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Political Self-Identity and Views of Higher Education:
A Study of Criminal Justice Graduate Students

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Political Self-Identity and Views of Higher Education:
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by

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ABSTRACT

A growing body of literature points to the importance of political ideology in the deployment of motivated reasoning, in the formation of packages of policy stances, and in the polarization of groups. However, little research exists on how ideology impacts college students and their experiences in higher education. This study extends the literature by examining the salience of political ideology in several important student outcomes. Using a sample of current and former students in the University of Cincinnati's online Master of Science in Criminal Justice program, I show that criminal justice students ascribe to several labels that correspond with underlying socio-political identities. Respondents' socio-political identity is a salient predictor in how connected students feel to their classmates and professors, in how concerned they are about consequences for speaking out in class about a controversial political topic, and in their perceived experiences with discrimination, criticism, or self-censorship in higher education. Further, students in this study engage in politically motivated reasoning and ingroup/outgroup biases. Liberal and conservative students ascribe positive labels to their political group and ascribe negative labels to the other political group. Criminal justice students report the opposing political group biases teaching and research in academia, attribute political disparities in higher education to explanations favorable to their ingroup, and believe professors should engage in roles that align with their group's core values. Finally, socio-political identity is a salient predictor of views on science and policy. Science views and general social and criminal justice policy stances coalesce into underlying policy packages that are informed by socio-political beliefs. When criminal justice master's students make assessments about criminal justice policy, those assessments are not independent of other background beliefs. The study shows that

criminal justice master's students' socio-political identities are important components of their educational experience. Criminal justice faculty would be remiss to deem their students' political beliefs irrelevant to the classroom.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Higher education has always been subject to criticism, from both internal and external sources. In the period between 1950 and 1960, for example, university faculty complained that the institution was too conservative, too attached to tradition, and too limited in the number and range of programs it offered. Higher education, critics argued, remained unresponsive to minority concerns and was too closely linked to business and political interests (Bender, 1997; Broadhurst, 2014). What was needed, critics argued, was an institution that embraced socially progressive ideals and one that benefited a broader cross-section of the public (Riley & Stern, 2000). At the same time, external critiques of higher education were taking hold during the Cold War and became a focal point of public interest during the McCarthy hearings with the House Un-American Activities Committee (Schrecker, 2016). It was during this period when faculty were accused of belonging to the Communist Party and were summarily fired (Smith, 2011).

From the 1960's through at least the 1990's, however, the institution of higher education underwent substantial and unparalleled change (Bender, 1997). These changes would lead to sizable partisan differences between university faculty and the rest of society—differences that would eventually lead to entire disciplines being composed of individuals from one political orientation. Indeed, political activism, once thought to be contrary to objective scholarship and the pursuit of truth, was embraced by increasingly larger sections of the social sciences and humanities (June, 2015). These changes were not without their critics. Conservative critics, including President H. W. Bush, for example, railed against the growing embrace of "political correctness" and the related infringements on open inquiry, campus free speech, and objective

research (Wilson, 1995). Especially since the 1990's there has been a growing body of critiques focused on higher education. These critiques have, again, come from those inside our universities (e.g., Smith, 2018) but increasingly have come from those outside the institution (Schrecker, 2016; Wilson, 2008). While these critiques differ in what they emphasize, differ in the motives of the authors, and differ in their stated remedies, they have nonetheless struck a chord with a larger section of the public.

The critiques have also been consequential, having gelled into narratives about higher education that are sometimes accurate, sometimes biased, and sometimes silly. That said, we are perhaps seeing for the first-time public support for institutions of higher learning waning, their social legitimacy questioned, and their educational efficacy doubted (Doherty, Kiley, & Johnson, 2017a; Newport & Busteed, 2017). This pattern is especially true for Republicans and working-class Americans, as majorities now question not only if college is necessary, but if the institution of higher education is causing social harm (Lederman, 2017; Mitchell & Belkin, 2017; c.f. Wolcott, 2018). Indeed, a recent large-scale survey by PEW found that while higher education enjoys strong support from liberals and democrats, republicans and conservatives were far less likely to report that universities were serving their communities well (Doherty et al., 2017a). Unfortunately, these partisan differences have allowed many academics to discount the decrease in social legitimacy as an underlying issue with American conservatives and thus see little reason for universities to address their concerns (Rampell, 2017).

Consider the results from a recent survey of university presidents. Most recognized the various challenges facing higher education, including the loss of social legitimacy (Lederman, 2018). However, when asked to identify the causes responsible for declines in public sentiment for institutions of higher education, university presidents blamed misconceptions held by the

general public, particularly those of conservatives (Lederman, 2018). While the erosion of public trust in higher education is undoubtedly a complex issue, it is noteworthy how easily declines in conservative support for universities have been dismissed as a partisan agenda—an agenda without merit.

Perhaps one reason conservative concerns are so easily dismissed is because the political left is strongly over-represented on university campuses (Cooper, Walsh, & Ellis, 2010; Gross & Simmons, 2007; Klein & Stern, 2003, 2009; Rothman, Lichter, & Nevitte, 2005; Tobin & Weinberg, 2006; Wright, 2018). Every study of faculty political disparity finds that certain academic fields, such as the hard sciences and engineering, show roughly equal proportions of liberals and conservatives (Klein & Stern, 2009). In the social sciences and humanities, however, liberals outnumber conservatives as much as 30 to 100 to one. In many academic departments, there are no conservatives, no libertarians, and not even any centrists (Klein & Stern, 2006; Langbert, 2018).

Such disparities, if applied to other characteristics such as race and gender, would be taken as proof of discrimination (e.g., Kahn & Kirk, 2015; Kolhatkar, 2017; Tiku, 2017; Zhou, 2015). However, in institutions of higher learning, political disparities are explained away in terms favorable to political liberals. Liberals are smarter than conservatives (Baron & Jost, in press), they are more open to experience and ideas than conservatives (Sibley, Osborne, & Duckitt, 2012), and they enjoy diversity more than do conservatives (McCrae, 1996). Conservatives, they argue, are anti-intellectual and anti-science and thus choose to pursue careers that are more consistent with their values (Nuccitelli, 2016; Tesfaye, 2017; Vyse, 2017; Wright, 2018). While empirical research generally disconfirms these views (Duarte et al., 2015), studies on the impact of faculty ideology show a sizeable proportion of left-leaning faculty are willing to

discriminate against conservatives in hiring and in tenure decisions (Duarte et al., 2015; Inbar & Lammers, 2012; Wright, 2018; Yancey, 2011). For example, in one study of social psychologists, 37.5 percent of faculty reported they are somewhat (or more) inclined to discriminate against conservatives when making hiring decisions (Inbar & Lammers, 2012). Perhaps not surprisingly, interviews with conservative academics highlight an undercurrent of fear and distrust (Shields & Dunn, 2016). Conservative scholars report hiding their politics and identity from colleagues for fear of retaliation. While most reported being happy with their academic careers, they also reported that to survive in the academy they are forced to hide their identities and beliefs. Some even outwardly present themselves as liberal to avoid drawing unwanted criticism. Other studies show that their concerns are not unfounded: conservative professors often have academic achievements on par with their colleagues at higher ranked universities and are more likely to report a need to guard their tenuous position within their university (Abramowitz, Gomes, & Abramowitz, 1975; Ceci, Peters, & Plotkin, 1985; Phillips, 2016; Rothman & Lichter, 2009).

Between political disparities that sometimes materialize as attacks on a broad cross-section of the country, to riots associated with the deplatforming of conservative speakers, to empirical evidence showing substantial overt bias against right-leaning ideas and individuals, it has become clear that criticisms of higher education are not entirely unwarranted. Unfortunately, these criticisms have taken a strong partisan tone and have fallen along ideological lines. What also has become clear is the need for research to better understand how individuals, especially students, view higher education and their experiences within their institutions. Harkening back to the PEW study mentioned earlier, it is important to note that republicans with a college education were those most likely to see current trends in higher education as socially harmful. The PEW

results thus suggest that political ideology and the cognitive and emotional biases wrapped up and around socio-political views may also affect students' views and their subjective experiences. Little, however, is known about the role ideology plays in students' views and their experiences inside higher education.

The Current Study

This study is part of an effort to understand the rise of partisanship on campuses and the consequences of political disparities. Though the conversation is broad and loud, more data are needed regarding the scope, causes, and effects of political ideology on academia. It is clear that political ideology plays a role in higher education. In an area rife with emotion and high-stakes consequences, it is important to bring empirical data to bear on the conversation. Most studies in this area focus on faculty political orientations (Cooper et al., 2010; Gross & Simmons, 2007; Klein & Stern, 2003, 2009; Rothman et al., 2005; Tobin & Weinberg, 2006; Wright, 2018). Data on student perceptions are less available (Bailey & Williams, 2016; Eagan et al., 2017; FIRE, 2017; Knight Foundation, 2018). Heterodox Academy is leading the charge in collecting data on student perceptions of political ideology in academia.

In 2017, Heterodox Academy launched a new survey originally called the Fearless Speech Index, but renamed the Campus Expression Survey (Haidt et al., 2017; Stevens, 2017a, 2017b). This survey was developed in response to reports of students and faculty being fearful to discuss their opinions on campuses. Anecdotally, students and faculty have reported to Heterodox Academy researchers fears of speaking not only in classrooms, but also informally to others on campuses. The Heterodox survey is the first of its kind to lend empirical data to these anecdotes. The Campus Expression Survey asks respondents to report on controversial issues

regarding race, gender, politics, and non-controversial topic (serves as a comparison). The survey asks respondents about their concern regarding potential consequences of engaging in speech about those topics, including that professors and students would criticize the views as offensive, that the professor would lower the respondents' grade or say the views are wrong, or even that somebody would file a complaint about the respondents' views.

Results from the Heterodox Academy dissemination of the Campus Expression Survey indicate students are generally reluctant to discuss race, gender, and politics in the classroom (Stevens, 2017b). This reluctance is split by political ideology, with conservatives and moderates far more reluctant than liberals to discuss controversial topics. Liberals are more comfortable discussing race, gender, and politics in the classroom than any other ideological group, and they are less concerned about potential consequences. For example, 66% of liberal students reported being somewhat or very comfortable giving their political views in a classroom discussion, while only 39% of conservative students reported the same.

This study looks to extend Heterodox Academy's work and to provide necessary data where not a lot exists. It delves into the political ideologies, views regarding academia, and policy positions of criminology master's students. Using a modified version of Wright's (2018) survey of 1,000 members of the American Society of Criminology, this study seeks to understand how political beliefs inform the experiences of graduate students in a nationally-ranked program. This study offers new insights into how willing criminology masters students are to discuss controversial political topics in the classroom, how their ideology informs their views on criminal justice policy, and their beliefs about the veracity of the education. What makes this sample so compelling is, not only are these current and former graduate students, but the majority of respondents also work in the criminal justice system. They are police officers,

correctional officers, lawyers, and judges. They have established careers, are adults, and are pursuing an advanced degree.

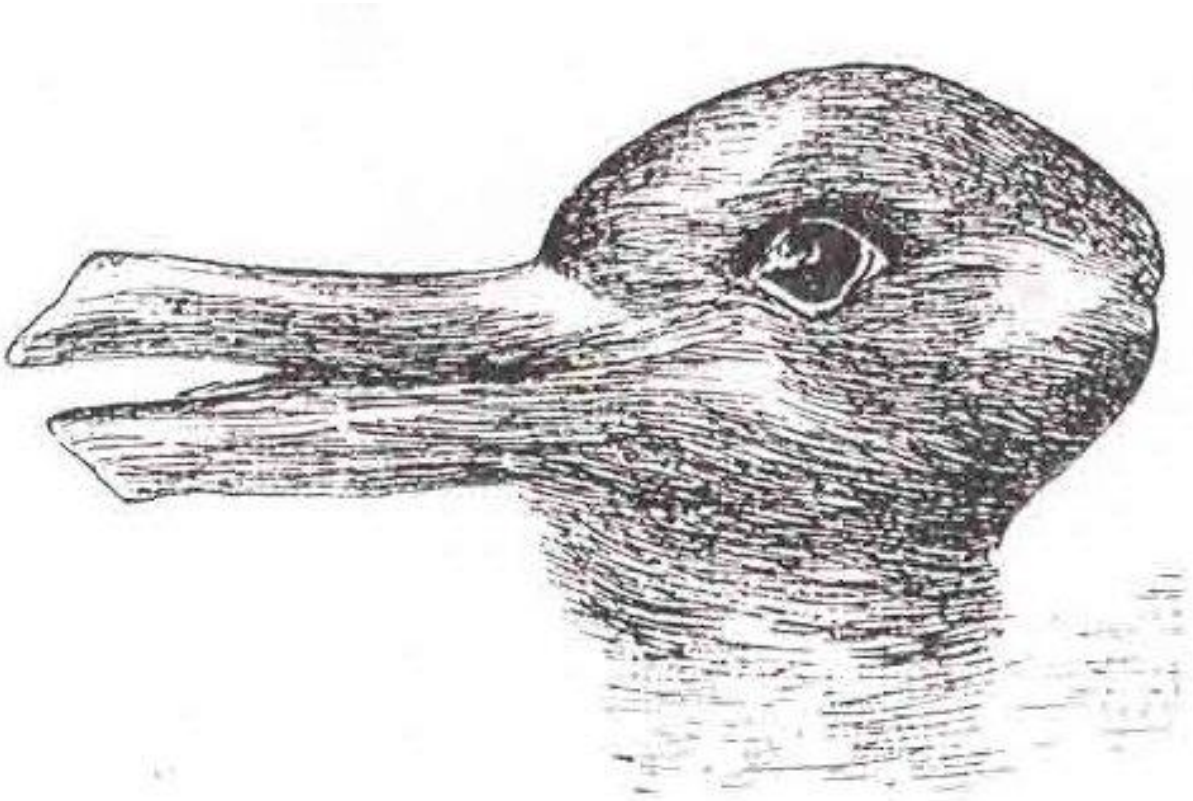
CHAPTER 2

MECHANISMS OF POLITICAL IDENTITY

There is a common optical illusion, shown in Figure 1.1, that illustrates well how individuals process social information. Looking at the figure, you may see a rabbit or a duck. The rabbit is facing to the right with its long ears stretching out from behind it. The duck is facing to the left with its bill leading the way. When you look at this optical illusion, which do you see? Do you see the other image the more you stare at it, or does your brain tend to stick with the image it first saw? Chances are you immediately saw one of the images in the optical illusion but not the other—that is, until I pointed out both.

The illusion shows us how our eyes can deceive us, but it also highlights a core finding from the cognitive sciences: that we are often incapable of seeing the complexity of an issue without assistance. We may think that we are capable of seeing all sides of a picture or of a problem, that we are capable of logically processing those sides, and that we can come to a disinterested, objective conclusion. Perhaps, under some conditions we can, but we often do not see all sides straight away. We see the duck or rabbit first, and we only see the other when we keep looking (if we do ever see it).

Figure 1.1: Rabbit or Duck? (Source: Wikimedia Commons)



Perceptions of information matter, neuroscientists tell us, but shared perceptions seemingly matter more because shared perceptions can sort people into groups, say, into Team Duck or Team Rabbit. Once you are part of your team, research shows, your identity becomes broader, more resistant to change, and is more often reinforced. Indeed, there are real consequences for deviating from your team (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bernstein, 2016; Hogg, Hohman, & Rivera, 2008). To do so might cause you to be cast out, or worse, to lose your identity, your status, and even your job (Abrams, Palmer, Rutland, Cameron, & Van de Vyver, 2014; Eidelman & Biernat, 2003). Because of these potential consequences, individuals will often conform to the expectations and narratives of their team even when they are consciously aware that Team Duck or Team Rabbit hold incorrect positions.

Using the optical illusion as an analogy may, at one level, overlook much of the nuance found in the research literature on the role political ideologies and group identities play in our understanding of complex social issues (Barsade, 2002; Cohen, 2003; George, 1990; Hogg et al., 2008). That said, social psychologists, political scientists, and neuroscientists are now piecing together the cognitive and affective mechanisms that produce a sense of identity (Baumeister, Vohs, DeWall, & Zhang, 2007; Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012; Kahan, 2007). From their work, it is clear that these influences yield important outcomes that are meaningful for our everyday lives. Perhaps more than any other identity, our political identities, which represent far more than whether we are Team Duck or Team Rabbit, influence how we perceive the world around us, who we will associate with, and the narratives we embrace (Kahan, 2013).

In the following pages I will first discuss political ideology in the United States and what it means to be liberal and conservative. Then, I will delve into how those labels reflect underlying moral mechanisms. Moral foundations effectively bind people into groups, and

simultaneously, blind them to other views (Haidt, 2012). Cognitive processes, driven by affective states, inform the formation of socio-emotional groups (Haidt, 2007; Hogg et al., 2008).

Second, I will then discuss the group processes that emerge from shared values, and how those processes reinforce the binding and blinding of morality through motivated reasoning. All humans enjoy cognitive heuristics that reinforce our ingroup virtues and outgroup distrust (Crawford, Modri, & Motyl, 2013; Ditto, Pizarro, & Tannenbaum, 2009; Graham, Nosek, & Haidt, 2012). These processes, in turn, create what Haidt (2011) calls a tribal moral communities (TMC). TMC's reinforce individuals' identities, their moral sense of righteousness, and their disdain of the outgroup (Haidt, 2011, 2012).

Finally, I'll argue that these processes apply to understanding student's perceptions of higher education. I will show how universities can be understood as tribal moral communities and how this can help explain many of the features and problems currently faced in higher education (Inbar & Lammers, 2012; Langbert, 2018; Maranto, Redding, & Hess, 2009).

Political Ideology

You hear labels thrown around on a daily basis: liberal, conservative, Democrat, Republican, left-winger, right-winger, progressive, libertarian. While it is tempting to discard these labels as artificial social constructions that no longer apply to modern society, just the opposite is actually true. These labels are much more than political beliefs or theories, political parties or opponents, because they represent not just a political ideology, but a complex political-moral identity. These identities encompass views about social, economic, and military policies, and they contain narratives about institutions, individuals, relationships, and morality that impart strong biasing effects on how individuals construct meaning from their social world.

In general, ideology is a system of meaning that individuals use to explain their everyday realities. Political ideology reflects a collection of social, economic, and political views that gel into a broader set of cognitive biases. Jost (2006: p. 653), for example, defines political ideology as "an interrelated set of moral and political attitudes that possesses cognitive, affective, and motivational components. That is, ideology helps to explain why people do what they do; it organizes their values and beliefs and leads to political behavior." Clarkson and colleagues (2015: p. 8250) state, "political ideologies loosely represent a shared set of beliefs that define both a specific order and the means to attain it." Walsh and Ellis (2004: p. 20) argue, "ideology implies a selective interpretation and understanding of the data that come to our senses in terms of a general emotional picture of 'how things should be' rather than an objective and rational evaluation of the evidence." In sum, ideology reflects the shared values of a group, which are used to describe and interpret the world from a set of agreed upon narratives (Wright, 2018).

Within the United States, political ideology falls along a left-right continuum (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Moving from left to right, political progressives, sometimes known as political radicals, fall on the furthest end of the left side of the political spectrum, followed by liberals and then moderates who tend to lean slightly left or slightly right of center. Conservatives fall to the right of moderates but include other political classifications such as libertarians and classical liberals.

Progressives, liberals, and conservatives, the three main political identities that are of concern for this study, enjoy sets of assumptions about human nature, beliefs about various social institutions, and the appropriate role of social change in a society. While people who identify within these ideologies are not uniform in their beliefs, and there can be tremendous variation, they tend to have more in common with others of their own group than they do with

other groups. Table 1.1 below highlights each ideology's stance on several underlying assumptions (Gaus, Courtland, & Schmidtz, 2018; Kirk, 1954; Klosko, 2017; Muller, 1997; Scruton, 2001; Wright & DeLisi, 2016; Yates & Bartley, 2012).

Progressives describe their beliefs as being in favor of equality and opposed to interest groups (Yates & Bartley, 2012). Their core values can be summarized as, "Everyone gets a fair shot, everyone does his or her fair share and everyone plays by the same rules" (Yates & Bartley, 2012, p. v). American society, according to progressives, is currently unequal. The government is often controlled by the elite, they argue, who mobilize laws to for their economic and social benefit. In turn, powerful and institutionalized interests have created a society where some individuals encounter poverty and oppression while a relative few enjoy society's spoils. While the American ideal of freedom and equality is worthy, they note, these principles have not been reached. Because society remains unequal, Progressives seek to restructure the priorities of government to include increased social spending and increased preferences for those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Progressives, for example, believe individuals have a right to adequate income, to economic protections, to healthcare, education, and to other social provisions. They ascribe to Enlightenment values, notably empiricism and secularism. Social policies, they argue, should be evaluated through scientific knowledge and empirical data. Further, government should be secular and separated from religion, though progressives draw from religious teachings of love and tolerance for their theoretical underpinnings.

Table 1.1: Underlying Assumptions of Political Ideologies

Assumptions about:	Radical/Progressive	Liberal	Conservative
Human nature	Everybody is created equal, and if everybody had equal opportunity they would reach their full potential	Humans are born as individuals with natural, inalienable rights that cannot (and should not) be taken away	Humans are imperfect; act badly when act on impulses
Society	Everybody in society should be equal: "Everyone gets a fair shot, everyone does his or her fair share and everyone plays by the same rules" (p. v)	Originally, society allowed for everybody to enjoy individual rights with system to oversee disputes; now community is an organism that has responsibility to protecting individuals	Humans are dependent on each other; need for socially imposed restraint and identity
Institutions	Can be rigged against some citizens by the elite	Suspicious of restraints and penalties imposed by institutions; recognize now that people are social creatures and communities define them, common good is new kind of freedom	Serve a human need to further human well-being; freedom from oppressive government paramount, but still need government
Role of Government (in U.S.)	Must be freed from influence of special interest groups; government must ensure that everybody is afforded equal opportunity, individual rights, protection from harm, fair market competition	Basic task of any government is to protect equal liberties of its citizens; now recognize that role of government is to allow positive freedoms to flourish	National defense; protections of individual rights and liberties
Tradition	Status quo is inequality, powerful interest groups using law to further own interests	Tradition does not help those in the community who are most disadvantaged	Highlights hard-won wisdom; reinforces institutions
Change	Change must happen to remove the government and economy from the interests of the elite and have them work	Change (regarding duty to provide positive rights) must be viewed not on an individual level, but based on general point of	Slow and measured, only for benefit of society; society is complex and that fact must temper plans

	for everybody; people can be catalysts for change from the bottom up	view; change should help most disadvantaged	for change; affinity for status quo
Freedom/liberty	All deserve and should strive for freedom, opportunity, responsibility, and cooperation; must balance needs to majority with protecting rights of minorities; freedom from undue influences, freedom to live fulfilled and secure lives (which requires adequate income, economic protections, healthcare, education, social provisions)	Roots in natural rights of individuals to have life, liberty, pursuit of happiness; used to ascribe to negative rights (only require non-interference and corresponding duty to not interfere); now ascribe to positive rights (require people to perform other actions beyond not interfering, e.g., providing pension, and corresponding duty to provide it); property rights used to be viewed as inalienable right but now seen as social creation to benefit society	Must consider social conditions that make freedom desirable and consider how freedom can undermine social order; property rights paramount for political order
Groups	Some groups try to hold power over others; they rig the political machine to give themselves power which is careless and corrupt; communities are stronger as a collective than as a group of individuals	Individualism does not allow for groups (just a gathering of individuals); now groups have responsibility to individuals in that positive rights must be provided by members of the group	Different, therefore institutions are different; family most important institution of socialization; inequality needed and legitimate
Duty	Individual achievement and personal contributions are important, must also be ready for collective action; must have care and concern for others, duty to act on those concerns (especially the vulnerable)	Voluntary, contractual social relations; individualism is paramount and duty to not infringe on others' rights; now have duty to provide positive rights	Emphasize importance of duties, obligations, and allegiances; no right to opt out of social contract
Religion	Maintain Enlightenment values	Fine if does not infringe on others' rights	Has social utility: legitimates state,

	of secularism, separation of church and state, religious tolerance; Also use religious teachings on love and tolerance as theoretical underpinnings		brings hope and solace during earthly trials, incentivizes morality
Unintended consequences	Must evaluation policies using evidence and scientific knowledge	Focus on positive; look at what could go right	Focus on negative; occur due to lack of awareness of latent functions of existing practices and institutions

Turning now to political liberalism, it is important to note that the conception of liberalism has evolved since the Enlightenment (Gaus et al., 2018; Klosko, 2017). Early liberal philosophers, including Locke, Mill, and Montesquieu, argued that individuals are born with natural, inalienable, rights—rights that no government or life circumstance could arbitrarily wipe away. Every person, regardless of their status, enjoyed a right to life, to property, to safety, and to pursue their life as they saw fit. In turn, it was the duty, the obligation, of government to protect those rights. Perhaps no better example exists of the connection between the idea of inalienable rights and the duty of government to protect individual rights than can be found in America's constitution, but especially its Bill of Rights.

Liberal philosophy has since evolved to define rights more positively (Gaus et al., 2018; Klosko, 2017). Positive rights are additional rights beyond life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They are benefits that require government to perform actions beyond protecting individual rights, for example, the right to a pension or to healthcare. The evolving definition of rights fundamentally altered the course of American liberalism in that contemporary liberals believe government has a corresponding duty to provide those positive rights. However, who should provide the rights, and how to enforce that duty, is an ideological challenge. As such, community and government have become less of a group of individuals and more of an organism that has the power to determine who should provide those rights.

Contemporary liberalism's new role for government providing positive rights has changed liberal views about the community and specific groups within the community (Gaus et al., 2018; Klosko, 2017). Whereas classical liberalism focused on individual rights and government restraint, contemporary liberalism has shifted its focus onto group identity and the alleged rights of sometimes differing groups. Property rights, once seen as an inalienable right,

are now viewed more as a social creation to benefit society. Liberals believe property can and should be redistributed between groups to the most disadvantaged in the name of both freedom and positive rights. Social justice and egalitarianism are the core values of liberals today (Gaus et al., 2018).

Conservative ideology differs in many ways from liberal and progressive ideology. To a conservative, humans are imperfect and are not perfectable (Kirk, 1954; Muller, 1997; Wright & DeLisi, 2016). Humans have the capacity to act selfishly, even brutally, when incentivized, and thus have the ability to destroy institutions and society. Because of this tendency, societies that restrain the worst sorts of behaviors and that create interdependencies between individuals and institutions are more likely to be sustained over the long-term. Relationships and interpersonal dependencies are built and moderated by institutions and by traditions that bind people together into a broader shared existence.

Conservatives are wary of an oppressive government, but they recognize that societies need government to flourish (Muller, 1997; Scruton, 2001; Wright & DeLisi, 2016). It is through government and other institutions, such as religion or the family, that the corrosive elements of human nature can be contained and where human needs can be met. These institutions evolved over time as our ancestors struggled to find the ingredients necessary for humans to flourish. This is why conservatives place such a strong emphasis on tradition, because tradition represents thousands of years of human trial and error in the pursuit of an orderly, just, and prosperous society.

While this might give the impression that conservatives are unable or unwilling to accept change, this is not necessarily true (Kirk, 1954; Muller, 1997). Conservatives have an affinity for the status quo and believe in traditions and institutions; however, they are not opposed to change.

Conservatives believe in slow and measured change that considers the complexities of society. Change should not occur for the sake of change, but instead should only serve to benefit society. Care should be taken to account for negative or unintended consequences, and no change is preferable to ill-conceived and negative change. Change that does not consider the latent functions of existing practices and institutions has the strong possibility of negative consequences.

Along with conservatives' affinity for institutions and traditions, they also place a premium on duty—that is, duty to one's family, duty to one's children, duty to an employer, or duty to one's country (Kirk, 1954; Muller, 1997). Individuals have a duty to society, for example, to obey laws and mores, and to avoid destructive behavior. Obligations and responsibilities to family, community, and country must be fulfilled with fidelity. While conservatives value freedom and liberty, their underlying assumptions about human nature mean freedom must be tempered by social and political order. Property rights are the key to political order. While conservatives value equality, they recognize that some forms of inequality are needed and legitimate. Hierarchy is natural, authority is vital, and self-sacrifice for the good of the group is duty.

Clearly, progressives, liberals, and conservatives differ in their underlying assumptions and views of the world. Ideology is not just about labels; it represents core beliefs (Jost, 2006). As noted elsewhere, however, there is another mechanism at play that forms and informs an individual's identity: morality (Haidt, 2012). Recent scholarship on the moral foundations of liberals and conservatives has produced some compelling insights.

Moral Foundations of Political Identities

Perhaps more than anyone else, Jonathan Haidt has been at the forefront in understanding the connection between morality and political ideology. According to Haidt (2007, 2012; Graham et al., 2013; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Haidt & Kesebir, 2010), political ideology is linked to the moral foundations that individuals have and share (see also Kertzer, Powers, Rathbun, & Iyer, 2014; Koleva, Graham, Iyer, Ditto, & Haidt, 2012; cf. Smith, Alford, Hibbing, Martin, & Hatemi, 2017). These foundations stem from evolutionary adaptions to biological and social problems, and drive emotion, group formation, and information processing (Graham et al., 2013). As such, political ideology is one facet of an underlying identity that binds people into groups and that blinds them to other viewpoints (Haidt, 2012).

Haidt, in his 2012 book *The Righteous* Mind, suggests there are six psychological systems that inform morality. These psychological systems are like taste buds; they produce "affective reactions of liking or disliking when certain patterns are perceived in the social world" (Haidt & Graham, 2007, p. 104). Different cultures can vary in the degree to which they ascribe to each of these systems (e.g., van Leeuwen, Park, Koenig, & Graham, 2012). Haidt is open to the idea that there are other foundations of morality and hopes future scholarship will illuminate those (Graham et al., 2013). Research to support or disconfirm the theory, and scientific dialog about the measurement of the moral foundations, is ongoing (e.g., Gray & Keeney, 2015; Sinn & Hayes, 2017; Suhler & Churchland, 2011). Currently, the six foundations include harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, purity/sanctity, liberty/oppression (Haidt, 2012; Haidt & Graham, 2007).

Each of these foundations, according to Haidt (2012), originally served some adaptive need. Humans experience individual-level adaptions and group-level adaptions. Humans are, by

their nature, groupish (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Haidt, 2012; Hogg et al., 2008; Williams & Nida, 2011). They naturally form groups and must be successful within the group in order to produce offspring (Haidt, 2012). To produce offspring, they must be attractive to potential mates, and that requires some semblance of within-group codes of behavior. To violate those codes leads to ostracism, which forms a compelling need to understand and behave within the group's norms (Eidelman & Biernat, 2003; Hutchinson, Abrams, Gutierrez, & Viki, 2008; Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001).

Individuals compete with their group members, but their groups also compete with other groups (see also Hogg, 2016). Groups that are disorganized and contain selfish individuals are less successful than other groups. Therefore, norms must be established to ensure the survival of the group as well as the individual (Haidt, 2012). Purely selfish individuals could produce more offspring if it were not for the requirement that the group survive as well. Group survival takes individual sacrifice, which requires the establishment of norms that honor that sacrifice and exact tremendous ingroup costs for violating it. These moral foundations serve to mitigate individual selfishness, protect group members, create norms that ensure the passing on of desirable traits, and enable the group to mobilize against threats from other groups. Each of these foundations, then, served some adaptive purpose.

Harm/care is approval of preventing or mitigating harm, and caring for people (Haidt & Graham, 2007). The original purpose of this foundation was to protect and care for children, who are vulnerable for a long time (Haidt, 2012). Seeing suffering and distress can trigger emotional responses as a violation of the moral foundation, and virtues include kindness and compassion.

The **fairness/reciprocity** moral foundation deals with perceptions of fairness, justice, and trustworthiness (Haidt, 2012). In order to successfully navigate relationships within groups,

individuals must be able to recognize and avoid cheating and deception, as well as to value cooperation. Violations of this foundation elicit feelings of anger or guilt. Fairness/reciprocity also includes concepts like social justice and equality, as well as proportionality. Proportionality is the idea that people receive outcomes that are proportional to the effort they put into obtaining them.

Ingroup/loyalty involves recognizing, trusting, and cooperating with members of the group (Haidt & Graham, 2007). It is a vital aspect of forming cohesive and successful groups (Haidt, 2012). Loyalty, patriotism, and heroism are important, and dissent from the group is often viewed with disdain. This moral foundation is an important part of instilling a willingness to sacrifice for the good of the group, even when it negatively impacts the individual's wellbeing. Violations of this foundation elicit feelings of anger, even rage, at the traitor.

Authority/respect includes admiration of legitimate authority, appreciation of good leadership, and valuing respect, duty, and obedience (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Maintaining proper authority structures allows for predictability and mitigates potential harm within groups, which strengthens the group (Haidt, 2012). Obedience and deference are important virtues under this moral foundation, and violations of this can elicit fear.

Purity/sanctity upholds the sense of the sacred, which helps with binding groups together (Haidt, 2012). It also encourages the avoidance of contaminants, which threatens individual and group wellbeing. Temperance, piety, chastity, and cleanliness are virtues under this foundation, and violations can cause feelings of disgust.

Finally, the **liberty/oppression** foundation involves uniting against oppressors, egalitarianism and antiauthoritarianism (on the left), and a don't-tread-on-me and give-me-liberty attitude (on the right; Haidt, 2012). This foundation can operate in tension with the

Authority foundation, but it can also serve as a check on authority as it causes wariness of tyranny. It serves as an adaption to living in groups with individuals who try to dominate and bully others, and violations can trigger anger, reactance, and a will to fight.

The triggers for these moral foundations might differ today than in previous generations (Haidt, 2012). There are fewer requirements to unite in war, for example, which calls upon the loyalty foundation. Instead, that foundation might be activated by allegiance to your favorite sports team, or patriotism towards your country. While the triggers might have changed, and the adaptive challenges might be less salient, the moral foundations have survived in varying levels (Graham et al., 2013). Traditional, holistic cultures tend to deploy all six of these moral foundations (Graham et al., 2011; van Leeuwen et al., 2012). WEIRD (western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic) nations, a relatively new phenomenon, tend to focus mostly on the harm/care and fairness/reciprocity foundations (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012). Haidt's (2012) metaphor of the taste buds allows for different cultures (or cuisines) to activate different flavors to suit their moral dish.

In the United States, liberals and conservatives differ in how they construct their moral matrices (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Haidt, 2007, 2012; Haidt & Graham, 2007). Research has found that liberals tend to view information and policy through the care/harm foundation, while the moral matrix of conservatives relies on varying levels of all six foundations. Indeed, empirical tests have generally found differences between the moral matrices of liberals and conservatives. For example, Lewis and Bates (2011) found that the personality traits of agreeableness, neuroticism, and openness are correlated with the moral foundations of care and fairness. Authority, loyalty, and sanctity are correlated with extraversion, low openness, and conscientiousness. Openness has been found to be correlated with liberal ideology, and

conscientiousness has been correlated with conservative ideology, so these findings would suggest liberals and conservatives have different moral matrices (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Sibley et al., 2012). Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, and Peterson (2010) found similar correlations between the moral foundations and personality traits.

However, there is some scholarship that suggests Haidt's theory of moral foundations is not as salient as the above research findings would suggest. Smith and colleagues (2017) investigated the stability of moral foundations using longitudinal data. If these moral foundations are heritable and innate, as Haidt seems to argue, then Smith et al. posit they should be stable. Using a sample of twins and their families in Australia, the researchers deployed a modified version of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) at Wave 1, and then another modified MFQ again 18-24 months later at Wave 2. The sample population and data collection were not exactly the same between the two waves, and the study was not designed as a formal panel study. However, the authors claimed the overlapping samples allowed for inferences regarding longitudinal change in moral foundations and political attitudes. These moral foundations appeared less stable than predicted. Further, changes to respondents' moral matrices did not correspond to changes in political ideology. Finally, they used twins to determine the heritability of the moral foundations and found that the heritability was not significantly different from zero. The authors concluded that moral foundations might be more of a state rather than a trait, and that the Moral Foundations Questionnaires "tap into a *contextualized* more than a dispositional dimension of personality (Smith et al., 2017, p. 435, original emphasis).

This has the potential to be a damning finding for the moral foundation theory. However, there are some concerns about how Smith's research team measured the moral foundations (Haidt, 2016a). Haidt's research team spent years developing a validated and reliable measure of

moral foundations, called the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ). The original MFQ contained 40 items, including 20 relevance questions (e.g., "'Whether or not some people were treated differently from others' for fairness"; Graham et al., 2011, p. 369). The other 20 questions stemmed from moral judgments (e.g., asking respondents how much money they would have to be paid in order to engage in conduct that violates the moral foundation). When the scale was originally developed, there were five foundations (liberty had not been recognized yet), so there were four relevance and four judgement items for each of the five foundations. When Graham and colleagues (2011) assessed the measures, they found that the scale was still valid and reliable if some items were dropped (the worst relevance and judgment item for each foundation), but the scale should not drop below 30 items (Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, 2016a).

Unfortunately, Smith's research team (2017) used a MFQ with only 10 items for Wave 1. This instrument only had two questions for each of the five foundations. Haidt (2016a) argued this simply was not a robust enough measure to reliability tap into the moral foundations. Further, the MFQ for Wave 2 consisted of 20 items (four for each foundation) that included ten relevancy and ten judgment items. In a rejoinder to the original study, Haidt (2016a) was able to show large drops in reliability and correlations with political ideology using a 10-item scale. Haidt concluded Smith's research team (2017) overstated their conclusion that moral foundation theory was not supported.

Another area of criticism is that the theory does not accurately capture moral foundations (Graham et al., 2013). As a result of the differing moral foundations between partisans, conservatives define morality in terms that liberals might not recognize as moral (or even view as immoral; e.g., Kugler, Jost, & Noorbaloochi, 2014; Sinn & Hayes, 2017; Van de Vyver, Houston, Abrams, & Vasiljevic, 2016). Different moral matrices facilitate stereotypes of liberals

and conservatives that are often inaccurate. Graham's research team (2012), for example, asked liberals and conservatives to fill out the Moral Foundations Questionnaire with how they thought a typical liberal or conservative would answer. They found that respondents exaggerated the presence or absence of moral foundations in both the ingroup and outgroup. However, conservatives and moderates tended to be more accurate than liberals in estimates of the outgroup foundations. For example, liberals would say that conservatives have less levels of the care and fairness foundation than they do. In short, liberal characterize conservatives as lacking the moral foundations of care and fairness, even though conservatives do include those in their moral matrices. These findings suggest that while conservatives can understand the moral foundations of liberals because they share these same foundations, liberals might not understand conservatives because conservatives have foundations that liberals do not. Partisan stereotypes might help to explain some of the vehement criticisms of the moral foundations themselves.

Morality, according to Haidt (2007, 2012), is binding and blinding. Humans are unique in the animal kingdom that they can live and flourish amongst lots of their peers (Haidt, 2007). Some animals are able to live in small groups. Fewer animals are able to live in large groups. Those animals who are able to live in large groups are biologically related. They include bees and termites, all of which focus breeding in a single pair, which requires strong intragroup cooperation for the entire group to survive. Humans, however, are different. We do not focus breeding into one pair, and yet we can still coexist with each other (Haidt, 2007). What has allowed widespread cooperation between biologically unrelated individuals? According to Haidt (2012), it was the binding characteristics linked to the development of morality. Loyalty, authority, and sanctity foundations are particularly binding, he argues, because these moral matrices elevate for individuals beliefs that will eventually be held sacred (Graham et al., 2009;

Haidt, 2011). These are the values we treat as profound and transcendent because they bind us together in a deeply meaningful, even vital, way. Sacred values require individuals to honor and uphold them.

Sacred values, notes Haidt (2011: para. 14), "……. distorts thinking. Sacred values bind teams together, then blinds them to the truth" (see also Horowitz, Haynor, & Kickham, in press; Winegard & Winegard, 2018). This is because sacred values come with strong emotive reactions when called into question or when violated. These emotions drive decisions to act, according to Haidt, because emotions occur temporally prior to cognitive decisions (Baumeister et al., 2007; Crano & Prislin, 2006). Indeed, Haidt (2012) argues the idea that we are logical in our thinking or devoid of emotion, or that we should be devoid of emotion, is incorrect. For Haidt, emotional intuitions come first, before decisions, and in all but the fewest of examples, do decisions depart from the initial moral intuition. We might not realize moral intuitions are steering our thinking, but they are. To quote Haidt (2012: p. 45), "moral judgement is a cognitive process."

Haidt (2012) uses the metaphor of the elephant and the rider. The elephant is our emotional response (sometimes referred to as System 1 thinking; Graham et al., 2013). It is more aptly called intuition, which includes the little flashes of moral judgments and decisions (not all of those flashes manifest into full-blown emotion; Haidt, 2012). The rider is our logical cognition (System 2 thinking; Graham et al., 2013). We like to think the rider is steering the elephant. The rider could have control over the elephant and steer it to where the rider wants to go, but the elephant is quite big and the rider is quite small (Evans, 2010; Stanovich & Toplak, 2012; Yuan, 2018). If the elephant does not want to be steered, then it is not going to be (Haidt, 2012). Often, the rider is just along for the ride and will go where the elephant takes him. Indeed, the rider serves more as the elephant's eyes, able to look down the road a bit father, and the elephant's

spokesperson, able to justify why the elephant just did something, than as the navigator of the elephant. This metaphor suggests the power of intuition is not to be discounted. Intuition often takes us where we want to go, with reasoning often just along for the ride.

This is not necessarily a problem. However, we still believe we are logical people. Why? According to Haidt (2012), intuition (or the elephant) comes first, reasoning (the rider) comes second. We often engage in reasoning to justify our intuition. We feel flashes of emotion, judgement, or decision, and then use our rational logic to justify and explain those flashes. Much of our cognitive processing is just ex post facto justifications for the emotional responses we get from moral transgressions.

We see this phenomenon in another body of literature, namely the research on motivated reasoning. Motivated reasoning tells us that we are all motivated towards a certain outcome (Kahan, 2007; Kunda, 1990; Kunda & Sinclair, 1999; Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979; Taber & Lodge, 2016). We have end goals or opinions or beliefs that we would like to see come to fruition. Our processes to achieve that end goal are influenced by our desire to see it realized (Kunda, 1990). This does not mean that we overtly influence those processes. We often subconsciously assist the process in realizing the outcome we desire (Jussim, Crawford, Stevens, Anglin, & Duarte, 2016).

We do this in a variety of ways, but perhaps the mostly commonly acknowledged way is through heuristics (Ceci & Williams, 2018). These biases include selective perception where witnesses can perceive the same event differently, illusion of understanding bias where people overestimate the depth of their understanding, and blind-spot bias where individuals view the other side as being more biased than their own. Individuals believe their ingroup members' arguments are better, collect information that confirms their pre-held views, and believe they are

more enlightened than opponents. Further, we are predisposed to believe the behavior that we (and our peers) find honorable is beneficial to society, while the behavior we do not like is detrimental to society (Kahan, Jenkins-Smith, & Braman, 2011).

Jussim and colleagues (2016) argue that social scientists with moral agendas engage in what they call questionable interpretive practices. Questionable interpretive practices occur when researchers engage in confirmation biases during the interpretation of the data, and include blind spots, selective preference, and phantom facts. Blind spots are when a researcher overlooks data and studies that conflict with the conclusion the individual wants. Selective preference occurs when researchers downplay, criticize, or dismiss studies that are inconsistent with the conclusions they want, while also highlighting studies of similar quality that do support the conclusion. Finally, phantom facts emerge when researchers declare something to be true without providing empirical evidence.

As Haidt (2012) notes, when humans want to believe something, they seek out evidence they can use to support that belief. As soon as they find something (even something that is not very rigorously scientific), they stop looking. The "evidence" confirms their belief. When humans do not want to believe something, they search for contrary evidence. If we find evidence to dismiss that belief we do not want to believe, then we can dismiss it. Intuitions come first, reasoning second.

These heuristics influence what information we seek out and the weight we give conflicting pieces of information (Lord et al., 1979). In politically motivated reasoning, individuals tend to value information that confirms their political stances, and they discount information that would threaten those stances (Cohen, 2003; Kahan, 2007). They find the talking points that summarize their beliefs and mock opposing talking points (e.g., Gregory, 2012). They

trust and legitimize media that is favorable to their causes and distrust media that is unfavorable (e.g., O'Reilly, 2016; Schram & Fording, 2018). They see their team as the good guys, and the opposing team as the bad guys (e.g., Allen, 2017; Hawkins, 2015). They are moral, and the others are immoral (e.g., Brown, 2017; Friedersdorf, 2017). The elephant is leading the rider.

Political Identity Groups

In Haidt's (2011: para. 16) talk, he went on to explain, "But if it's true that morality binds and blinds, then no partisan community is based in reality. If a group circles around sacred values, they'll evolve into a tribal moral community. They'll embrace science whenever it supports their sacred values, but they'll ditch or distort it as soon as it threatens a sacred value." There is a strong social element to groups of people who share underlying philosophical and epistemological views (DiMaggio, Evans, & Bryson, 1996). They bond over similarities and police others within group, becoming less tolerant of deviation (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). There is also competition between groups (Haidt, 2012). This pushes groups farther apart, which leads to further ingroup loyalties and outgroup biases (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004; Singer et al., in press). These biases can be subtle, but group members are sensitive to adhering to and honoring sacred values (e.g., Horowitz et al., in press; Redding, 2013; Winegard & Winegard, 2018). This further binds individuals to the group, making deviation from the group more profane and immoral (Haidt, 2011).

Politics is not a selfish endeavor. Instead, it is groupish. Our political stances serve as badges of group membership (Haidt, 2012). Liberals and conservatives have sacred values that are informed by their moral matrices. These sacred values are reflected in the underlying assumptions of each ideology, and they serve to bind and blind individuals along partisan lines.

We identify within our partisan groups; they adhere to our sacred values, and their sacred values become ours. Our friends, family, significant others, and neighbors all belong to the same TMC. Studies of social homophily show that most people's friends and family have the same political ideology (Martin et al., 1986; McPherson et al., 2001). People date people from the same partisan group (Alford, Hatemi, Hibbing, Martin, & Eaves, 2011). Cross-party marriages are relatively rare (Rosenfeld, Reuben, & Falcon, 2011). There is even evidence of property homophily, where surrounding homeowners share political ideology (Bishop, 2008). Clearly political identity sorts us into groups, and the sacred values that bind us to those groups reinforce our partisanship.

Motivated reasoning operates at the group level too. We are primed to be sensitive to our group norms (Haidt, 2012). We might be selfish individuals, but we are also clannish and desperately need to belong (Pickett & Brewer, 2005). Studies on social exclusion show profound ill effects from being cast out of our groups (Bernstein, 2016; Williams, Forgas, & von Hippel, 2005). For example, in one study of people with heart failure, social isolation significantly predicted mortality (Friedmann et al., 2006). Lack of social support and integration is also linked to depression (Barnett & Gotlib, 1988). Adhering to the group's norms and identity is both moral and vital. We are motivated towards an end goal of group solidarity and wellbeing (Malesevic, 2015). Therefore, we deploy our motivated reasoning towards outcomes that ascribe to and strengthen our group identity (Nisbet, Cooper, & Garrett, 2015). This is evident in current conflicts between liberals and conservatives. We are blinded.

Each side, liberal and conservative, likes their group and dislikes the other group (Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012; Pietraszewski, Curry, Petersen, Cosmides, & Tooby, 2015; van Prooijen & Krouwel, 2017). Everybody uses motivated reasoning (Kahan, 2013; Nisbet et al.,

2015; Uhlmann, Pizarro, Tennenbaum, & Ditto, 2009). This means it is easy to pick out inconsistencies and the blindness of the other group. And it means it is really difficult to see our own biases. Both groups have ideological inconsistencies, such as being for/against abortion but also against/for the death penalty (Kahan, 2007). Both sides ignore science when it is not convenient to their group identity, and each group is quick to point out when the other side ignores science (Ditto et al., in press; Dixon & Hubner, 2018; Kahan et al., 2011; Scheitle, 2018; Suhay & Druckman, 2015). Both groups explain away their leaders' bad behavior but are quick to condemn that same behavior in the opposing group's leaders (e.g., Lowry, 2018).

Research on the Origins of Political Identity

Our political labels both shape and are shaped by our moral foundations, moral foundations that differ between conservatives and liberals. However, if moral foundations exist, if motivated reasoning occurs, then how did they emerge in humans and why have they remained with us over time? Efforts to understand the emergence and transmission of political ideology have become an area of study in political science. Political science has historically ignored the role of biology in human political beliefs. However, scholars have recently recognized the need to combine biology and political science to advance our understanding of political identities (Fowler & Schreiber, 2008; Hatemi & McDermott, 2012; Smith et al., 2012). Political identities, they are finding, are innate and fundamental to human existence.

Studies of twins have found that political ideology and participation in political groups is highly heritable (Alford, Funk, & Hibbing, 2005; Dawes et al., 2014; Fowler, Baker, & Dawes, 2008; Oskarsson et al., 2015). Alford and colleagues (2005), for example, compared the correlations between political ideology of monozygotic and dizygotic twins by using a sample of thousands of twin pairs in Virginia as well as twins recruited with the help of AARP. The

researchers measured political ideology using the Wilson-Patterson (W-P) Attitude Inventory, which asks respondent to indicate agreement, disagreement, or uncertainty with short phrases (e.g., death penalty, royalty, disarmament, socialism). Alford's team (2005) found that conservative beliefs have a heritability of .43, while the estimate for the influence of the shared environment is .22, and the estimate for the unshared environment is .35.

Other research teams have used twin studies to come to similar conclusions, including studying 2,346 twin pairs in Sweden (Dawes et al., 2014), 396 twins in Los Angeles (Fowler et al., 2008), and 973 complete male same-sex twin pairs again in Sweden (Oskarsson et al., 2015). Behaviors follow similar patterns as political ideology of having a genetic basis. For example, one study of voter turnout in Los Angeles County matched voter registration records with the twin registry (Fowler et al., 2008). To control for socioeconomic status, the research team used the twins' addresses to look up estimated home values. The team then compared monozygotic and dizygotic twins to show heritability estimates for the influence of genes, shared environment, and unshared environment to be .53, .35, and .12, respectively (Fowler et al., 2008). The strength of partisan attachment also has a moderate heritability of .46, though this same study found that the heritability of party choice is low (Settle, Dawes, & Fowler, 2009).

One study of specific genetic links to political ideology used genome-wide linkage to find possible links to NMDA and glutamate related receptors (Hatemi et al., 2011). The researchers measured political ideology of an all-white sample with a 50-item scale similar to the Wilson-Patterson Inventory. The link between political ideology and the NMDA receptor is particularly noteworthy because NMDA receptor activity has been linked to cognitive performance, thought organization, information processing, capacity for abstract thought, and flexibility of opinion. Further, the study found political ideology has a suggestive link to

serotonin receptors, which can serve to regulate fear, stress, and anxiety. Hatemi and colleagues (2011) suggest these findings might explain liberal-conservative differences in cognition and physiology.

Individuals do have different physiologies, which can interact with environment to facilitate political beliefs (Dodd et al., 2012). For example, Smith, Oxley, Hibbing, Alford, and Hibbing (2011) found that people with greater involuntary physiological responses to disgusting images (measured through skin conductance levels) are more likely to self-identify as conservative. People will seek out and shape environments that appease their pre-existing physiological tendencies (Dodd et al., 2012). More conservative people, then, might respond more to aversive stimuli, and place an emphasis on purity and authority to do so. Liberals, who believe in minimizing harm and maximizing equality, respond to more appetitive stimuli. In one study, for example, researchers found that conservative participants had higher physiological reactions to sudden noises and threatening visual images (Oxley et al., 2008).

In another study, Shook and Fazio (2009) investigated how liberals and conservatives differ in their exploration during a computer game. Participants' political ideology was measured using belief statements about clearly identifiable policy stances as well as with a political self-identification item. They then were asked to play a computer game where they had to accept or reject beans. Each bean held a positive or negative value, and the research participants, students in an introductory psychology course, had to select the beans with the positive values while rejecting the beans with the negative values. Each game started at 50 points. The participant lost the game if their score reached 0, and they won if their score reached 100. Shook and Fazio (2009) found that liberals and conservatives played the game differently. Conservatives tended to approach fewer beans in the game than liberals, adopting a more cautious strategy. Further, there

was a learning asymmetry where conservative students "tended to correctly identify more negative beans, but to miscategorize relatively more positive beans as negative" (Shook & Fazio, 2009, p. 997).

Studies of brain structure and function also show differences between conservatives and liberals (Jost, Nam, Amodio, & Van Bavel, 2014; Kanai, Feilden, Firth, & Rees, 2011). For example, Kanai and colleagues (2011) asked respondents about their self-identified political ideology using a 5-point scale from "very liberal" to "very conservative." They then measured the brain structures of the 90 healthy young adults using magnetic resonance imaging. The research team found a significant association between brain structure and political ideology. More liberal individuals had increased volume of gray matter in their anterior cingulate cortex, whereas the right amygdala had increased volume of gray matter in conservative individuals. Kanai and colleagues (2011) argue the amygdala is responsible for fear and uncertainty processing, and that might explain why conservatives are driven to reduce fear (Jost et al., 2007).

In another study, participants' brain activity was measured while engaging in risk-taking behavior (Schreiber et al., 2013). The researchers then assessed the voter registration records (Democrat or Republican) for each participant. The researchers then used functional brain imaging while participants played a risk-taking game. The participants were presented three numbers for one second each. They had to press a button during the presentation of one of the numbers to gain or lose money. If they pressed the button while the first number showed, they would be guaranteed a gain of 20 cents. If they pressed the button during either of the next two numbers, they could either gain or lose 40 or 80 cents. The game required participants to choose between a lower, safer payoff, and a higher and riskier payoff. Democrats were found to have higher activity levels in their left posterior insula during the risk-taking behavior. Republicans,

however, activated their right amygdala during the risk-taking behavior. While Democrats and Republicans engaged in similar levels of risk-taking behavior, their brain functions differed. Schreiber's team (2013) concluded that the neural processes of evaluations of risk-taking was different for conservatives and liberals.

There are some innate, heritable, biological differences between liberals and conservatives. This does not mean anybody is doomed to be one or the other. Environment still matters. These underlying differences offer core predispositions, which then interact with the environment (Funk et al., 2013). Individuals use these predispositions and experiences to navigate the world around them. They find environments and groups that fit their predispositions (Haidt, 2012). Those groups are united by shared propensities and inform the individual's self-narrative and identity. This reinforces the individual's place in the group.

In summary, people are biologically predisposed towards certain political orientations. We are inherently groupish. Biology, human nature, and environment combine to facilitate the formation of groups. These groups create adaptive challenges that require norms and behavioral expectations for individual and group success. This created an evolutionary need for moral foundations. Morality binds and blinds individuals into those groups, known as tribal moral communities. These TMCs create sacred beliefs, objects, and principles. Violation of those sacred principles create intuitive flashes (sometimes even eliciting full-blown emotions), which then drive how we think about issues. We are motivated to seek out information that confirms the group views and reiterates our own morality, all while distancing the other group. The other group is immoral and profane.

The Emergence of the Academic Tribal Moral Community

Immediately after the Civil War (1875-1895) American universities, which had traditionally focused on liberal arts and catered to societies elites, increased in number and in intellectual direction (Bender, 1997). Land grant colleges emerged and were charged with educating a broader base of students in more practical pursuits, such as military science and agriculture. Where prior institutions were largely insulated from broader social forces, land grant institutions and the new research university were embedded in local networks of political influence. These new universities were not designed to cater to the privileged, nor were they to focus on esoteric matters of little practical import. They were, instead, designed to educate the masses and to do this, they had to broaden their focus away from traditional academic pursuits.

Faculty, too, changed. Professors at elite universities were often highly educated, had studied overseas, and were often engaged in highly specialized, fact-based research (Bender, 1997, p. 20). The advent of the land grant institution and the new research university, however, invited a broader array of faculty. These faculty would eventually be trained primarily in the United States, and they would teach and conduct research in areas typically avoided by professors at elite schools. Professors would no longer come primarily from families high in social status nor would they limit their scholarly work to intellectually important but practically limited matters. They would, instead, engage communities directly through social and political activism.

Fueled by the G.I. Bill, enrollment in universities increased ten-fold between 1940 and 1990 (Bender, 1997). In 1950, federal government support for higher education equaled about $2.2 billion. By 1991, that number had increased to about $31 billion. In 2013, the federal government spent approximately $75.6 billion on higher education (Schroeder et al., 2015).

Students have become increasingly representative of the general population, rather than being predominately upper middle class like before WWII. The G.I. Bill influenced both student enrollment and governmental funding (Bender, 1997; Bound & Turner, 2002). According to Bender (1997: p. 25), "in 1947-1948, the Veterans Administration paid the tuition for almost half the male college students in the United States, and by 1962 higher education had received $5 billion from that source on behalf of veterans of World War II and the Korean War." The number of institutions with major research stature and graduate training also increased during this time.

Governmental spending on higher education rose from $2.2 billion in 1950 to $31 billion in 1991 (Bender, 1997). The Cold War brought heavy governmental funding to research and scholarship. The support of the United States government and major foundations developed an international scholarly community, with particularly high visibility for American scholars. The U.S. government's funding bought it an important international role in research. Academics evolved from a genteel profession to being diverse, worldly, and professionally ambitious.

With federal funds came a nationalization of higher education (Bender, 1997). This trend established a single standard for excellence and internalized meritocratic standards. Universities gained prestige by hiring more elite scholars. To draw in the best and brightest minds, universities were required to instill in their institutions that which faculty valued, such as better research opportunities, more qualified colleagues and students, and freedom to conduct research. Universities established cultures of stronger research, firmer autonomy, and professionalism based in science. The standard for professionalism was the development of the discipline and training of students for the discipline. Infringing religious and political ideologies were worrisome. An influx of Jewish (and some Catholic) scholars ended the protestant dominance of American universities from earlier eras. Instead of using religion as the moral authority to hold

university communities together, the ideal of inquiry and scholarship would instead be the unifying authority. Emphasis on the scientific method and objectivity increased.

Though academic culture has focused on scientific objectivism and knowledge, politics have always had a home in the ivory tower. As early as 1947, the President's Commission on Higher Education focused on economic and racial barriers to equal education (Bender, 1997). The commissioners argued that a "liberal education" has an aristocratic lineage, and universities need to turn instead to a "general education" with relevancy to the demands of society. Universities began to turn inward to study the United States. This Americanization became a staging ground for initiatives like African-American studies, women's studies, and ethnic studies. McCarthyism and the Cold War also caused academics to make their work less vulnerable to attack by altering language and topics of study. The emphasis on scientific objectivity "served scholars in a deeper way: it legitimated political interventions by denying any political character to the act" (Bender, 1997, p. 28).

Before the 1960s, social criticisms had mostly described suburban life, with white, middle-class consumers (Bender, 1997). The events of the 1960s shifted focus of social criticism to life-style, war, class, race, ethnicity, and gender. Riots occurred in cities. University campuses were divided as academics became radicalized or retreated towards conservativism. There was no longer a middle ground. Governmental funding had left universities open to criticism that researchers were in bed with the government. Radical critics blamed universities for complicity in the war and conservatives grew increasingly skeptical about state support for research (except in the defense-related category). The economic conditions of the 1970s caused a crisis of legitimacy for the economics field. Academic experts within the government were seen as part of the problem.

This era saw a weakening of traditional hierarchies and authorities, as evidenced by students and faculty dressing alike after the 1960s (Bender, 1997). Many liberal and radical academics redefined politics in cultural terms, making academic culture the focal point of political energy. According to Bender (1997: p. 39), "There was also a celebration, often quite romantic, of the everyday life of ordinary folk and marginal peoples. Elitism became a pervasive worry, and this sensitivity weakened a commitment to the intellectual culture and disciplinary traditions that were (and are) the principal resources of academic intellect." The politicization of academics brought issues of race, class, and gender into their work. A mixture of a serious job shortage after about 1971 and affirmative action brought new types of scholars into universities than had been seen previously, mainly women and African-Americans. This further changed the academic culture, promoting greater attention to issues of race, class, and gender (Rhode, 2006).

This atmosphere facilitated the creation of new race/ethnic and women's studies programs (Ginsberg, 2008; Rojas, 2007; Soldatenko, 2009). These programs grew naturally out of the women's liberation movement, the Civil Rights movement, urban violence, and protests against the Vietnam War (Fong, 2008; Ginsberg, 2008). Student protestors demanded these programs (Rojas, 2007). Activists contested the current academic system, wanting instead to design a new body of knowledge that explained their condition (Soldatenko, 2009). This research focus required the activists to carve a space out of higher education that could be controlled and driven by minorities. Universities saw exponential growth in these programs, as 300 new women's studies programs were founded between 1970 and 1980 (Ginsberg, 2008). That growth coincided with federal policies like Title IX and the Women's Educational Equity Act. Black studies programs established legitimacy within their institutions during this same timeframe (Rojas, 2007).

The goal of these programs was to transform the university so that minorities and women no longer felt marginalized or invisible (Ginsberg, 2008). Broader social change was paramount. These academic programs had their own mission statements (Ginsberg, 2008; Scott, 2008). Not only did individuals in these programs seek to learn about themselves, but they were "actively *creating* and *owning* knowledge based on their own personal and political experiences" (Ginsberg, 2008, p. 10, original emphasis). Research in ethnic studies focuses on the community, has interpretive/political and protective agendas, focuses on social change, and is committed to an intellectual-political practice (Fong, 2008; Takagi, 2015). The purpose of research in these programs is "understanding the world-as-it-is to transform it into the-world-as-we-think-it should-be" (Takagi, 2015, p. 101). This is an inherently liberal and progressive mission.

Ethnic and gender studies programs remain the hotbed of campus progressivism. They are overtly political, and their politics are overtly change-driven. However, other academic fields also contain a disproportionate number of liberals and progressives too, especially in the humanities and social sciences (Klein & Stern, 2009; Rothman & Lichter, 2009). In the humanities, the ratio of liberals to conservatives is approximately 10.3 to 1 (Rothman et al., 2005). The social sciences have large ratios too. For example, the ratio of Democrats to Republicans in sociology ranges anywhere between 19.5 and 59 to 1 (Gross & Simmons, 2007; Rothman et al., 2005). In criminology, Democrats outnumber Republicans 16 to 1, and liberals outnumber conservatives 33 to 1 (Wright, 2018). Though in an earlier study of criminologists, liberals outnumbered conservatives 12.6 to 1 (moderates were not included in the calculation; Cooper et al., 2010).

Another study of political disparities in schools in California found similar patterns. Across the California schools studied, the humanities averaged a 10 to 1 ratio (Cardiff & Klein,

2005). The business schools averaged a 1.3 to 1 ratio of Democrats to Republicans. Sociology departments in California had 44 Democrats for every 1 Republican (Cardiff & Klein, 2005). While departments outside the gender and ethnic studies realm might have less overt of political missions, the political disparities in the humanities and social sciences indicate an undercurrent of ideology.

During the 1950s to 1970s, the ratios of Democrats to Republicans across academia was between 1.3 and 2.6, though there were regional and school-type differences in those ratios (Eitzen & Maranell, 1968; Klein & Stern, 2009). Partisan disparity, however, has grown wider over time (Gross & Simmons, 2007; Klein & Stern, 2009; Rothman et al., 2005; Tobin & Weinberg, 2006). Langbert (2018), for example, investigated the party affiliations of PhD-holding, tenure-track faculty from 51 of the 66 top-ranked liberal arts colleges in the country. He found that the average Democrat to Republican ratio across institutions was 10.4 to 1. When he removed two military colleges from the sample, the average ratio was 12.7 to 1. In fact, in 39% of colleges in his sample, there were zero Republicans. Most of the rest of the colleges had so few Republicans to render the calculation statistically negligible. As Langbert (2018: para. 1) noted, "Thus, 78.2 percent of the academic departments in my sample have either zero Republicans, or so few as to make no difference."

These remarkable differences become all the more glaring when compared to the political distribution found in American society, where liberals and conservatives are about evenly split, with slightly more conservatives (35% conservatives versus 26% liberals; Saad, 2018). Duarte and colleagues (2015) offer an in-depth discussion of possible reasons why this disparity has emerged. Some scholars, for example, have argued that liberals are smarter than conservatives, and so having more liberals in higher education makes sense. Duarte's research team, however,

traced the evidence and showed that is not true empirically. There might, however, be personality differences between liberals and conservatives that might make liberals a better fit for academia. For example, liberals' higher Openness characteristic might make them more geared towards academia. Conversely, conservatives might be attracted to other careers with more earning potential. Duarte et al. (2015) do conclude there is self-selection. However, they also recognize that perhaps the internal structure of academia is more welcoming to liberals than to conservatives (e.g., Gross & Fosse, 2012). The climate can be hostile to conservatives, and there is some evidence that conservatives are discriminated against in hiring and tenure decisions (e.g., Honeycutt & Freberg, 2017; Inbar & Lammers, 2012). All of these possibilities strongly suggest that group processes are at work to underscore liberal/conservative differences that maintain ingroup loyalties and outgroup dislike.

Social Psychology and the Discovery of Academic Political Biases

There are clear reasons to believe that the humanities and the social sciences have been influenced by tribal moral biases. These biases may have filtered through various disciplines and through specific bodies of evidence. Owing much to Haidt and his colleagues, several social psychologists have sought to examine whether these biases have penetrated their discipline, and if so, the degree to which tribal moral biases have infiltrated into research conclusions generated by social psychologists. To begin, these psychologists examined bodies of research most likely to hold tribal biases—that is, research into conservatives.

It's fair to say that psychology has long studied conservativism as though it were an intellectual tradition marred by bigotry, racism, and other negative characteristics (Duarte et al., 2015). These labels and descriptors should, if biases are operative, show in how psychologists describe conservatives, and conversely liberals, and in their explanations for left-right

differences. Indeed, a large body of scholarly work has arisen in the last sixty years that tests various explanations of conservativism, including studies in personality differences, particularly in the "Big Five" personality factors (Block & Block, 2006; Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008; Hatemi & Verhulst, 2015; McClosky, 1958), in Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 2006), and Jost and colleagues' (2003) social-cognitive motives.

First, Big Five theorists suggest that personality is organized around five core dimensions: Extraversion (warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, outgoing), Agreeableness (trust, altruism, straightforwardness, sympathetic, kind), Conscientiousness (competence, dutifulness, order, neat, hardworking), Neuroticism (anxiety, depression, hostility, nervous, tense), and Openness to Experience (fantasy, feelings, aesthetics, intellectual, philosophical; McCrae & Costa, 1996; Mondak, Hibbing, Canache, Seligson, & Anderson, 2010; Sibley et al., 2012). The body of literature on the relationship between the Big Five personality traits and political identity is vast and yields mixed results. However, meta-analyses show some generally consistent, though extremely weak and uncompelling, findings (Jost et al., 2003; Sibley et al., 2012). Openness to experience, for example, is consistently (though weakly) associated with liberal viewpoints. Researchers argue that people's interest in novelty relates to their support for cultural diversity, which is a more liberal viewpoint (Sibley et al., 2012). Jost et al. (2007), for example, argues that Openness is associated with curiosity and with an appreciation for ambiguity—traits he clearly views as positive and as linked to political liberalism. Conversely, Conscientiousness, which is indicated by high levels of self-control, meeting social and professional expectations, and conforming to social mores and laws, is weakly correlated with conservativism. These traits, however, are often described by researchers in very negative terms: Conservatives score higher on Conscientiousness, they argue, because conservatives accept the

status quo, because they do not appreciate ambiguity, and because they seek simple explanations and solutions to complex problems (Sibley et al., 2012).

Another conceptualization of conservatism, called motivated social cognition or the uncertainty-threat model, argues there are two core aspects that dictate a person's placement on the liberal-conservative dimension: "(a) acceptance versus rejection of inequality and (b) preference for social change vs. preservation of the societal status quo" (Carney et al., 2008, p. 808). Adoption of political beliefs satisfies motivational needs within a person, such as conservatism defending against threat and uncertainty (Hirsh et al., 2010; Jost et al., 2003). Conservatives, the theory argues, resist change and accept inequality as a way of reducing uncertainty and threat, as it allows an individual to maintain what is familiar and known (Jost et al., 2007). People who are not driven by psychological needs to reduce uncertainty and threat tend to be more liberal. Under this theory, the management of threat and uncertainty predicts political conservativism.

Notice how Jost characterizes conservatives in entirely negative terms—that is, they accept inequality and they resist change. Perhaps not surprisingly, Jost and colleagues (2003) found that conservativism is associated with uncertainty avoidance; need for order, structure, and closure; fear of threat; dogmatism; intolerance of ambiguity; mortality salience; and system instability. The point is, his theory prioritizes negative traits that he attributes to conservatives to explain why, in his work, conservatives are more bigoted, prejudicial, and dim witted than are political liberals.

Finally, a particularly egregious area of study into conservative pathology can be found in the large literature on what is called right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). Altemeyer (2006), the father of the theory of RWA, conceptualizes authoritarians as having a high degree of

submission to their authority, having high levels of aggression to support authority, and being highly conventional. These preferences, he argues, form conservative views on social relationships and on the nature of government. Authoritarians, he argues, embrace the use of force to maintain traditional social hierarchies and, because they enjoy the benefits of this hierarchy, they are more likely to defer to those in charge. Conservatives, he notes, are particularly prone to embrace authoritarian proclivities, not liberals.

Various scholars have embraced the idea of RWA and the alleged link between authoritarianism and conservativism. For instance, Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, and Heled (2010) argue that RWA is a multidimensional construct of social attitudes, and that submission to authority represents the conservative values that support the status quo. Authoritarians, they argue, are socially conservative, punitive, and traditionalist. As described by Thorisdottir and Jost (2011: p. 786), "Authoritarianism is a syndrome characterized by overemphasis on submission and identification with strong leaders, rigid conformity to conventional norms and rejection of those who violate them, cognitive rigidity, ethnocentric prejudice, right-wing orientation, and rejection of the subjective and tender-minded."

Many scholars unequivocally assert that authoritarianism is undesirable, and people who hold authoritarian values are pathological. Some scholars, however, note that such stances are overly broad. Thomas (2013), for example, notes almost half of the American public is conservative, and making general statements about their personality structures is risky and inappropriate for the scientific enterprise. Another study finds that right-wing authoritarianism is associated with family relationships, general altruism, and strong religiosity (Sinn & Hayes, in press). Those who scored high on authoritarianism, however, also engaged in coalition building, social networking and other prosocial behaviors.

Other critiques of RWA have shown that the original RWA scales were constructed in a way where only conservatives could be associated with RWA. For example, measures on the RWA scale include, "Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us" and "The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas" (Altemeyer, 2006, p. 11). Because these items appeal to conservatives' preferences for social order and tradition, measures of RWA would consistently be associated with conservativism. Conversely, recent scholarship has argued that dogmatism, intolerance, and authoritarianism is actually symmetrical, where liberals and conservatives both express these attributes (Conway et al., 2016; Crawford, 2012; Crawford & Pilanski, 2014; Jussim et al., 2016). Indeed, when a left-wing authoritarian scale was created to symmetrically reflect the RWA scale, liberals and conservatives were found to be authoritarian (Conway, Houck, Gornick, & Repke, in press).

Social psychologists have also argued that conservatives think differently. Some researchers suggest that conservatives are relatively more dogmatic, conceptualized as closeminded and rigid, simple thinking (Conway et al., 2016; Eidelman, Crandall, Goodman, & Blanchar, 2012). This idea supports the uncertainty-threat model. Thorisdottir and Jost (2011) hypothesized that threat avoidance and dogmatism are linked. Individuals who feel more threatened engage in close-minded thinking. Their levels of conservativism then increase.

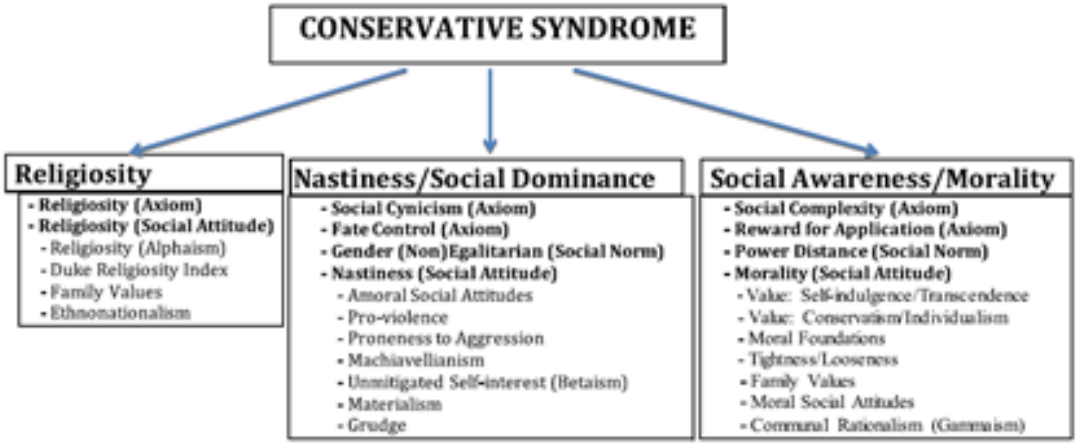
Several researchers have attempted to confirm this causal mechanism. For example, Eidelman's research team (2012) found that people who are more intoxicated (which hinders effortful thinking), have a greater cognitive load, and have less time to process information endorse more conservative beliefs. In one study, the researchers measured the blood alcohol

content of patrons in a bar and then measured their political beliefs. They found that the blood alcohol content was a predictor of conservativism. They argued that this shows "low-effort thinking promotes political conservatism" (Eidelman et al., 2012, p. 810).

However, there is some evidence that contradicts this general finding. Conway and colleagues (2016), for example, found that liberals and conservatives all engage in simple and complex thinking, depending on the topic and familiarity with the topic. For example, conservatives can be more dogmatic about religious topics, but liberals can be more dogmatic about environmental topics. This is consistent with the studies on motivated reasoning. We all are capable of simple thinking and dogmatism.

This section does not cover all of the areas of study into conservativism. However, it should hopefully be clear by now that many academic researchers have fallen prey to their own simplistic and close-minded thinking. This is not inherently bad; it is good to study the motivated reasoning of others. However, many academics have made conservativism pathological. In turn, they have not devoted similar effort and resources to understand the negative characteristics of liberals (Haidt, 2011). As a final example, Figure 1.2 is a chart taken from an article that was published in the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Stankov, 2017). Notice how conservativism is defined as a syndrome with very negative attributes. According to Stankov, conservatives are in favor of violence, are nasty, and believe in self-indulgence. This paper was published in a peer-reviewed journal and seems, on its face, to be highly motivated.

Figure 1.2: The Structure of Conservative Syndrome (Stankov, 2017, p. 953; reprinted with permission from SAGE Publications)



A new study conducted by Eitan and colleagues (2018) is the first empirical test of the political biases in social psychology. The research team pulled all research abstracts related to liberals and conservatives from the annual conference programs for the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. They then had neutral coders from Mechanical Turk determine if the abstracts examined the psychology of political beliefs and behavior and assess how liberals and conservatives were portrayed in the abstracts. Eitan's team found that social psychologists try to explain conservativism more often and tend to explain conservatives in more negative terms. They then asked academics to estimate the effect sizes purportedly found between liberals and conservatives. Academic respondents were able to correctly estimate the direction of the effects (focused on conservatives more and were more negative towards conservatives), but respondents overestimated the size of the effects. The academics did update their beliefs about the strength of the effects when reassessed. Regarding the size of the effects, Eitan and colleagues (2018) note, "it is useful to place them in the context of effect sizes associated with discrimination against women and underrepresented racial minorities, which can have societally important effects even when modest in size statistically" (p. 32). This is the first empirical study to show that social psychologists treat conservatives as the "other" and describe them more negatively.

Conclusion

As the preceding discussion shows, political ideologies represent a collection of cognitive-affective biases that seemingly stem from deep-seated, evolved, predispositions (Funk et al., 2013). While environment matters, people respond to environmental stimuli differently, and those differences are highlighted by, and inform, their different political identities. Ideology undergirds broader preferences for social life. According to Funk and colleagues (2013: p. 816),

"some deep-seated psychological construct or constructs, rooted in genetic as well as environmental influences, serve as a basis for shaping perceptions, preferences, and choices as we navigate our social and political worlds." Political identities are a fundamental part of who people are.

Political identities are formed and informed by our moral foundations. There are currently six known moral foundations, including care, fairness, loyalty, authority, sanctity, and liberty (Haidt, 2012). These moral foundations comprise our moral matrices, or the moral taste buds we activate. In the United States, the moral matrices of liberals and conservatives differ. Liberals typically call upon two main foundations to inform their morality: care and fairness (Haidt, 2007, 2012). Conservatives deploy varying levels of all six foundations. These findings have been replicated and show generally strong support (Graham et al., 2013). The differing moral matrices means liberals often have no foundation or understanding for why conservatives do what they do, especially when conservatives act in accordance to the loyalty, authority, and sanctity foundations (Haidt, 2012). The lack of foundation can cause disconnect and misunderstanding.

Morality directs people into groups that share a moral matrix. People tend to join political groups that deploy foundations similar to the individual. This can then bind and blind individuals to the moral/political groups, known as tribal moral communities (Haidt, 2011). All humans use motivated reasoning to sort through information (Haidt & Kesebir, 2010; Kahan, 2007, 2013). They highlight and enforce the information that supports their end goal and are more critical of information that might undermine their end goal (Haidt, 2012). Within the context of their groups, individuals deploy motivated reasoning to support and enforce group values (Cohen, 2003; Kahan, 2007). Even when the group is not necessarily rational in their policy stances, it

can be rational for the individual to adhere to the expectations of the group, largely because exclusion from the group has real, measurable costs (Bernstein, 2016), and group survival requires strong social control over individuals (Haidt, 2012). Groups that have autonomous individuals who place their individuality over group wellbeing do not fare as well against other groups. For these reasons, partisans identify with their political groups blindly, acting rationally irrational, and they often stick to their ideological biases even if these biases become obvious to them.

In higher education, one TMC has successfully gained power. Liberals and progressives outnumber conservatives in academia in some instances as much as 30 to 1 (Maranto et al., 2009; Wright, 2018). While the degree of political disparity is field specific, the entire academy suffers the consequences. It is extremely risky to speak out against the TMC, and there have been highly publicized cases of academic mobs destroying their "treasonous" group member's career (e.g., Cran, 2018a, 2018b; Dreger, 2015). Largely out of fear, many academics now report that they self-censure their views and ideas to avoid not just criticism but mobbing (Kempner, 2008). Perhaps not surprisingly, new research also shows that academic scholarship has too often been stifled, on one hand, or has been deeply penetrated by political biases that favor left-leaning narratives (Cofnas, 2016; Dreger, 2015). Under these conditions, institutions of higher learning have witnessed a decline in social legitimacy, especially amongst the political right (Doherty et al., 2017a; Newport & Busteed, 2017).

Academic tribalism creates strong within-group preferences and equally strong out-group dynamics (Pietraszewski et al., 2015). These dynamics cause the academic community to cooperate with other group members and to vilify outsiders (Balliet, Wu, & De Dreu, 2014; Crawford et al., 2013; Graham et al., 2012). These cognitive and group processes may be the

reason why liberals and conservatives struggle to understand each other and why the political disparities found in the academy create adverse incentives that influence research agendas, the choice of methodologies, and the interpretation of findings. When the keepers of science are uniformly playing for one team they can mobilize and weaponize science against the other team. As recent efforts by social psychologists have shown, these biases lead conservatives to see swaths of academic research as tainted by motivated reasoning (Ditto et al., in press; Gauchat, 2012; Jussim, 2013; Nisbert et al., 2015; Scheitle, 2018).

The Consequences of the Academic TMC for Criminology

That there is faculty partisanship is clear, but much is not known about the consequences of how ideology informs the views of scholars and students. Wright's (2018) study delved into the consequences of faculty partisanship. He surveyed academics from a professional organization in the field of criminology. Almost 1,000 members of the professional organization were surveyed over a one-month period. Wright found that liberals outnumbered conservatives in criminology approximately 33 to 1. Most respondents who identified as conservative were politically moderate. Actual conservatives were few and far between and were scarcer than racial minorities.

As a result, Wright (2018) found that the majority of criminologists held negative views of conservatives. The respondents affixed labels such as authoritarian, callous, racist, religious, sexist, and wealthy to conservatives. Conversely, they reported liberals are charitable, community minded, compassionate, educated, and scientific. Self-censorship, the willingness to not publish respondents' own research, was not uncommon. Fully 50% of criminologists would not publish research that could be misinterpreted to support sexism, racism, or homophobia. A

little over 30% would not publish research that supported the death penalty, and 27% would self-censor research that supported concealed carry laws. Perceptions of academic freedom were generally positive, though 13% of criminologists reported having avoided teaching a controversial topic, and 47% reported knowing of colleagues who avoided teaching or researching topics out of fear. The more liberal the respondent, the more likely that person was to self-censor.

Criminologists recognized there is a liberal bias in the field, with 70% agreement with the statement (Wright, 2018). However, 69% also agreed that criminologists are fair and impartial. Interestingly, 52% of criminologists knew faculty who indoctrinate their students. Further, respondent ideology predicted almost perfectly (93% correct in discriminate analysis) the respondents' stances on public policy, science views (80% correctly classified), and criminal justice policy (91% correctly classified, 97% of liberals correctly classified). In short, ideology plays a strong role in criminology. This conclusion supports another study of criminologists that showed academic criminologists had much more liberal viewpoints on criminal justice policies than the general public (Griffin, Pason, Wiecko, & Brace, 2018). The authors appeared troubled by this finding, noting "the reliance on public opinion data skewed toward 'conservative' viewpoints can promote excessive and ineffective crime policy created in the absence of any consideration of the long-term costs or consequences of those programs" (Griffin et al., 2018, p. 14). Like social psychology, criminology has become a TMC.

But what about criminology students? While a range of empirical studies document the political proclivities of professors and how these proclivities affect scholarly production, few studies exist that examine the role of ideological biases amongst graduate students. This has been an important oversight because cognitive-moral biases also likely affect students' views about

the academy, about their education, and about the content they are exposed to. In one study, for example, researchers found that conservative students were less likely to participate on class discussions than were liberal students and that they reported lower levels of comfort and acceptance (Stevens, 2017b). Other studies of students have found that liberal students are more likely to report feelings of connection between them and faculty, and to have their views taken more seriously compared to conservative students (Kelly-Woessner & Woessner, 2006, 2008). Other studies have found that after graduation, liberal students were more likely to hold biased views against conservatives and conservative groups than they held prior to entering the university (Hanson, Weeden, Pascarella, & Blaich, 2012; Jackman & Muha, 1984; Rindermann, Flores-Mendoza, & Woodley, 2012). Even so, little is known about how graduate students, many of whom have careers within the criminal justice system, are raising families, and for whom the university is more peripheral to their daily experience, are influenced by their political-moral views. Because so little is known, this study will explore how political self-placement as a primary measure of ideology correlates with broader political identities. The study will investigate how political identity influences students' perceptions of higher education, including students' views on faculty, the role of faculty, and their reported levels of comfort with and acceptance by faculty. Finally, I'll examine whether ideology is related to their views on science and on various criminal justice policies.

The study contains several broad research hypotheses:

- Liberal and conservative respondents will ascribe to several labels that indicate an underlying political identity. Students across the political spectrum will attribute positive characteristics to their group and will attribute negative characteristics to the outgroup. Some of the liberal labels, in particular, are embraced more on college campuses. Liberal

students will, therefore, perceive a greater sense of shared identity with fellow students and professors.

- Liberal and conservative students will have different perceptions of higher education, and will report different experiences within higher education. Liberal students will feel more comfortable in academia and will be more willing to speak out about political topics. Conservative students will feel less comfortable in academia and will be less willing to speak out about political topics. Conservative students will experience greater concern for student and faculty sanctions for expressing political opinions.
- Liberal students will be more likely to perceive there is a conservative bias in academia, and that it negatively impacts teaching and research. Conservative students will be more likely to perceive there is a liberal bias in academia, that the liberal bias negatively impacts teaching and research, and that faculty use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students. Liberal students will be more likely to indicate professors are fair and impartial.
- Liberal students will be more likely to indicate conservatives are underrepresented in academia due to intrinsic differences between liberals and conservatives, such as conservatives being less in favor of diversity while liberals are more intelligent and respectful of science. Conservative students will be less likely to ascribe negative traits to themselves, and will instead indicate other causes, such as conservatives not getting mentored or not applying to grad school, for political disparities.
- Liberal students will be more likely to believe professors should engage in advocacy and activism, especially in the arena of social justice and egalitarianism. Conservative

students will be more likely to believe professors should teach students respect of authority and government.

- Liberal and conservative students will deploy politically motivated reasoning in their agreement or disagreement with science-based statements, general policy stances, and criminal justice policy stances. Political identity will underscore and inform respondents' stances on seemingly disparate issues, and bundles of science-based statements and policy stances will emerge as symptoms of respondents' political identities and motivated reasoning.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The current study extends Wright's (2018) work on the consequences of political ideology in criminology. The study employs a survey of current and former master's criminology students to assess the political identity and views of criminology students. The survey also delves into their views on the Academy, their political networks, their willingness to speak openly in classroom environments, their views on criminal justice policy issues, and their political biases.

The purpose of this study is to extend the literature regarding how cognitive biases and social processes combine to create a sensitivity towards belonging to groups within universities. Institutions of higher education are highly partisan. Faculty are overwhelmingly liberal and increasingly radicalized. The data have consistently shown that throughout recent decades. Less is known about the consequences of that partisanship. Wright (2018) showed that criminology faculty are highly sensitive to the expectations placed upon them by their political groups. This sensitivity has influenced criminology scholars' research and teaching agendas. Even less is known about if the processes that bind and blind professors affect students too. This study investigates the hypothesis that students will feel similar pressure to adhere to group expectations. Being in an environment that is dominated by a particular political identity, we expect that some students will be rewarded for being part of the cognitive identity, while others will be more sensitive to potential sanctions. This will be shown in differences between students' perceptions and experiences in higher education.

Design

The study employs a nonexperimental cross-sectional survey design using a convenience sample (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). I invited all current and former students from the past four academic years of the University of Cincinnati Online Master of Science in Criminal Justice (Distance Learning or DL) program to take an online survey. Without the control group or pretest, I cannot establish causality or eliminate several threats to internal validity. Further, the study lacks generalizability due to the convenience sample. However, this study is a pilot study, and a convenience sample can be appropriate for exploratory undertakings (Shadish et al., 2002).

Students in the DL program tend to be practitioners (69.7% percent reported working in the criminal justice, or a related, field). They tended to enroll in the master's program for career advancement and have a sense for both the academic and practitioner worlds. This makes these respondents an insightful population to survey. They are criminologists by training and trade. Having already established careers in the field and taking classes from a distance, they should be less sensitive to the opinions of their academic professors. Any differences between student perceptions and experiences would speak to the strength of the cognitive and social processes in adhering to the beliefs of the group.

Data Collection and Sample

The current sample includes 267 individuals who were enrolled in the University of Cincinnati Online Master of Science in Criminal Justice (DL) program during the 2017-2018 academic year, or in the 4 years previous. The total number of students who have matriculated from the DL program in the last ten years (2007-2017) is 2,651 previous students, an additional 331 current students (as of April 2017) and 113 students who enrolled between April and

October 2017. The first wave of current students were those enrolled in the program in April 2017 for the 2016-2017 academic year. These totals were provided by the DL Program's academic director and represent the entire student body of the program for the past decade. Also provided were the UC email addresses for current students, and UC and personal email addresses for some previous students. Previous students could provide up to 3 email addresses when leaving the program. Every email address provided by the previous students in the sample was contacted. Only the last 4 (2014-2017) years of students were selected for this study because of concerns regarding the validity of student email addresses for earlier enrolled students.

The survey was developed using Qualtrics software and was administered online. The survey contained 41 questions and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Qualtrics produced an anonymous link that I could send out to the sample in an email inviting them to participate. While the link is anonymous, it does associate the respondent's computer with the survey response while the response is being recorded. If a respondent decides to close out of the survey and reopen it at a later time, the survey will open where the respondent left it. This prevents respondents from submitting multiple forms. Respondents could click on the link in the email and be taken directly to the survey. A separate Gmail account was created to avoid flooding my student account with blocked or bounced emails. Google limits the number of emails a person can send from a Gmail account each day to 500 individual email addresses. Since my sample contained more email addresses than 500, I needed to break down the emails I sent each day inviting respondents to participate. I broke those groups down into the currently enrolled students first, then the previous two years of graduated students, and finally the remaining year of respondents who had graduated in the previous 3 years.

The survey was originally sent out to the 331 current students via the dedicated Gmail account on July 29, 2017. All of the current students' email addresses were included in a mass email. That single email was blocked by Google and was not delivered. Google notified the account of delivery failure on August 1, 2017, though did not give any details for why the email was blocked. As a potential solution to the blocked email, I sent out 7 emails with smaller batches of 50 email addresses with the remainders in the last group. I grouped the students alphabetically and sent out identical emails to each of the 7 groups on August 3, 2017. Four of the 7 emails were delivered that day. The fifth email was delivered the next day on Friday, August 4. Two of the emails were never delivered. Those emails were for students with last names Ga-Ks and Se-Vi. I resent those emails on August 7, 2017. The email for last names Se-Vi were all delivered. Thirty-nine of the 50 emails for the Ga-Ks group were blocked for unknown reasons.

Since the Gmail account was not working reliably I looked for a different delivery system. Dr. Wright had previously created a dedicated UC account to send out his original survey to ASC members. That account was still active and could send out emails to 500 addresses every 24-hours without being flagged as spam. On August 8, 2017, I used that UC email account to send the invitation to participate in the survey to the remaining 39 current students (a list of those email addresses is available upon request). There were no bounce-backs or blocked emails. I also sent out the email to the first 100 students who had graduated in spring or summer of 2016. Those 100 students had a total of 205 individual email addresses. I sent an invitation to each of those email addresses in groups of 50 addresses per email. There were 5 addresses that returned as undeliverable with recipient not found. Those were removed from the

email list. They were secondary email addresses, so the individuals still received at least one email invitation and were included in the final population tally.

The next 200 students were emailed on August 9, 2017 using the UC account. These respondents had a total of 389 email addresses, all of which were contacted in batches of 47-50 email addresses. The respondents in these batches had expected graduation dates in either Spring 2016, Fall 2016, or Summer 2015. There were 17 email addresses that returned as undeliverable with recipient not found. The email addresses were removed from the email list. One of the returned email addresses was associated with a former student who did not provide a secondary email address. As such, the respondent did not receive the invitation to participate and was removed from the final tally of students contacted and subsequent calculations of response rate.

The final 198 students who graduated between Summer and Fall 2015 were emailed on August 10, 2017 from the UC account. These respondents had a total of 396 individual email addresses. Emails were sent in batches of 48-50 individual addresses, with one additional email sent to 4 email addresses that were listed as a second backup email address. There were 36 returned email addresses with an unfound recipient. Three students had all their email addresses returned, so they did not receive the invitation at all. They were removed from the final tally of respondents contacted.

Survey invitation emails were sent out to former students who had graduated between Summer 2015 and Fall 2014 over the course of two days. A total of 199 students were emailed on August 15, 2017. These respondents had 424 individual email addresses. I sent out 12 emails to all of these addresses. There were 159 returned email addresses with an unfound recipient. Eleven students' email addresses were all returned, and they did not receive the email invitation. Those individuals where removed from the final tally.

The remaining 88 students who graduated between Summer 2015 and Fall 2014 were emailed on August 16, 2017. These individuals had 180 individual email addresses, and I sent 6 emails with the survey invitation. There were 23 returned email addresses with an unfound recipient. One student had all email addresses returned and was removed from the final tally.

Due to the increasing number of returned emails I decided to conclude the survey invitation emails at this point. The final sample included all current students (from the 2016-2017 academic year) and former students who had graduated within the last three years (Fall 2014-Summer 2016). A total of 1100 respondents received invitations to participate in the survey.

The first reminder email was sent out to all 331 current students and the first 100 students who had graduated in spring or summer of 2016 on August 22, 2017. I sent out 7 reminder emails for the current students, with 50 email addresses in each email and the seventh email had the remaining emails. I sent out 4 emails to all of the verified email addresses for the 100 former students. These email addresses did not include the returned, undeliverable email addresses from the original email invitation. There were no returned email addresses for these reminder emails.

I sent out the reminder email to every verified email address from the August 9 batch of former students on August 23, 2017. I also sent out the reminder email to the first 49 respondents from the August 10 batch on August 23, 2017. I sent out ten emails to these 248 former students. There was one email address returned as unfound. This email address had not been returned when I sent the original email invitation. I received an email from a respondent who had graduated. This former student has replied to my reminder email stating there was an issue with some of the demographic questions in the first section of the survey. The questions asked about "current" student status and GPA. The respondent, who had previously graduated, believed the

survey was only for current students and had received the email invitation and reminder email by mistake. The respondent reported closing out of the survey and not taking it after seeing the confusing demographic information. In order to correct this, I removed the word "current" from the two questions. There had been 153 responses recorded at the time I changed the wording of the two demographic questions. Nothing else in the survey was changed.

On August 24, 2017, I sent out the reminder email to the next 241 respondents. These respondents had received the original email invitation on August 10 or August 15. They represent the remaining students who graduated between Summer and Fall 2015 and the first batch of students who had graduated between Summer 2015 and Fall 2014. I sent out a total of 10 emails to all of the verified addresses for these students. There were no returned email addresses.

I sent the reminder email to the remaining 180 former students on August 25, 2017. These respondents had received the original email on August 15 or August 16. They represent the remaining respondents who graduated between Summer 2015 and Fall 2014. I sent out a total of 8 emails to all of the verified addresses for these students. There were no returned email addresses. All 1100 current and former students who received an invitation to participate in the survey also received a reminder email.

The second reminder email was sent to the 331 current students and first 100 former students on Wednesday, September 6, 2017. The second reminder email was sent on September 9 to the same batch of respondents as the first reminder email sent on August 23. I sent the second reminder email to the August 24 first reminder batch of respondents on Sunday, September 10, 2017. I sent the second reminder email to the August 25 first reminder email batch on September 11. There was one email address that returned as undeliverable. This email

address had not been returned as undeliverable until the second reminder email was sent. This email address belonged to a respondent who did not have any other active email addresses. As such, that respondent did not receive the second reminder email, though the individual did receive the original survey invitation and the first reminder email because the email address was active at those times. Therefore, 1099 current and former students received the second reminder email.

The third reminder email was sent to the 331 current students and first 100 former students on Monday, October 2, 2017. The third reminder email was sent to the second batch of former students (the same respondents that I sent the second reminder email to on September 9) on October 3. I sent the third reminder email to the third batch of respondents (same as the September 10 group) on October 4. One email returned as undeliverable. This was the first time this email addresses was flagged as undeliverable. I removed it from the email list. However, the respondent had a secondary email address listed that was still viable, so the respondent still received the third reminder email. One respondent emailed me on October 5, 2017 and requested that I remove the respondent's email addresses from the list. This respondent was in the October 4 batch. I removed both of the respondent's email addresses from the mailing list. However, I decided to keep the respondent in the overall tally of respondents contacted because it was clear that the respondent had received the emails and had decided not to participate in the survey. I sent the third reminder email to the last batch of former students (the same batch of respondents that received the second reminder email on September 11) on October 5. All 1099 current and former students who received the second reminder email also received the third reminder email.

Due to a low number of responses, I asked the DL academic director for an updated enrollment list to expand the number of survey invitations I sent to DL students. She provided

the email addresses for all current DL students as of October 18, 2017. I removed the email addresses for students I had already sent email invitations to, leaving 113 students who were newly enrolled since April 2017. I emailed the original survey invitation to these new students on October 30, 2017. There were no returned emails. I sent the first reminder email on November 6, 2017, the second reminder email on November 15, 2017, and the third reminder email on November 22, 2017. All 113 students from this batch of new students received the four emails. In total, 1233 current and former DL students received the email invitation to take the survey which resulted in a 22% response rate. We officially closed the survey on January 2, 2018, though the last response was recorded on December 2, 2017.

Data and Measures

This study is a direct follow-on to Wright's (2018) analysis of political ideologies and policy viewpoints of criminologists. Many of the questions in this survey are replications of Wright's survey. The policy issue questions found in Wright (2018) stem from Cullen, Blevins, Pealer, Daigle, and Coleman's (2004) study of ACJS members. By maintaining the same questions in this survey, it is possible to compare results across populations and over time (Duncan & Kalton, 1987). The survey contains information on demographics, political identity, social homophily, change in political identity, speech on campus, perception of political bias in academia, causes of the political disparity in academia, what the role of a professor should be, beliefs in science, attribution biases, general policy stances, and criminal justice policy issue stances. These measures fall under three broad research areas: Socio-political identity, how ideology shapes student perceptions and experiences in higher education, and how ideology

shapes views of science, general policy, and criminal justice policy. This section goes into detail about the measurement of these key concepts.

Demographics

The survey contains several important demographic variables that serve as control variables, including sex, age, race, undergraduate degree, student status, GPA, if the student currently works in the criminal justice system, and the likelihood of them pursuing a PhD in the future. The sample is evenly split between males and females, with 51.5% male and 48.5% female. Age, measured ordinally indicated the majority (70.0%) of respondents are between the ages of 25 and 44. Ages range from 18 to 74, with no respondents over 75 years of age. The majority of respondents (73.4%) indicate they are White, and the second most common category is Black or African-American, which accounts for 13.9% of the sample. The majority of respondents (62.5%) report receiving an undergraduate degree in criminal justice. The second most common response, with 23.2% of respondents, was "Other." Examples of other undergraduate degrees include communication, international relations, business, social work, public administration, neuropsychology, biology, history, philosophy, and music education.

A total of 57.9% of the sample are/were part-time students, with 42.1% reporting a full-time student status. Respondents generally reported having a high GPA, with the two most common categories (both with 31.3% of the sample) as 3.7-3.89 and 3.9-4.0 GPAs (in the A-range). The majority of respondents (69.7%) report working in the criminal justice, or a related, field. Many of these respondents indicate they are police officers/sheriff's deputies, probation officers, counselors/social workers, research scientists, dispatchers, corrections officers, judges, victims' advocates, and federal investigators/agents. When asked the likelihood of pursuing a PhD in the future, 22.0% indicated they are extremely unlikely, 11.8% are slightly unlikely,

15.4% of respondents report being neither likely nor unlikely, 32.1% are slightly likely, and 18.7% are extremely likely. Table 2.1 below reports the descriptive statistics for the sample demographics.

The DL program keeps track of some student demographic information for all past and current students. This makes it possible to compare my sample to the whole population of DL students. The sample population is slightly biased towards males. The general DL student population is 51.9% female and 48.0% male (0.1% were unknown). There are slightly more females than males in the general population, and there were slightly more males than females in this sample. However, this is not a statistically significant difference in a one-sample t-test ($T = 1.14$, $p = .255$). This sample appears slightly younger than the general DL population. The mean age of students in all current and former students is 40 years, with a minimum of 20 years and a maximum of 85 year. The age of this sample is measured ordinally but shows a mean towards the upper end of the 25 to 34 category. However, the majority (70.0%) of respondents are between the ages of 25 and 44 in this sample, and the population mean age of 40 is in that range.

Racially, the DL student population is 0.55% American Indian and Alaskan Native, 1.8% Asian, 20.2% Black, 62.6% White, 6.4% Hispanic/Latino, 1.5% multiracial, and 7.1% other. This sample slightly over-represents White and multiracial respondents, and slightly under-represents American Indian, Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latino, and other respondents. This is one limitation of the study, as racial minorities tend to identify more with the Democratic Party, though this is not always the case (Doherty, Kiley, & O'Hea, 2018).

Table 2.1: Sample Demographic Descriptive Statistics

		N	Proportion	Mean	SD
Sex (n=262)	Female	127	.485	0.52	0.50
	Male	135	.515		
Age (n=267)	18 to 24	15	.056	2.84	1.09
	25 to 34	106	.397		
	35 to 44	81	.303		
	45 to 54	39	.146		
	55 to 64	23	.086		
	65 to 74	3	.011		
	75 or older	0	.000		
Race (n=267)	American Indian or Alaskan Native	0	.000		
	Asian	6	.022		
	Black or African-American	37	.139		
	White (non-Hispanic)	196	.734		
	Hispanic or Latino	12	.045		
	Multiracial	12	.045		
	Other	4	.015		
Undergraduate degree (n=267)	Criminal justice	167	.625		
	Psychology	15	.056		
	Sociology	12	.045		
	Political science	11	.041		
	Anthropology	0	.000		
	Other	62	.232		
Student status (n=216)	Part-time student	125	.579	0.42	0.50
	Full-time student	91	.421		
GPA (n=246)	2.49 or below	0	.000	5.70	1.19
	2.5-2.69	1	.004		
	2.7-2.99	8	.033		
	3.0-3.49	40	.163		
	3.5-3.69	43	.175		
	3.7-3.89	77	.313		
	3.9-4.0	77	.313		
Currently work in CJS (n=267)	No	81	.303	0.70	0.46
	Yes	186	.697		

Pursue PhD (n=246)	Extremely unlikely	54	.220	3.14	1.43
	Slightly unlikely	29	.118		
	Neither likely nor unlikely	38	.154		
	Slightly likely	79	.321		
	Extremely likely	46	.187		

Compared to the whole population, part-time students are significantly underrepresented in this sample. A total of 90.3% of all past and current DL student are part-time. In the sample, only 57.9% are part-time students. This is a statistically significant difference ($t(215) = 9.642$, $p < .001$). This has the potential to skew the results, as there might be differences in perceptions of full-time versus part-time students regarding their experiences in the program. Finally, students with higher GPAs are slightly overrepresented in this sample. The mean GPA in the DL student population is 3.25, whereas the mean GPA of this sample, measured ordinally, is closer to 3.7. This, too, could skew the sample's perceptions of higher education. Literature in education suggests that student achievement and perceptions of education are linked (Gietz & McIntosh, 2014). In short, the sample mostly reflects demographic trends within the overall DL student population, with some notable exceptions. These differences could potentially skew the results and are one possible limitation of this study.

Socio-Political Identity

There are several measures of socio-political identity in the survey. These include measures of political identity, social homophily, change in political identity, and attribution biases. This section discusses all of these measures in more detail.

Political identity. There are multiple ways to measure political identity (Federico, Deason, & Fisher, 2012; Treier & Hillygus, 2009; Zschirnt, 2011). Asking respondents to describe their political beliefs in a single-item question (e.g. how would you describe your political beliefs?) is widely used and researchers recognize it captures the respondent's political identity (e.g., Brandt, Reyna, Chamber, Crawford, & Wetherell, 2014; Conway et al., in press). However, political identities are often complex and multifaceted. Politics represent different

things to different people (Treier & Hillygus, 2009). People classify themselves not only through packages of beliefs, but also through packages of identities. There are often inter-correlated, but distinct, sets of political identities within an individual (Klein & Stern, 2008). As such, this survey contains several measures of political identity.

The first measure is the standard single-item question, "How would you describe your political beliefs?" which is a modified version of Wright's (2018) item. Responses include *very liberal*, *liberal*, *moderate*, *conservative*, and *very conservative*. Due to the small number of respondents who indicated they were *very conservative*, I recoded the *conservative* and *very conservative* responses into a single category. *Very liberal* was coded as 1, *liberal* was coded as 2, *moderate* was coded as 3, and *conservative* was coded as 4. The measure was originally missing 16.5% of cases. I used imputation to handle the missing cases, though 8.2% of cases are still missing. The final sample size is 245. A second single-item question taps into political party affiliation. The question asked respondents, "Which political party do you identify with the most?" with responses of *DNC* (Democrat), *GOP* (Republican), *other*, and *none*.

The single-item questions do tap onto the underlying construct of political ideology. However, the survey contains several measures about voting behavior to cross-check the reported political beliefs (Greene, 2004). Two measures ask respondents about their voting behavior, including "How willing would you be to vote for a Democrat for President of the United States?" and "How willing would you be to vote for a Republican for President of the United States?" These questions stem from Wright's (2018) survey, and responses for both measures include *not at all willing*, *a little willing*, *moderately willing*, and *very willing*. Responses were coded with *not at all willing* as 1 through *very willing* as 4.

The final method of measuring political identity in this study is through a series of questions pertaining to parts of respondents' identities. This measure, which is a modified version of the Wright (2018) item, asks respondents to indicate the degree to which political labels spanning the political spectrum describes them. These 14 labels include feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, conservative, religious, objective/analytical, Democrat, Republican, environmentalist, spiritual, socialist, advocate/social activist, moderate/independent, and libertarian. Respondents could select *definitely not*, *somewhat*, or *definitely*.

Social homophily. There is a broad awareness of strong social homophily in political identity (e.g., Alford et al., 2011; Boutyline & Willer, 2017). Respondents' political identities should be similar to the political identities within their social networks. A measure of political homophily asked respondents, "Do you feel like the following groups of people share your political views?" The *yes*/*no* matrix asks about classmates and professors.

Ingroup/outgroup biases. Humans are predisposed to view their own groups favorably, and by default, they view people outside their groups with suspicion (Hogg, 2016). People who exist within political bubbles might, therefore, ascribe negative traits to those with different political beliefs, and attribute positive traits to their own political group. Determining how individuals attribute characteristics to liberals and conservatives could be a measure of their isolation from those with differing viewpoints, and indicate possible polarization. Wright (2018) tested how criminologists attribute characteristics to liberals and conservatives, including the traits of intelligent, educated, charitable, authoritarian, compassionate, moral, religious, just, protective, objective, wealthy, strong, weak, community-centered, loyal, callous, sexist, racist, respectful, scientific, and trustworthy. This study replicates Wright's (2018) work to determine if master's students attribute characteristics similar to their professors. The survey asks respondents

to indicate whether they consider each trait to be *more characteristic of liberals*, *more characteristic of conservatives*, or whether the trait reflects *both groups equally*.

Measures of Student Perceptions and Experiences in Higher Education

The survey contains a few measures that give insight into how ideology shapes student perceptions and experiences in higher education. These measures include the Campus Expression Survey, perceptions of political bias in academia, causes of political disparities in academia, and expected professor roles. This section gives more detail about all of these measures.

Campus Expression Survey. This survey uses a modified version of the Campus Expression Survey (Haidt et al., 2017). It focuses only on a controversial political topic and asks respondents, "Think about being in a class that was discussing a controversial political issue. How comfortable or reluctant would you feel about speaking up and giving your views on the topic?" The survey then asks about respondents' degree of concern for possible consequences of speaking up, including the professor criticizing the views as offensive, the professor saying the views are wrong, other students criticizing the views as offensive, the professor giving a lower grade because of the views, somebody would post critical comments about the views on social media, and someone would file a complaint. Responses for these measures include *not at all concerned*, *slightly concerned*, *somewhat concerned*, *moderately concerned*, and *extremely concerned*. *Not at all concerned* was coded as 1 and *extremely concerned* was coded as 5. Therefore, higher scores indicate greater levels of concern. Finally, the survey asks whether respondents ever felt their opinion was dismissed or they were personally criticized because they shared their political views in class.

In addition to asking respondents about possible future scenarios and general concern about hypothetically discussing controversial political issues in class, we included several measures in the survey that asked respondents about what has actually happened in class and perceived discrimination based on respondents' political ideology. The first of these measures stemmed from the question, "have you ever felt that your opinion was dismissed or you were personally criticized because you shared your views on a controversial political issue in a class discussion?" Respondents could select *yes*, *no*, or *prefer not to say*. The second measure of perceived discrimination based on actual experiences stems from the survey question, "Have you ever felt discriminated against, singled-out, or treated differently by a professor because of your political beliefs?" Respondents could select either *yes* or *no*, and *no* was coded as 0 while *yes* was coded as 1. The final measure of perceived discrimination in the survey is "Have you ever hidden your political beliefs from a professor out of fear?" This measure is coded 0 for *no* and 1 for *yes*.

Perceptions of political bias in academia. Critics of higher education claim that political bias exists in academia, and it can undermine the research and teaching integrity of professors (Duarte et al., 2015; Martin, 2016; Redding, 2013). This survey asks respondents about their perceptions of political bias in academia, specifically with regards to liberal or conservative biases in research and teaching. This is a modified version of Wright's (2018) measure. Respondents were asked to report their agreement or disagreement with several statements related to possible political bias in academia. These statements include there is a liberal bias in academia, there is a conservative bias in academia, research is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia, research is negatively affected by a conservative bias in academia, teaching is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia, teaching is negatively affected by a

conservative bias in academia, the vast majority of professors are fair and impartial, and I know faculty who use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students. Respondents could indicate *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree* for each statement. *Strongly disagree* was coded as 1 and *strongly agree* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement with each statement.

The survey also contains variables that tap into perceptions of the political beliefs of the professors in the DL program and the academic field of criminology. The first asks respondents, "In general, how would you rate the political beliefs of your professors in this program?" Respondents could select *very liberal*, *liberal*, *moderate*, *conservative* or *very conservative*. *Very liberal* was coded as 1 and *very conservative* was coded as 5.

The final variable on perceptions of political beliefs stemmed from the survey question, "How would you classify the academic field of criminology?" Responses included *very liberal*, *liberal*, *moderate*, *conservative*, and very conservative. Very liberal was coded as 1 and *very conservative* was coded as 5.

Causes of political disparities in academia. Professors who are politically liberal and vote Democrat dominate criminology (Cooper et al., 2010; Wright, 2018). This is true across several social science disciplines (Langbert, 2018). There are several theories as to why this disparity exists (Duarte et al., 2015). This survey, a replication of Wright's (2018) measure, asks respondents to indicate why they believe the disparity in higher education exists. Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with several commonly-held beliefs regarding the causes of political disparities in academia. These statements include Liberals are, on average, more intelligent than conservatives so they are more likely to pursue an advanced degree; Conservatives are more attracted to other careers and not academia; Liberals are more

tolerant of competing ideas and thus find the academic environment welcoming; Conservative students do not apply to graduate school at the same rates as liberal students; Conservatives may find a diverse environment unwelcoming; Liberals respect science more than conservatives; Conservative students do not see the value in social equality and social justice; Conservative students do not receive the same level of mentoring or advocacy by faculty. Respondents could select *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, or *strongly agree* for each cause of political disparity. *Strongly disagree* was coded as 1 and *strongly agree* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate greater agreement with the cause of political disparity.

Expected professor roles. Within social science, there have been calls for professors to use their findings to sway political debates and policy (Flood, Martin, & Dreher, 2013). For some, engaging in scholarship without applying it as possible solutions to real-world problems is wasteful (Takagi, 2015). As such, some people perceive the role of advocacy as an important part of a professor's job (Bennett et al., 2017). Wright (2018) asked criminology faculty about what the role of a professor should be. This survey replicates that by asking respondents the extent of their agreement or disagreement that professors should engage in advocacy, publish empirical findings, and change the political views of students. Respondents could select *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, or *strongly agree* for several possible roles of professors. *Strongly disagree* was coded as 1 while *strongly agree* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement that professors should engage in the role as part of their jobs.

Measures of Views on Science, General Policy, and Criminal Justice Policy

Finally, the survey contains measures on beliefs in science, general policy stances, and criminal justice policy stances. These measures allow for the exploration of how ideology shapes

views on these beliefs and policies. This section gives more details about these science and policy measures.

Beliefs in science. Viewpoints that, on their face appear to be informed by science, are often in reality informed by political ideology (Cofnas, 2016). Humans are exceptional at selecting facts that conform to their world-view, while finding reasons to dismiss facts that challenge their ideologies (Kahan, 2013). Wright (2018) asked criminologists about their beliefs in various scientific contexts, and found that political ideology was almost perfectly predicted by their stances on these beliefs. This survey contains a modified version of Wright's (2018) measures on beliefs in science. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement with several science-based statements, which options of *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*. *Strongly disagree* was coded as 1 and *strongly agree* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement with each science-based statement. These statements include Findings from social science research can be trusted; Scientific evidence supports Darwinian evolution; Differences between the sexes are primarily caused be biology; Climate change is real and is caused by mankind; Homosexuality is primarily caused be biology and is not a choice; Race is a social construct, not a biological construct; Genes influence criminal and antisocial behavior; IQ tests measure something meaningful and consequential for life outcomes.

General policy. Wright (2018) asked respondents about their support or opposition to several general policies and social movements. Support or opposition to these policies often align with political ideology (e.g., the War on Drugs is usually opposed by liberals, and the Affordable Care Act is usually opposed by conservatives). This survey contains a modified version of Wright's (2018) general policy measure. Specific policies and social movements include

affirmative action, marijuana decriminalization, hard drug legalization, the War on Drugs, the War on Terror, increasing the minimum wage, the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), unionization of graduate students, stop and frisk policies, trying violent juveniles as adults, funding research into the genetics and biology of crime, the Black Lives Matter movement, and suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech. Respondents could indicate support or opposition to these general policies and social movements by selecting either *strongly oppose*, *oppose*, *support*, or *strongly support*. *Strongly oppose* was coded as 1, and *strongly support* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate greater support for each policy or social movement.

Criminal justice policy issues. Wright (2018) replicated Cullen and colleagues' (2004) survey of ACJS members regarding criminal justice policy stances to track changes over time. This survey duplicates the same questions to compare criminal justice policy stances of graduate students and professors. These criminal justice policies include issues regarding the death penalty, drug penalties, drug courts, weapons/gun control, incarceration, racial profiling, discrimination, and rehabilitation. Respondents were asked to indicate their support for these policy issues with options including *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*. *Strongly disagree* was coded as 1, while *strongly agree* was coded as 4. Higher scores indicate stronger agreement with each policy issue.

Statistical Analysis

The study explores on three broad research goals. First, it seeks to understand the political identities of respondents and how these identities are inter-correlated. Descriptive and correlational analyses will be conducted to highlight patterns in how respondents construct their socio-political identities. The second research goal examines how ideology shapes student

perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education. Given prior research (Stevens, 2017b), I expect liberal and conservative students to report measurable differences in their perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education. Descriptive analyses will highlight patterns in how ideology influences perceptions of consequences for speaking out in class about a political topic, and how ideology is correlated with perceptions of bias within higher education, the causes of political disparities between professors, and endorsement of varying professorial roles. Finally, the study will investigate how socio-political ideology shapes views of science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy. Research shows that political ideology drives people to embrace packages of beliefs as well as specific explanatory narratives (Kahan, 2007). To determine whether political identity predicts these packages of beliefs and narratives, I will use multivariate statistical methods, including analyses of correlational matrices, exploratory factor analysis, and multivariate regression (Fox, 2008).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The chapter presents the results of the exploratory study into the socio-political identities, perceptions of higher education, and policy stances of criminal justice masters students. The first section reports the descriptive results of respondents' socio-political identities. The second section examines how ideology shapes student perceptions and experiences in higher education. The final section uses regression analysis to investigate how ideology shapes views of science, general policy, and criminal justice policy.

Socio-Political Identity

Political identities represent underlying biological, affective, and group processes. Though complex in their origins, political identities stem from and inform self-ascribed labels. These labels are meaningful and predictive (Jost, 2006). This section reports the results of the investigation into respondents' socio-political identities.

Political Identity

Self-reported political beliefs. The primary measure in this study is self-reported political belief, with categories of *very liberal*, *liberal*, *moderate*, and *conservative*. In the final sample, 6.5% (n = 16) reported being very liberal, 24.1% (n = 59) were liberal, 41.6% (n = 102) responded as moderate, and 27.8% (n = 68) were conservative. The distribution of political ideology in this sample generally reflects the normal range of variation in political ideology found in American society (Saad, 2018).

Political party affiliation. Respondents were asked about which political party they identified with most. A total of 38.5% of the sample reported affiliating with the DNC, 37.2% with the GOP, 9.3% with other, and 15.0% reported no political party affiliation. Those who responded with "other" indicated identifications with constitutionalists, libertarians, independents, and "the best candidate." When comparing the percentages of respondents who identify as liberal or very liberal and are affiliated with the DNC, and those who identify as conservative and are affiliated with the GOP, it is clear that there are some discrepancies. Political party affiliation is not a perfect indicator of political beliefs (Klein & Stern, 2008), though there is more homogeneity within the liberal/very liberal rankings and their identification with the DNC (Doherty, Kiley, & Johnson, 2017b).

Willingness to vote for a candidate. Respondents were also asked to assess their willingness to vote for a Democratic or Republican candidate for President. Willingness to vote for a candidate who belongs to the same party, and by contrast, an unwillingness to vote for a candidate of the opposing party, helps to measure the intensity of party identification. Overall, 38.6% indicated they were very willing to vote for a Democrat for President while 25.1% were very willing to vote for a Republican for President. Conversely, 15.4% and 16.7% were not at all willing to vote for a Democrat or Republican for President, respectively. Willingness to vote for a Republican or Democrat President corresponded with one's political beliefs: Of the respondents who identified as conservative, 43.8% were not at all willing to vote for a Democrat for President, while 33% and 60% of respondents who identified as liberal or very liberal were not at all willing to vote for a Republican for President.

Identity labels. The survey included a series of other identities found within and outside of academia. Respondents were asked to indicate their allegiance to several of these identities.

Table 4.1 below reports the proportions of respondents indicating identification with these items. The vast majority of respondents (99%) indicated they were somewhat or definitely objective/analytical. A total of 66% of respondents reported they were somewhat or definitely liberal, while 73% identified as somewhat or definitely conservative. Additionally, 80% of respondents indicated they were somewhat or definitely moderate/moderate. The majority of respondents indicated they were definitely not Marxist/radical (85%), socialist (61%), or libertarian (54%).

These identities were also inter-correlated and they correlated in the expected direction with the single-item measure of political self-placement. Table 4.2 contains these correlations. The labels of feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, Democrat, environmentalist, socialist, and advocate/social activist significantly correlated with each other (at the 0.01 level) and with the measure of political self-placement. Similarly, the labels of conservative, religious, and Republican significantly correlated with each other and with self-reported conservative beliefs. Finally, it is important to recognize that the pattern of inter-correlations reflected commonly understood components of liberal and conservative identities. Self-identified socialists and feminists, for example, were almost always connected to liberal self-identities, while a Republican identity always corresponded with a conservative orientation.

Table 4.1: Proportions of Respondents indicating Political Identities

Variable	Definitely Not	Somewhat	Definitely
Feminist	.42	.44	.14
Marxist/Radical	.85	.14	.01
Liberal	.34	.43	.23
Conservative	.27	.51	.22
Religious	.28	.46	.27
Objective/Analytical	.01	.27	.72
Democrat	.39	.37	.24
Republican	.37	.40	.23
Environmentalist	.13	.68	.19
Spiritual	.20	.48	.32
Socialist	.61	.33	.06
Advocate/Social Activist	.38	.40	.22
Moderate/Independent	.19	.54	.26
Libertarian	.54	.37	.09

Table 4.2: Correlation Matrix for Political Identities and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
1. Feminist	1.0														
2. Marxist/Radical	.29**	1.0													
3. Liberal	.53**	.28**	1.0												
4. Conservative	-.38**	-.22**	-.64**	1.0											
5. Religious	-.17**	-.22**	-.36**	.25**	1.0										
6. Objective/ Analytical	.11	.04	.09	-.01	.03	1.0									
7. Democrat	.42**	.17*	.70**	-.57**	-.30**	.08	1.0								
8. Republican	-.40**	-.22**	-.63**	.70**	.29**	-.09	-.68**	1.0							
9. Environmentalist	.41**	.21**	.42**	-.29**	-.20**	.13*	.39**	-.24**	1.0						
10. Spiritual	.10	-.04	-.00	.01	.55**	.24**	.05	-.04	.01	1.0					
11. Socialist	.40**	.45**	.61**	-.41**	-.19**	.04	.48**	-.37**	.38**	.09	1.0				
12. Advocate/ Social Activist	.45**	.27**	.55**	-.44**	-.14*	.11	.47**	-.42**	.43**	.14*	.61**	1.0			
13. Moderate/ Independent	.02	.08	.05	-.08	-.05	.06	-.08	-.14*	.01	-.10	-.05	.05	1.0		
14. Libertarian	.02	.19**	.02	.07	-.01	.13*	-.10	.01	.04	-.00	.04	.02	.21**	1.0	
15. Self-Reported Political Belief	-.53**	-.27**	-.80**	.74**	.35**	-.09	-.72**	.72**	-.38**	-.05	-.54**	-.50**	-.01	.06	1.0

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

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

I conducted further analyses to determine if these additional identities would offer greater insight into respondents' underlying political position compared to the single-item, self-reported political beliefs measure. To do this, I calculated a series of ANOVA tests for all of the above political identities and the self-reported political beliefs measure. There were statistically significant differences between self-reported liberals and conservatives for all identities except objective/analytical, spiritual, and libertarian. Post hoc analyses showed that liberal and very liberal respondents identified more than conservatives as feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, Democrat, environmentalist, socialist, and advocate/social activist. Conservative respondents identified more than liberal respondents as conservative, religious, and Republican. Moderates identified as moderate/independent more than the other respondents.

I also created two scales from these identities by adding the measures for self-reported liberal and conservative post hoc tests and dividing by the number of items to standardize across items. The Liberal Identity scale included the labels of feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, Democrat, environmentalist, socialist, and advocate/social activist. This scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .84, showing good internal consistency. The Conservative Identity scale included the labels of conservative, religious, and Republican, and had a Cronbach's alpha of .68. I correlated the two scales with the self-reported political beliefs measure. The Liberal Identity scale and self-reported political beliefs correlated at -.77 (significant at the 0.01 level, 2-tailed). The Conservative Identity scale correlated at .77 with self-reported political beliefs (significant at the 0.01 level, 2-tailed). Consistent with prior analyses, the pattern of correlations between the two scales and between the single-item political beliefs measure strongly suggest that the single-item measure best and most efficiently captures variation reflected by these disparate identities.

To further assess any additive value in including the political identities measures in the study's overall measurement of political beliefs, I included in separate regression calculations predicting support for various policies the two scales and the individual identities. First, use of the two scales did not offer any overall improvement in model fit and yielded no additional explanatory value beyond that offered by the single-item ideology measure. Second, I also examined the influence of individual identities (such as the feminist item or the religious item) in regression analyses with the self-reported political beliefs measure. Collinearity problems emerged because the identities were so highly correlated with self-reported political beliefs. However, in further analyses, the self-reported political beliefs measure subsumed all effects of individual political identities. Thus, similar to findings by Jost (2006), it appears that a single-item measure of respondents' self-reported political beliefs efficiently captures their underlying political identities, in turn, rendering the use of other measures of political identity redundant.

Social Homophily

Social scientists have long known that individuals group themselves into networks with like-minded others (Alford et al., 2011; Martin et al., 1986; McPherson et al., 2001). This is also true across political identities. Prior research has shown that liberals and conservatives show very high levels of social homophily in their friend and family networks (Iyengar et al., 2012; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009). Little is known, however, whether homophily affects students' views given the political disparities found across faculty within academic disciplines. Given the absence of conservative faculty, and the predominance of left-leaning faculty, it is reasonable to expect differences in perceptions between liberal and conservative students.

Liberal students, for example, may understand that they share more in common with their classmates and faculty than do conservative students.

When asked if they shared political views with their classmates and professors a total of 50.2% of respondents indicated their classmates shared their political views, while 50.5% of respondents reported sharing political views with their professors. However, there were clear differences between liberals and conservatives in their perceptions of social homophily in higher education. Regarding homophily with classmates, 64.3% of very liberal respondents and 61.5% of liberal respondent reported that classmates shared their political views. Fewer moderates reported homophily with classmates, with 52.3% indicating their classmates shared their political views. Conversely, only 32.7% of conservative respondents reported their classmates shared their political views.

This pattern was even more striking when students were asked if they shared their professors' views. The vast majority (85.7%) of very liberal respondents reported sharing political views with professors. Similarly, 76.5% of liberal respondent reported homophily with professors. Moderates were evenly split (50.0%) on whether professors shared their political views. However, only 19.3% of conservative respondents indicated their professors shared their political views.

In order to better understand perceptions of social isolation, I created a single measure of homophily by summing scores on the classmate and professor homophily measures. Scores ranged from 0 for respondents who reported neither classmates nor professors shared their political beliefs, to a score of 2 indicating homophily with both professors and classmates. I then compared means across self-reported political beliefs. Smaller mean values suggest greater socio-political isolation from classmates and peers.

The mean for social homophily of the very liberal respondent group equaled 1.50 (SD = 0.76), for the liberal group 1.37 (SD = 0.77), for the moderate group 1.02 (SD = 0.92), and for the conservative group 0.53 (SD = 0.89). The differences were statistically significant ($F(3,202) = 11.09$; $p < .001$). A bar chart (Chart 4.1) with the standard errors indicates conservative respondents had a substantially lower mean homophily score than the other political groups. Thus, it appears that conservative respondents encounter significantly more socio-political isolation in their education than do all other students.

A regression analysis of the social homophily measure on self-reported political beliefs and control variables revealed the salience of political identities in how respondents perceived socio-political alienation on campus. Table 4.3 below shows the slopes, betas, and standard errors from the linear regression analysis predicting variance in social homophily. The only statistically significant predictor was self-reported political beliefs ($p<.001$). The other control variables, including sex and race, were not statistically significant at the 0.05 level. While political identities influenced perceptions of belongingness on campus, other measures did not appear to have an influence on how connected these respondents felt to other students and to professors. Self-identified liberal beliefs significantly predicted increased perceptions of social homophily in higher education, while self-identified conservative beliefs significantly predicted more socio-political isolation from classmates and professors.

Chart 4.1: Mean Scores of Social Homophily Across Political Groups

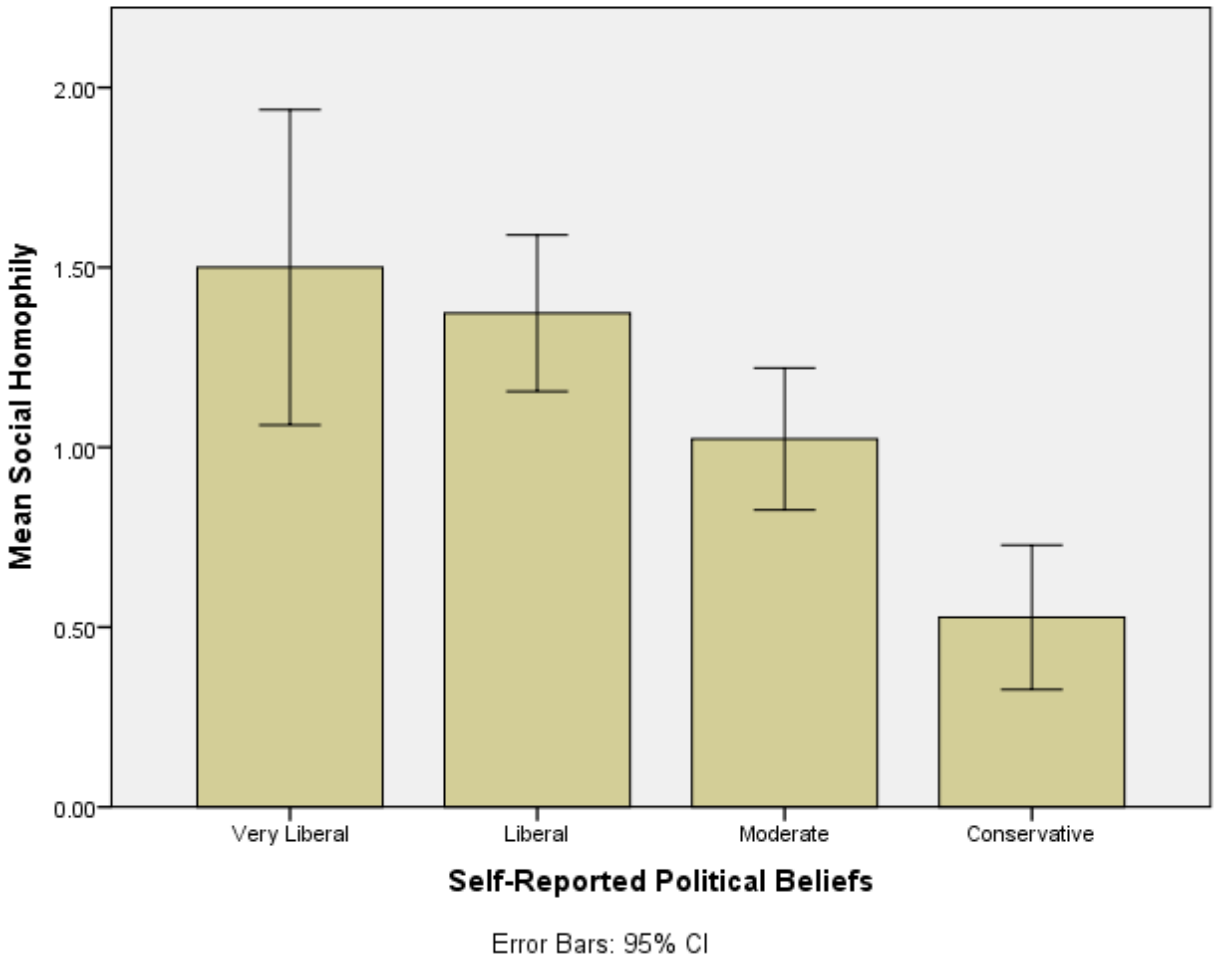


Table 4.3: Regression Analysis of Social Homophily on Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	*b*	Beta	Standard Error
Sex	.05	.03	.13
Age	.11	.13	.06
Race	.16	.14	.08
GPA	.02	.03	.06
Pursuing PhD in Future	.03	.05	.04
Work in CJS	-.17	-.09	.14
Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.38**	0.37	.08

** $p < .001$

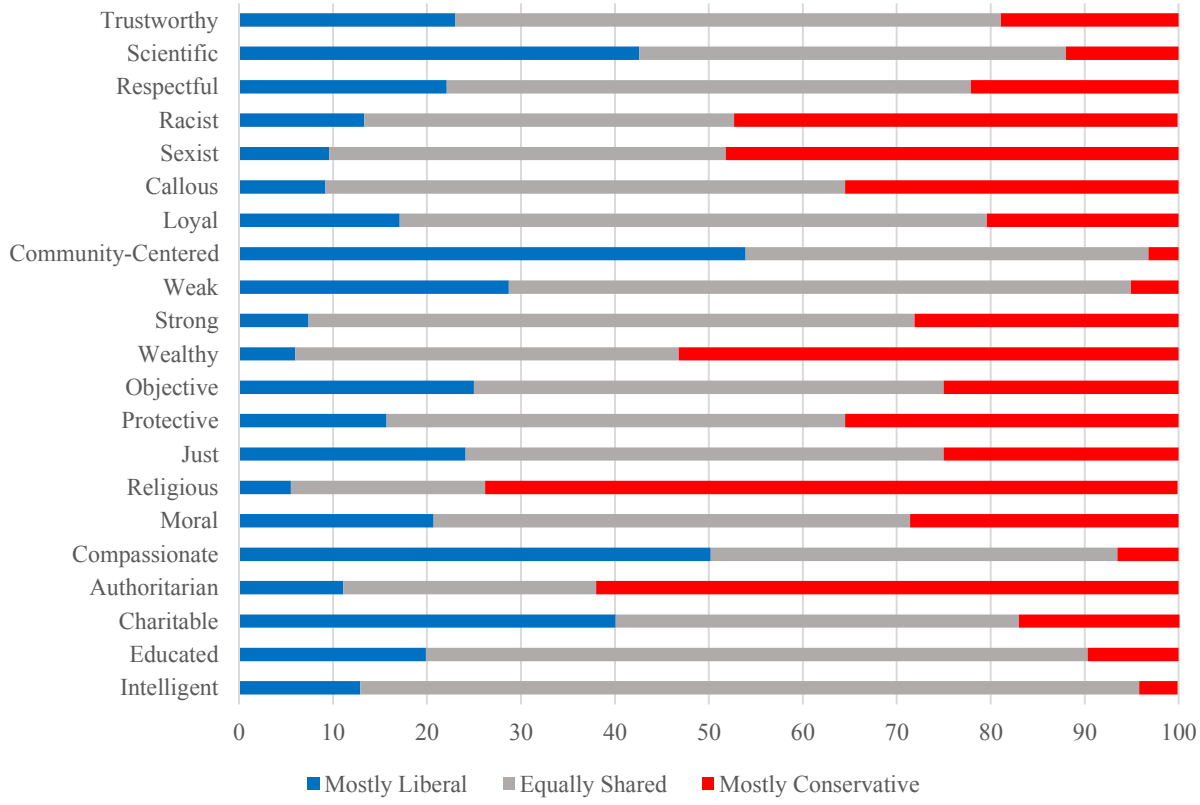
Ingroup/Outgroup Biases

Individuals often ascribe positive and well-meaning attributes to their group, and ascribe negative attributes to other groups (Crawford et al., 2013; Tajfel et al., 1971). In the political realm, this means liberals and conservatives will view their own groups in positive ways, and will view the opposing political group in negative terms.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they consider a series of unique traits to be more characteristic of liberals, more characteristic of conservatives, or whether the trait reflected both groups equally. As shown in Chart 4.2, most traits were attributed equally, or similarly, to liberals and conservatives. There are some notable exceptions, however. Respondents attributed the traits of scientific, community-centered, compassionate, and charitable more frequently to liberals and ascribed the traits of racist, sexist, wealthy, religious, and authoritarian more frequently to conservatives.

To test the research hypothesis that respondents ascribed positive traits to their group and ascribed negative traits to the outgroup, I calculated the correlations for each trait with self-reported political beliefs. The important aspect of these calculations was not so much the magnitude, but the direction of the correlations. The traits were all coded with 1 for *mostly liberal*, 2 for *equally shared*, and 3 for *mostly conservative*. Similarly, self-reported political beliefs are coded as 1 for *very liberal* and 4 for *conservative*. Positive correlations would thus result when traits were attributed to one's own political identity. Conversely, inverse correlations would result when respondents attributed a trait to their outgroup.

Chart 4.2: Trait Ascriptions



Respondents attributed the following characteristics to their own political groups: trustworthy (r = .63), scientific (r = .45), respectful (r = .55), loyal (r = .34), community-centered (r = .37), strong (r = .42), objective (r = .56), protective (r = .48), just (r = .54), moral (r = .52), compassionate (r = .49), charitable (r = .48), educated (r = .39), and intelligent (r = .37). Respondents attributed the following characteristics to the other political group: racist (r = -.63), sexist (r = -.59), callous (r = -.49), weak (r = -.42), wealthy (r = -.29), and authoritarian (r = -.32). All correlations were significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

The traits that respondents ascribed to their own group were positive, while traits respondents ascribed to the other group were negative. While the individual correlations were instructive, to gain a better understanding of the overall ingroup/outgroup biases of respondents I also created a single composite measure of the traits after reverse coding those traits with negative correlations. Consistency in ascribing traits to the ingroup across all traits, indicated by extreme low or high scores on the composite measure, would show the salience of these biases. I correlated that single scale with self-reported political beliefs to test the relationship between socio-political identity and ingroup preferences for that identity. The correlation coefficient was .75 (significant at 0.01 level, 2-tailed), indicating a strong relationship between conservative self-reported beliefs and attributing positive traits to conservatives, and liberal self-reported beliefs and attributing positive traits to liberals.

Socio-Political Identity Findings

Overall, socio-political identities of respondents were inter-correlated, were measurable, and appeared to reflect consistent differences between individuals in their political orientations. Respondents also embraced other closely linked identities that underscored and reinforced their

specific socio-political identity. Students in this study recognized their political identities and held identifiable and consistent ingroup/outgroup biases and it appears their political identity affected their perceptions of others in higher education. These findings set the stage for the next research focus.

How Ideology Shapes Student Perceptions and Experiences in Higher Education

Political identity informs individuals' world views and group membership. Individuals across the political spectrum engage in politically motivated reasoning to reinforce beliefs that adhere to their views, while rejecting beliefs counter to their views (Kahan, 2007; Kunda, 1990). Indeed, political ideology has been linked to many outcomes, including how students view their education and their ability to engage others in the educational process (Kelly-Woessner & Woessner, 2006, 2008; Yair & Sulitzeanu-Kenan, 2015). In this section, I thus examine whether, and to what extent, ideology shapes student perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education.

Campus Expression Survey

Prior results from Heterodox Academy's Campus Expression Survey has shown that students with different political ideologies have different perceptions of, and experiences within, higher education (Stevens, 2017a, 2017b). These differences in perceptions and experiences may stem from ingroup/outgroup dynamics that reward similarly-minded individuals and that sanction those with differing worldviews. As academia is predominately liberal and progressive, conservative students may be more sensitive to perceived sanctions from the prevailing ideology, and thus may be less willing to speak out about political topics (Linvill & Havice, 2011; Stevens, 2017b; Wills, Brewster, & Nowak, in press).

Willingness to speak. Respondents were asked about their willingness to speak out in class about controversial topics. Liberals indicated more comfort in discussing politics, however, the Chi-Square test ($\chi^2(9) = 6.67$; $p = .67$) found no statistically significant differences between groups. Of the total sample, 7.5% of respondents indicated they would be very reluctant to give their political views in class, 26.1% would be somewhat reluctant, 26.6% would be somewhat comfortable, and 39.8% of respondents would be very comfortable giving their political views in class. When broken down by self-reported political beliefs, 68.8% of respondents who were very liberal reported being somewhat or very comfortable speaking up about their political beliefs in class, while 75.4% of liberal respondents, 62.8% of moderate respondents, and 63.0% of conservative respondents reported the same.

Concern for consequences of speaking. The Campus Expression Survey also asked respondents to indicate their levels of concern for potential consequences of speaking out in class about a controversial political topic. Table 4.4 below shows each measure of consequences for speaking up in class on political topics. The measures in the table are organized by whether they are consequences from other students or from professors. The table lists the proportions of very liberal, liberal, moderate, and conservative respondents who indicated having no concern or concern about each measure. The table also gives the Chi-Square test for each measure. The Yes category represents respondents who indicated anything from *slightly concerned* to *extremely concerned* in the original measure. Table 4.4 also reports the results of the three variables that asked respondents to indicate if their opinions had ever been dismissed, they were personally criticized, or they had ever felt discriminated against because they had shared their political beliefs in class.

Table 4.4: Proportion of Respondents Indicating Concern by Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	Very Liberal		Liberal		Moderate		Conservative		Chi-Square
Student	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Other students would criticize my views as offensive.	.44	.56	.35	.65	.29	.71	.28	.72	2.10
Someone would post critical comments about my views on social media.	.56	.44	.53	.47	.43	.57	.58	.42	3.89
Someone would file a complaint claiming that my views violated a campus harassment policy or code of conduct.	.75	.25	.74	.26	.64	.36	.40	.60	17.42**
Faculty									
The professor would criticize my views as offensive.	.69	.31	.53	.23	.48	.52	.28	.72	13.22*
The professor would say my views are wrong.	.56	.44	.61	.39	.54	.47	.31	.69	12.86*
The professor would give me a lower grade because of my views.	.75	.25	.65	.24	.52	.48	.28	.72	21.47**
Have you ever felt discriminated against by a professor because of your political beliefs?	.94	.06	.95	.05	.80	.20	.61	.39	24.43**
Have you ever hidden your political beliefs from a professor out of fear?	.88	.13	.83	.17	.70	.30	.51	.49	18.41**
Have you ever felt that your opinion was dismissed or you were personally criticized because you shared your views on a controversial political topic?	.75	.25	.86	.14	.78	.22	.63	.37	8.93*

** $p \leq .001$
* $p < .05$

There are several noteworthy findings within Table 4.4. Proportionally, respondents across the political spectrum generally reported being more concerned about consequences generated by other students than by professors. For example, a total of 68.9% of all respondents indicated they were concerned that other students could criticize their views as offensive, whereas 55.2% of respondents expressed concern that professors would criticize their views as offensive. However, respondents in this study still expressed concern for consequences from professors for speaking up about their political beliefs. Half of respondents (51.0% and 50.0%, respectively) indicated concern that the professor would say their views were wrong, or that a professor would give them a lower grade for speaking up.

Still, 50.0% of respondents said they were concerned that someone would post critical comments on social media, and 39.4% of respondents reported concern that somebody would file a complaint against them. The high proportion of the sample reporting concern about a complaint being filed against them is particularly striking as this is arguably the most extreme consequence on the list and theoretically is the rarest outcome. On the other hand, the majority of respondents overall also reported that they had never felt discriminated against by a professor (79.6% indicated no), had never hidden their political beliefs from a professor out of fear (69.0%), or had never felt their opinion was dismissed or criticized (75.6%).

Concerns about consequences from other students were uniform across self-reported political beliefs, though the Chi-Square test for concern about somebody filing a complaint showed significant difference, with conservatives reporting more concern. A total 25.0% of very liberal, 26.3% of liberal, and 60.0% of conservative respondents indicated concern for somebody filing a complaint of harassment against them. Across faculty consequences, moreover, conservative students consistently expressed greater concern for, and experiences with,

consequences for speaking out about a political belief. For example, 71.9% of conservative students reported concern that a professor would give them a lower grade because of their views, while only 25.0% of very liberal, and 23.8% of liberal, respondents expressed that concern. Likewise, 72.3% of conservative respondents reported concern that a professor would criticize their views as offensive, while 31.3% of very liberal and 23.1% of liberal respondents reported the same. The majority of very liberal and liberal students reported no concern for consequences of speaking out about their politics across the board, whereas the majority of conservative students reported concern for consequences. Though less than a majority of conservative students reported actual outcomes from speaking out (i.e. felt discriminated against, hid political beliefs, felt opinion was dismissed), there were still significantly more conservatives who reported these outcomes compared to liberals.

Large proportions of respondents across the political spectrum reported some level of reluctance and concern for discussing politics and were seemingly more concerned about the reactions of other students rather than the reactions of faculty. However, there were significant differences in the concern for, and experiences with, negative consequences across the political spectrum. Liberal students reported being significantly more comfortable discussing politics in class and were significantly less concerned about the possible consequences. Conversely, the majority of conservative students reported significantly greater fear of consequences from both faculty and other students. These findings mirror Heterodox Academy's findings (Stevens, 2017b). Liberal and conservative students report very different perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education.

Perceptions of Political Bias in Academia

Research on politically motivated reasoning suggests individuals view their groups as relatively objective and view others in different groups as more biased (Crawford et al., 2013). When asked if there are political biases in academia, motivated reasoning would suggest liberals would more likely believe there is a conservative bias in the academy while conservatives would be more likely to believe there is a liberal bias. Both groups, moreover, would report that political bias negatively affects academia, but they should point to the other group as being the source of that bias. Further, because professors are part of liberal students' group, liberal respondents should be more inclined to say professors are fair and impartial. I test these possibilities in the next section.

Perceptions of political bias. The survey asked respondents whether they believed a liberal or conservative bias existed in academia. As shown in Table 4.5, significantly greater percentages of respondents indicated a liberal bias in the academia than a conservative bias (66.7% versus 19.5% indicated agree or strongly agree for liberal bias or conservative bias, respectively). Likewise, significantly greater proportions of respondents indicated research and teaching was negatively affected by liberal bias than by conservative bias. However, the vast majority of respondents (80.6%) also reported that professors are fair and impartial. That being said, 38.7% of respondents also indicated they knew faculty who used the classroom to politically indoctrinate students.

Table 4.5 also includes the correlation coefficient for each statement correlated with self-reported political beliefs. A full analysis of inter-correlations shows the expected pattern that perceptions of liberal bias in academia, teaching, and research are significantly correlated, as are perceptions or conservative bias in academia, teaching, and research. All correlation coefficients

for the self-reported political beliefs were also significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Liberal respondents were more likely to report a conservative bias in academia, while respondents who identified as conservative were more likely to report a liberal bias in academia. Conservatives were also less likely to agree that professors are fair and impartial and they were more likely to report knowing faculty who use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students.

An exploratory factor analysis, using a principle components extraction and varimax rotation, yielded two components with eigenvalues greater than 1. This 2-factor solution accounted for a cumulative 63.94% of the variance explained. Table 4.6 presents the factor loadings from the principal component analysis with a varimax rotation greater than .66 for the five-factor solution. I selected .66 as the cut off for the factor loadings because there seemed to be a natural break in the data.

The two-factor solution highlights the latent constructs that are informed by ideology and appear to support the study's hypothesis. Respondents generally reported either a liberal bias in academia or a conservative bias in academia. From the factor analyses, I created two scales: A Liberal Bias in Academia scale that included the first four measures in Table 4.6 (Cronbach's alpha of .84), and a Conservative Bias in Academia scale that contained the last three measures in Table 4.6. This scale has acceptable internal consistency, with an alpha of .76.

Both scales were significantly correlated with self-reported political ideology at the 0.01 level (two-tailed). The liberal bias scale was significantly correlated with self-reported conservative beliefs ($r = .54$) while the conservative bias scale was significantly correlated with self-reported liberal beliefs ($r = -.28$). This supports the research hypothesis and shows respondents are likely engaging in politically motivated reasoning.

Table 4.5: Proportions of Respondents indicating Disagreement or Agreement for Perceptions of Political Bias in Academia

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD	r(self-reported political beliefs)
There is a liberal bias in academia	.05	.28	.42	.25	2.86	0.85	.46**
There is a conservative bias in academia	.24	.57	.17	.02	1.98	0.71	-.33**
Research is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia	.11	.46	.28	.15	2.47	0.88	.52**
Research is negatively affected by a conservative bias in academia	.21	.59	.16	.05	2.04	0.74	-.19**
Teaching is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia	.10	.41	.31	.18	2.57	0.90	.51**
Teaching is negatively affected by a conservative bias in academia	.20	.61	.14	.05	2.04	0.74	-.18**
The vast majority of professors are fair and impartial	.03	.16	.62	.19	2.96	0.69	-.20**
I know faculty who use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students	.23	.38	.27	.12	2.27	0.95	.29**

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

Table 4.6: Factor Loadings for 2-Factor Solution (Varimax Rotation)

Variable	1 Liberal Bias	2 Conservative Bias
Research is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia	.88	
Teaching is negatively affected by a liberal bias in academia	.87	
There is a liberal bias in academia	.81	
I know faculty who use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students	.68	
Research is negatively affected by a conservative bias in academia		.90
Teaching is negatively affected by a conservative bias in academia		.89
There is a conservative bias in academia		.66

Perceptions of professor political ideology. Respondents assessed the political beliefs of professors in the DL program as another measure of political bias in academia. When asked about the political ideology of professors in their program, 3.1% of respondents rated the professors as very liberal (n=7), 29.1% rated the professors as liberal (n=65), 64.1% reported the professors are moderate (n=143), 3.1% said professors are conservative (n=7), and 0.4% stated professors are very conservative (n=1). Respondents' perceptions of UC DL professors' political beliefs were not significantly correlated with their self-reported political ideology.

Perceptions of political ideology in the discipline. Students were also asked to politically describe the field of criminology. Criminology was classified as very liberal by 3.7% of respondents (n=9), liberal by 26.7% of respondents (n=65), moderate by 53.5% of respondents (n=130), conservative by 15.2% of respondents (n=37), and very conservative by 0.8% of respondents (n=2). The mean was 2.83 (SD=0.76). Consistent with the prior finding, students' self-reported political beliefs were not significantly correlated with their perception of the discipline's political slant. However, students' perceptions of the politics of UC faculty correlated positively (r = .48) with their perceptions of the discipline, suggesting that faculty serve as broader representatives of the academic discipline. It is possible that students' reference points for the political composition of the discipline are restricted to the professors they interact with in their programs and that students might not be fully aware of the political slant of the broader discipline.

Causes of Political Disparity in Academia

As noted in the previous section, politically motivated reasoning allows individuals to perceive objectivity within their ingroup and to perceive bias in their outgroup (Balliet et al.,

2014; Tajfel et al., 1971). Explanations of why the political disparity in faculty in higher education exists should follow this same pattern. Motivated reasoning within liberals would allow liberal respondents to explain political disparities that favor them in terms that positively endorse liberals. Conservatives, however, should explain these unfavorable political disparities in terms that more positively endorse conservatives.

Table 4.7 below shows the proportion of respondents who indicated *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree* for each statement regarding the possible cause of political disparities in academia. In general, there does not seem to be one clear cause to which respondents attributed the political disparity in academia. The majority of respondents (63.1%) suggested conservatives are attracted to other careers. A total of 56.9% of respondents indicated agreement or strong agreement that liberals are more tolerant of competing ideas and find the academic environment more welcoming, and 51.3% indicated that liberals respect science more than conservatives. On the other hand, 74.3% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that liberals are more intelligent on average than conservatives. The majority also disagreed or strongly disagreed that causes of political disparity include conservative students who do not receive the same level of mentoring (69.6%), that conservative students do not see the value in social equality and social justice (64.7%), or that conservative students do not apply to graduate school at the same rates as liberal students (63.1%).

Table 4.8 shows the correlation matrix for the causes of the political disparity and self-reported political beliefs. Not only are causes that ascribe negative traits to conservatives significantly correlated with liberal ideology, but also several of the causes are highly inter-correlated. For example, explanations for the political disparity surrounding liberal sentiments for tolerance, intelligence, respect for science, and conservative sentiments against diversity are

highly correlated. Other explanations about why so few conservatives can be found in the academy, such as they are attracted to other careers or they do not get mentored, were not as strongly inter-correlated. Conservative respondents, however, were significantly less likely to attribute the political disparity in academia to liberals being more intelligent, to liberals being more tolerant, to conservatives finding the diverse environment unwelcoming, to liberals respecting science, or to conservatives not seeing the value in social justice. More conservative respondents were also more likely to attribute the political disparity to conservatives not getting mentored.

An exploratory factor analysis, using a principle components extraction and varimax rotation, yielded two components with eigenvalues greater than 1. This 2-factor solution accounted for a cumulative 58.89% of the variance explained. Table 4.9 presents the factor loadings from the principal component analysis with a varimax rotation greater than .61 for the five-factor solution. I selected .62 as the cut off for the factor loadings because there seemed to be a natural break in the data. The two factors include positive liberal endorsement and positive conservative endorsement.

The two-factor solution highlights latent constructs that are informed by ideology. Several possible causes of the political disparity hold more positive liberal endorsements, such as liberals being more tolerant, pro-science, and more intelligent. These causes of political disparity were significantly correlated with self-reported liberal political beliefs. The second factor, ascribing more positive conservative characteristics to the political disparity, such as differences in applying for graduate school or differences in mentoring, were either not significantly correlated with self-reported political ideology or were significantly correlated with conservative political beliefs.

Table 4.7: Proportions of Respondents indicating Disagreement or Agreement for Causes of Political Disparity

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD
Liberals are, on average, more intelligent than conservatives so they are more likely to pursue an advanced degree	.28	.46	.15	.11	2.08	0.92
Conservatives are more attracted to other careers and not academia	.05	.32	.48	.15	2.73	0.77
Liberals are more tolerant of competing ideas and thus find the academic environment welcoming	.22	.22	.35	.22	2.57	1.06
Conservative students do not apply to graduate school at the same rates as liberal students	.12	.51	.33	.04	2.29	0.73
Conservatives may find a diverse environment unwelcoming	.15	.34	.37	.14	2.50	0.91
Liberals respect science more than conservatives	.13	.35	.33	.18	2.56	0.94
Conservative students don't see the value in social equality and social justice	.23	.42	.24	.11	2.24	0.93
Conservative students do not receive the same level of mentoring or advocacy by faculty	.17	.53	.22	.08	2.22	0.82

Table 4.8: Correlation Matrix for Causes of Political Disparity and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Liberals more Intelligent	1.0								
2. Conservatives Attracted to Other Careers	.16*	1.0							
3. Liberals more Tolerant	.57**	.26**	1.0						
4. Conservatives don't Apply to Grad School	.28**	.21**	.06	1.0					
5. Conservatives find Diverse Environment Unwelcoming	.47**	.19**	.59**	.20**	1.0				
6. Liberals Respect Science	.57**	.27**	.68**	.27**	.61**	1.0			
7. Conservatives don't see Value in Social Justice	.53**	.20**	.49**	.26**	.59**	.58**	1.0		
8. Conservatives don't get Mentored	.01	.08	-.20**	.07	-.05	-.11	.10	1.0	
9. Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.52**	-.12	-.62**	-.11	-.47**	-.60**	-.52**	.19**	1.0

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 4.9: Factor Loadings for 2-Factor Solution (Varimax Rotation)

Variable	1 Positive Liberal Endorsement	2 Positive Conservative Endorsement
Liberals are more tolerant of competing ideas and thus find the academic environment welcoming	.86	
Liberals respect science more than conservatives	.86	
Conservatives may find a diverse environment unwelcoming	.79	
Liberals are, on average, more intelligent than conservatives so they are more likely to pursue an advanced degree	.73	
Conservative students don't see the value in social equality and social justice	.72	
Conservative students do not receive the same level of mentoring or advocacy by faculty		.74
Conservative students do not apply to graduate school at the same rates as liberal students		.62

I created scales from the two-factor solution. The first scale is Liberal Endorsement, and included the first five measures in Table 4.9. The scale had good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .87), a mean of this scale equaled 11.96 (SD = 3.85), with a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 20. The second scale, the Conservative Endorsement scale, had unacceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .13), so I did not calculate the scale.

The Liberal Endorsement scale was significantly correlated with self-reported liberal beliefs (r = -.67) at the 0.01 level (two-tailed), strongly suggesting that explanations for the political disparity in academia is also the product of underlying political allegiances. It is clear that explanations of political disparities in higher education that ascribe positive traits to liberals are significantly correlated with more liberal self-reported beliefs. However, the results surrounding conservative endorsement of political disparities are ambiguous.

Expected Professor Roles

Liberals and conservatives have different underlying assumptions about human nature and different core values (Gaus et al., 2018; Haidt, 2012; Muller, 1997). For liberals, social justice and egalitarianism are core values that require constant nurturing and protecting. For conservatives, respect for institutions is of the utmost importance. These core values are expected to translate into different beliefs concerning the role of a professor. When given a list of possible professor roles, liberals and conservatives can be expected to agree most with the roles that highlight and enhance their core values.

Table 4.10 below shows the proportion of respondents who indicated *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree* for each professors' role, as well as the mean and standard deviation. Some professors' roles were supported by the majority of respondents, including that

professors should publish empirical research (97.6% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed), teach students good moral values (81.9%), and advocate for law and order (84.9%). The majority of respondents also agreed or strongly agreed that professors should challenge the status quo (77.0%), teach students to respect the authority of government (72.7%), advance the causes of social justice (62.2%), be an advocate for minorities and underrepresented groups (59.5%), and mentor students to be politically active (57.3%). The majority of respondents (90.0%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that professors should change the political views of students. Respondents were mixed in their agreement or disagreement that professors should explain white privilege.

Several of these roles were inter-correlated and were correlated with self-identified political beliefs. Table 4.11 shows the correlation matrix. First, several professor roles, including advancing the causes of social justice, advocating for minorities and underrepresented groups, engaging in political activism, changing the political views of students, challenging the status quo, mentoring students to be politically active, and discussing and explaining white privilege were all significantly correlated. Second, advocating for law and order, teaching students to respect the authority of government, and teaching students' good moral values were significantly correlated. Finally, several professor roles were also significantly correlated with self-identified political beliefs. Conservative respondents were less likely to agree that professors should advance the causes of social justice, advocate for minorities and underrepresented groups, engage in political activism, change the political views of students, challenge the status quo, mentor students to be politically active, and discuss and explain white privilege. Conservative respondents were also more likely to agree that professors should teach students to respect the authority of government.

Table 4.10: Proportions of Respondents indicating Disagreement or Agreement for Professors' Roles

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD
Advance the causes of social justice	.12	.26	.46	.16	2.67	0.89
Be an advocate for minorities and underrepresented groups	.09	.31	.42	.18	2.67	0.87
Engage in political activism	.21	.42	.30	.07	2.24	0.86
Advocate for law and order	.04	.11	.61	.24	3.05	0.71
Publish empirical research	.00	.02	.44	.54	3.51	0.55
Change the political views of students	.41	.49	.08	.02	1.71	0.70
Challenge the status quo	.05	.18	.58	.19	2.91	0.75
Teach students to respect the authority of government	.07	.21	.53	.20	2.86	0.81
Teach students good moral values	.06	.12	.49	.33	3.09	0.82
Mentor students to be politically active	.11	.31	.46	.12	2.58	0.84
Discuss and explain white privilege	.28	.30	.28	.14	2.28	1.03

Table 4.11: Correlation Matrix for Professors' Roles and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1. Advance Causes of Social Justice	1.0											
2. Be Advocate for Minorities and Underrepresented Groups	.70**	1.0										
3. Engage in Political Activism	.68**	.62**	1.0									
4. Advocate for Law and Order	.29**	.24**	.19**	1.0								
5. Publish Empirical Research	.01	.09	-.00	.05	1.0							
6. Change Political Views of Students	.43**	.36**	.50**	.03	-.05	1.0						
7. Challenge Status Quo	.32**	.44**	.36**	.17*	.17*	.30**	1.0					
8. Teach Students to Respect Authority of Government	.01	-.01	-.10	.42**	-.10	-.05	-.03	1.0				
9. Teach Students Good Moral Values	.27**	.24**	.14*	.49**	-.05	.02	.08	.48**	1.0			
10. Mentor Students to be Politically Active	.38**	.43**	.45**	.17*	.04	.36**	.19**	.12	.33**	1.0		
11. Discuss and Explain White Privilege	.54**	.56**	.56**	.03	.13	.41**	.38**	-.11	.10	.34**	1.0	
12. Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.45**	-.50**	-.47**	.03	-.16*	-.25**	-.36**	.23**	.06	-.24**	-.51**	1.0

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Using a principle components extraction and varimax rotation, an exploratory factor analysis of the roles of professors yielded three components with eigenvalues greater than 1. This 3-factor solution accounted for a cumulative 62.90% of the variance explained. Table 4.12 presents the factor loadings greater than .70 for the three-factor solution. I selected .70 as the cut off for the factor loadings because there seemed to be a natural break in the data. The three factors included a social justice orientation, a law and order orientation, and an empirical research orientation.

The three-factor solution highlights three general orientations towards faculty roles. The first relates to social justice, and the perspective that professors should engage in politically progressive efforts. The second law and order orientation suggests professors should teach students to be respectful, moral, and lawful. The third construct of professor roles surrounds publishing empirical research. I created two scales from these constructs. The first scale reflected a Social Justice Orientation, and includes the first five measures listed in the Table 4.12. The internal consistency of this scale was good (Cronbach's alpha = .85), and the mean equaled 11.57 (SD = 3.45) with a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 20. The second scale measured the Law and Order Orientation and contained the three measures for the second factor in Table 4.12. Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .72, showing acceptable consistency. The mean for this scale equaled 9.00 (SD = 1.89), with a minimum of 3 and a maximum of 12.

The Social Justice Orientation scale was significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs ($r = -.56$; $p < .01$), with more liberal respondents more likely to agree that professors should have a role engaging in social justice. However, the Law and Order Orientation scale was not significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs. This could be due to the fact that the sample is composed of students in a criminal justice program.

Table 4.12: Factor Loadings for 3-Factor Solution (Varimax Rotation)

Variable	1 Social Justice Orientation	2 Law and Order Orientation	3 Empirical Research Orientation
Engage in political activism	.85		
Advance the causes of social justice	.81		
Be an advocate for minorities and underrepresented groups	.78		
Discuss and explain white privilege	.73		
Change the political views of students	.71		
Teach student good moral values		.82	
Teach students to respect the authority of government		.79	
Advocate for law and order		.78	
Publish empirical research			.89

Ideology's Role in Shaping Perceptions and Experiences in Higher Education Findings

The results so far show that ideology shapes students' perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education. Students in this study adhere to their ideological groups' reasoning on outgroup biases and ingroup virtues. This played out explicitly in how respondents perceived political bias in the academy, in how respondents attributed political disparities to specific causes, and in how students perceived the role of faculty in academia. For example, liberal respondents reported a conservative bias in academia, attributed the cause of the political disparity in academia to positive liberal traits (and to negative conservative traits), and believed professors should engage in roles specifically geared towards liberals' core values of social justice and egalitarianism. Conversely, conservatives were more likely to report a liberal bias in academia, to attribute the cause of the political disparity in academia to conditions besides negative conservative characteristics (and positive liberal characteristics), and to believe professors should not engage in political advocacy roles.

Finally, there were clear differences between liberals and conservatives in their reluctance and concern for speaking out about political topics in the classroom. Liberal students are part of the majority group on campuses and did not tend to report much discomfort with or concern about the consequences of speaking out. Conservatives, on the other hand, do not share their professors' views and they perceived they do not share their classmates' views. Conservative students thus appeared to define themselves or to believe that they are treated as part of the outgroup on campus, and consequently they showed relatively more concern about the consequences of speaking out about beliefs that set them apart from the ingroup. Students' experiences in higher education thus appear to be driven, at least in part, by their socio-political identities and the groups that enforce those identities.

How Ideology Shapes Views of Science, General Policy, and Criminal Justice Policy

Do political identities shape views of science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy? The literature on motivated reasoning suggests the answer to this question is in the affirmative as research has shown that people formulate opinions on science and policy based on their political group membership (Cohen, 2003; Kahan et al., 2011; Nisbet et al., 2015). Similarly, studies show that individuals distrust scientists who offer opposing viewpoints (Dixon & Hubner, 2018; Scheitle, 2018) and that motivated reasoning becomes stronger with increased levels of education (Henry & Napier, 2017; Kahan, in press). This sample of current and former students represents highly educated individuals and it is expected that their policy and science stances will be predicted by their self-reported political identity.

Beliefs in Science

The body of literature on motivated reasoning shows that stances on scientific issues often stem from political ideology and party membership (Kahan et al., 2011; Nisbet et al., 2015). In fact, fluency in science often strengthens motivated reasoning instead of mitigating against it (Kahan et al., 2012). Liberals and conservatives also appear to engage in motivated reasoning in equal parts but especially on issues that confront deeply held beliefs (Ditto et al., in press). Therefore, stances on science-based statements are expected to be informed by political ideology for both liberals and conservatives.

Table 4.13 below shows the proportion of respondents who indicated *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, and *strongly agree* for each science-based statement, as well as the mean and standard deviation. Most of the scientific statements below elicited general agreement from the respondents. A total of 86.7% of respondents indicated agreement or strong agreement that

findings from social science research can be trusted. The vast majority of respondents (82.2%) agreed or strongly agreed that genes influence criminal and antisocial behavior. Respondents who agreed or strongly agreed that climate change is real and is caused by mankind accounted for 76.9% of the sample, while 74.3% of respondents indicated agreement or strong agreement that race is a social construct instead of a biological construct.

Several of these science-based beliefs, however, were significantly correlated with self-identified political beliefs and were also inter-correlated. Table 4.14 below shows these correlations. As a reminder, the self-reported political beliefs measure was coded with 1 as *very liberal*, and 4 as *conservative*. As noted below, science beliefs regarding the trustworthiness of social science, Darwinian evolution, climate change, homosexuality, and race were all significantly and negatively correlated with self-reported political beliefs. In other words, respondents who were more conservative were also less likely to support those science-oriented statements.

Table 4.13: Proportions of Respondents indicating Disagreement or Agreement for Science-Based Statements

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD
Findings from social science research can be trusted	.01	.12	.72	.15	3.00	0.57
Scientific evidence supports Darwinian evolution	.05	.24	.50	.21	2.87	0.80
Differences between the sexes are primarily caused be biology	.04	.25	.57	.15	2.83	0.72
Climate change is real and is caused by mankind	.08	.16	.45	.32	3.01	0.88
Homosexuality is primarily caused be biology and is not a choice	.08	.26	.41	.25	2.82	0.90
Race is a social construct, not a biological construct	.06	.19	.46	.28	2.96	0.85
Genes influence criminal and antisocial behavior	.04	.14	.55	.27	3.05	0.75
IQ tests measure something meaningful and consequential for life outcomes	.05	.39	.47	.09	2.59	0.73

Table 4.14: Correlation Matrix for Science Beliefs and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Trustworthiness	1.0								
2. Darwinian Evolution	.28**	1.0							
3. Differences between Sexes	.02	-.03	1.0						
4. Climate Change	.42**	.26**	-.17*	1.0					
5. Homosexuality is Biological	.31**	.35**	-.02	.41**	1.0				
6. Race Social Construct	.22**	.11	-.15*	.29**	-.01	1.0			
7. Genes Influence Behavior	.12	.11	.28**	.06	.17*	-.06	1.0		
8. IQ Tests	-.02	.05	.23**	-.09	.05	-.14*	.30**	1.0	
9. Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.30**	-.31**	.11	-.58**	-.38**	-.20**	-.11	.01	1.0

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Likewise, several of these science statements were inter-correlated, as shown in Table 4.14. Trustworthiness of social science was significantly correlated with support for Darwinian evolution, climate change, the genetic cause of homosexuality, and the social construction of race. Darwinian evolution was also significantly correlated with a belief in climate change and the genetic origins of homosexuality. Thus, it is clear that agreement or disagreement with several of these issues, including trustworthiness in social science, Darwinian evolution, climate change, homosexuality, and race, stem from buy-in to broader socio-political identities. The inter-correlations of these science-oriented statements also suggest that individuals hold packages of beliefs. These packages of beliefs link disparate views to each other and may serve to indicate membership to certain socio-political identities. The section below reports the analyses on how these inter-correlated beliefs translate to bundles of policies that are predicted by socio-political identity.

General Social Policy

Individuals across the political spectrum often support or oppose policy positions consistent with their political group (Sears, Lau, Tyler, & Allen, 1980). This serves to instill and reinforce group membership (Cohen, 2003; Hogg et al., 2004). Because of this, political ideology is often predictive of policy stances. In this section, I will discuss the descriptive and correlational results for respondents' general social policy stances.

As noted by the proportions of respondents indicating opposition or support for general social policies in Table 4.15, the policies and social movements endorsed most often by respondents included funding research into the genetics and biology of crime and the War on

Terror. Areas most strongly opposed included hard drug legalization, suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech, and the Black Lives Matter movement.

General policy stances and self-identified political beliefs were correlated and inter-correlated. Table 4.16 shows the correlations for support for general policies and social movements with political beliefs. Affirmative action, marijuana decriminalization, hard drug legalization, increasing the minimum wage, the Affordable Care Act, unionization of graduate students, the Black Lives Matter movement, and suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech were all significantly correlated with self-identified liberal beliefs. Conversely, support for the War on Drugs, War on Terror, stop and frisk policies, and trying violent juveniles as adults were significantly correlated with self-identified conservative beliefs.

There were several other patterns of significant correlations that were notable. For example, support for affirmative action was significantly correlated with support for the Affordable Care Act ($r = .59$) and with support for the Black Lives Matter movement ($r = .61$). Support for marijuana decriminalization was positively associated with hard drug legalization ($r = .47$) and was negatively correlated with support for the War on Drugs ($r = -.47$). Support for the War on Drugs was correlated with support for the War on Terror ($r = .54$). Support for the War on Terror was significantly correlated with support for stop and frisk policies ($r = .45$) and was negatively associated with support for the Affordable Care Act ($r = -.44$) and the Black Lives Matter movement ($r = -.43$).

Table 4.15: Proportions of Respondents indicating Opposition or Support for General Policies

Variable	Strongly Oppose	Oppose	Support	Strongly Support	Mean	SD
Affirmative Action	.10	.22	.48	.20	2.78	0.88
Marijuana decriminalization	.13	.22	.35	.30	2.81	1.01
Hard drug legalization (e.g., cocaine, heroin)	.62	.23	.12	.04	1.58	0.84
The War on Drugs	.23	.31	.32	.14	2.37	0.99
The War on Terror	.05	.17	.35	.44	3.18	0.87
Increasing the minimum wage	.08	.26	.40	.26	2.84	0.91
The Affordable Care Act (Obamacare)	.22	.25	.27	.26	2.58	1.10
Unionization of graduate students	.18	.35	.38	.10	2.40	0.89
Stop and frisk policies (e.g., New York Police Department)	.18	.28	.37	.17	2.53	0.98
Trying violent juveniles as adults	.12	.28	.42	.18	2.65	0.91
Funding research into the genetics and biology of crime	.02	.05	.51	.42	3.34	0.65
The Black Lives Matter movement	.36	.25	.24	.15	2.18	1.08
Suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech	.33	.37	.25	.06	2.04	0.90

Table 4.16: Correlation Matrix for General Policy Support and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1. Affirmative Action	1.0													
2. Marijuana Decriminalization	.22**	1.0												
3. Hard Drug Legalization	.08	.47**	1.0											
4. War on Drugs	-.08	-.47**	-.40**	1.0										
5. War on Terror	-.25**	-.37**	-.32**	.54**	1.0									
6. Increasing Minimum Wage	.44**	.21**	.08	-.16*	-.21**	1.0								
7. Affordable Care Act	.59**	.35**	.21**	-.33**	-.44**	.57**	1.0							
8. Unionization of Graduate Students	.48**	.28**	.19**	-.15*	-.27**	.46**	.51**	1.0						
9. Stop and Frisk	-.49**	-.40**	-.28**	.38**	.45**	-.34**	-.56**	-.32**	1.0					
10. Trying Violent Juveniles as Adults	-.22**	-.28**	-.22**	.30**	.37**	-.20**	-.37**	-.26**	.44**	1.0				
11. Funding Research into Genetics and Biology of Crime	-.02	.09	.01	.02	.10	.07	.04	.05	-.01	.06	1.0			
12. Black Lives Matter Movement	.61**	.33**	.19**	-.27**	-.43**	.53**	.68**	.44**	-.62**	-.37**	-.02	1.0		
13. Suppressing Free Speech to Protect against Hate Speech	.20**	.01	.02	.04	-.07	.31**	.38**	.14*	-.14*	-.06	.04	.37**	1.0	
14. Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.49**	-.43**	-.30**	.42**	.53**	-.49**	-.73**	-.42**	.54**	.39**	-.10	-.60**	-.28**	1.0

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

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Respondents who supported increasing minimum wage also supported the Affordable Care Act (r = .57), unionization of graduate students (r = .46), and the Black Lives Matter movement (r = .53). Likewise, support for the Affordable Care Act was significantly correlated with support for unionization of graduate students (r = .51) and the Black Lives Matter movement (r = .68), while it is negatively correlated with support for stop and frisk policies (r = -.56). The Black Lives Matter movement was also significantly correlated with support for the unionization of graduate students (r = .44) and negatively correlated with support for stop and frisk policies (r = -.62). Support for stop and frisk policies was significantly associated with support for trying violent juveniles as adults (r = .44). In short, respondents generally seemed to support policies and social movements like Black Lives Matter, the Affordable Care Act, unionization of graduate students, affirmative action, marijuana decriminalization, hard drug legalization, and increasing the minimum wage, or they supported the War on Drugs, the War on Terror, and stop and frisk policies.

As with the inter-correlations between science beliefs, the relationships between general social policy stances provides initial evidence that respondents construct packages of beliefs. The individual policy stances should not, on their face, be highly correlated. That they are correlated indicates an underlying mechanism responsible for driving support across policies, which aligns with other research in this area (Cohen, 2003; Sears et al., 1980).

Criminal Justice Policy Issues

As with general social policy stances, respondents can use motivated reasoning to form their positions on criminal justice policy issues. This would be particularly notable as these respondents are criminal justice practitioners and can influence criminal justice policy outcomes.

This section reports the descriptive and correlations results of respondents' criminal justice policy stances.

Table 4.17 shows the proportions of agreement and disagreement for each policy issue. In general, respondents registered neither strong agreement nor strong disagreement for most of the criminal justice policy issues. The majority of respondents did agree with using drug courts that seek to divert drug offenders into community-based treatment programs and away from prisons, with laws that allow law-abiding citizens to carry concealed firearms, with keeping "super-max" prisons due to the role they play in managing dangerous inmates, with putting an end to police use of racial profiling, with expanding the use of early intervention programs, with expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with juvenile offenders and adult offenders, and with expanding the use of restorative justice programs. The majority of respondents disagreed with abolishing the juvenile court, with keeping three-strikes laws, with opposing capital punishment even if it was a deterrent, and with the statement that the high rate of imprisoning young, black male offenders makes inner-city communities safer.

Table 4.17 also includes the correlation coefficients for each criminal justice policy correlated with self-reported political beliefs. A full analysis of inter-correlations shows most criminal justice policy stances are highly correlated with each other. Equalizing the penalties for crack and powder cocaine was not significantly correlated with other policy stances, however, nor was keeping mandatory arrest policies for domestic violence or expanding the use of faith-based correctional programs.

Table 4.17: Proportions of Respondents indicating Disagreement or Agreement for Criminal Justice Policy Issues

Variable	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	SD	r(self-reported political beliefs)
Suspending the use of the death penalty because innocent people are almost certainly on death row	.15	.38	.26	.21	2.53	0.98	-.47**
Equalizing penalties for "crack" cocaine versus "powder" cocaine	.05	.05	.46	.44	3.28	0.79	-.04
Using drug courts that seek to divert drug offenders into community-based treatment programs and away from prisons	.02	.07	.38	.53	3.42	0.71	-.34**
Laws that allow law-abiding citizens to carry concealed firearms	.04	.10	.42	.44	3.27	0.79	.48**
Keeping Three-Strikes-and-You're-Out laws due to their role in preventing recidivism	.26	.38	.26	.11	2.20	0.95	.38**
Expanding the use of faith-based (religious-based) correctional programs	.20	.27	.44	.09	2.43	0.91	.33**
Keeping "super-max" prisons due to the role they play in managing dangerous inmates	.06	.14	.46	.34	3.08	0.84	.39**
Abolishing the juvenile court and giving youths the same legal rights and penalties as adults	.44	.43	.09	.04	1.73	0.80	.23**
Putting an end to police use of racial profiling	.06	.22	.34	.37	3.02	0.92	-.37**
Expanding the use of early intervention programs	.01	.04	.39	.57	3.51	0.62	-.27**
Retaining or expanding the use of imprisonment due to its incapacitation effects and role in the reduction of crime over the past decade	.21	.35	.35	.10	2.33	0.92	.42**
Repealing mandatory minimum sentencing, especially for drug offenders	.08	.24	.37	.31	2.90	0.93	-.39**
Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with juvenile offenders	.01	.05	.34	.61	3.55	0.61	-.38**
Expanding the use of restorative justice programs	.01	.12	.48	.38	3.23	0.72	-.22**
Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with adult offenders	.01	.07	.41	.51	3.43	0.65	-.40**

Passing stricter, national laws on the selling and ownership of firearms	.17	.23	.34	.26	2.68	1.04	-.56**
Keeping mandatory arrest policies in incidents where people are suspected of domestic violence	.04	.18	.55	.23	2.97	0.77	.01
Even if capital punishment was a deterrent, I would still oppose its use	.27	.37	.17	.19	2.27	1.06	-.48**
The courts in my area generally do not punish offenders harshly enough	.09	.43	.30	.19	2.58	0.90	.37**
In general, the criminal justice system is more fair than discriminatory	.15	.34	.39	.12	2.48	0.89	.49**
However unfortunate, the high rate of imprisoning young, black male offenders makes inner-city communities safer	.29	.37	.27	.08	2.14	0.92	.40**

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

All correlation coefficients between self-reported political beliefs and each policy statement were significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), except for equalizing the penalties for crack and powder cocaine and keeping mandatory arrest policies for domestic violence suspect. Those two policy statements were not significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs. Overall, respondents who identified as liberal tended to support rehabilitation and gun control and opposed the death penalty and incarceration. Respondents who identified as conservative tended to support stronger punishment, supported gun rights, and believed the criminal justice system is more fair than discriminatory.

Policy Packages

It is clear from the correlational analyses above that several of the views on science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy are correlated with self-reported political beliefs and with other policy stances. That seemingly unconnected views on science and policy are in fact highly correlated indicates there might be underlying mechanisms that connect them. It is possible that respondents form packages of beliefs, or bundles of policy stances, as indicators of their membership to their socio-political group and through their politically motivated reasoning (Cohen, 2003; Kahan, 2013; Sears et al., 1980; Singer et al., in press). This section tests if views on science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy form policy packages from underlying constructs and if political identity predicts these packages. To do this, all three areas (science-based statements, general policy stances, and criminal justice stances) were analyzed together.

An exploratory factor analysis, using a principle components extraction and varimax rotation, yielded nine components with eigenvalues greater than 1. This 9-factor solution

accounted for a cumulative 60.41% of the variance explained. Table 4.18 presents the factor loadings from the principal component analysis with a varimax rotation greater than .53 for the nine-factor solution. I selected .53 as the cut off for the factor loadings because there seemed to be a natural break in the data. The nine policy bundles include those on the DNC agenda, punishment, rehabilitation, drug legalization, secularism, genes and crime, race and police, sanction disparity, and identity.

As is evident in Table 4.18 below, views across science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy loaded onto the same policy packages. The exploratory factor analysis makes clear that endorsements of seemingly independent policies are in fact related through underlying mechanisms. For example, the first factor highlights the underlying relationship between support for the Affordable Care Act and gun control, which are on their face seemingly unrelated. While some of these factors, such as the Punishment and Rehabilitation policy packages, were mostly tied to criminal justice policies, other factors included items across science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy. The analysis shows that when respondents make assessments about criminal justice policy, in particular, those assessments are not independent of other background beliefs.

The nine-factor solution highlights nine general policy bundles. The first was labeled as the DNC Agenda, primarily because these items mirror the agenda of the DNC. These items include such policy items as the Affordable Care Act, gun control, climate change, increasing minimum wage, affirmative action, Black Lives Matter, unionization of graduate students, and suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech.

Table 4.18: Factor Loadings for 9-Factor Solution (Varimax Rotation)

Variable	1 DNC Agenda	2 Punishment	3 Rehabilitation	4 Drug Legalization	5 Secularism	6 Genes and Crime	7 Race and Police	8 Sanction Disparity	9 Identity
General Policy- Affordable Care Act	.77								
CJ Policy- Passing stricter, national laws on the selling and ownership of firearms	.71								
Science - Climate change is real and is caused by mankind	.70								
General Policy- Increasing Minimum Wage	.70								
General Policy- Affirmative Action	.67								
General Policy- Black Lives Matter Movement	.67								
General Policy- Unionization of Graduate Students	.61								
CJ Policy- Laws that allow law-abiding citizens to carry concealed firearms	-.61								
General Policy- Suppressing Free Speech to Protect against Hate Speech	.54								
General Policy- Trying Violent Juveniles as Adults		.67							
CJ Policy- Abolishing the juvenile court and giving youths the same legal rights and penalties as adults		.65							
CJ Policy- Retaining or expanding the use of imprisonment due to its incapacitation effects and role in the reduction of crime over the past decade		.65							
CJ Policy- Suspending the use of the death penalty because innocent people are almost certainly on death row		-.65							

CJ Policy- Even if capital punishment was a deterrent, I would still oppose its use	-.62		
CJ Policy- Keeping Three-Strikes-and-You're-Out laws due to their role in preventing recidivism	.61		
CJ Policy- The courts in my area generally do not punish offenders harshly enough	.60		
CJ Policy- Keeping "super-max" prisons due to the role they play in managing dangerous inmates	.55		
CJ Policy- Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with juvenile offenders		.75	
CJ Policy- Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with adult offenders		.75	
CJ Policy- Expanding the use of restorative justice programs		.69	
CJ Policy- Expanding the use of early intervention programs		.62	
CJ Policy- Using drug courts that seek to divert drug offenders into community-based treatment programs and away from prisons		.59	
General Policy- Hard Drug Legalization			.70
General Policy- War on Drugs			-.68
General Policy- Marijuana Decriminalization			.60
General Policy- War on Terror			-.58

CJ Policy- Expanding the use of faith-based (religious-based) correctional programs	-.62				
Science - Homosexuality is primarily caused by biology and is not a choice	.61				
Science - Scientific evidence supports Darwinian evolution	.57				
Science - Genes influence criminal and antisocial behavior		.74			
General Policy- Funding Research into Genetics and Biology of Crime		.53			
CJ Policy- Putting an end to police use of racial profiling			.78		
CJ Policy- Equalizing penalties for "crack" cocaine versus "powder" cocaine				.76	
Science - Race is a social construct, not a biological construct					.66
CJ Policy- Keeping mandatory arrest policies in incidents where people are suspected of domestic violence					.66

The second policy package reflects views on punishment and included items concerning criminal sanctions. The third construct includes items endorsing rehabilitation and represents support for expanding rehabilitative programs and using drug courts. The fourth policy bundle includes items about drugs and represents support for drug legalization and decriminalization, and opposition to the War on Drugs and the War on Terror. The War on Terror item appears to be unrelated to the other three items about drugs in the fourth policy package. I kept the item in the scale because all four items were significantly correlated. Further, the War on Terror item loading with three drug-related items speaks to the strength of ideology and motivated reasoning in forming policy packages.

The fifth policy package, secularism, supports evolution, suggests homosexuality is caused by biology, and opposes faith-based correctional programs. The sixth construct reflects views regarding genes and crime, specifically that genes influence criminal behavior and funding should go towards researching the link between genetics and crime. The seventh policy construct supports putting an end to police use of racial profiling. The sanction disparity construct supports equalizing the penalties for crack and powder cocaine. Finally, the ninth construct, the identity policy package, supports race being a social construct and keeping mandatory policies for domestic violence incidents.

I created four scales from these constructs. The first scale reflects the DNC Agenda and included the first nine measures listed in the Table 4.18. The internal consistency of this scale was good (Cronbach's alpha = .88), and the mean equaled 22.15 (SD = 6.05) with a minimum of 9 and a maximum of 34. The second scale was Punishment and contained the eight measures for the second factor in Table 4.18. Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .85, with a mean equal to 19.75 (SD = 5.20) and a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 20. The third scale was labeled

Rehabilitation, which was comprised of the five items from the third construct in Table 4.18. The mean for this scale equaled 17.19 (SD = 2.44) with a minimum of 9 and a maximum of 20, and a good internal consistency of .80. The final scale was Drug Legalization, which contained the four items in the fourth factor in Table 4.18. This scale had acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .75) with a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 16. The mean equaled 8.81 (SD = 2.82).

I also checked the internal consistency for the secularism, genes and crime, and identity constructs. However, all three had unacceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's alphas = .59, .57, and .19, respectively), so I did not create scales from those policy bundles.

Table 4.19 below shows the correlation matrix for the four policy bundle scales and self-reported political beliefs. The scales were significantly inter-correlated and significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). For example, the DNC Agenda scale, Rehabilitation scale, and Drug Legalization scale were all significantly correlated with more liberal political views. The Punishment scale, however, was significantly correlated with more conservative political views.

I next conducted a linear regression analyses of policy bundles on self-reported political beliefs and the control variables of sex, age, race, GPA, and the likelihood of pursuing a PhD in the future to assess the salience of socio-political identity in holding these packages of beliefs. Table 4.20 below shows the results of these four analyses. The adjusted R-square equaled .56 for the DNC Agenda model, .30 for the Punishment model, .14 for the Rehabilitation model, and .32 for the Drug Legalization model.

As shown in Table 4.20, self-reported political beliefs was a statistically significant and salient predictor across all four models. In fact, self-reported political ideology strongly predicted

each policy package, dwarfing the effects of all control variables. The more liberal the individual, for example, the more likely they endorsed the DNC package of beliefs, the less likely they supported the punishment package, the more likely they supported rehabilitation, and the more likely they endorsed drug legalization agendas. Just the opposite was true of conservatives.

Table 4.19: Correlation Matrix for Policy Scales and Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. DNC Agenda	1.0				
2. Punishment	-.51**	1.0			
3. Rehabilitation	.38**	-.54**	1.0		
4. Drug Legalization	.40**	-.57**	.35**	1.0	
5. Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-.73**	.57**	-.41**	-.56**	1.0

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

Table 4.20: Regression Analysis of Policy Packages on Self-Reported Political Beliefs

Variable	DNC Agenda			Punishment			Rehabilitation			Drug Legalization		
	b	Beta	SE	*b*	Beta	SE	*b*	Beta	SE	*b*	Beta	SE
Sex	-1.40*	-.11	.67	-.24	-.02	.70	-.15	-.03	.35	.39	.07	.37
Age	.02	.00	.30	-.01	-.00	.31	-.06	-.03	.16	-.39*	-.15	.17
Race	-.73	-.09	.42	-.21	-.03	.43	.21	.07	.22	.30	.08	.23
GPA	-.62*	-.12	.22	-.26	-.06	.30	-.04	-.02	.15	.18	.07	.16
Pursuing PhD in Future	.23	.05	.23	-.23	-.07	.23	.12	.08	.12	.11	.05	.12
Work in CJS	-.11	-.01	.70	.95	.08	.74	-.24	.05	.37	.25	.04	.39
Self-Reported Political Beliefs	-4.86**	.70	.38	3.11**	.53	.39	-.97**	-.36	.20	-1.73**	-.53	.21

** $p \leq .001$

* $p < .05$

Ideology's Role in Shaping Views on Science and Policy Findings

The above analyses converge to show the respondents' views on science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy are informed by their political identity. Many of these beliefs and policy stances gel together into broader, more ideologically connected, packages of beliefs, and thus suggest that ideologically motivated reasoning accounts for the pattern of findings. Indeed, it appears that an individual's endorsement of specific scale items provides a strong indication of that person's ideology, identity, and political group membership. Recall that these respondents are all highly educated and most work as practitioners in the criminal justice system or a related field. That self-reported political beliefs so strongly predicts respondents' stances on divergent science positions, social policy positions, and criminal justice policy positions indicates the strength of motivated reasoning that underlies these socio-political identities and converges with prior evidence linking higher levels of education to increased motivated reasoning (Henry & Napier, 2017; Jackman & Muha, 1984; Kahan, in press; Kahan et al., 2012; Rindermann et al., 2012).

Summary of the Findings

Overall, the study's research hypotheses are generally confirmed by the results. The research hypotheses and corresponding findings are below:

- Liberal and conservative respondents in this study did ascribe to several labels that indicated an underlying political identity. Self-reported liberals ascribed to the labels of feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, Democrat, environmentalist, socialist, and advocate/social activist. Self-identified conservatives labeled themselves as conservative, religious, and Republican. These labels did not offer any additional explanatory power

for respondents' socio-political identities beyond the single-item self-reported political beliefs measure. Some of the liberal labels, in particular, are embraced more on college campuses. Examples include feminist, radical, socialist, and social activist. Liberal students did report a greater sense of shared identity with fellow students and professors. Very liberal, liberal, and moderate students indicated greater social homophily with classmates and professors, compared to conservatives. In a regression of social homophily on self-reported political beliefs and control variables, self-reported political beliefs was the only significant predictor of perceptions of strong homophily.

- Students across the political spectrum did attribute positive characteristics to their group and attributed negative characteristics to the outgroup. Respondents reported positive traits such as trustworthy, objective, just, respectful, and compassionate were mostly characteristic of their political group. Conversely, they indicated negative characteristics such as racist, sexist, callous, and weak were mostly characteristic of the other political group.
- Liberal and conservative students did report significantly different perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education. Proportionally, liberal students reported feeling more comfortable in academia and were be more willing than conservative student to speak out about political topics. However, the differences in willingness to speak out were not statistically significant, and the majority of respondents indicated some degree of comfort in speaking out about their political views in class.
- Despite similar reported levels of comfort in speaking out about political topics in class, conservative students reported significantly greater concern than did liberal students for student and faculty sanctions for expressing political opinions. Conservative respondents

indicated significantly greater concern about faculty consequences, and indicated more experiences of discrimination, self-censorship, or criticism for sharing views on a controversial political topic. While conservative respondents also indicated significantly more concern than did liberal students for someone possibly filing a complaint against them, respondents across the political spectrum indicated similar levels of concern about the other two potential student consequences (i.e. criticizing views and posting on social media). Respondents reported being more concerned about student consequences than faculty consequences.

- Liberal students were more likely to perceive there is a conservative bias in academia, and that it negatively impacts teaching and research. Conservative students were more likely to perceive there is a liberal bias in academia, that the liberal bias negatively impacts teaching and research, and that faculty use the classroom to politically indoctrinate students. Liberal students were more likely to indicate professors are fair and impartial. Statements about political bias in academia coalesced into two distinct constructs, liberal bias and conservative bias, which were both significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs (liberal bias with conservative beliefs, and conservative bias with liberal beliefs).
- Liberal students in this study were be more likely to indicate conservatives are underrepresented in academia due to intrinsic differences between liberals and conservatives, such as conservatives being less in favor of diversity and liberals being more intelligent and respectful of science. Conservative students were less likely to ascribe negative traits to themselves, and instead were significantly more likely to indicate that the political disparity exists because conservative students do not get

mentored. Originally, I hypothesized that conservatives would also be more likely to indicate that conservatives are attracted to other careers and conservatives do not apply to graduate school as reasons for the political disparities, but these possible causes were not significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs.

- Regarding expected professor roles, liberal students were significantly more likely to believe professors should engage in advocacy and activism, especially in the arena of social justice and egalitarianism. I originally hypothesized that conservative students would be more likely to believe professors should teach students respect of authority and government. While that law and order orientation was a construct in the factor analysis, it was not significantly correlated with self-reported political beliefs. The majority of respondents across the political spectrum agreed that professors should engage in those roles, possibly because these respondents were mostly criminal justice practitioners.
- The findings clearly indicated liberal and conservative students deployed politically motivated reasoning in their agreement or disagreement with science-based statements, general policy stances, and criminal justice policy stances. Policy packages of science-based statements and policy stances emerged as symptoms of respondents' political identities and motivated reasoning. Policy packages related to the DNC agenda, punishment, rehabilitation, and drug legalization showed that views on some policies and science-based issues draw on other stances across science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy. Political identity was the most salient predictor of respondents' stances on these seemingly disparate, but connected, issues.

In summary, the findings indicate that respondents in this sample of current and former students in the University of Cincinnati's online Master of Science in Criminal Justice program

embodied powerful socio-political identities that consistently predicted perceptions and experiences in higher education as well as views on science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy. Liberal students reported feeling comfortable in higher education, and were not as concerned about the consequences of speaking out about a controversial political topic. Conservative respondents, on the other hand, reported social alienation from classmates and professors, and were significantly more concerned about the consequences of speaking out about political topics in class. All respondents indicated the deployment of ingroup/outgroup biases in traits and causes of political disparities in higher education, and of motivated reasoning in ascribing to policy packages.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Political identities are powerful predictors of perceptions, experiences, and beliefs. Individuals build their political identities through individual-level cognitive and emotional processes—processes that are eventually reinforced by joining homophilitic groups. Indeed, modern research shows that individuals are born with propensities towards certain political belief structures and that these partisan propensities are produced through the complex interplay of genetic, physiological, psychological, and socio-moral influences (Alford et al., 2005; Haidt, 2012; Kanai et al., 2011; Oxley et al., 2008).

Partisan preferences are thus deeply rooted in the human experience and involve cognitive and affective components that, when violated, generate a range of negative emotions. Because some views are preferred by individuals, and other views are rejected, rational decision-making appears easily compromised. Haidt (2012), for example, suggests that for most individuals, intuition, or a sense of what is correct and just relative to their beliefs, emerges prior to rational and deliberate efforts to test, accept, or to embrace those beliefs. Intuition, he argues, serves as a powerful motivator in individual decision-making in part because it anchors a person in a position or a set of positions that is consistent with their moral matrices (Haidt, 2007). Intuition, therefore, emerges prior to higher-order cognitive processes and appears to shape reasoning by injecting affective motives into the process. Motivated reasoning thus emerges as a way for individuals to reduce cognitive dissonance (Leeper & Slothuus, 2014).

Politically motivated reasoning, which dovetails with Haidt's work on the moral foundations of belief, occurs when individuals seek out information and results that align with

their political beliefs and that support their pre-existing views on morality (Kahan, 2007; Kunda, 1990; Taber & Lodge, 2016). Motivated reasoning causes individuals to seek out information that confirms their worldviews and to deny information that disconfirms their worldviews, to give undue weight to affirming evidence and to be hypercritical of evidence and of individuals that counter strongly held beliefs (Lord et al., 1979). These processes work to create partisan identities—identities that reduce cognitive complexity and emotional dissonance, and identities that compel us to join groups of similarly minded others. The tribal politics we see today represent the evolution of these processes.

Individuals form groups and build alliances with those who share their share worldviews or with those who, at a minimum, share a goal (Hogg, 2016). These groups, in turn, can exercise considerable power over individuals as the group provides incentives and rewards for conformity and the omnipotent threat of consequences (Marques et al., 1988). Individuals within a partisan group who violate group norms can be excluded, shunned, or targeted, as a litany of contemporary examples highlight (Bernstein, 2016). Because social exclusion can have devastating implications for the individual it becomes rational for group members to be sensitive to group norms and to adhere those norms (Barnett & Gotlib, 1988; Friedmann et al., 2006).

Group dynamics serve as a focal point for motivated reasoning, primarily because identification with a group imparts additional bias on a person's decision-making. Research shows, for example, that group processes create strong ingroup and outgroup biases and that these biases often result in distorted appraisals of others and of information that conflicts with the narratives of the group (Balliet et al., 2014; Tajfel et al., 1971). Scholars have found, for example, that individuals often hold strong negative views towards politically dissimilar others, that they are quite accurate in their assessments of who belongs to the ingroup and who does not,

and that the potency of these biases exceed biases typically associated with race and sex differences (Iyengar et al., 2012; Pietraszewski et al., 2015). This same body of scholarship also converges to show that ingroup members who violate group norms are viewed even more negatively than are outgroup members (Marques et al., 2001). Groups constantly assess ingroup and outgroup dynamics, they police ingroup behavior, and they will excommunicate people who are perceived to have betrayed the group.

All of these dynamics have been found to be implicated in the acceptance or denial of scientific information. When, for example, scientific views appear to confirm a group's underlying assumptions and world views, the group celebrates that science as proof they are correct (Kahan, 2007; Kahan et al., 2011; Suhay & Druckman, 2015). When the prevailing scientific knowledge discounts the group's political stances, however, research shows that the group will not only discount the science but also the individual scientists and even the scientific community. Studies of trust in science show that individuals across party lines trust science on certain topics but broadly distrust science on other topics (Dixon & Hubner, 2018; Nisbet et al., 2015; Scheitle, 2018). Liberals, as an example, have been found to support scientific consensus on climate change but to reject science associated with the safety of nuclear power (Jenkins-Smith, Silva, Nowlin, & deLozier, 2011). By contrast, all surveys show that conservatives are comparatively less likely to endorse the science on climate change, with contemporary studies showing that conservatives believe climate change is occurring but do not endorse typically liberal efforts to curtail it (Kahan, 2013; McCright, Dentzman, Charters, & Dietz, 2013; Nisbet et al., 2015).

All groups, including those found in higher education, are built on an underlying set of moral principles. These principles often gel to create and to reify specific issues and narratives

held by the group. Haidt (2011, 2012) refers to these reified issues and narratives as "sacred values." These values serve various purposes: they unite the group with a common set of narratives concerning deeply held beliefs, they set inelastic boundaries around those issues and narratives, and they create strong incentives that compel individuals to avoid challenging those values. Sacred values become untouchable and unquestionable, and anyone who violates these values, according to Haidt, are often considered immoral and profane (Haidt, 2011). Sacred values thus bind the group together under a common banner, but they also blind members from any logical inconsistencies in their positions. The binding and blinding dynamics of groups described by Haidt (2012) drives individuals deeper into their socio-political identities at the same time the process drives competing groups apart. Individuals, for example, tend not to date people or to befriend people from opposing political parties, while research also shows that a range of choices people make, from the type of food they eat to the televisions shows they watch, are affected by partisan identification (Alford et al., 2011; Martin et al., 1986; McPherson et al., 2001). There is even evidence that property owners are grouped by partisanship (Bishop, 2008).

As groups are driven farther apart by different sacred values, individuals within the group are forced to become more partisan in order to adhere to the group's norms. A minority of highly motivated group members often set the norms for the entire group (Hogg et al., 2004). This dynamic, fully visible in today's political parties, causes a constant trending away from other competitive groups. Indeed, Democrats and Republicans in the United States during the last two decades, research shows, have been pushed further apart as the groups set new norms and expectations to stand in contrast with their competitors (Dimock, Doherty, Kiley, & Oates, 2014). Unfortunately, the more polarized the groups, the more motivated reasoning becomes necessary (Kahan, 2013; Kunda & Sinclair, 1999; Uhlmann et al., 2009). Perhaps this is why it

becomes easy for people to see the politically motivated reasoning of others but remain blinded to their own cognitive distortions (Kahan, 2007)?

Higher education is not immune from these individual and group processes. Studies tell us, for example, that increased levels of education is associated with less tolerance for competing views, that scientific fluency predicts greater politically motivated reasoning, not less, and that higher IQ levels do not shield individuals from making motivated claims (Jackman & Muha, 1984; Kahan et al., 2012; Rindermann et al., 2012). One possible reason why higher education does not mitigate the effects of partisanship could be due to the large political disparities found in higher education. Every study shows that liberals outnumber conservatives by a large margin in higher education (Maranto et al., 2009). For example, one recent study reported the overall Democrat to Republican ratio across fields was 10.4 to 1 in 51 of the 66 top-ranked liberal arts colleges in the country (Langbert, 2018). The study also found that 78.2% of academic departments in those colleges had no or very few Republicans. Wright (2018) found that liberals outnumber conservatives 33 to 1 in criminology, a finding that matches many other fields in the humanities and social sciences (Klein & Stern, 2009). Even more conservative fields, such as business and economics, still have more liberals than conservatives (Cardiff & Klein, 2005; Klein & Stern, 2009).

Political disparities have been linked to what research questions academics ask, to which findings get published, and to reactions from scholars concerning controversial findings (Duarte et al., 2015; Martin, 2016; Winegard & Winegard, 2018). Jussim (2012) and others have pointed to the binding and blinding processes that have emerged in academia that make motivated reasoning invisible to others within the academy who share underlying assumptions. In this sense, higher education may be a tribal moral community and its members might, at times, be

blind to the impact of ideology on teaching and research (Haidt, 2011). However, outgroup members may be able to see it, not because they are smarter or less prejudiced, but because they do not belong to the dominant group within the academy.

This study broadly tested politically motivated reasoning and partisanship in higher education through the perceptions of UC-DL students. The study was an investigation into their socio-political identities, their perceptions of higher education, and their views on science and policy. More importantly, my dissertation assessed whether patterns found in other studies linking political ideology to a range of perceptions and views held on a sample of current and former graduate students (Kelly-Woessner & Woessner, 2006, 2008; Linvill & Havice, 2011; Stevens, 2017a, 2017b; Wills et al., in press; Yair & Sulitzeanu-Kenan, 2015).

I first used descriptive, correlational, and regression analyses to examine how respondents constructed their socio-political identities. I then used descriptive, correlational, and factor analyses to delve into respondents' views of, and experiences in, higher education. Finally, I used correlational, factor, and regression analyses to determine the effect of socio-political identities on support for beliefs in science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy. Overall, my results show clear patterns of identity formation, motivated reasoning, and the use of ideology in informing policy stances and group membership in higher education. The previous chapter outlined these findings in detail so in the next several pages I'll discuss the overall findings and their implications.

Measuring Socio-Political Identities

The first research goal of the study was to assess respondents' socio-political identities and to determine whether, similar to other studies, a simple single-item measure efficiently

captured identities on the right and left of the political distribution. Criminal justice students in this study were evenly split between liberals and conservatives. Approximately 31% self-classified as very liberal to liberal, 42% reported they were moderate, and 28% self-classified as conservative. Recall that the original survey included *very conservative* as a category but so few respondents indicated they were very conservative that the *conservative* and *very conservative* categories were collapsed into one for the analyses. Nonetheless, it is instructive that so few very conservative individuals participate in a criminal justice program—a course of study that would seemingly attract at least some very conservative people. Even so, the political composition of the sample generally reflected the overall political composition of the United States population although liberals in the sample were slightly over-represented (Saad, 2018).

Since I used the respondents' socio-political identity in further analyses, it was important to assess the salience of the single-item self-reported political beliefs measure. Various results converged to show that the single-item measure of political ideology efficiently captured respondents' underlying socio-political identity. Respondents were asked about other socio-political identities to which they felt allegiance. These identities were highly correlated with the single-item self-reported political beliefs measure. That said, further analyses found that the additional identities were highly correlated in predictable patterns but that the additional information was largely redundant. For example, self-reported liberalism was positively correlated with endorsement of feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, Democrat, environmentalist, socialist, and advocate/social activist labels. Conversely, the conservative socio-political identity included the labels of conservative, religious, and Republican. This finding is consistent with other studies on the use of the single-item self-reported political beliefs measure used commonly in the literature (Conway et al., in press; Jost et al., 2003).

While identity labels are a vital part of socio-political identities, so too are group processes. This study captured the underlying group processes in higher education by measuring social homophily and ingroup/outgroup biases. Social homophily suggests groups should be comprised of like-minded individuals (Alford et al., 2011; McPherson et al., 2001). In higher education liberal ideology is dominant, as faculty are overwhelmingly liberal (Langbert, 2018). Students in this sample were sensitive to this fact, with liberal students reporting significantly higher levels of perceived similarity in political views shared between them, faculty, and other students—especially compared to conservative students. When asked whether classmates and professors shared respondents' political views, very liberal, liberal, and moderate respondents tended to agree. Conservative respondents, on the other hand, reported relatively high levels of isolation. Conservatives in the sample felt like their classmates and professors did not share their political beliefs. However, it is important to note that conservative respondents apparently did not recognize or identify with other conservatives in the program in the same way liberal students did. One reason may be that conservative students are less likely to participate fully in class, to speak up or to post on discussion boards, because they are sensitive to these differences.

I included measures from the Campus Expression Survey (Haidt et al., 2017) that tested this possibility. Overall, the findings generally show that conservative students were more likely than liberal students to report being concerned about the potential consequences for speaking out about their political beliefs. Compared to liberal students, conservative students were more likely to hide their beliefs, were more likely to have felt discriminated against, and were more likely to have felt criticized for their political beliefs. These findings were entirely consistent with Heterodox Academy's original Campus Expression Survey findings (Stevens, 2017b). Interestingly, other research has found that conservative faculty also report being fearful of

consequences for being openly conservative in academia, with many electing to hide their views rather than face the possible consequences (Honeycutt & Freberg, 2017; Shields & Dunn, 2016).

It's worth noting that the measure of social homophily was linearly related to the measure of political ideology, with homophily scores monotonically declining as political ideology scores moved from left to right. This finding suggests that group identity may be imparting a strong effect on student perceptions. As mentioned earlier, all groups hold relatively strong ingroup/outgroup biases where individual members affix positive characteristics (e.g., trustworthy, respectful, and objective) to their group, and affix negative characteristics (e.g., racist, sexist, authoritarian) to the other group (Hogg, 2016). Consistent with expectations, results showed that all partisan groups held ingroup/outgroup biases. The correlation between the composite trait scale and political ideology was .75, indicating a strong positive relationship between group members ascribing positive traits to their own group. Conservatives ascribed positive traits to conservatives and liberals ascribed positive traits to liberals. However, just the opposite was also true. Conservatives were more likely to ascribe negative traits to liberals while liberals were more likely to ascribe negative traits to conservatives. Overall, these biasing factors may impact students' understanding of their experiences in higher education and it may explain why liberal and conservative students report such large differences in isolation from classmates and professors.

One final point about socio-political identities on university campuses bears mentioning. The identities that comprise the liberal socio-political identity (e.g., feminist, environmentalist, radical, activist) are all highly celebrated in higher education. Individuals who embrace these liberal labels are often extended institutional protection and academic legitimacy, and they are often offered homes within academic units that are dedicated to the entrenchment of those labels

(Ginsberg, 2008; Horowitz et al., in press; Takagi, 2015). Conservative identities (e.g., religious, Republican), on the other hand, are often not welcome on campuses and there is reasonable evidence showing some liberal faculty will discriminate against conservatives in hiring decisions, in publication decisions, and in decisions on grant funding (Honeycutt & Freberg, 2017; Inbar & Lammers, 2012; Stevens, 2017b; Wills et al., in press; Yancey, 2011). The point is, higher education offers a diverse range of identities for liberal students and faculty to choose from relatively sanction free. The same cannot be said for conservatives and the various identities often linked to a conservative identity. This point was also made by Yancey (2011) who found that university faculty reported being more willing to hire a Muslim than a candidate who was Evangelical or, especially, a member of the NRA. Without the foundation or opportunity to build a conservative socio-political identity, conservative students may find campus much less inviting than their liberal counterparts. If true, one area ripe for intervention would be in allowing and encouraging conservative students to create and to join student clubs and organizations that cater to their interests.

Socio-Political Identities are Salient Predictors

The second research goal addressed how political ideology influenced a range of student perceptions about higher education. When asked about their experiences in higher education, perceived political biases in higher education, and the types of roles faculty should engage in, for example, liberal students believed, if there is a bias in academia, it is a conservative bias. Moreover, liberal students also expected professors to engage in roles that furthered the core values of liberal ideology and they attributed the political disparity in higher education to appealing liberal traits and to unappealing conservative traits. Conservative students, on the other

hand, did not believe faculty should further a social justice agenda and did not attribute the political disparity in higher education to conservative deficits. In other words, perceptions about issues impacting higher education were strongly influenced by partisan identity. These findings may help to explain broader social cleavages where Democrats and Republicans report varying levels of support for higher education (Brown, 2018; Doherty et al., 2017a). Each side has, if you will, embraced narratives about higher education that are consistent with their own biases.

The final research goal was to assess the role of political ideology on respondents' views on science, social policy, and criminal justice policy. As I mentioned before, research shows that individuals often endorse packages of seemingly unrelated policy stances that are linked to their socio-political identity. For example, an exploratory factor analysis of the beliefs in science measures, general social policy measures, and criminal justice policy measures found several latent constructs that included several individual items from across the science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy questions. The DNC Agenda construct, for example, contained items from all three scales and was highly correlated ($r = -.73$) with more liberal beliefs. Similarly, the Punishment construct contained measures from the general policy and criminal justice policy batteries of questions and was significantly correlated ($r = .57$) with self-reported conservative beliefs. These constructs highlight policy packages that are formed and informed by socio-political identities. Regression analyses, moreover, revealed that self-reported political beliefs significantly predicted views on science, general social policy, and criminal justice policy far better and more consistently than any other demographic variable, including race and sex. The salience of partisanship on policy stances and views of science is in line with other research on the matter (Ditto et al., in press; Kahan, in press; Kahan et al., 2011).

Overall, partisanship drives beliefs in science and policy, even in a sample of highly educated criminal justice practitioners. Partisanship also drives perceptions of, and experiences in, higher education, even in a sample of students from the same program who took the same classes from the same professors. Partisanship also appears to drive respondents' beliefs about higher education, about each other, and about themselves. Socio-political identities, I found, were powerful building blocks for partisan groups, and some partisan groups are clearly more at home in higher education (Maranto et al., 2009). Even so, liberal and conservative students in this sample appeared to engage in motivated reasoning at equal levels, accused each other of engaging in motivated reasoning, and perceived and experienced higher education very differently.

Limitations and Future Directions

As with any study, this study has a number of limitations. First, the sample is a convenience sample of current and former Master's students attending the University of Cincinnati's online Master of Science in Criminal Justice program. The sample is therefore not generalizable to other students in other institutions or programs, although the pattern of findings reported here is consistent with other studies (Shadish et al., 2002). Second, the response rate was consistent with other studies of this nature, however, the response rate was limited (Horowitz et al., in press; Rindfuss, Choe, Tsuya, Bumpass, & Tamaki, 2015). Future research should investigate how political ideology influences students in higher education by using larger samples that contain a broader cross-section of students.

Third, the current study was correlational and thus could not establish temporal ordering. Conservative students, for example, reported significantly different experiences in their

education. It is possible that faculty and administrators discriminate against conservative students. It is also possible that conservative students' perceptions are steeped in a narrative of victimhood (Campbell & Manning, 2014). Either way, more detailed data are necessary to better understand these patterns and findings and to rule out alternative explanations (Yancey, 2018).

Fourth, the role of political ideology is clearly linked to the decline in public trust and institutional legitimacy in higher education. This causal link makes intuitive sense. Research in police legitimacy, for example, suggests citizen perceptions of police influence police legitimacy (Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant, & Manning, 2013). However, linkage between political ideology and trust in higher education has not been well studied (Gauchat, 2012). Future research should investigate the links between student perceptions and public trust in higher education. Future research should also address whether student and citizen perceptions of inhospitable environments in higher education cause conservatives to self-select out of academia. If a perceived hostile environment redirects conservatives to other institutions, then the political disparities in higher education could potentially become greater in future generations.

Finally, it is clear in this study that ideology informs students' understanding of science and policy. In this particular sample, education level was controlled for as all respondents were from the same academic program. Even with similar educational levels, however, respondents constructed policy packages of seemingly disparate views. Future research should investigate how ideology informs the construction of policy packages and how buy-in to those policy packages then directs future information gathering about other policies. Some policies do not coalesce into packages, but others serve as group indicators (Kahan, 2013, in press; Sears et al., 1980). More studies should investigate why.

Consequences for Higher Education

Results from this study suggest several serious consequences for higher education. First, recent national studies of the American public have recorded declining levels of trust in higher education, especially among Republican and working-class Americans (Doherty et al., 2017a; Mitchell & Belkin, 2017; Newport & Busteed, 2017). The latest survey of American citizens, released by Pew Research Center in July of 2018, found the majority (61%) of respondents now believe higher education is moving in the wrong direction (Brown, 2018). However, the public's distrust of higher education is split along partisan lines, with 73% of Republicans and 52% of Democrats believing higher education is moving in the wrong direction. Of those who believe higher education is moving in the wrong direction, 92% of Democrats and 77% of Republicans believe higher education is too expensive, while 56% of Democrats and 73% of Republicans believe higher education does not adequately prepare students for their future jobs. Republicans believe professors are too political (79% of Republicans believe this compared to 17% of Democrats), and that universities are too concerned about protecting students from offensive topics (75% of Republicans and 31% or Democrats indicated this; Brown, 2018).

The most recent Pew study shows a large percentage of the American public believes higher education is heading in the wrong direction. However, an earlier study from Pew found that some Americans believe not only that higher education is heading in the wrong direction, but that the institution has a negative effect on the country (Doherty et al., 2017a). In July of 2017, 58% of Republicans and 19% of Democrats reported believing higher education is bringing harm to the nation. For Republicans especially, this was a dramatic shift. Just two years prior in 2015, 54% of Republicans believed universities had a positive impact.

These findings do not bode well for the future of higher education. First, lacking social legitimacy, higher education could see declines in state subsidies, declines in revenue, restrictions placed on financial aid, and further increases in government oversight. Early signs of these consequences are visible. For example, initial Trump-era tax reforms, while not included in the final law, were seen as a potential threat to higher education and generated strong partisan reactions (Anderson, 2017; Wermund, 2017). Further, several state legislatures have put forth bills designed to limit university autonomy, to reign in university spending, and to ensure the free speech rights of those on campus (Raphelson, 2017; Watanabe, 2017). While limited in scope, it is reasonable to expect more legislative oversight in the future, especially if universities become more identified as a partisan institution.

Second, it is possible that faculty will become more politicized as they feel more and more marginalized by the public. The sizable political disparities that characterize the academy make it particularly vulnerable to charges of bias—charges that can only serve to further delegitimate the academy. Given the strong ingroup/outgroup biases held by partisans, it is likely that future charges of bias will further exacerbate broader social cleavages. In a study of university presidents, for example, Lederman (2018) found they faulted the general public, but especially conservatives, for misconceptions about the modern university that lead to declining public support for the institution. Clearly, the lack of political diversity on college campuses comes with a range of consequences, one of which is that members of higher education identify with a relatively small cross-section of the American polity but simultaneously depend on the taxes and support of the entirety of American society.

Third, more tangibly, conservative students reported being fundamentally alienated, or disconnected, from their classmates and professors in their political beliefs. The differences were

large and statistically significant. Alienation has long been recognized as a risk factor linked to college student performance. For example, Grace and Gouthro (2000: p. 11) argued that women struggle in graduate school because they lack female faculty "to act as same-sex role models and to offer female students support." Case (2008) suggested that power structures can cause feelings of alienation. Some students, according to Case, are in subservient power positions to faculty or other students, which can be "a profoundly alienating and disempowering experience" (Case, 2008, p. 327). Along these lines, research shows that feelings of alienation can increase attrition, decrease academic performance, and decrease satisfaction with educational experiences (Allen, 1992; Cole & Espinoza, 2008; Holmes, Ebbers, Robinson, & Mugenda, 2000). Tinto's (1997) mixed-methods investigation of student outcomes suggests student retention is strongly linked to involvement in the educational process and that feelings of alienation do not facilitate student persistence. One solution to alienation is to increase diversity. For example, Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin (2002) find that increasing racial diversity improves learning outcomes, including increasing active thinking and intellectual engagement. Further, Tinto (2006) suggests that the actions of faculty in the classroom are important for student retention. Institutions do have a role in student alienation, and conversely, belongingness.

It is clear that alienation can influence student learning outcomes. However, little attention has been devoted to understanding how political ideology contributes to feelings of alienation amongst students. Universities, for example, have dedicated untold resources to diversifying faculty along demographic and gender lines under the assumption that faculty diversity aids student learning, retention, and feelings of belongingness. Few universities, however, have recognized, much less acted, to mitigate issues surrounding political ideology (e.g., CU Conservative Thought & Policy, 2018; Rubbelke, 2018). Needless to say, conservative

students lack conservative faculty to act as same-ideology role models and are in subservient positions as the outgroup in the academic tribal moral community. The nearly obsessive focus on race and gender diversity has likely left little room for universities to recognize other types of diversity, including intellectual diversity. Moreover, there is evidence that administrators and faculty who drive institutional diversity policies are among the most radicalized on campus (e.g., Evans, 2018; Monaghan, 2017). Consequently, ingroup/outgroup dynamics may make them less likely to recognize the role of political ideology in student performance or to take steps to rectify these issues (Balliet et al., 2014; Crawford et al., 2013; Kunda, 1990). Indeed, the rise of social justice ideology across campuses—an ideology that creates many sacred values-- could contribute to the failure of academia to take seriously the concerns of conservatives (Haidt, 2011; Horowitz et al., in press). As Haidt (2016b) notes, universities have diverged onto two paths: Truth and Social Justice. Universities on the social justice path especially might find it difficult to recognize the issues surrounding intellectual diversity. Liberals' moral matrices, especially in cultures bound to social justice ideology, likely make it difficult for liberals to understand conservative morality (Graham et al., 2009, 2013).

However, there is an alternative possibility that conservatives in higher education have embraced a victim narrative. Campbell and Manning (2014) argue that victim narratives can elicit empathy from outsiders and confer morality on the victims, incentivizing victimhood. Victimhood is a form of social control, according to the researchers, that requires managing social information and airing grievances. Liberals in higher education have formed a victim narrative around race and sex (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2015). Students enmeshed in that victim narrative call for safe spaces and trigger warnings, and are diligent in listening for microaggressions. It may be that conservatives in higher education have formed their own victim

narrative by drawing on a few high-profile examples of protests of conservative speaker and faculty discussing their liberal beliefs in the classroom (e.g., Beinart, 2017; Coltrain, 2018; Devlin, 2018; Gantert, 2013; Haidt & Lukianoff, 2017; Helsel, 2017; Selk & Holley, 2017). Those examples of conservative victimization in higher education might not be indicative of the average conservative's experience in higher education. Conservatives' heightened sensitivity to their ideological minority status could misconstrue education in the classroom as personal attacks. However, there are enough examples of anti-conservative sentiment in higher education to warrant acknowledgement of conservative alienation.

Where conservative students may find their views continually challenged, just the opposite may be true for liberal students. Given the political disparities of faculty, most students will never take a class from a conservative professor (Langbert, 2018). Liberal students will, however, almost always take classes from faculty who share their worldview and underlying assumptions about how the world should work. In turn, it is likely but not foreordained that liberal faculty may inadvertently reinforce the biases of liberal students or may fail to challenge those biases when presented. In this sense, liberal students may not have the same opportunities to evolve in their personal beliefs and to interact openly with other competing socio-political identities (Mayhew, Rockenbach, Selznick, & Zagorsky, 2018).

Intellectual Diversity and Science: A Quick Note

Responding to a range of criticisms of academia, a broad and growing effort has materialized to increase viewpoint diversity on campuses. Led by Jonathan Haidt and Heterodox Academy, approximately 1,800 professors and graduate students from across the political spectrum have embraced viewpoint diversity as a prophylactic against motivated reasoning

(Heterodox Academy, 2018). Intellectual diversity translates into efforts designed to create space and new institutional norms that encourage intellectual independence, that broaden the range of faculty from an assortment of ideological leanings, and that reduce the strong outgroup biases that characterize some departments and disciplines. Research in business shows that having diverse views and experiences on teams can yield more productive outcomes (Cannella, Park, & Lee, 2008; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Haidt argues viewpoint diversity can be applied to science for similar benefits. To many, viewpoint diversity can potentially solve academia's problems with the replication crisis, publication biases, issues with peer-review, and the alienation of conservatives and other ideological minorities (Baker, 2016; Earp & Trafimow, 2015; Engber, 2016; Open Science Collaboration, 2015). For example, research shows that reviewers' political ideology can influence their decisions to accept or reject a paper for publication (Abramowitz et al., 1975; Ceci et al., 1985). Viewpoint diversity might not stop this form of motivated reasoning but including more ideological minorities in the peer-review process could increase the likelihood that conservative-leaning findings are reviewed by individuals who will not automatically reject them.

However, intellectual diversity is not necessarily the cure for ideologically-driven issues. Other research, for example, shows that a range of biasing factors affect the scientific publishing process and that some of these biasing factors have little or nothing to do with intellectual diversity (Armstrong & Hubbard, 1991; Koehler, 1993; Mahoney, 1977; Wilson, DePaulo, Mook, & Klaaren, 1993). Viewpoint diversity may also bring with it other ideological biases as there is no reason to expect ideological minorities to engage in less politically motivated reasoning (Kahan, in press). As my findings show, motivated reasoning is the property of

individuals to the left and right of political ideology continuum (see also, Ditto et al., in press; Kahan, 2013).

Scientists should look towards other solutions to complement viewpoint diversity efforts. For example, preregistration and open science might address many of the issues with replication and publication bias (Chambers, 2014; Gonzales & Cunningham, 2015; University of Cambridge, 2018). According to Nosak and Lindsay (2018: para. 1), preregistration is "the specification of a research design, hypotheses, and analysis plan prior to observing the outcomes of a study." Wagenmakers, Wetzels, Borsboom, van der Maas, and Kievit (2012) argue that since scientists are not immune from cognitive biases, they sometimes will not commit to a research plan until after viewing the results. As a result, many exploratory findings are touted as confirmatory conclusions. Wagenmakers and colleagues (2012) suggest preregistering study designs before collecting the data can hold scientists accountable for maintaining fidelity in their research designs. Open science encourages transparency where both null and statistically significant results are made available (Nosek et al., 2015). While the current incentive structure in academia does not facilitate transparency, changes to journal policies such as requiring citations for data and requiring data be posted to a repository could open science and encourage replication efforts (Nosek et al., 2015). Moreover, these combined efforts may help to limit the impact of political ideology on the scientific process—a process that is sometimes bent to political concerns.

CONCLUSIONS

When institutions dedicated to teaching and research become partisan, or allow partisanship to define certain university roles, consequences are quick to emerge. These

consequences likely first affect members of partisan outgroups but they are not limited to outgroup members. Take, for example, the partisan diversity bureaucracy. The resources poured into diversity agendas have clearly benefited women and racial and sexual minorities, sometimes to the detriment of males and whites. More broadly, however, the diversity bureaucracy has been given incredible power and authority and there is reasonable evidence they have used this power to benefit their favored groups. For example, Title IX offices, bolstered by the Obama-era Dear Colleague letter, have increased in size, scope, and power (Hartocollis, 2017; King, 2018; New, 2015; Office for Civil Rights, 2011). In turn, these administrators have turned procedures for investigating claims of sexual assault and harassment into show trials that have cost institutions millions in lawsuits and have ruined lives. Evidence shows that complaints almost always yield verdicts in favor of the accuser (Johnson & Taylor, 2017). Possible exculpatory evidence is often ignored (e.g., Piper, 2018; Poff, 2017) and due process has been undermined in some cases and virtually eliminated in others (Johnson & Taylor, 2017; Yoffe, 2017). Findings of responsibility in sexual harassment or sexual assault cases can have life-altering consequences for faculty and students but they also sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion across actors within higher education. Moreover, there can be little doubt that if women and minorities were treated in the same way men are treated by Title IX tribunals that university members would rise in protest.

Second, some departments have moved so far into partisanship that it envelops them. Partisanship can be toxic within those departments, and examples abound of colleagues turning against a faculty member for violating (or being accused of violating) the sacred values of the program or institution (e.g., Cran, 2018b; Helm, 2017; Kipnis, 2015). Students notice this toxic environment, too. Recent studies, for example, show student enrollment in the humanities has plummeted in recent years (Flaherty, 2018; Humanities Indicators, 2017; Patel, 2015).Without

addressing the explicit partisan nature of several fields in the humanities and social sciences, higher education will always be home to socio-political identities and to the binding and blinding processes linked to ingroup/outgroup biases that accompany these identities (Cofnas, Carl, & Woodley of Menie, 2018; Schalin, 2018). If the institution itself continues to embrace and protect highly partisan positions, it can expect further declines in enrollment and declines in legitimacy. Once institutional legitimacy is lost, it could be very difficult to get back.

Third, student alienation also affects faculty. I found in this study that students were more concerned about penalties from other students than they were about penalties from faculty. Student consequences could have a chilling effect on classroom environments, which faculty might struggle to overcome (Knepp, 2012). Further, students could penalize professors similarly to penalizing other students for speaking out about controversial topics, as one professor in a highly publicized article for *Vox* noted (Schlosser, 2015). Students have strong opinions about where their professors fall on the political spectrum, and they give better course evaluations to professors they perceive share the students' political views (Kelly-Woessner & Woessner, 2006). Students have better learning outcomes when they believe the professor shares their political beliefs, and they perceive professors who do not share their beliefs are more biased (Kelly-Woessner & Woessner, 2008; Linvill & Havice, 2011; Yair & Sulitzeanu-Kenan, 2015).

Student learning outcomes and course evaluations are important parts of professors' tenure and promotion packages. There could be career-altering consequences for professors whom students perceive are highly partisan. The tenure and promotion incentives might alter what and how professors teach and research, as was hinted at in Wright's (2018) findings about faculty self-censorship. The influence of faculty partisanship on course evaluations might be especially salient for female and minority faculty, who report being more partisan (especially

liberal/progressive), and who typically score lower on course evaluations (Huston, 2005; MacNell, Driscoll, & Hunt, 2015; Wright, 2018).

Finally, American universities were founded on Enlightenment values—values that many within academia still hold (Barnett, 1990). Unlike Haidt (2016b), who calls for universities to choose between a social justice agenda and a truth-seeking agenda, I propose that universities simply reembrace the Enlightenment values that propelled our institutions of higher learning into the world class leaders they are today. My results show that partisanship, even at the student level, colors a broad range of views, experiences, and choices. The social justice agenda, an agenda that elevates identity politics, now being pursued by many programs and universities will simply aggravate partisan overtones and will, in all likelihood, alienate a broader range of students and faculty. If history is any teacher, the pursuit of a social justice agenda will also make teaching and research more political, not less, and will cause universities to become more dogmatic and less tolerant. For these reasons, and more, I see the choice offered by Haidt as a choice between a politicized university and a university where rigorous and honest debate about controversial topics occurs and is valued, where tolerance of competing ideas is promoted, and where the autonomy of the individual is cherished. My hope is that we choose wisely to reduce partisanship so we can reap the benefits that human rationality has to offer.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY MEASURES

Table A1: Measures

Construct	Scale	Variables	Measurement	Reliability
Demographics		Sex	Male/Female	
		Age	Ordinal	
		Race	Categorical	
		Undergraduate degree	Categorical	
		Student status	Part-time/Full-time	
		GPA	Ordinal	
		Pursue PhD	5-point; extremely unlikely/extremely likely	
Political Identity		Self-described political beliefs	5-point; very liberal/very conservative; recoded 1=very liberal, 2=liberal, 3=moderate, 4=conservative	
		Political party affiliation	Categorical; DNC, GOP, other, none	
		Willingness to vote for Democrat	4-point; not at all willing/very willing	
		Willingness to vote for Republican	4-point; not at all willing/very willing	
		Self-identities: feminist, Marxist/radical, liberal, conservative, religious, objective/analytical, Democrat, Republican, environmentalist, spiritual, socialist, advocate/social activist, moderate/independent, and libertarian	3-point; definitely not, somewhat, definitely	
Social Homophily		Share your political views: classmates and professors	No/Yes	

Change in Political Identity		Ever changed party preference	No/Yes; categorical for yes	
		Reasons for changing party preference	Categorical	
		When changed party preference	Before college/As an undergraduate student/In graduate school	
Attribution Biases		Traits characteristic of liberals, conservatives, both groups equally: intelligent, educated, charitable, authoritarian, compassionate, moral, religious, just, protective, objective, wealthy, strong, weak, community-centered, loyal, callous, sexist, racist, respectful, scientific, and trustworthy	Mostly liberal/Mostly conservative/Equally shared	
Campus Expression Survey		Comfort or reluctance speaking up	4-point; very reluctant/very comfortable	
	Professor consequences	The professor would criticize my views as offensive	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	.781
		The professor would say my views are wrong	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	
		The professor would give me a lower grade because of my views	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	
		Have you ever felt that your opinion was dismissed or you were personally criticized because you shared your views on a controversial political issue in a class discussion?	No/Yes	
		Have you ever felt discriminated against, singled-out, or treated differently by a professor because of your political beliefs?	No/Yes	

		Have you ever hidden your political beliefs from a professor out of fear?	No/Yes	
	Student consequences	Other students would criticize my views as offensive	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	
		Someone would post critical comments about my views on social media	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	
		Someone would file a complaint claiming that my views violated a campus harassment policy or code of conduct	5-point; not at all concerned/extremely concerned; recoded into 0=not at all concerned, 1=concerned	
Perceptions of Political Bias in Academia	Liberal Bias in Academia	Liberal bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.843
		Research negatively affected by liberal bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Teaching negatively affected by liberal bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Know faculty who use the classroom to politically indoctrinate student	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Conservative Bias in Academia	Conservative bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.762
		Research negatively affected by conservative bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Teaching negatively affected by conservative bias in academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Vast majority of professors are fair and impartial	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Rate political beliefs of professors in program	5-point; very liberal/very conservative	

		Classify academic field of criminology	5-point; very liberal/very conservative	
Causes of Political Disparity	Positive Liberal Endorsement	Liberals are, on average, more intelligent than conservatives so they are more likely to pursue an advanced degree	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.867
		Conservative students don't see the value in social equality and social justice	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Liberals are more tolerant of competing ideas and thus find the academic environment welcoming	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Liberals respect science more than conservatives	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Conservatives may find a diverse environment unwelcoming	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Conservative students do not apply to graduate school at the same rates as liberal students	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Conservative students do not receive the same level of mentoring or advocacy by faculty	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Conservatives are more attracted to other careers and not academia	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
Role of a Professor	Social Justice Orientation	Advance the causes of social justice	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.851
		Be an advocate for minorities and underrepresented groups	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Engage in political activism	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Discuss and explain white privilege	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Change the political views of students	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	

	Law and Order Orientation	Teach students to respect the authority of government	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.723
		Teach students good moral values	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Advocate for law and order	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Challenge the status quo	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Mentor students to be politically active	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Publish empirical research	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
General Policy Stances/Beliefs in Science/ Criminal Justice Policy Issues	DNC Agenda	General Policy- The Affordable Care Act (Obamacare)	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	.882
		CJ Policy- Passing stricter, national laws on the selling and ownership of firearms	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		Science- Climate change is real and is caused by mankind	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
		General Policy- Increasing the minimum wage	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support agree	
		General Policy- Affirmative Action	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
		General Policy- The Black Lives Matter movement	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
		General Policy- Unionization of graduate students	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
		CJ Policy- Laws that allow law-abiding citizens to carry concealed firearms	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree (reverse coded for scale)	
		General Policy- Suppressing free speech to protect against hate speech	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
	Punishment	General Policy- Trying violent juveniles as adults	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	.853

	CJ Policy- Abolishing the juvenile court and giving youths the same legal rights and penalties as adults	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Retaining or expanding the use of imprisonment due to its incapacitation effects and role in the reduction of crime over the past decade	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Suspending the use of the death penalty because innocent people are almost certainly on death row	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree (reverse coded for scale)	
	CJ Policy- Even if capital punishment was a deterrent, I would still oppose its use	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree (reverse coded for scale)	
	CJ Policy- Keeping Three-Strikes-and-You're-Out laws due to their role in preventing recidivism	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- The courts in my area generally do not punish offenders harshly enough	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Keeping "super-max" prisons due to the role they play in managing dangerous inmates	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
Rehabilitation	CJ Policy- Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with juvenile offenders	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	.803
	CJ Policy- Expanding the use of rehabilitation programs with adult offenders	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Expanding the use of restorative justice programs	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Expanding the use of early intervention programs	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Using drug courts that seek to divert drug offenders into community-based treatment programs and away from prisons	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	

Drugs	General Policy- Hard drug legalization (e.g., cocaine, heroin)	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	.752
	General Policy- The War on Drugs	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support (reverse coded for scale)	
	General Policy- Marijuana decriminalization	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
	General Policy- The War on Terror	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support (reverse coded for scale)	
	General Policy- Stop and frisk policies (e.g., New York Police Department)	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
	General Policy- Funding research into the genetics and biology of crime	4-point; strongly oppose/strongly support	
	Science- Homosexuality is primarily caused be biology and is not a choice	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- Scientific evidence supports Darwinian evolution	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- Findings from social science research can be trusted	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- Race is a social construct, not a biological construct	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- Differences between the sexes are primarily caused be biology	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- Genes influence criminal and antisocial behavior	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	Science- IQ tests measure something meaningful and consequential for life outcomes	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Expanding the use of faith-based (religious-based) correctional programs	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	
	CJ Policy- Keeping mandatory arrest policies in incidents where people are suspected of domestic violence	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree	

	CJ Policy- In general, the criminal justice system is more fair than discriminatory	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree
	CJ Policy- However unfortunate, the high rate of imprisoning young, black male offenders makes inner-city communities safer	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree
	CJ Policy- Equalizing penalties for "crack" cocaine versus "powder" cocaine	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree
	CJ Policy- Putting an end to police use of racial profiling	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree
	CJ Policy- Repealing mandatory minimum sentencing, especially for drug offenders	4-point Likert; strongly disagree/strongly agree