classes would you say your family belonged to when you were growing up?

Poor	245 (6.9%)
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Working class	997 (28.0%)
Middle class	1,565 (43.9%)
Upper-middle class	691 (19.4%)
Upper class	50 (1.4%)
Skipped	15 (0.4%)

Appendix D: Supplemental Tables and Figures

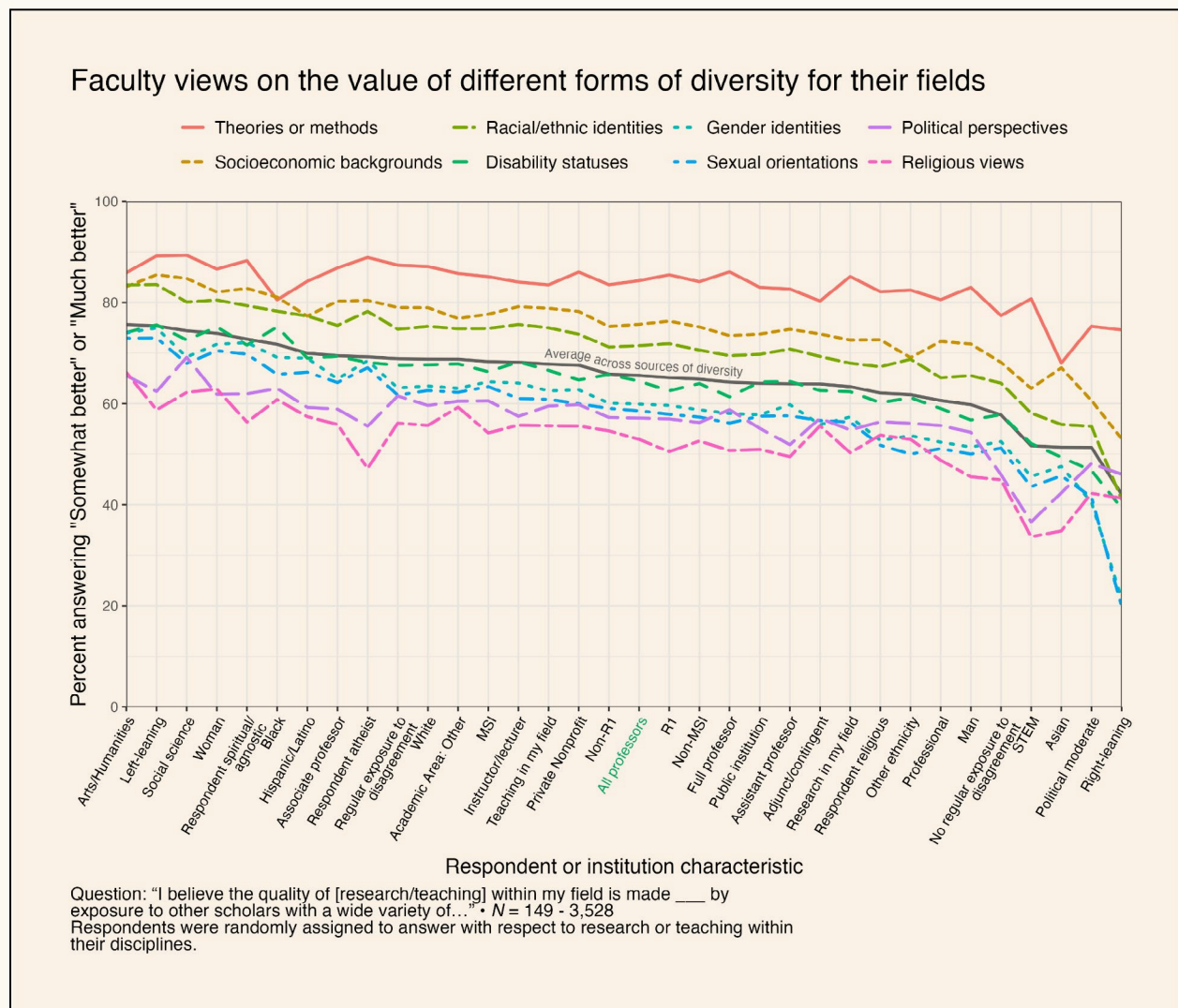


Figure D1. Percent of respondents from various subgroups valuing each form of diversity. For each subgroup, the percentages for each form of diversity were averaged into an index of overall support (solid gray line).

Dimension of diversity	M (SD) Own	M (SD) Others	Mean difference	95% CI	<i>t</i>
Theories/methods	4.39 (1.00)	4.01 (1.00)	0.38	[0.35, 0.41]	22.69***
Socioecon. backgrounds	4.23 (0.93)	3.93 (0.93)	0.31	[0.28, 0.34]	19.48***
Racial/ethnic identities	4.13 (0.96)	4.02 (0.96)	0.11	[0.08, 0.15]	6.80***
Disability statuses	4.01 (0.92)	3.85 (0.92)	0.17	[0.14, 0.20]	10.47***
Sexual orientations	3.88 (0.98)	3.83 (0.98)	0.05	[0.01, 0.08]	2.68**
Gender identities	3.87 (1.01)	3.84 (1.01)	0.03	[-0.01, 0.06]	1.50
Religious views	3.74 (1.06)	3.35 (1.06)	0.39	[0.36, 0.43]	21.76***
Political perspectives	3.74 (1.14)	3.28 (1.14)	0.46	[0.42, 0.50]	22.26***

Table D1. Results of paired *t*-tests comparing respondents' personal views with their perceptions of other scholars' views. * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$. Faculty systematically attributed less positive views to others in their field than they themselves held for all dimensions of diversity other than gender identity.

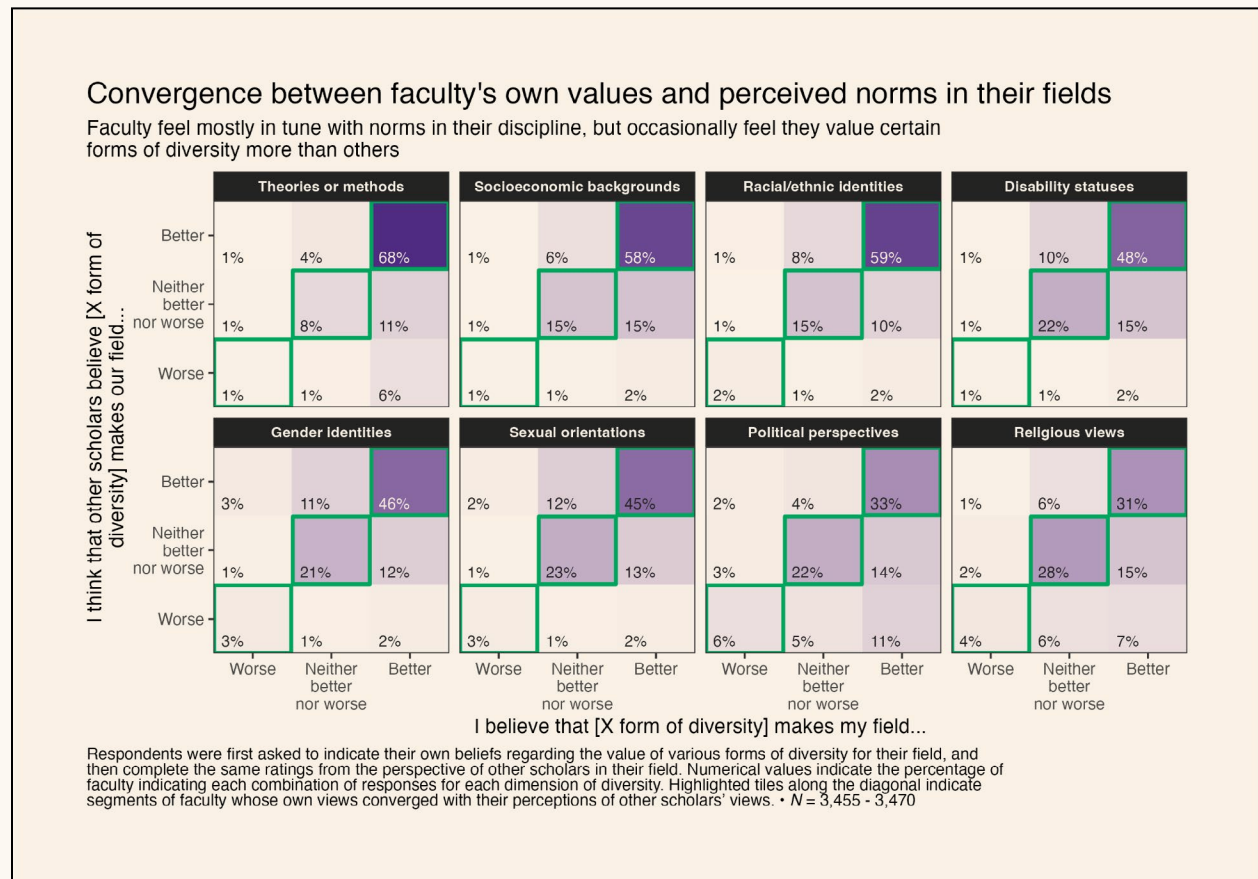
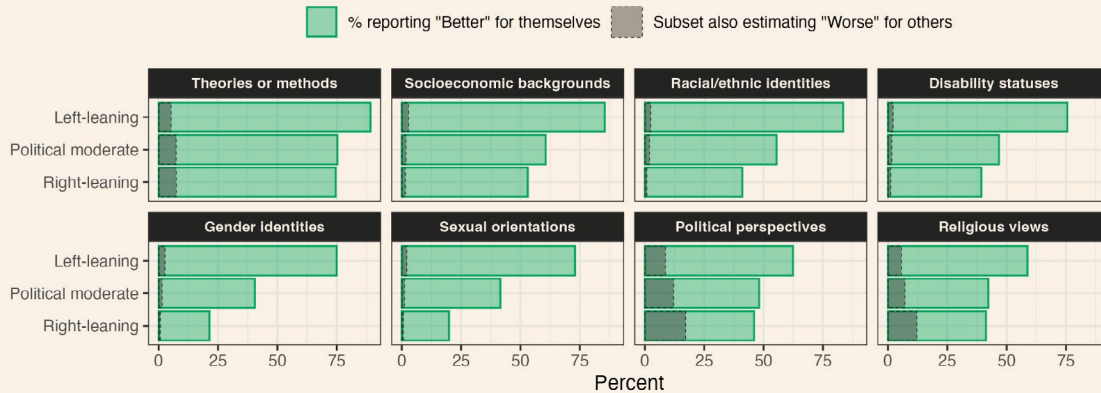


Figure D2. Heatmap showing the frequencies with which faculty's own views converged vs. diverged from their perceptions of other scholars' views.

Faculty feelings that peers oppose their valued forms of diversity, by political leaning

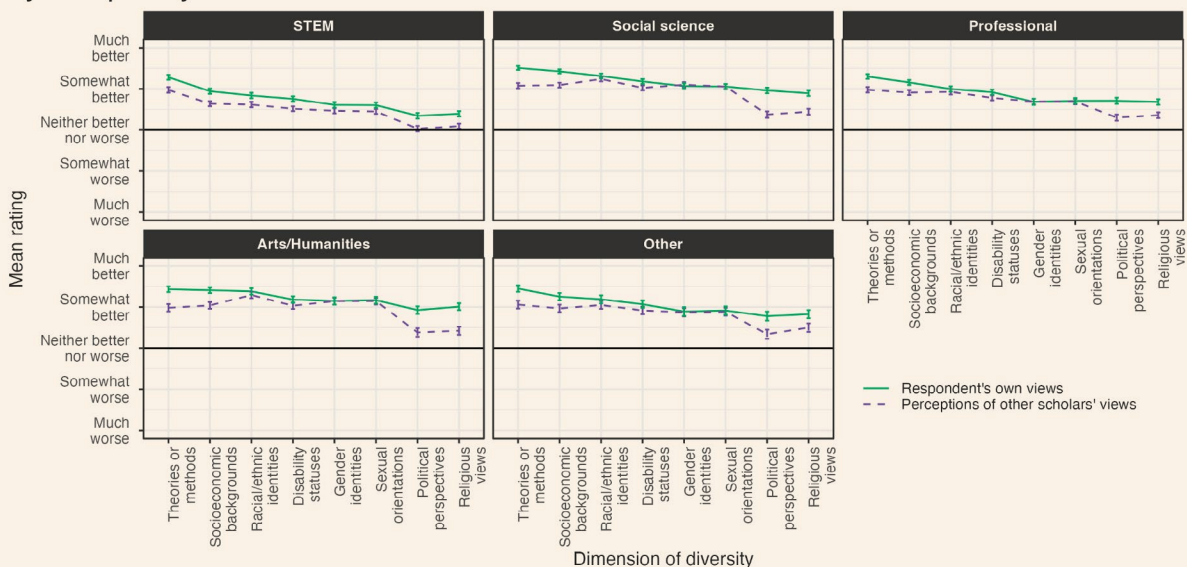
Conservatives were less likely to value political diversity than liberals, but twice as likely to perceive disciplinary peers as diametrically opposed



For each dimension of diversity, respondents reported whether they thought it made the quality of their field better, neither better nor worse, or worse, and then estimated the typical view of other scholars in their field. Respondents were randomly assigned to answer with respect to research or teaching within their disciplines. • N = 577 - 2,279 across political groups.

Figure D3. Percentage of faculty who value various forms of diversity more than they think others in their discipline do, by respondent political leaning.

Faculty's own views about diversity and perceptions of others' scholars views, by disciplinary area



For each dimension of diversity, respondents reported whether they thought it made the quality of their field better, neither better nor worse, or worse, and then estimated the typical view of other scholars in their field. Respondents were randomly assigned to answer with respect to research or teaching within their disciplines. • N = 415 - 919 across disciplines

Figure D4. Average responses regarding each form of diversity on the original, continuous scale, disaggregated by the perspective respondents were asked to take (their own vs. that of other scholars) and respondent disciplinary area. Each respondent rated every form of diversity from each perspective. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals.

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