

June 11, 2021 \$7.99



Can one university vaccinate

120,000 people

and change minds about higher ed?





Neither does our commitment to you.

In over 100 years, we've never missed a payment. Guaranteed monthly income for life.

LEARN MORE:

TIAA.org/NeverRunOut



Annuities are issued by Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America (TIAA), New York, NY. Any guarantees under annuities issued by TIAA are subject to TIAA's claims-paying ability. TIAA Traditional is a guaranteed insurance contract and not an investment for federal securities law purposes. Investment, insurance and annuity products are not FDIC insured, are not bank guaranteed, are not deposits, are not insured by any federal government agency, are not a condition to any banking service or activity, and may lose value.



THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

chronicle.com | Volume 67, Number 20 | June 11, 2021

FEATURES

One College's Mission: Vaccinate 120,000 People

Can the University of Florida persuade the skeptical and change minds about the role of higher ed?

EMMA PETTIT AND FRANCIE DIEP

Academic Freedom Is on the Ropes

The attacks are coming from both the right and the left.

ALEXANDER C. KAFKA

Do We Really Need More Controversial Ideas?

A new journal encourages scholars to share their most dangerous and tasteless thoughts.

TOM BARTLETT



The Professor of Paranoia

Mark Crispin Miller, who is suing his colleagues, used to study conspiracy theories. Now he pushes them.

THE REVIEW MARK DERY



FIRST READS

False Report

A university suspended diversity courses because of an incident that almost certainly didn't happen. 6

A Star's Stalled Tenure Bid

Nikole Hannah-Jones readies a legal challenge against the University of North Carolina. 7

Diminished Clout

Shared governance was eroding before Covid-19 hit. Now it's a landslide. 8

State Funding

Appropriations increased in 2020 for the eighth straight year. But it still didn't make up for past cuts. 9

A Craven and Dangerous Tenure Denial

The snub of Nikole Hannah-Jones is the right's latest attempt at dominion.

THE REVIEW SILKE-MARIA WEINECK 36

The Political Corruption of the University

Board interventions in hiring will badly damage higher education, in red states and blue states alike.

THE REVIEW KEITH E. WHITTINGTON AND SEAN WILENTZ 38

How to Fix Diversity and Equity

Ritualized regimes of political expression must be rejected. THE REVIEW AMNA KHALID AND JEFFREY AARON SNYDER 40

How to Read a Cover Letter

They can be useful. They can also be weaponized through inflated expectations.

ADVICE DAVID D. PERLMUTTER 43

INDEX of jobs by category and region. **45**

JOB LISTINGS 46

17,750 POSITIONS
ONLINE
jobs.chronicle.com

GAZETTE 50

On the cover: Chronicle illustration, iStock

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION (ISSN 0009-5982) IS PUBLISHED BIWEEKLY (EVERY OTHER WEEK) JANUARY THROUGH NOVEMBER AND MONTHLY IN DECEMBER, 25 TIMES A YEAR, AT 1255 TWENTY-THIRD STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037. SUBSCRIPTION RATE: \$119.00 PER YEAR (DIGITAL) AND \$139.00 PER YEAR (PRINT PLUS DIGITAL). PERIODICAL POSTAGE PAID AT WASHINGTON, D.C., AND AT ADDITIONAL MAILING OFFICES.

© 2021 THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION INC. THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION® IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, INC.

REGISTERED FOR GST AT THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, INC. GST NO. R-129-572 830, POSTMASTER: SEND ADDRESS CHANGES TO THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, PO. BOX 85, CONGERS, N.Y. 10920.

THE CHRONICLE RESERVES THE RIGHT NOT TO ACCEPT AN ADVERTISER'S ORDER. ONLY PUBLICATION OF AN ADVERTISEMENT SHALL CONSTITUTE FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE ADVERTISER'S ORDER.

Academic Freedom Then and Now

IT TOOK A WHILE for academic freedom to take hold. The basic principles — freedom of research, freedom in the classroom when discussing one's subject, freedom to speak extramurally, as citizens — were established by the American Association of University Professors in 1940, but, during the first decade or so of the Cold War, professors did not reliably have any of these things, especially when it came to Communism.

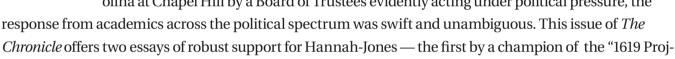
Nevertheless, academic freedom seemed eventually to triumph. A test case appeared in 1965, when the Rutgers University historian Eugene Genovese, a Marxist and antiwar activist, told the participants in a sit-in that "I do not fear or regret a pending Viet Cong victory in Viet Nam. I welcome it." Despite national calls for Genovese's firing, the administration stood by him. In 1966, the AAUP awarded its annual Alexander Meiklejohn Award for Academic Freedom to the Rutgers president and governing board.

Fast-forward to 2014, when Steven Salaita's appointment was pulled by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for tweets harshly critical of the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinians. Salaita's

> dismissal was made possible by a technicality — the offer was revoked by the university's chancellor before the Board of Trustees could approve (or, more likely, reject) his hiring.

> But details aside, the episode now seems like a harbinger of a new environment, one far more perilous to academic freedom. In retrospect, the former AAUP president Cary Nelson's refusal to support Salaita ("I believe the chancellor made the right decision," he wrote) looks like a leading indicator of a broad shift in attitudes away from free-speech commitments both in the academy and in the larger culture. At the time, Nelson was a member of the AAUP's Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure.

On the other hand, when Nikole Hannah-Jones, the journalist behind *The New York* Times Magazine's "1619 Project," was not granted tenure at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill by a Board of Trustees evidently acting under political pressure, the



ect," the second by two of its prominent critics. Maybe consensus on principles remains possible after all.

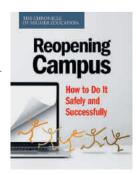
For those engaged in local battles, the political valence of perceived threats to academic freedom is paramount: Are they from the left or the right? Alex Kafka's article, "Academic Freedom Is on the Ropes," suggests there is merit in both viewpoints — academics are "caught in a pincer grip." But politics may matter less than institutional processes. When the AAUP was founded in 1915, tenure and faculty self-governance were its paramount issues. "You can't have academic freedom without tenure," Hans-Joerg Tiede, director of research at the AAUP, told Kafka. Without tenure, in other words, principles don't matter. — LEN GUTKIN, SENIOR EDITOR



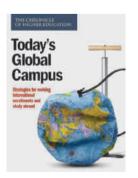


New from the Chronicle Store

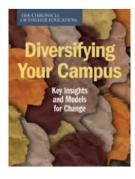
Bringing students back to campus is a top priority for many colleges as Covid-19 vaccines become widely available. But planning for your campus reopening won't be easy. Learn how to support the faculty during the transition, and how to communicate with students about the new college experience.



Discover strategies for reviving international enrollments and study-abroad programs as colleges adapt to the new global education experience. Learn how your college can rethink and revamp its programs to allow students to explore cultural and global diversity in their own communities.



Explore key questions surrounding the lack of racial diversity in the academic work force with insights from campus leaders who have made changes in the status quo. Learn what it takes to bring more diversity to campuses and how to tackle the structural barriers that hinder people of color.



To find these and other Chronicle products, go to Chronicle.com/browse.

Rutgers: A Top Producer of Fulbright Students for 12 Consecutive Years

One of Only 16 Universities to Earn the Distinction for the Past Decade



Rutgers is proud to stand among those universities sending the most

Fulbright Students abroad. Our 193 Fulbright Students have traveled to 35 host countries, bringing with them their knowledge of subjects as varied as biomedical engineering, marine science, philosophy, and political science.

Rutgers is a leading national research university and New Jersey's preeminent public institution of higher education. Established in 1766, Rutgers is the nation's eighth-oldest higher education institution.



excellence.rutgers.edu

FIRST READS

False report | Political meddling | Diminished clout | State funding

False report

The 'Humiliated' Student Who Wasn't

A UNIVERSITY'S HIGH-PROFILE DECISION to suspend dozens of sections of a diversity and ethics course three months ago rested on a troubling allegation: that a student had been made to feel "humiliated and degraded" in class "for their beliefs and values."

An outside law firm investigated the incident, at Boise State University, and a report on its findings was released last month. The

University officials deduced that if the incident were real, it would have happened in a "University Foundations 200" course because the class was discussing structural inequality, economics, and white privilege — topics covered by those mandatory courses on diversity and ethics. The officials hadn't seen the video themselves, but they said that the nature of the claim and the fact that it had come from the community leader — whom the university's president, Marlene Tromp,

described in an interview with *The Chronicle* as a "very trusted person" but did not identify—led Tromp to suspend the classes. They resumed a week later, while the investigators did their work. In the end, lawyers conducted interviews with

30 students who either had concerns or said they wanted to speak with an investigator.

Not one of the interview subjects said that a student had been asked to apologize for being white and then left the class in tears amid ridicule.

But the lawyers heard about one episode that they said "matches some of the elements of the reported incident." During the week before the

"concerned community leader" had

contacted the university, there was a UF 200 class, held on Zoom, that students said had focused on "structural inequality," "capitalism and racism," and "race and economics." The students described a heated exchange between the instructor and a white student, possibly about universal health care. The student, who spoke to the lawyers, said she'd noticed an inconsistency in the instructor's argument. She "struggled to find the right wording" and ended up saying out loud that the "instructor's logic was stupid."

Some other students reacted by saying, mostly in the chat box, things like "you can't call the instructor stupid" and "not cool," according to the lawyers' report. The instructor, seeing what was happening, told the class that the student hadn't called the instructor

stupid, only the instructor's logic. Frustrated with her classmates' responses, the student left the class early. She was crying.

After the class, the instructor checked in with the student, who said she had no problem with the instructor's treatment of her. And that was that.

What about the complainant, the "concerned community leader" who reported a video showing a different set of events? The lawyers wrote that after several failed attempts, they were able to interview him. He spoke about "concerns that BSU is indoctrinating students," the lawyers wrote, and said he was "aware of multiple inappropriate interactions between BSU instructors and students."

He declined to go into detail, however, or to identify any student. He said he didn't have the video that he'd said he'd seen, and would not give any information about how the lawyers could get it.

When asked in an interview whether the episode sends the message that a second-hand report with no evidence can stop her university from teaching 55 classes to nearly 1,300 students — a drastic measure even if it was temporary — Tromp pointed to the egregiousness of the claims. The law firm also wrote that suspending the courses temporarily was "appropriate and warranted."

When she heard about the claims, Tromp, a former English professor, said she had been reminded of moblike behavior in a book she's often taught: *The Handmaid's Tale*. She described a scene in which a group of women chant at one character, telling her it's her fault that she was raped and bringing her to tears. Tromp decided the university should "hit the pause button" and figure out what had happened.

Tromp also said that she'd been hearing concerns from lawmakers about the UF 200 courses for months. "What people would tell us," Tromp said, "is, Our constituents have told us this class is a problem."

The concerns were never specific, she said. But "there was a mounting chorus of voices, and we were hearing it everywhere."

— NELL GLUCKMAN

"we were unable to substantiate the alleged instance of a student being mistreated"

"Nor did any student report being personally singled out based on skin color or being subjected to taunts, name-calling, or other degrading behavior from an instructor or other students.

CHRONICLE ILLUSTRATION

"There were no reports of anyone being forced to apologize for being white or Caucasian."

law firm said that it couldn't substantiate that such an incident had even taken place.

Here is what happened, according to the

On March 15 an unnamed "concerned community leader" contacted the Idaho university about a troubling incident he had seen in a video on a friend's phone: A white Boise State student, this person said, had been forced to apologize in front of a class for being white or for having white privilege. The student, this person further alleged, had been taunted and called names by other students. The word "stupid" was used, and the student left in tears.

Political meddling

A Star's Stalled Tenure Bid

LAWYERS representing Nikole Hannah-Jones told state leaders in North Carolina late last month that they were "evaluating all available legal recourse" against the University of North Carolina and its board after the investigative journalist's stalled tenure bid prompted outrage from alumni, scholarly groups, and journalists across the country.

The lawyers, including a team from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, told state representatives that they must neither destroy nor alter any documents or data connected to "potential claims" by Hannah-Jones, specifying that she may bring "federal action." In a letter, the lawyers specifically asked the recipients to retain correspondence with the Chapel Hill campus's Board of Trustees and the UNC system's Board of Governors, as well as any documents pertaining to Hannah-Jones's "1619 Project" for The New York *Times* and other journalistic work. The news was reported by The News & Observer and NC Policy Watch.

A university spokesman, Joel Curran, told The Chronicle that Hannah-Jones's lawyers had sent a letter to Chapel Hill, too. Curran declined to comment further, but NC Policy *Watch* reported that the journalist's lawyers gave UNC a deadline of June 4 to award her tenure or face a lawsuit.

Hannah-Jones told NC Policy Watch that she had retained counsel "to ensure the academic and journalistic freedom of Black writers is protected to the full extent of the law and to seek redress for the University of North Carolina's adverse actions against me." In her statement to the news outlet, she pointed to the "wave of antidemocratic suppression that seeks to prohibit the free exchange of ideas, silence Black voices, and chill free speech" as reasons she had decided to "fight back."

Hannah-Jones's prize-winning journalistic work, which examines race in society, has become a political flashpoint amid a conservative effort to restrict how history and racism are taught in colleges and schools.

A Chapel Hill board member in January presented questions to campus leaders about the proposed tenure package for Hannah-Jones, who was named the Knight chair in race and investigative journalism. In the end, the campus board did not act on her tenure bid, even though past Knight chairs in the journalism school were granted tenure. In April the school had announced her hiring as a professor of the practice with a five-year appointment — with fanfare, but the news prompted a political backlash from conservative commentators.

Last month the university's Faculty Executive Committee urged the Board of Trustees to "uphold the long tradition of respect" for professors' recommendations in hiring and tenure cases, and to take up Hannah-Jones's bid. "These steps must be undertaken to address a breach of trust in a process that is essential to our standing as a leading public research university." After that, local news outlets reported, Chapel Hill's board received Hannah-Iones's resubmitted tenure package.

Allegations of political meddling have loomed large in the criticism of Chapel Hill's treatment of Hannah-Jones. The trustees qualms were rooted in politics, not academic credentials, NC Policy Watch previously reported. One trustee who spoke anonymously to the outlet directly tied the outcome to the system's Board of Governors, whose members are elected by the legislature.

"The last thing anyone should want is us going to the Board of Governors with this and they disagree," the trustee reportedly said. "That is not going to be good for anybody. That is when negative things are going to happen."

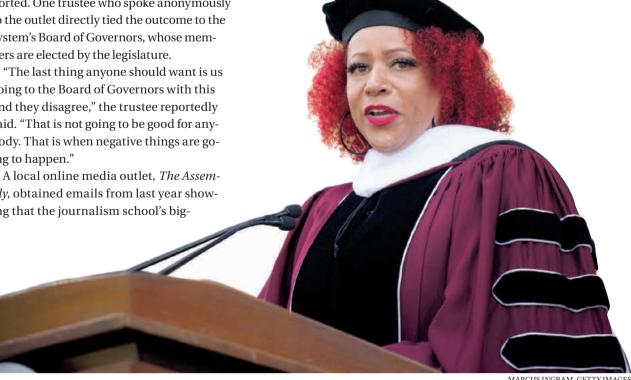
bly, obtained emails from last year showing that the journalism school's big-

gest donor, Walter Hussman Jr., expressed concerns about hiring Hannah-Jones to university leaders. He objected to what he perceived as Hannah-Jones's lack of journalistic objectivity and attempts "to push an agenda" in her "1619 Project."

It appears to higher-education experts that the case represents a challenge to existing norms for universities. A Pulitzer Prize winner who receives the blessing of academic colleagues? That should be an easy tenure approval, said Neal Hutchens, a professor and chair in the University of Mississippi's department of higher education. The fact that it wasn't points squarely to politics. To Hutchens, it is "nonsensical, troubling, absurd."

The board appears to be sending a clear message to Chapel Hill, one of the nation's highest-regarded public institutions, he said: "We really don't give a damn about your judgments and the academic norms and our process or procedures. If we don't like a candidate because of their political or ideological views, we think we have the authority to reject that candidate."

— LINDSAY ELLIS



MARCUS INGRAM, GETTY IMAGES

Diminished clout

The Pandemic's Toll on Faculty Rights

AMONG THE MANY HIGHER-ED TRENDS being amplified by Covid-19? The downfall of shared governance, according to a recent report from the American Association of University Professors.

The report, commissioned in September, examines Covid-era decisions — which faculty members and the AAUP determined were unilateral actions taken by governing boards and university administrations — at eight institutions, seven of them private. Those examples, the report says, are illustrative of a larger trend in academe, "the grad-

majeure," which the report calls a "nuclear option." Force majeure clauses nullify any provisions for faculty input that are typically involved in a declaration of financial exigency, leaving faculty members without any recourse. (The Akron AAUP chapter filed a grievance with an arbitrator, who ruled that Akron's invocation of force majeure was justified.)

There's another term floating around, too: "budgetary hardship," which John Carroll University, in Ohio, proposed adding to its financial-exigency policy in the fall. The bar

dard-bearers for how an institution can, and should, deal with thorny issues involving budget shortfalls, academic freedom, tenure, and more. But what happens when the rulebook is tossed out? At several of the institutions AAUP's report examines, that's exactly what happened.

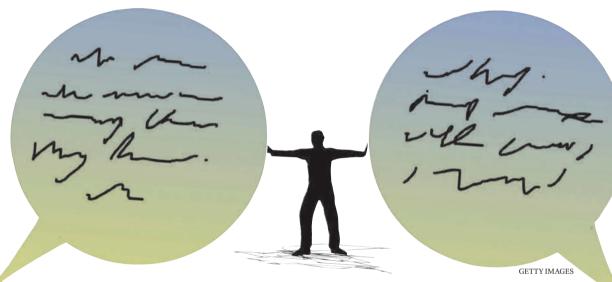
In a July 1 message, Keuka College, in New York, announced it would suspend for a year the faculty handbook's processes on terminating appointments and closing academic programs. "Ultimately," the board wrote, "the College cannot financially afford to follow the processes outlined for faculty separation."

Suspending those provisions, the AAUP report says, allowed Keuka to fire tenured faculty members without first declaring

financial exigency or discontinuing an academic program, the two circumstances under which the AAUP acknowledges tenured faculty members' jobs may be lost, and without allowing the affected faculty members due process.

Marian University, in Wisconsin, the AAUP notes, also suspended handbook procedures after declaring an "enrollment emergency," and Medaille College's president exercised a clause in the faculty handbook that allows the handbook to be suspended because of "natural disasters, acts of God, declared states of emergency or other emergency situations."

Before the pandemic, said DeCesare, an administration unilaterally revising or suspending a faculty handbook was "extraordinarily uncommon." It is, DeCesare said, "one of the most egregious governance violations that an administration or board can take," and in the past would have most likely resulted in the AAUP's sanctioning the institution.



ual erosion of shared governance on some campuses into a landslide," and prove the pandemic to be the most serious challenge to shared governance in the past 50 years.

Here are three key takeaways from the report. $\,$

The language being used to threaten tenure is changing, but the message is clear.

Tenured faculty members, longstanding AAUP guidance suggests, can be fired only for cause related to performance or conduct, or "under extraordinary circumstances" like financial exigency — a declaration that a college faces a crisis threatening its core educational mission — or the discontinuation of an academic program. But none of the eight institutions the AAUP investigated declared financial exigency. In fact, only one institution, Lincoln University of Missouri, appears to have declared financial exigency because of the pandemic, the report notes.

One institution the report discusses, the University of Akron, invoked a status even more serious than financial exigency: "force

for declaring "budgetary hardship" would be lower than the one for financial exigency — it could be invoked if the university saw a projected 6-percent loss in cumulative net revenue over a three-year period — and it, like financial exigency, would let administrators fire tenured faculty members without appeal. A lawyer assisting John Carroll's board, the report says, "is reportedly working with nine other institutions to incorporate 'budgetary hardship' provisions into their faculty handbooks," which the AAUP argues "would effectively render tenure meaningless at those institutions."

No matter the wording, said Michael De-Cesare, co-chair of the AAUP investigating committee, the message is clear. "Any less strict criterion" than financial exigency, "no matter what it's called, simply puts faculty at greater risk."

Suspending faculty handbooks is one pandemic-era mechanism for abrogating shared governance.

Faculty handbooks have long been stan-

Breaches of shared governance have implications for academic freedom, too.

The AAUP investigation took up only issues of shared governance. But that doesn't mean academic freedom isn't in danger:
Where tenure is threatened, inevitably, academic freedom is, too, DeCesare said. "When tenured faculty can simply be dismissed under the guise of a global-health crisis, then, as so many faculty members we interviewed told us, tenure really doesn't mean anything. And therefore, academic freedom doesn't really exist at those institutions."

— MEGAN ZAHNEIS

State funding

Increased Spending Won't Make Up for Past Cuts

STATE HIGHER-EDUCATION FUNDING per full-time equivalent student was up for the eighth consecutive year, increasing 2.9 percent in the 2020 fiscal year, according to a new report. But it still hasn't recovered from the cuts it endured during the last two recessions.

And although the pandemic's effect on college finances wasn't as bad as predicted, public colleges could still experience crippling state and local funding cuts in years to come, according to the annual "State Higher Education Finance" report produced by the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association.

The signs of financial precarity have already surfaced. The organization's analysis of data from Illinois State's "Grapevine" project, released in March, gives an early look at state higher-ed funding in the new fiscal year. It shows that state tax appropriations for higher ed dropped 1.8 percent from fiscal-year 2020 to fiscal-year 2021. Federal stimulus money softened the drop to 0.1 percent across the U.S.

The finance report provides context for higher-education funding and enrollment over time, and it shows that the almost decade-long stretch of increases in state support weren't enough to make national public higher education whole: Funding per full-time student in 2020 was still 6 percent below 2008 levels and 14.6 percent below 2001.

However, there's variation behind the national numbers. Nearly two-thirds of states haven't recovered from the recession of 2008, and a dozen states' funding levels in the 2020 fiscal year were at least 20 percent below what they were in 2008. But the news for states wasn't all bad. The number of states whose funding has been restored to 2008 levels was 18, twice the number as the year before.

Learn more about state higher-education funding and enrollment trends for public colleges through the 2020 fiscal year below:

- AUDREY WILLIAMS JUNE

Students Bear the Burden

Student tuition payments accounted for at least 50 percent of total higher-education revenue in half of all states during the 2020 fiscal year. Here are the states where students shoulder the largest share.

State	Student share (%) 2020 fiscal year
Vermont	85%
Delaware	76%
New Hampshire	71%
Colorado	67%
Alabama	67%
Michigan	67%
Pennsylvania	66%
South Carolina	65%
Arizona	62%
Indiana	62%
Iowa	61%
Ohio	60%
West Virginia	60%
Rhode Island	59%
Oklahoma	58%
U.S. total	44%

Note: The U.S. calculation doesn't include the District of Columbia.

\$15,276

The amount of total education revenue (net tuition revenue plus appropriations) per full-time equivalent student at public colleges in the 2020 fiscal year. This figure is a record high, but it doesn't mean public institutions have more revenue than ever before, the report says. Some colleges that are heavily reliant on state money couldn't increase tuition or admit more out-of-state students to make up for cuts that followed the 2008 recession.

Financial Aid on the Rise

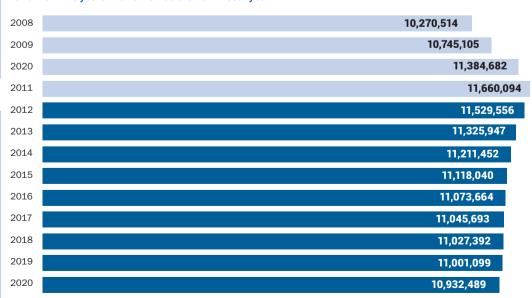
State public financial aid as a share of higher-education appropriations has steadily increased over all, despite cuts in state funding in the wake of economic recessions.



Note: Calculations don't include data from the District of Columbia. Education appropriations are state and local support available for operating expenses and student financial aid (including federal stimulus funding), but not funding for research, hospitals, and medical education.

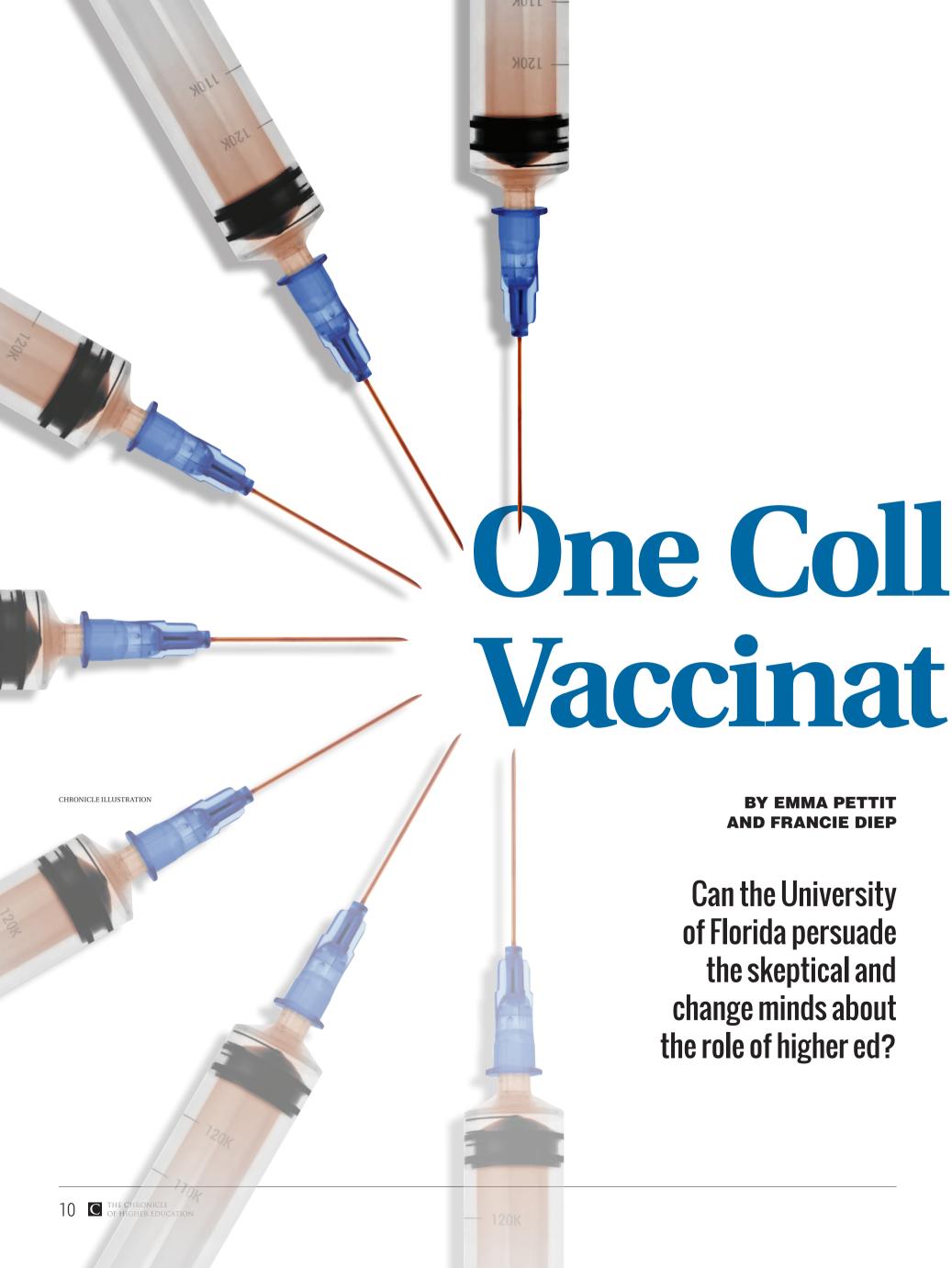
Enrollment Steadily Dropping

During the 2008 recession, full-time equivalent enrollment at public institutions was on the rise, but it has fallen for nine years in a row since the 2011 fiscal year.



Note: Full-time equivalent enrollment equates student credit hours to full-time, academic-year students; medical students are excluded. Chart doesn't reflect data from the District of Columbia.

Source: State Higher Education Executive Officers Association



ege's Mission: e 120,000 People

N A FRIDAY AFTERNOON in late April, Michael Lauzardo greeted his patient. "I'm Dr. Lauzardo," he said, ushering the woman to his station. "Nice to meetcha." He was warm but efficient as he ran through his questions. Any problems with the first Covid-19 vaccine dose? Any questions for me? Nope and nope, she replied. He injected the 0.3-milliliter dose into her shoulder, tossed the empty syringe, stuck on a bandage, and thanked her for getting vaccinated, for doing her part. She stood, and Lauzardo beckoned to the next person in line. The exchange took less than a minute. On to the next patient. Inject, toss, stick, repeat.

Every minute was precious. Thousands of people had appointments at the University of Florida's mass-vaccination clinic, located on the fifth floor of Ben Hill Griffin Stadium's skybox tower, high above the football field. The bleachers were mostly empty. The Jumbotron projected that day's graduation ceremonies to an audience of a few dozen. But inside, the clinic was buzzing with activity. About 120 people, mostly students, walked through the door every 20 minutes. By midafternoon, there was a backlog. A socially distanced line had formed on the sidewalk below.



Michael Lauzardo, deputy director of the U. of Florida's Emerging Pathogens Institute, oversaw the ramp-up and eventual launch of the university's vaccination blitz.



DANIELLE HAWK

Signs and cardboard grave markers stood as reminders of the opposition to face-to-face classes at the U. of Florida in the spring of 2021.

Lauzardo is deputy director of the university's Emerging Pathogens Institute, and he has overseen the ramp-up and eventual launch of the university's all-out vaccination blitz, an effort to inoculate more than 100,000 people over six weeks. He's also in charge of coronavirus testing for the campus. Ever since last spring, he's worked double-digit hours most days. On this day, he was at the clinic to observe five medical students and to be a vaccinator in the evening. He wasn't supposed to step in this early. But the team was short-staffed, so he had to pinch-hit. Whatever it takes to make the system run.

It takes *a lot*. All day, behind a black curtain, pharmacy students and technicians mixed hundreds of vaccine vials with saline solution, drew the mixture into syringes, and flicked at them to eliminate air bubbles. Runners ferried those doses and supplies to seven vaccination stations that spanned the length of a football field. Meanwhile, greeters and form-checkers welcomed the stream of people to the site, made sure students had filled out both sides of their paperwork, and occasionally distracted those who were especially needleshy.

To arrive at this point took months of preparation, of little sleep and sore feet. It took, and takes, constant coordination among university employees. It takes a raft of volunteers, some with no connection to the university, who want to do their part in bringing the pan-

And that's the easy part. Many of that day's appointments were for students who were eager to get vaccinated. They wanted to resurrect a more-typical college experience, one without masks or mandates. \\ Afterward, they snapped selfies to commemorate the moment.

The more formidable challenge is outside the stadium walls.

The University of Florida is not only attempting to vaccinate its own students, staff, and faculty. It's a major player in the effort to vaccinate the population of the surrounding region. Alachua County, located in the heart of north-central Florida, is home to about 270,000 people. The University of Florida is in the county's biggest city, Gainesville, which leans strongly Democratic. Beyond the city limits, however, Alachua County is largely rural, with acres of pastureland, berry fields, and pecan trees. Residents can be more conservative.

University-affiliated sites account for one-third to 40 percent of all the Covid-19 vaccines administered so far in Alachua, said Paul D. Myers, the county health officer. From the start, the university and county have tried to reach county residents in a variety of ways, holding vaccine clinics on the university campus and in Gainesville's predominantly Black Eastside, and deploying university experts to talk up the shots at town halls, growers' and ranchers' meetings, and church events. Officials will need to run more of those smaller, more work-intensive, and less efficient events to reach those still unvaccinated.

It's not surprising that the University of Florida would play a leading role in a Covid-19 vaccine campaign. It has the expertise and infrastructure, including the stadium. Having faculty and staff members from the university help organize clinics, answer questions, and volunteer to give shots speaks to the ideal of what a big public research university can do for its neighbors. They're the benefits you expect from having the flagship next door.

Like vaccinators across the country, however, Lauzardo and his team have run into inequities in health-care access as well as vaccine hesitancy. How well the university succeeds against those barriers will determine how well protected the community will be, and what experience students will have, come fall. The campaign is also an opportunity for the university to demonstrate its value at a time when higher education is increasingly regarded as out of touch and even dangerous. Colleges across the country contributed to Covid-19 outbreaks within their own communities. The pandemic exposed and deepened selective universities' role in driving inequity. And it revealed and was fueled by Americans' lack of trust in science and expertise. Wherever colleges are providing vaccines, vaccinators, and vaccine information, it's an opportunity to heal some of those harms. But success isn't guaranteed.

EFORE there was any vaccine against Covid-19 in sight, the University of Florida had the fundamental job of keeping its students and local community from getting infected.

Over the summer of 2020, despite some local anxiety, state leaders strongly encouraged the public universities to open in the fall. On the national stage, Florida was gaining a reputation for being open for business — and tourism — despite the pandemic. University of Florida administrators decided to offer some in-person instruction and fill residence halls to near capacity. They didn't require testing of most students.

In the first three weeks of the fall semester, almost 700 students and employees tested positive for the coronavirus. Unsettled by the experience, faculty members repeatedly protested having to teach face to face. Meanwhile, outside of campus boundaries, local news reported Gators packing into downtown bars, maskless. "F*** a mask," one student told the news station WUFT.

"As a community member, it was palpable," said David Arreola, a city commissioner. "People would avoid groups of young people, whether they were outside or not. It was like there were two Gainesvilles." He felt he had to press administrators to take the pandemic seriously, and to acknowledge that a segment of students was flouting good safety practices and could spread the virus. "There was deep concern in the community that the university was not going to be able to handle the outbreak," he said.

The University of Florida turned out to be able to. Unlike some oth-

er college counties, Alachua didn't experience a significant rise in cases after the student wave, according to a study published in *Computer Methods in Biomechanics and Bioengineering*. Arreola called it "a miracle" that he attributed to the county health department and to "people at the university who do care."

Lauzardo's testing program was critical to bringing the fall outbreak under control. He compared his experience last fall to being shot at and getting away unscathed.

It was especially important, then, to get the vaccination effort right. Since the beginning of the pandemic, Lauzardo thought vaccines would most likely be developed. He now sees them as the only true way out of the crisis. The campus and the surrounding community would both need high vaccination rates. With too little immunization outside its gates, the university would have to keep testing students frequently, which is expensive. The danger would remain that outbreaks started on campus could spread to the community, or vice versa, instead of being stymied by vaccinated bodies.

In December 2020, the Food and Drug Administration authorized the first Covid-19 vaccine for emergency use in the United States. University faculty members and administrators helped set up an immunization clinic in Eastside Gainesville in early January. Officials also quietly scheduled drive-through appointments at a parking garage on campus where they were already offering tests. This was arguably their first community "mass vax" site.

Planning emails, obtained through a public-records request, show



The vaccination campaign is the university's chance to show its value at a time when higher ed is increasingly seen as out of touch.

University of Florida and Alachua County Department of Health staff members coordinating who would print forms, train injectors, direct traffic, provide standby emergency medical workers, and dispose of used needles. Two days before the event, they were still awaiting confirmation of the number of doses the site would receive. Once they got word of a shipment of 210, they formed a plan: Give 15 shots every 15 minutes over a three-hour window.

One health-department staffer seemed surprised at that clip. "That's 1 apt per minute," wrote Brad Caron, a preparedness planner. "You're right," replied Myers, the county health officer.

About three weeks later, on February 5, officials vaccinated more than 1,000 people in a day at Griffin Stadium. On April 5, Gov. Ron DeSantis made all Floridians, ages 18 and up, eligible to receive shots, and the university announced a goal: It wanted to vaccinate 20,000 people in Alachua County every week for six weeks. To get there, a phalanx of volunteers had put together an operation at Griffin Stadium capable of injecting more than 5,000 arms a day.

Health experts believed it was imperative not only to get as many Alachua County residents vaccinated as possible, but to do so quick-

ly. The longer that people remained unvaccinated, the more time genetic variants of the coronavirus had to spread and mutate. "We can end this now, if we just all get vaccinated now," Lauzardo said. "You drag it out, it ends in January, June of next year."

At first, the stadium had no problem filling its seats. On March 30, the university sent out an email inviting more than 82,000 students

BEN HILL GRIFFIN STADIUM **Gators Get Vaccinated** #ChompOutCOVID

and employees to make appointments at Griffin to get their shots. More than 5,000 people signed up in the first hour and a half. On April 6, when a communications staff member at UF Health suggested to Meghan Froman, co-director of the university's testing and vaccination program, that the staffer email all UF Health employees to invite them to drop by Griffin for shots, Froman admitted privately to having a "freak-out." There was no way the packed operation could handle drop-ins.

Yet just a week later, she was emailing UF Health herself, seeking staffers who would be willing to stop by for a vaccine. "Due to our low numbers on Wednesday, 4/14 and Friday, 4/16," she wrote, "we can handle walk-ups all day."

The demand for Griffin shots was fading fast. "We underestimated how much the students were going to jump on it," Lauzardo said, "and we overestimated how much the community would come here to get it done."

Like vaccinators across the country, the team in Alachua County was running into barriers as diverse as its population. Some people were uncomfortable going to the stadium or unable to get there easily. Some belonged to groups with a history of being mistreated by the American health-care system. There were people who were anxious about the vaccines' safety, and others who believed wilder conspiracy theories about the shots — that they contained microchips to track people, or material from aborted fetuses, or that Covid-19 is not a real and serious threat.

From the beginning, the county vaccine effort was a mix of events large and small. Emails from December 2020 to April 2021 show university and county health officials preparing for ever-bigger mass-vaccination sites while also visiting a retirement community to give shots to residents; adding to their list of Black churches where they worked with leaders to set up clinics on site, and where they

Vaccinations were administered with brisk efficiency at Ben Hill Griffin Stadium.

> Savine Hernandez, a pharmacy intern, injects Leonard Johnson with a vaccine dose at a Gainesville church.



LOUIS BREMS, U. OF FLORIDA



HOW DO YOU STUDY THE PRESIDENCY?



Professor
Lori Cox Han, Ph.D.
Doy B. Henley
Chair of American
Presidential Studies

WITH TOP SCHOLARS.

The U.S. Presidency is an institution with worldwide influence. At Chapman University we believe it's also a topic that demands serious scholarship. Thanks to the generosity of Emeritus Chair Doy B. Henley and James H. and Esther M. Cavanaugh, we are pleased to announce the endowment of two chairs in presidential studies. We congratulate renowned scholars Lori Cox Han and Luke Nichter.



Professor
Luke Nichter, Ph.D.
James H. Cavanaugh
Endowed Chair in
Presidential Studies

"This is an exciting time to support such important work at Chapman University.

These faculty are renowned scholars in this field and exemplify the best of Chapman."

—James H. Cavanaugh—Chairman of the Nixon Foundation Board of Directors





"We underestimated how much the students were going to jump on it, and we overestimated how much the community would come."

might vaccinate 100 or 200 people in a day; and fielding requests for shots for just a few dozen people, or even individuals. Now, however, it was clear they would have to rely even more on smaller-scale events and personal relationships. They would have to make progress at rates that were orders of magnitude lower than a mass-vax site can achieve.

They planned to close the Griffin Stadium operation at the end of May. The fire hydrants have dried up, and putting out the blaze now means carrying buckets by hand.

Reopening **Campus** How to Do It Safely and

FROM THE CHRONICLE STORE

Bringing student back to campus is a top priority for many colleges as Covid-19 vaccines become widely available. Learn how to support faculty during the transition and how to communicate with students about the new college experience. Get this and other products at Chronicle .com/Browse.

N A WARM SATURDAY EVENING in early May, families gathered at a public plaza in downtown Gainesville to celebrate the Day of the Immigrant — or Día del Inmigrante. In the corner of the plaza, medical students and volunteer translators staffed a vaccination clinic.

It was a modest setup compared with the football stadium. Just a table and seven folding chairs underneath the overhang of a City Slice pizzeria. The goal was modest, too — to administer not thousands of doses but, if they were lucky, tens.

Earlier that day, Lauzardo had dropped off a cardboard box with about 50 prepped syringes. That "graband-go" pack, as he called it, is a new collaboration between his team and the Rural Women's Health Project, a health-justice nonprofit based in Gainesville. It's an ad hoc method of navigating the steep hurdles to vaccine access for immigrants and non-English speakers in the area, for whom it's not always possible to drive to a mass-vaccination clinic like the one at the football stadium.

If you don't speak English, for example, information about where to go for an appointment is harder to come by. You might be wary because if your reaction to the dose is severe enough, you might have to take off work, a luxury many workers can't afford. Even if you make it to your appointment, you'll probably be asked to prove

you're a Florida resident, something undocumented immigrants can't do. An estimated 775,000 unauthorized immigrants lived in the state as of 2016, composing 5.6 percent of the labor force.

Bringing vaccines to where people gather skirts some of those hurdles. The tactic doesn't work without people who are dedicated to scaling those barriers and willing to collaborate with the university people like Robin Lewy, the health project's director of programming.

Lewy's organization has been helping provide pandemic-related aid to vulnerable people throughout the county. The morning be-

fore the celebration, she picked up a grab-and-go pack from Lauzardo and drove an hour to vaccinate 49 migrant workers. Because they had limited English and internet access, no proof of state residency. and no individual mobility, their chances of getting vaccinated without help from someone like Lewy were slim to none.

On that Saturday evening, Lewy ran the show. She reminded attendees that they didn't need any identification to get the vaccine. We're here, she told the crowd from the outdoor stage, to serve you.

At some point, she made her way over to a friend who lives in Gainesville, Lina Colondres, and egged her on.

Lewy "told me, 'Come on, we're doing the vaccine. Right? Right?'" said Colondres, whose purple ponytail matched her purple T-shirt. "I'm like, 'I don't know."

Colondres is a mother of four who is originally from Puerto Rico. Everybody in her life who had gotten the vaccine had encouraged her to get it too. But she had been hesitating. She'd heard on the news about the pause in the use of the Johnson & Johnson vaccine after six people who had received it developed blood clots. That news "panicked" her a bit, said Colondres, who is disabled and has a lot of health issues. (Federal officials lifted the pause after a safety review.)

Her family had arrived at that evening's celebration with no plans to be vaccinated. But then Lewy came over and told her "all this positive stuff," she said, like that she should get vaccinated for her children, for her community. She locked eyes with her husband, Ruby Flores.

Colondres and Flores were reunited just months ago. In March of 2012, Flores had gone to work one day — his toddler son's birthday at an Alabama chicken plant and never returned home, said Colondres. He'd been deported to Mexico. The loss was unimaginable. There were days, Colondres said, that she wanted to die.

It took nearly nine years for him to return via a green card. Now the man she loves is home again. That evening, after Lewy's encouragement, they looked at each other and agreed, in the way that parents do, to do something a little scary for the sake of their children. "We kind of, like, eye-forced each other," Colondres said.

They walked over to the table and folding chairs. A medical student answered Colondres's questions and stuck her arm with a needle.

She and Flores were two of 15 people who got a shot that evening — a far cry from the 3,158 doses given the previous day at the football

After their shots, the couple stood around and watched a dance performance on stage. The two children they had brought with them, that toddler son, now 12, and his brother, 13, sat and played games on their phones. As the Florida evening cooled, Flores wrapped his arms around his youngest son, still immersed in the bright, beeping screen, and held on.

HE NEXT DAY, Gerard Duncan held his microphone with both hands as he preached about moving on. His feet planted on the dark-red carpeted pulpit, a yellow container of Clorox wipes nearby, the pastor told congregants inside the historic Mount Carmel Baptist Church that they must start "snapping out" of this pandemic and return to some semblance of normal life. "You can't continue," Duncan told the room, "to be bound."

Duncan takes his role as a community leader seriously, and during the pandemic it has been no different. When cases first began to climb in Florida, he and other pastors talked to Lauzardo about how to keep their parishioners safe. They established trust. Lauzardo was "like a prophet," in that he foretold eventualities about the pandemic that came true, said one local pastor, Karl An-

After that conversation, Anderson said, he embraced the idea of holding drive-in church services so that parishioners could stay in their vehicles, socially distanced. "We never stopped having church," he said. "We just were smarter about it."



Pastor Gerard Duncan says he wanted to "be a lamb" and get vaccinated to set an example.

SARAH KIEWEL FISHER FOR THE CHRONICLE

Soon, it'd become clear how disproportionately Black Americans were suffering in the grip of the pandemic. Across the country, Black and Hispanic Americans were more likely to be hospitalized and die from Covid-19 than white people were. In Alachua County, Black people make up 21 percent of residents but 32 percent of Covid-19 deaths. Local pastors and community leaders who'd lost friends and loved ones deeply felt the brutal inequities.

They and the university also understood that mass clinics on campus would not be enough to reach Gainesville's Black residents. Shirley Watts, another pastor, volunteered at a mass clinic at the stadium early in the pandemic. She noticed that not many Black people were showing up. At the time, people eligible for the shots were mainly over 65 or had underlying health conditions.

"Many of us are not all that comfortable trying to get on campus and walk stairs and walk from parking places," she said. People who aren't students or employees might not feel as if they know how to find their way around campus, she said.

The university itself can feel at times unwelcoming or out of reach. Just 6.7 percent of students identify as Black or African American. Do local African American kids dream of someday becoming "a hometown Gator"? Duncan mused before answering his own question. "Not necessarily."

Early on, the university collaborated with faith leaders to hold vaccination clinics at places that did feel like home to many: Mt. Moriah, Mt. Pleasant, Upper Room Ministries, and other churches. Lauzardo and some of the faith leaders held a town hall to answer questions and allay people's fears. Science, the doctor told the audience, is "God's language."

The university also established a community-relations group that includes pastors, business leaders, and elected officials to help with local outreach, especially to vulnerable and hard-to-reach populations. One idea was for people who are respected in and around Gainesville, like a pediatrician or the famed Florida football alumnus and former coach Steve Spurrier, to become "vaccine champions," or people who broadcast their positive experience of receiving the vaccine, so that it might tip the scales for others.

Duncan serves on the committee and became a vaccine champion, even though he'd once been skeptical of it. His outlook changed when he and his son contracted Covid-19. In that moment, the pandemic became real, less abstract, in a way it hadn't been before. He eventually decided to "be a lamb" and get vaccinated, he said, and he encouraged others to do so, too. People like Violet Brown, a great-grandmother who attends Duncan's church. He told her it was safe, that he felt fine. So she prayed on it, she said, and God led her in the right direction.

When Duncan put the word out in January that he was helping people make appointments, his phone rang day and night. "I felt like a 911 operator," he said. By now, months later, demand has slowed. The church vaccination clinics are less busy. Those who were itching to be vaccinated, or who were wary but relatively easily convinced, have gotten their doses already.

Reaching people for whom seeds of doubt have sprouted into a forest of skepticism will be tough, even with the help of people like Duncan.

When the pandemic struck, some of his church members scattered, he said. And they've been slow to return.

On that Sunday morning, just a handful of adults and children filled his pews. He preached about moving on, past the hardship of the previous year, to a mostly empty room.

ROUND Hawthorne, Fla., a small town 15 miles east of Gainesville, some homeowners have erected yard signs during the pandemic that deliver a simple motto: "Faith Over Fear."

That messaging, says Matthew Surrency, Hawthorne's mayor, is a bit misguided.

Surrency has spent the past year trying to ensure that his town, which has a high concentration of senior citizens, navigates the pandemic safely. He's encouraged people to avoid gathering in groups where the virus could easily spread, such as in churches.

But there's social pressure in a small town to continue to show up for Sunday services. When you're not in church, you could be "looked down upon," Surrency said. Telling people to have "faith over fear" certainly doesn't ease that sense of obligation.

Having faith over fear can lead to tragedy. When other churches in the area closed their doors, Gordon Chapel Community Church, a white building shaded by oak trees that sits just over the county line, stayed open. In late October, there was an outbreak. Dozens became



The 'wait and see' people, who aren't immediately saying yes to vaccines but aren't saying no, either, are 40 percent of the population.

infected, the *Los Angeles Times* reported. The pastor's wife got sick. Her mother, her brother, an aunt, and an uncle died.

The church is outside Hawthorne's town limits, so there was little Surrency could do except continue trying to talk to people about the risks of Covid-19 and the proper ways to stay safe. Even if the church itself didn't make the right decision, Surrency said, people could be armed with information and so be better equipped to decide for themselves what to do.

The mayor has faced other challenges. In Hawthorne, people prize their privacy. For example, said Surrency, some residents who've gotten vaccinated won't check the box to indicate their race, a decision that makes it harder to know what groups should be targeted for outreach. (Later that day, a Hawthorne resident who'd just exited the Ace Hardware store told a *Chronicle* reporter he didn't want it reported that he had bought "Beware of Dog" and "No Trespassing" signs. "People," he said, "are snoopy.")

Surrency serves with Duncan in the university's community-relations group. They've talked about the challenges of expanding vaccinations in more rural, and more conservative, parts of the county.

In Florida, especially, the pandemic has been highly politicized.

Some Republican elected leaders resisted local mask orders. Many Republican men, in particular, remain steadfast against the vaccine, polls show. At a recent meeting of Alachua County commissioners, that skepticism was on full display. Locals lambasted the commissioners for keeping a mask mandate in place, and for supposedly shoving the vaccine down their throats.

"Since when," said one woman, "did people that were hired to tell us what road they were going to fix start making health choices for my family?"

Lauzardo attended the meeting virtually and gave his typical upbeat presentation about why vaccines are so critical. But many citizens brought their own interpretations of the prevailing research to the discussion. Lauzardo quoted "no science," said one man. "They're not clean vaccines. They're dirty vaccines," said another, a farmer, who also told commissioners he didn't know why they weren't talking about "people drinking ginger and turmeric, or taking herbs, to cure" Covid-19.

Lauzardo left the meeting before the hour and 20 minutes of public comment. But the opinions expressed there don't surprise him. By now, he's heard it all. The way he sees it, about 20 percent of people won't take the vaccine, no matter what you do. You could pass out gold bars, he said, and they won't do it. Meanwhile, 40 percent want it so bad, they'd swim through piranha-infested waters just to get it.

It's that remaining 40 percent, Lauzardo said, that's key. The people who aren't immediately saying yes but aren't saying no, either. The "wait and see" people.

Na a Monday afternoon in early May, Sam Carroll was waiting and seeing.

He ran the cash register in the store he owns, Carroll's Farm Supply, located off U.S. Highway 301 in Hawthorne. Shelves were packed with fresh feed, seeds, chainsaws, preserves, and T-shirts bearing messages like "May The LORD Be With You," in the *Star Wars* font. Bags of potting soil and stacks of lumber sat outside. Inside, it smelled of gasoline.

Carroll, wearing a moss-green T-shirt and a salt-and-pepper beard, chatted with his steady trickle of customers, mostly men from the area whom he knew, and gave them quotes on, say, a bag of corn. "You probably ain't going to like the price of it," Carroll told one customer. It'd gone up a few dollars since last year. The man reckoned that the price had increased because of "your president," Joseph R. Biden Ir.

"I'm not going to say I put him in office," Carroll replied, jovially, "but he is my president." Carroll leans conservative and voted for Donald J. Trump, though he didn't love how the former president could sometimes "run his mouth like diarrhea."

Despite the price hikes, business had been good. People staying home means more money is spent on their houses. The store had closed for only two days during the pandemic, in August, when Carroll and his whole family tested positive for Covid-19, including his father and his mother, who'd just gotten over two bouts of cancer. They'd been taking precautions, said Carroll, wearing masks — including to Gator football games — and regularly disinfecting the store. He wouldn't even let his mother visit the store, for fear she'd contract the virus.

The disease is "no joke," Carroll said. "It puts a shadow on you." You'd be in the middle of a conversation, and your brain would just "spark and quit." His mother had it worse. She spent seven days in the hospital and at times could barely function. There was a point when Carroll worried she was going to die.

But as for the vaccine? Both Carroll and his mother, who fully recovered, weren't getting it. It's too new, said Carroll. He's not against vaccinations, but "I don't know if that thing was rushed through."



Sam Carroll stands outside his store, Carroll's Farm Supply, in Hawthorne, Fla.

DAVID MASSEY FOR THE CHRONICLE

Still, he's open to it. His family has season tickets for Gator football, and they'll probably wind up wearing masks the entire time they're at the stadium this fall, too. "I don't know if I want to be crammed in there with 90,000 people without having a mask on," he said. "So there's the other end of the spectrum."

When customers stop by the store, he'll sometimes ask them, Would you take the vaccine? "I try to be an educated person," Carroll said.

Carroll seemed to be holding different views in his hands, feeling their weight, and sizing them up against each other. Could he see himself getting the vaccine in the future?

"Absolutely," he said. "My wife is talking about already getting it, but —" Carroll paused, cocked his head, tugged at his ear, and trailed off. He just wasn't sure.

HE WORK of winning over the "wait and see" crowd may be slow and difficult, but Lauzardo is often cheerful about it.

Not just cheerful, but deeply positive. His worldview, as a Christian, is founded on the idea of redemption. "To me," he said, "there's redemption here."

For the university, he sees a chance to improve town-gown relations, reduce racial health disparities, and demonstrate the worth of expertise and higher ed, long after the pandemic is over. "We can show the real relevance of large academic centers to their communities," he said. "There's no way we would have been able to do this without Covid, if we're really honest with ourselves."

In the meantime, there's a long road left before the community is well protected from Covid-19.

Current numbers weren't available at publication time, but the University of Florida never hit its goal of 20,000 doses in any week after April 5, when the governor opened up vaccine eligibility and the Griffin Stadium team administered more than 5,200 shots. In the three and a half weeks from April 5 to April 30, vaccinators gave out just 33,000 doses. Less than half of Alachua County residents have received any dose of a vaccine, and the number of shots given in the county has been declining steadily since just after April 5. The consequences show up at the county hospitals: Covid-19 hospitalizations in the area peaked in early January, then declined through late March, as vaccinations picked up. Since then, they've remained stubbornly flat.

But there's some hope that expertise, personal relationships, and leaving the way open and easy can make a difference.

It did for Carroll.

After his first conversation with a *Chronicle* reporter, his mother visited her cancer doctor, who told her that in no way, shape or form should she be scared of the vaccine. In fact, the doctor said, it is imperative that she get it. Because some of her patients don't come in anymore, the doctor said. They caught Covid-19 and never recovered.

That, plus a conversation with a local pharmacy technician who came into the store, tipped the scales for Carroll.

He loves his mother. He wants to do what he can to keep her safe. So he and his wife, he said, are scheduling appointments.

Emma Pettit, a senior reporter who writes about all things faculty, reported from Gainesville, Fla. Francie Diep, a senior reporter who covers money in higher education, reported from Washington.

19



Is on the Ropes

The attacks are coming from both the right and the left.

ANY SCHOLARS and observers of higher education, even those who may agree on little else, agree on this: Academic freedom is on the ropes. "Academic freedom is in the worst position of my career, and perhaps the worst condition it has been in decades — perhaps since the Red Scare," says Greg Lukianoff, president of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, a nonprofit committed to the rights of free speech on college campuses.

Academics are caught in a pincer grip from the political right and left.

From the right, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Iowa are among states meddling in colleges' curricula and speech policies. When a **BY ALEXANDER** C. KAFKA Georgia lawmaker asked the state university system to explain how it teaches "oppression" and "privilege," the system's leaders felt compelled to pull together a 102-page report. Boise State suspended 52 sections of a diversity and ethics course amid Republican attacks on the university's efforts to teach students about racism.

From the left, some students declare views with which they disagree to be a form of violence, shouting down voices they don't want to hear.

Less visible but more injurious to academic freedom, experts say, is the general societal devaluation of higher education, state budget cuts aggravated by the Covid-19 recession, and the continued erosion of tenure.

STEPHEN VOSS FOR THE CHRONICLE

"My sense is that there has never been as great a threat to academic freedom in the past century as we are now experiencing," William G. Tierney, a professor emeritus of higher ed and founding director of the Pullias Center for Higher Education at the University of Southern California, writes in his new book, Get Real: 49 Challenges Confronting Higher Education (State University of New York Press, 2020).

Faculty members aren't being hauled before legislative committees, as they were during the Red Scare, says Hans-Joerg Tiede, director of research at the American Association of University Professors. But there is a crisis nonetheless, he says, because the AAUP "has held for 100 years that you can't have academic freedom without tenure," and tenure is declining sharply.

To be clear, not everyone sees academic freedom as in such dire straits. And among those who do, the nature of the threat is under contention — not least by scholars. on both the right and the left, who have felt the direct heat of excoriation.

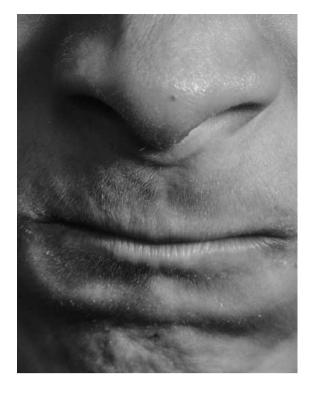
Amy Wax, a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania who has been lambasted for her views on the superiority of Western culture and accused of racism, says the state of academic freedom is "abysmal," with "conservatives largely muzzled." She calls college campuses "a one-party state, with unscrupulous social-justice warriors ready to shame, ostracize, name-call, and pounce on anyone who dares to question the received

wisdom, and administrators refusing to call them out and sometimes egging them on."

Suzanna Danuta Walters is a professor of sociology, director of the women's-, gender-, and sexuality-studies program at Northeastern University, and editor of the gender-studies journal *Signs*. She was blasted in 2018 for an op-ed she wrote for The Washington Post titled "Why Can't We Hate Men?" She recently said that "a large chunk of the U.S. population is committed to white supremacy, and believes and promulgates racist, sexist, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories," shifting what now seems acceptable to say and teach.

Some academic-freedom controversies involve fundamental ideological differences. But others seem to flare up out of nowhere and stem from arguably willful misunderstanding. To cite one, Jason J. Kilborn, a law professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, as FIRE summarized it, included on a civil-procedures exam a question that "described a hypothetical employment-discrimination scenario, which referenced a racial slur and what the exam described as a 'profane expression for women.' Kilborn avoided using the full words, transcribing them instead as "'n____' and 'b____'.'

The university opened an investigation, and even Above the Law, a publication that has regularly chided law professors for needlessly $\,$ using the N-word in their teaching, considered this a different sort of case. "No one wants to be in a place where discussing the way racism shapes the legal system is off limits," wrote Kathryn Rubino, a senior editor. "Turn on the news and it's very clear that white supremacy is far from behind us and continues to impact the law. Legal education needs to have these admittedly difficult discussions,



"The lockdown turned us all into our Twitter and Facebook avatars, and those personalities tend to be much more morally absolutist."

but finding the right balance is essen-

Such cases leave Michael S. Roth, president of Wesleyan University and a historian, bewildered at what administrators were thinking. He has clashed with some colleagues and students alike over charged issues. His disagreement with the boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement against Israel has been one such area, as was his support for Wesleyan's declaring itself, during the Trump administration, a "sanctuary campus" for faculty, students, and staff regardless of their citizenship status. But overall, he doesn't see an emerging existential threat to academic freedom.

"Freedom to teach a range of subject areas," he says, "is much greater than it was when I was a student or a young faculty member" in the early 1980s. "It's a much broader range of human experience and disciplinary approaches."

"If people are afraid to defend Shakespeare or Aristotle" because of culture-war antagonisms, he says, "they ought to get some courage up." But a "woke" campus culture, he says, is a natural reflection of "how we teach given the fact that whom we teach has changed" - more women and more underrepresented minorities.

If sensitivity to that changing student population entails a certain level of faculty self-censorship, that's not necessarily bad, either, Roth says. "Of course people self-censor. That's what people do in polite society" to keep conversation

going in a productive fashion. "I had to clean up my language when I became an administrator, even when I became a professor," he says.

Nor does such civility mean knuckling under to unreasonable student views, whims, or demands. If students are derailing discussions, you don't "give them the airtime," Roth says, but instead explain how their comments aren't pertinent, at least at that moment, and treat the student "with personal respect but with intellectual criticism."

John P. Forren chairs the department of justice and community studies at Miami University, in Ohio, where he is also executive director of the Menard Family Center for Democracy. "I feel like my institution does a very good job of protecting academic freedom," he says, "if it's defined as the ability of colleagues to decide what they are pursuing in their research, what they are teaching, what counts as legitimate knowledge in the disciplines."

And that's good, says Forren, because given red-hot political tensions, "it's more important than ever that we provide multiple legitimate perspectives" and demonstrate how to talk in a civilized way across ideological lines.

TANLEY FISH, the literary theorist and veteran administrator, and a visiting professor of law at Yeshiva University, in New York City, thinks that most if not all academic-freedom controversies are simply unnecessary. His argument boils down to academic freedom as "the freedom to do the academic job" — no more, no less. Off-topic speech, speech outside scholars' expertise or students' educations? Those are not matters of academic freedom, says Fish, author of *The First: How to Think About Hate Speech, Campus Speech, Religious Speech, Fake-News, Post-Truth, and Donald Trump* (Atria/One Signal Publishers, 2019). Stick to what you know, stick to your job, "and all of the problems associated with academic freedom disappear."

Is that too narrow a definition? The AAUP thinks so, says Tiede, because beyond freedom in teaching and research, that framing doesn't explicitly include, as it should, freedom of political and other expression in public forums like Twitter, and freedom to participate in shared college governance. Both are areas in which faculty members have come under fire, as at Collin College, in Texas, which has drawn scrutiny for several faculty terminations. Those followed clashes between professors and the administration over one professor's political tweet and others' criticisms of the college's Covid-19 policies.

The assumption antagonists make, says Tiede, is that if a professor expresses a view in a public forum, she or he must be indoctrinating students. But to take punitive action, he says, a college should have to prove that there is inappropriate indoctrination in the pedagogical setting.

Tierney, in his book, wrestles with the ambiguous areas beyond a faculty member's formal expertise. "I am not particularly concerned with flamboyant speakers who espouse values that run counter to my core beliefs," he writes. "Rather, what troubles me greatly are those who engage in the extreme version of what has come to be called fake news. ... Academic freedom, at its core, is about the search for truth."

Fish urges his colleagues not to conflate speech issues with matters of academic freedom. If, as at Berkeley a few years ago, students want to invite a provocateur to speak on campus, incurring huge security costs even as jobs and budgets are slashed? Say no. Would the event in question "conform to or further the academic mission?" Can the institution afford it? If the answer to either question is no, Fish says, then that's that, even at a public institution.

"All my answers are designed to de-escalate the question," Fish says, and if students or faculty see such a decision as curbing their rightful campus freedoms, they misunderstand those freedoms. "Colleges and universities," he says, "aren't in the free-speech business but the education business."

HETHER free-speech cases and curbs on academic freedom are so easy to distinguish from each other, however, is a key question.

FIRE has reported that it received a record 1,001 case submissions in 2020 about perceived free-speech violations of students and faculty members — compared with 731 in 2019 and 652 in 2018. The 2016 and 2020 elections, the polarizing Trump administration, the rise of social media, the pandemic, and

higher education's financial crisis have all aggravated academic tensions.

It's natural to ask, then: Who has faced more academic oppression—liberals or conservatives?

"Conservatives by far," says Peter Wood, president of the National Association of Scholars, a group that says it "fosters intellectual freedom, searches for the truth, and promotes virtuous citizenship."

In contrast, Laurie Essig, director and professor of gender, sexuality, and feminist studies at Middlebury College, says, "The biggest threat to academic freedom is coming from the far right — which now passes as the mainstream right. I was particularly concerned when, at the end of the Trump administration, the phrase 'white privilege' was deemed 'divisive' and 'un-American.' That is extremely dangerous when those in power tell us we cannot analyze how power operates in the world."

Mark Bauerlein, a contributing editor of the magazine *First Things* and a professor emeritus of English at Emory University, says it is the students who most terrify conservative, centrist, and even mainstream-liberal professors and administrators.

"There was a sharp difference in the students who started arriving on campus in 2013," says FIRE's Lukianoff. "The Coddling of the American Mind," a 2015 essay in *The Atlantic* that he co-wrote with the social psychologist Jonathan Haidt, grew into a 2018 book. It explores what Lukianoff describes as a cohort of "true believers and conformists" with — in the words of the book's subtitle -"good intentions and bad ideas." A focus on microaggressions and trigger warnings, the authors argue, has a chilling effect on scholarship but also hurts students themselves by narrowing their rhetorical and ideological realms with a "vindictive protectiveness." That increases their anxiety and limits their ability to develop coping skills, the authors say.

Heather Mac Donald is a writer who has defended police stop-and-frisk and zero-tolerance policies, criticizes the Black Lives Matter movement for its emphasis on shootings by police over the toll of criminal violence, and says systemic racism among police officers is a myth. Her speaking engagement at Claremont McKenna College in 2017 sparked a protest. Mac Donald says that the tacit equation on American campuses is that "nonconforming speech equals hate speech" and "hate speech equals behavior, which may be censored. ... That formula is now gaining hold in the world at large, as was eminently predict-

Bauerlein says the problem isn't that strident debates are occurring on campus, but rather that "there is no debate any more."

"While conservatives were battling the culture wars" of the 1980s and '90s, he says, "the intelligent left was claiming office space." In today's near-unified leftist campus climate, "there is no more discussion." Trump's presidency and cam-

While culture-war controversies flare and legislators meddle, the most pronounced threat to academic freedom may be the quiet gears of the corporate university.



UPCOMING PROGRAM | AUGUST 3-6, 2021

The Chronicle's Strategic-Leadership Program for Department Chairs

Develop the strategies and skills needed to be an effective leader. *The Chronicle*, Dever Justice LLC, and Ithaka S+R have partnered to conduct a professional-development series to help department chairs overcome the challenges of the role and create a strategic vision for individual and departmental growth.

In our interactive workshops and roundtables, you will:

- Engage with fellow chairs and participate in peer-to-peer problem solving.
- Create a forward-looking development plan, tailored to the needs of your department.
- Benefit from deep audience involvement and learn from expert speakers.

Register Now. Space is limited.

Chronicle.com/professionaldevelopment

Discounted rates and custom programming available for groups of 10 or more department chairs.

Contact workshops@chronicle.com to learn more.







paigns elevated liberal indignation to "an extraordinary parade of hysteria," he says — a "psychopolitical shutdown" so complete that "there's no chance for people to sit across the table and hash things out on the substance."

For his part, the AAUP's Tiede thinks the left leaning of college faculty is an overblown issue. "Increasingly, the right in this country is anti-higher education, is anti-science, is anti-evidence, is anti-truth. It is not really surprising," he says, "that people who are pro-higher education, pro-science, and pro-evidence increasingly identify themselves not with that political leaning."

Steven Pinker, a professor of psychology at Harvard who has tussled with critics of his views on violence, gender, infanticide, and IQ, among other topics, says that "growing swaths of intellectual territory are essentially unstudyable because a single orthodoxy is enforced, with dissenting researchers subject to punishment." As a result, he says, "academia is at best ignorant but more likely deluded about the answers to important questions."

The primary threat to academic freedom these days, Pinker says, is "the far left, since the social-justice warriors and woke police go after liberals and conservatives alike. Liberals are more common targets because there are few conservatives left on university faculties outside the professional schools, but they are primarily assaulted by administrators and faculty who are further to the left."

There's a difference, though, between a left-of-center academic being fired for his or her views and a right-of-center academic feeling uncomfortable and ostracized, the AAUP's Tiede says. "People on the right, when they talk about this," he says, "seem to be more talking about being criticized or fearing being ostracized by their colleagues." The AAUP, he says, has historically focused more on administrative firings. "I would say there is a qualitative difference between the two."

ocial media amplifies academic-freedom controversies, but has it increased them?

"For so many of us," says Northeastern's Walters, "social media has been a real double-edged sword ... allowing scholars to enter and even shape public discourse in more-robust ways. But also, of course, we can be policed in ever more creative ways ... by our employers or potential employers, by colleagues who may jump on a tweet as evidence of perfidy in some way, by trolls who dox and threaten us for unpopular positions."

Social media "intensified everything," says FIRE's Lukianoff, especially after the murder of George Floyd. But even before that, he says, "the lockdown turned us all into our Twitter and Facebook avatars, and those personalities tend to be much more morally absolutist."

Middlebury's Essig says that "social media is where a lot of academic speech and ideas get hashed out. ... This sort of speech is as weighty and as real as what might happen at a real-life event." Moreover, she points out, because of the pandemic, "we have had no real-life events for a year now."

A rare point of agreement among otherwise-disparate scholar-



Academic freedom diminishes not so much as a result of oppression but as stable academic jobs simply disappear.

ly voices is that the shrinking ranks of the tenured should be bolder in sticking up for their untenured colleagues. But Penn's Amy Wax isn't holding her breath.

"Despite all the treacly talk about community and mentorship," Wax says, "I have observed senior academics becoming incredibly selfish and oblivious to the future of the academy and their field."

Nor is tenure itself a panacea, says
Pinker. "It's doled out and withheld by
gatekeepers who might favor the orthodox and blackball independent thinkers."
Even among the tenured, he says, "there
are many punishments short of termination that can deter heterodox thinking,"
such as "frivolous proceedings for professional misconduct, hecklers' vetoes in
lectures, retractions and memory-holing
controversial articles, and crippling libels
of racism and other forms of bigotry."

While colorful culture-war controversies flare and state legislators meddle, some academics and observers say that the most pronounced threat to academic freedom may be the quiet gears of the corporate university. "Universities as institutions have always been concerned with donations and public image, too often excessively so," says Lukianoff. "Even some cases that seem ideological," he says, "are often more about a university trying to protect its image."

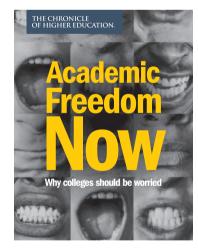
Labor costs, says Bauerlein, are as great a factor as the avoidance of controversy when it comes to academic trajectories.

"If an argument can be made that reduction of faculty and closure of departments will save a lot of money," he says, "they're going to find a way."

In that context, academic freedom diminishes not so much as a result of oppression but as stable academic jobs simply disappear. To balance their books, colleges are increasingly culling tenure lines and consolidating or eliminating departments. To fill the gap, in remote or hybrid programs, they share courses or even entire academic majors from other institutions.

The declining ranks of the tenured aren't a result of conspiracy by insidious administrators, Tierney argues in his book. Rather, they result from larger societal devaluation of institutions serving the public good. "Insofar as most public dollars come from the state, rather than the federal government," he writes, "we find academic institutions fighting over scraps with those who want prenatal care, health care, and better care for the homeless."

Alexander C. Kafka is a Chronicle senior editor. Follow him on Twitter @AlexanderKafka.



FROM THE CHRONICLE STORE

Embracing and supporting freedom of thought, expression, and speech are core principles of higher education, but typically involve tough conversations and decisions and fundamental ideological differences. Navigate the complexities surrounding academic freedom with this collection from *The Chronicle*. Get this and other products at **Chronicle.com/Browse**.



ORE THAN 30,000 academic journals publish in excess of two-million papers every year, which works out to something like 5,000 per day or about 200 per hour. That's a lot; too many, some have argued. It's not true that most of those papers go un-cited (*Nature* put the lie to that myth a few years back) but most attract modest readerships because they're hidden behind high-priced paywalls, or they're comprehensible to only a select few, or they're somewhat dull. In some cases, all of the above.

Given that staggering volume of verbiage, you might assume that scholars' keeping their thoughts to themselves isn't a pressing problem. But what if there are certain ideas that they're keeping under wraps? And not just any old ideas, but important ones that might force us to rethink our most cherished assumptions? Maybe they've sketched out these theories in a Word doc that they're too afraid to submit because doing so might hamstring their academic career, infuriate the masses, and force them to move to a cabin somewhere.

Take note, would-be iconoclasts: The Journal of Controversial

Ideas wants to hear what you've been holding back. It is open access, peer-reviewed, and unrestrained by convention. Plus it offers the option of publishing under a pseudonym so that no one can blame you for your transgressive musings. The journal's first issue was published recently and it contains 10 button-pushing essays that supply answers to questions including whether it's OK to commit violence in order to save animals (yes), whether criminals should be be placed in medically induced comas (maybe), and whether in the end our lives have any meaning at all (no).

The through line here is controversy, or at least the potential for controversy, which makes for an unusual reading experience. Often a journal explores a particular topic rather than trying to elicit a reaction. When you open, say, the latest issue of the *Journal of Manufacturing Technology Management*, you can assume that the articles will be related to — what else? — manufacturing, technology, and management. With the *Journal of Controversial Ideas*, you're not sure what to expect. Maybe you're going to be offended. Maybe someone



will give voice to a verboten notion that you secretly hold. It's an odd organizing principle, almost like a restaurant that advertises "spicy food" but refuses to say what kind.

Another possibility is that you'll shrug. One downside of declaring that your journal traffics in controversy is that readers will expect to be scandalized and, if you come off as too reasonable, you've failed. At the same time, if you make everyone angry, then you've succeeded, but now everyone's angry. Considering that built-in double bind, why start such a journal in the first place?

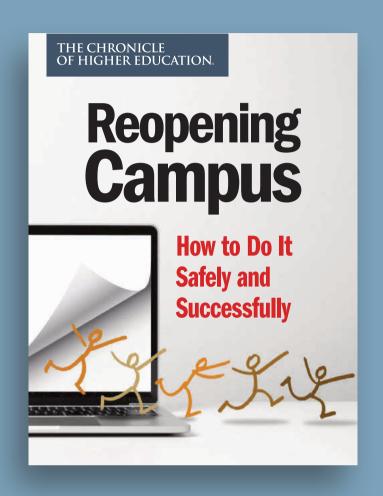
Because, the editors of the journal argue, scholars need an outlet where they can share ideas that others might deem "tasteless, unnecessarily provocative, or even dangerous." It may turn out that the truth is "concealed among those unsettling thoughts." They namecheck Jesus, Socrates, and Galileo as those who suffered social sanction (and worse, in the case of the first two) for their contrarian opinions. They make the case that while the internet provides plenty of platforms for your stray thoughts, it has paradoxically stifled

the most daring academic work. Once upon a time, your article appeared in print, it was mailed to colleagues in your field, and that was pretty much it. Obscurity provided a measure of protection. Now it's possible that your path-breaking paper could get seized on by social media and you might become embroiled in, as the journal's editors put it, "unwelcome controversy."

BY TOM BARTLETT

RANCESCA MINERVA, one of the journal's editors, and the driving force behind its creation, knows that scenario all too well. I first wrote about about Minerva nearly a decade ago after she and a co-author, Alberto Giubilini, published a paper in the Journal of Medical Ethics with the gasp-inducing title "After-birth abortion: why should the baby live?" That paper argued for the justifiability of "aborting" newborns. "We claim that killing a newborn could be ethically permissible in all the circumstances where abortion would be," they wrote.

Reopening Campus



"Whether you bring 10 people on campus or 10,000, you have to have certain things in place."

As the next semester quickly approaches, colleges are preparing for a semester unlike any other. While the outlook for bringing students back to campus looks bright, leaders must consider a number of unknown factors when planning for a campus reopening.

This *Chronicle* report explores key questions around what kind of experience you can offer students, and shares insights from experts and college leaders about how to support faculty members during this transition. This report covers ways to make on-campus learning safe, from following public-health protocols to fostering student success, and it showcases the achievements of institutions that can be models for your campus.

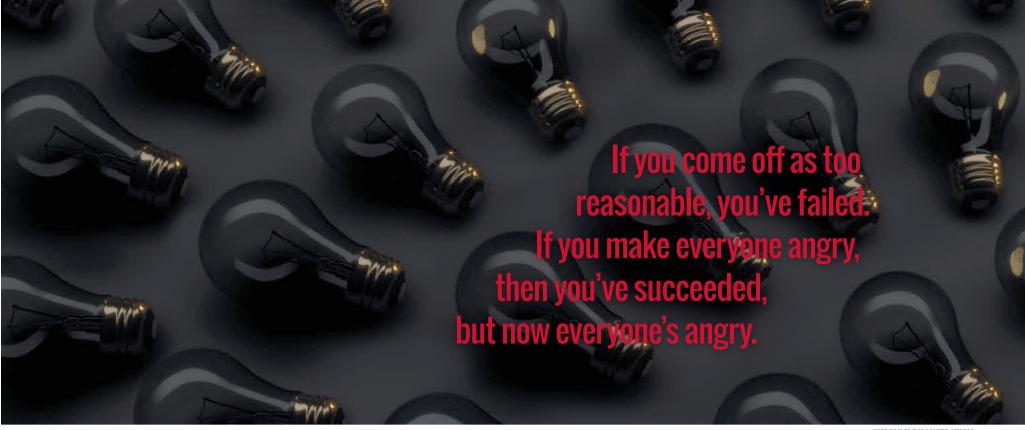
PURCHASE YOUR COPY FOR INSIGHT INTO:

- How to navigate the legal and political complications around vaccination.
- What pandemic-spurred changes are worth keeping.
- What lessons other colleges can offer about reorganizing campus life.
- How to work in partnership with campus constituents and your local community.

Purchase Your Copy:

Chronicle.com/ReopeningCampus

THE CHRONICLE Of Higher Education



CHRONICLE ILLUSTRATION

That study became international news and Minerva and her co-author were portrayed as more or less monsters. Regardless of what you think of their argument, it didn't come out of nowhere. The issue of when a human achieves so-called personhood has been much-discussed by ethicists. Another founding editor of the *Journal of Controversial Ideas*, Peter Singer, who is probably best-known for his book *Animal Liberation*, argued in his 1979 book, *Practical Ethics*, that infanticide is acceptable when a newborn is severely disabled. Just last year, an event at which Singer was supposed to speak was canceled because of pressure from those who object to his long-held view.

Minerva was inundated with threats and insults. "Because of people like you and their ideas the world we live in is full of shit," one wrote. Another: "You need to be eliminated along with your entire family." Several correspondents imagined, in some detail, how that elimination might be carried out. She's continued to receive abusive emails years after the paper was published.

It was that experience, at least in part, that inspired her to start a journal that allows authors to publish pseudonymously. Three of the authors in the first issue chose that route. One of those essays is by "Shuichi Tezuka" and it compares young-earth creationists — i.e., those who believe that a higher power created everything in less than a week a few thousand years ago — to those who conflate behavioral genetics and eugenics. Both groups are ignoring, in the author's estimation, the obvious scientific truth because of their faith-like commitments. Tezuka isn't the first person to make that point, and the term "cognitive creationism" isn't new; it was, as the author notes, coined by Michael Shermer. So why hide behind a pseudonym?

Via email, Tezuka wrote that it's "common for academics who write about anything that's perceived as related to the intersection of race, genetics, and intelligence to face severe professional consequences." Tezuka also pointed to a Twitter thread in which someone suggests that the paper is racist and offers \$50 to whoever reveals the author's actual identity.

Another pseudonymous essay is by "Maggie Heartsilver," who argues against the idea that trans women aren't really women. She makes the case that using "woman" only to refer only to an adult female "may simply reflect that the dominant culture is oppressive to trans people." That's far from a unique stance so, again, why use a fake name? In an email, Heartsilver, who is a trans woman, writes that she might have published the essay anyway under her own name but wanted to use a pseudonym in order to "avoid harassment by anti-trans creeps."

Unlike Heartsilver and Tezuka, the third pseudonymous author, "Ivar Hardman," didn't even include an email address to allow for reader questions. Hardman argues that it's permissible in some

circumstances for animal-rights activists to engage in violence against people who are harming animals. "I think there is an argument to be made for the view that nearly everyone who experiments on animals is liable to be defensively harmed," Hardman writes. The author does concede that publicity from such actions could hurt the animal-rights movement and that some forms of violence, like sending mail bombs to those who do business with factory farms, are "not proportionate."

It's easy to imagine why Hardman, whoever he or she is, might be nervous about backlash.

ONE OF THE ESSAYS in the first issue generated significant controversy, or at least not of the viral kind that has swept over Minerva and Singer. Eyes did roll in some quarters. A bunch of Twitter wags floated tongue-in-cheek ideas for their own faux-controversial essays (example: "Kant was just ok"). There was more substantive criticism too. One philosopher dismissed it as a "safe-house for ideas that couldn't withstand moral scrutiny the first time around." Maybe that's true, though the safest house for any idea is never to communicate it in the first place. Whether the *Journal of Controversial Ideas* will become a short-lived novelty or a publishing mainstay remains to be seen, but what's wrong with encouraging scholars to be a little provocative, particularly when the incentives of academic life often tend toward intellectual conformity?

Arguably the darkest — and by far the most entertaining — essay in the issue doesn't wade into politically fraught territory or advocate for repugnant solutions to societal problems. Its glorious title is "Ultimate Meaning: We Don't Have It, We Can't Get It, and We Should Be Very, Very Sad." The author, Rivka Weinberg, a professor of philosophy at Scripps College, informs us that every human life is pointless, even the lives of revered figures like Jonas Salk and Beethoven. She draws a distinction between "everyday meaning" and "ultimate meaning" and concludes that, when it comes to the latter, the game is rigged against us. "Putting little meaning bits or even grand meaning chunks into our pointless life container is not what we thought or hoped we were doing with all of our efforts, is it?" she writes.

Weinberg told me she submitted to the *Journal of Controversial Ideas* because it's difficult to get philosophical work published that is "broad, deep, and critical of academic orthodoxies." The more ambitious the essay's thesis, the more likely it is that reviewers will try to poke holes. Weinberg also gets pushback from editors who consider her writing too funny, which she finds, like life in general, "hilarious and a little sad."

Tom Bartlett is a senior writer who covers science and ideas.



The Professor of Paranoia

Mark Crispin Miller, who is suing his colleagues, used to study conspiracy theories. Now he pushes them.

BY MARK DERY

THE REVIEW

HE LAST TIME I saw Mark Crispin Miller, in August of 2005, we were having lunch at the Yale Club in Manhattan, discussing the possibility of my writing a little book on P.T. Barnum. He was editing Yale's "Icons of America" series, and thought the Prince of Humbugs and I might make a good match. I took it as a compliment.

Miller, who teaches media studies in the NYU Steinhardt School's department of media, culture, and communication, was a colleague — I was teaching journalism at the time — whose dry one liners and

quick-draw aperçus I admired, and whose desire, as a public intellectual, to reach not just the opera boxes but the cheap seats, too, I respected. Moreover, he was a fellow traveler, a Man of the Left who wrote for bastions of the libosphere like *Harper's* and *The Na*-

tion, updating Adorno for the Reagan era and spiking the mix with sardonic wit. In "Big Brother Is You, Watching," from his 1988 collection, Boxed In: The Culture of TV, he argued that TV "reduces all of its proponents to blind spectators of their own annihilation," a line Andy Kaufman would've written if he'd read Dialectic of Enlightenment. "The Hipness Unto Death," his takedown of the smirky knowingness of postmodernist irony, deserved a rim shot for its title alone.

Not long after, I left New York University for the life of a rootless scholar. I never did write that book about Barnum, but my memories of chatting with Miller about him stayed with me. Barnum's virtuosic manipulation of the press, his winking attempts to get people to disbelieve their eyes — that ugly thing you're gawking at isn't a prepos-

terous fraud stitched together from bits of orangutan and fish skin, it's a Feejee Mermaid! — paved the way for our age of "alternative facts," deepfakes, gaslighting, conspiracy theories, and, of course, Donald Trump.

Trump's presidency made me think of Barnum, and Barnum made me think of Miller. I'd noted with growing unease the proliferation, on his Facebook wall, of anti-vaxxer misinformation, 9/11-truther screeds, and perfervid speculations about the motives of David Hogg, a survivor of the Parkland school shooting that left 17 dead

and 17 more wounded. Miller even seemed to lend credence to the claim — which has gotten traction in MAGA Land — that the shootings were a hoax, a pretext for disarming the sheeple and installing the Orwellian regime of liberal-elite fever dreams.

Linking to an AP story about the demolition of the school where the shooting took place, he quipped, "Out of sight, out of mind. (WHAT shooting?)"

Extreme disbelief — a skepticism so radical it dismisses nearly every official narrative as propaganda — can make for strange bedfellows. Since 9/11 (the official explanation for which he derides as "preposterous on its face"), Miller's lefty skepticism about the lapdog corporate media and the machinations of the power elite, as the sociologist C. Wright Mills called it, has become increasingly indistinguishable from the right's loss of faith in liberal democracy and its invincible contempt for the "fake news" media and experts of any sort.

LINCOLN AGNEW FOR THE CHRONICLE

He thinks there is "abundant evidence" that Biden stole the 2020 election; suggests the beheading of the journalist James Foley by ISIS combatants was faked; excoriates Black Lives Matter as a CIA-funded operation intended to "demonize white people" in order to "foment as much violent division as possible"; and cites, shares, and retweets right-wing propagandists such as Breitbart, The Daily Caller, Gateway Pundit, Tucker Carlson, and the conspiracy-mongering, Trump-aligned Falun Gong mouth piece, $\it The\, Epoch\, Times.$ (Like the feminist cultural commentator Naomi Wolf, whose calamity-howling about lockdowns, masking, and mandatory vaccination as police-state crackdowns on personal liberty has endeared her to rightwing broadcasters like Carlson and Dinesh D'Souza, Miller espouses right-wing bunkum that makes bien-pensant libs lose their minds. He also detests what he calls "'woke' ideology," winning hearts on the right and among antiwoke "dirtbag Leftists" like Dasha Nekrasova and Anna Khachiyan, hosts of the podcast Red Scare, who punctuated their fawning, softball interview with Miller with appreciative giggles.)

With the coming of the coronavirus pandemic, Miller has decried lockdowns as "corona-fascism," thinks the mask mandate is "the most successful fear campaign in world history," applauds antimask sentiment, wants you to know that coronavirus vaccines are a "rushed, inhuman witch's brew of nanoparticles, human DNA (from fetal cells), and toxic adjuvants," and is willing to entertain the no-

What should a university do when a tenured professor seems not to know the difference between empirically rigorous sources and some rando on the web?

tion that something called "mask mouth" causes heart attacks, and that flu shots are linked to Covid deaths (which, he suggests, are part of a covert effort to euthanize "useless eaters" in nursing homes).

His emails to me during the writing of this article were full of such contrarian news flashes, among them the revelation that the "recent spike in active cases has demonstrably resulted" not from the virus but "from the 'vaccination' drives themselves." "Those 'vaccines' are killers," he declared in one email, admonishing me to heed the warnings of Michael Yeadon, a former Pfizer employee who has performed a reputational self-immolation by decrying mass-vaccination drives $% \left(\frac{1}{2}\right) =\left(\frac{1}{2}\right) \left(\frac{1}{2}\right$ as "crimes against humanity" that may well be part of a master plan for planetary genocide. "If someone wished to harm or kill a significant proportion of the world's population over the next few years, the systems being put in place right now will enable it," Yeadon told America's Frontline Doctors, an antivaccination group with ties to the far right. "It's my considered view that it is entirely possible that this will be used for massive-scale depopulation." Miller, who is Jewish, compares Yeadon and rogue doctors like him to "similar 'outliers' throughout Hitler's rise," those who "strove desperately to make the world aware of the ongoing extermination drive — to no avail, because their claims seemed (to the NYTimes, for instance) 'self-evidently' false."

Even as he doubled down on positions like this on social media and in the many interviews he gives, he was teaching his undergraduate course "Mass Persuasion and Propaganda," which, according to

its syllabus, "is intended \dots to improve [students'] analytical and critical thinking skills."

On September 20, 2020, the tweet hit the fan. Julia Jackson, a student in Miller's course, unloaded on Twitter. In the first of a series of tweets, she wrote, "An MCC [Media, Culture, and Communication] tenured professor spent an entire class period telling students that wearing masks doesn't prevent the spread of Covid-19, and that hydroxychloroquine trials were made to fail so more people would be given the vaccine and have their DNA changed. ... He followed up that class by sending us links [to] ... many far-right and conspiracy websites, such as *The Charlie Kirk Show, Zero Hedge, ... WorldNetDaily ...* It is not acceptable for NYU representatives to dismissively state that this professor is 'entitled to his views,' ... when he is spouting dangerous rhetoric that serves to cultivate fear and confusion during a pandemic."

Miller is adamant that he was merely challenging the students in his propaganda course to question "the case for universal masking as defense against transmission of SARS-CoV-2," as he said on his blog, urging them to weigh the evidence to the contrary ("the randomized, controlled tests ... finding that masks ... are ineffective at preventing such transmission") and to pay special attention to the "possible financial links" between those who defend masking and "Big Pharma and the Gates Foundation." Jackson "was so outraged by [him] even mentioning those studies," he says, "that she called on NYU to fire him."

Wrapping himself in the mantle of "academic freedom, as well as free speech overall," Miller exhorted all "who believe that higher education must be free from censorship of any kind, whether by the state, corporations, foreign interests, pressure groups, or by the university itself," to rally around his standard — by signing a Change.org petition. In the comment thread on his petition page, many of the 37,000 (and counting) who've signed hail him as a standard-bearer for free speech, pouring scorn on the self-appointed Stasi of cancel culture who can't handle "critical thinking" that challenges their politically correct beliefs.

From there, things escalated quickly. On September 21, the day after Jackson's flurry of tweets, Rodney Benson, the chair of Miller's department, was on Twitter, doing damage control: "Julia, thank you for reporting this issue. We as a department have made this a priority and are discussing next steps." A month later, 25 of Miller's department colleagues wrote a letter to the dean of the Steinhardt School, Jack H. Knott, and Provost Katherine Fleming, deploring the views Miller allegedly espoused on his "highly visible website" (the "characterization of transgender surgery as a eugenic form of sterilization, direct mockery and ridicule of transindividuals, and denial of the Sandy Hook elementary school shooting") and "the way in which he engages discussion around controversial views and non-evidence-based arguments" (a breach of academic ethics that is the subject, they say, of persistent student complaints). (Miller vociferously denies all of those charges.) The letter ends with a call for an "expedited review" of Miller's "intimidation tactics, abuses of authority, aggressions and microaggressions, and explicit hate speech" and, in the event, whatever "disciplinary measures are deemed appropriate."

Miller returned fire with a libel lawsuit alleging that his colleagues' "scurrilous and maliciously intended letter" had caused him "embarrassment, humiliation," and "a loss of professional standing" and demanding \$750,000 in damages. As of this writing, his lawsuit is plodding along, NYU's review of his conduct is ongoing, and Miller, who is 71, is on a medical leave (necessitated, he has said, by the stress caused by recent events).

HE CONTROVERSY stirs up a hornets' nest of factual, ethical, and legal questions. What steps should academic authorities take to rein in a professor who is accused of flouting the epistemological standards of his discipline, as Miller does when he defends misleading claims such as the assertion that masking doesn't prevent the spread of the virus (masks indoors reduce trans-

mission significantly, as numerous studies have shown) and embraces fringe beliefs such as the notion that Covid-19 vaccines alter recipients' DNA (a tinfoil-helmet transmission that has been thoroughly debunked)? What should a university do when a tenured professor seems not to know the difference between empirically rigorous sources respected by authorities in their fields and some rando on the web who thinks he has, as one of Miller's blog posts puts it, "evidence that California's wildfires have been fed by laser beams"? And what should departments do when faculty members defy the definitional boundaries of their fields, straying into disciplines in which they have no expertise — say, a media-studies professor challenging public-health advisories in the middle of a complex, rapidly evolving pandemic?

"Academic freedom protects any faculty member's right to raise these doubts outside the classroom, in their capacity as citizens, and to do so free from sanction by their university," noted Brian Leiter, a professor of jurisprudence at the University of Chicago, in an email interview. That's extramural speech — public speech about public matters, in which professors are free to lob the cherry bomb of controversial opinion into the public sphere. (In theory, at least; Steven Salaita — whose tenured-faculty appointment at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign was yanked in 2014 when his tweets lambasting Israel for its treatment of Palestinians outraged wealthy donors — might disagree.)

But when they opine publicly on matters related to their disciplines, says Michael Bérubé, a professor of literature at Pennsylvania State University, they may test the limits of academic freedom. "If Miller were simply challenging the science" on questions related to Covid-19, Bérubé told me by email, "he would have more protection under the [American Association of University Professors'] understanding of academic freedom, since his extramural speech would be unrelated to his area of scholarly expertise. But insofar as he is making a broader claim about propaganda, he is clearly drawing on his expertise. So this is a very difficult case, though I have to say that the only way someone can defend Miller without qualification is by deliberately conflating academic freedom with free speech."

Freedom of teaching, another pillar of academic freedom, is notably more rule-bound. "Academics may raise doubts in the classroom," Leiter said, "only if other experts in the professor's discipline would view this as appropriate and relevant to the subject matter of the class" — a tricky proposition in the highly subjective humanities, let alone a genre-hopping, metadiscursive field like media studies. To be sure, "the standards for determining whether those doubts meet disciplinary standards will vary depending on the discipline," Leiter noted. "A professor raising the issue in the context of a class on propaganda is doing something different than a professor in the school of public health; my guess is the latter could not get away with this, the former, more likely, but arguable."

But even if the disciplinary standards and boundaries of media studies were well established and clearly demarcated, one's colleagues would have to know what's going on in the classroom in order to enforce them, and none of Miller's colleagues, as he told the hosts of the podcast *Red Scare*, has ever seen him teach. "Teaching is not transparent, so it's very hard to know what's happening inside



of classrooms," said Keith E. Whittington, a professor of politics at Princeton and the chair of the academic committee of the Academic Freedom Alliance, a nonpartisan "alliance of college and university faculty members" dedicated, as its website states, "to upholding the principle of academic freedom."

"There is a cartel-like quality to academics in that not only do they not want to be observed themselves, but they don't want to observe others, and they don't want to hold others to account; it's unpleasant, it's time-consuming," Whittington said, by Zoom. He went on to say:

There's a lot of activity inside of a lot of classrooms that would be pretty troubling if it was exposed to greater scrutiny. As academics, we ought to be more willing to scrutinize some of that behavior in order to make sure that classroom teaching is professionally competent. In Miller's case, you'd want to know not just what material he's exposing students to but how it's being conveyed. If he's conveying things that we think of as being clearly factually mistaken as if they were true and rigorously demonstrated, then that would be a problem even from the perspective of his own discipline. But that requires pretty careful factual inquiry into what is happening in the classroom.

As it happens, we do have an inkling, at least, of some of the material Miller is exposing his students to: Del Bigtree, a prominent antivaccination activist and Covid-conspiracy theorist, has been a guest speaker in Miller's propaganda class several times, and Miller has shown his students the anti-vaccine "documentary" *Vaxxed*, directed by the former physician Andrew Wakefield — "former" because he was removed from the medical register in Britain for falsely claiming, in a 1998 *Lancet* paper, that he'd discovered a connection between the MMR (measles, mumps, and rubella) vaccine and autism. *Vaxxed* and Bigtree's podcast, *The Highwire*, are textbook examples of pseudoscientific fear-mongering — propaganda, by any other name — so perhaps Miller was using them as case studies? That seems questionable, given the verbal fist-bump he gave Bigtree when he appeared on his show ("Right back atcha, I'm an admirer of yours") and his blog posts promoting Wakefield's bogus claims.

Further complicating matters is the shadow cast over the Miller affair by what we'll have to call, for want of a better term, identity politics. Why did his colleagues, in the letter that provoked his lawsuit, focus not on his seeming disregard for core academic values like intellectual rigor and objective fact, at a moment when the very notions are under assault, but rather his alleged "hate speech," "microaggressions," and transphobia? (Miller categorically denies the last charge but readily admits his wariness regarding what he calls the "transgender ideology," a wariness which the fringe website *Activist Post* explains, in its profile of him, has something to do with "the potential eugenics implications of the transgender movement.")

"The real problem is Miller's disdain for the epistemological norms of his discipline," Bérubé told me. "The side focus on transphobia is unfortunate because it needlessly muddies the question of whether Miller is teaching and writing things on the Covid 'hoax' that would call into question the fitness of any professor of media and communication. Transphobia is as common as rain, and not in itself a firing offense. Nothing about it — assuming Miller is not abusing or harassing students — indicates unfitness to teach. Nonetheless, it's easier to deal with a student (or a faculty colleague) who complains about a professor's bigotry than with a student (or colleague) who complains about a professor's Covid trutherism and imperviousness to ordinary standards of evidence and argument."

Miller, for his part, would say that he is abiding by the academic tenets of empirical rigor, reasoned debate, and skeptical inquiry. "My view is that any official narrative is open to question," he told me in the first of two lengthy Zoom interviews. "I see absolutely nothing wrong with circulating reasonable questions about incidents, the of-

ficial story of which is, everywhere we turn, the same story; all the media are all together, broadcasting, printing the same narrative." His focus, like that of any media critic, "is always on the media spectacle," he said, "and if there is a consensus that is hammered repeatedly within that spectacle and then someone credible and credentialed makes a credible counterclaim, I think that that counterclaim should get a hearing." Take the 9/11 Truth movement, as its defenders call it: "It's one of those subjects that has been dismissed out of hand by the media as 'conspiracy theory,' and so I am willing go to bat for the people who've done very solid research on it."

He pushes back vigorously when I suggest he's biased against consensus and in favor of lone gunmen, even in fields where he's illequipped to evaluate the legitimacy of their counterclaims, like virology, vaccinology, and epidemiology. Still, it's difficult to square his scrupulous-sounding rhetoric about vetting counterclaims to ensure that only the "credible and credentialed" get a hearing with his apparent willingness to recirculate widely rejected, even reviled viewpoints because they've "been dismissed by the media as 'conspiracy theory."

The trouble, here, is weasel words like "credible" and "credentialed." Miller is reflexively skeptical of authorities but seemingly willing to swallow in great gulps the pronouncements of discredited figures like Wakefield and Yeadon and pseudonymous YouTubers like "Dutchsinse," whose only credentials appear to be a willingness to believe the flatly incredible — for example, that "directed energy weapons" were behind the apocalyptic wildfires in California and Oregon.

Many of the "reasonable questions" Miller raises are poorly evidenced if not conclusively disproved; some are morally grotesque. During our second interview, I pressed him about his blog post casting doubts on whether Noah Pozner, a 6-year-old boy shot to death along with 19 other Sandy Hook Elementary schoolchildren and six staff members, had really died ("Sandy Hook Show Trial: Two forensic experts found that Noah Pozner's death certificate is FAKE — and so the judge suppressed their testimony"). Did he believe he was acting responsibly as a university professor and public intellectual by pumping oxygen into the conspiracy theory that the Sandy Hook slaughter was a false-flag operation, staged to provide a pretext for rolling back gun rights — a deranged claim that inspired conspiracists hell-bent on finding out "the truth" to torment the Pozner family for years, barraging them with death threats, demanding that they admit their son's death was faked, and hounding them from one home after another?

"Well, how do we know that's *not* true?" Miller snaps. "Have you read Fetzer's book [Nobody Died at Sandy Hook: It was a FEMA Drill to Promote Gun Control, by James Fetzer and Michael Palecek]? It's rather compelling. It's troublingly compelling." Is he unaware, I wonder, that Leonard Pozner, Noah's father, was awarded \$450,000 in a defamation lawsuit against Fetzer in which the court ruled that Noah's death certificate was *not* fabricated? Or is he just another Sandy Hook truther, beyond the reach of argument or evidence? Many things are troublingly compelling, I tell him, but isn't it a media critic's job to come to a conclusion — to make critical judgments about the truth or falsity of the stories the media tells us? What's his conclusion?

His tone, unshakeably self-assured until now, becomes suddenly subdued, almost faltering. "I think that incident was, um, I think that it was" — the briefest of pauses, then he plunges in — "I suspect it was staged. It's some kind of an exercise. That's my suspicion. I have no reason to believe that" Noah and the other children "really were there, or were killed. Listen, I'm not happy to say that, OK?"

ow DID WE GET HERE? How does a leading light in media studies, known for his trenchant critiques of the role played by advertising and the media in manipulating public opinion, and for sounding the alarm about the threat posed to democracy by the media monopoly — fewer and fewer corporations controlling more and more of our news and entertainment outlets —

morph into a lapel-grabbing true believer who fervently believes, on top of everything else, that "the Great Reset" — the World Economic Forum's rebranding of the pandemic as a historic opportunity to radically rethink society and the economy along more sustainable, equitable lines — is in fact a vast eugenicist conspiracy? Bill Gates, George Soros, the Rockefellers, the Windsors (!), Ted Turner (a "eugenicist" whose "huge herds of bison" will feed the globalist cabal), they're all in it together: a monstrous plot to eradicate the unfit so the puppet masters can have the planet all to themselves, while the rest of us subsist on lab-grown "human steak." (Soylent Green is people!)

"How does one go in that direction? Slowly," said Charles Seife, a professor in the Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute at NYU and wryly sharp critic, in books like *Virtual Unreality: Just Because the Internet Told You, How Do You Know It's True?*, of the pandemic of misinformation and disinformation that plagues our moment. Seife believes algorithm-driven social media rewards controversy, which generates buzz, which attracts fans who may lure you further out, onto the hairy fringe. "There's a feedback mechanism that draws people to the extremes," he told me. "You see it very strongly on social media where, as you get rewarded for more and more extreme thoughts, and as you gather more and more fans who are introducing you to things further beyond the Overton window in a certain direction, it's very easy to take those steps toward the extreme, bit by bit. It's like the proverbial frog in boiling water."

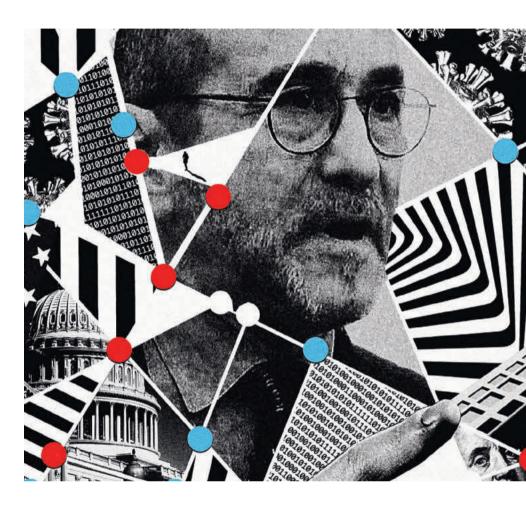
"Part of what made Miller particularly vulnerable is that in the circles he was most concerned with, there *were* conspiracies. I mean, you cannot study the CIA without thinking that they were utterly crazy people who were trying to control the world in the strangest possible ways: MK-Ultra, people being fed LSD and jumping out of windows, is *true*. And this stuff *was* covered up. For people who look at propaganda and government malfeasance, once you start recognizing that some of this stuff is true, you're going to gather fans who believe even more extreme stuff that isn't true." For some, the temptation to see how deep the rabbit hole goes blurs the line between scholarly inquiry and beady-eyed conspiracism. As Seife says, "It's a small step from MK-Ultra to Project Blue Book and UFOs to Area 51 to Jewish space lasers." (Now might be the time to mention that Miller believes the moon landing was faked.)

The Miller affair is uncannily reminiscent of the tale of James Tracy, a professor of media studies at Florida Atlantic University who, as Anna Merlan writes in *Republic of Lies: American Conspiracy Theorists and Their Surprising Rise to Power*, went from close and careful readings of "the role of conspiracy theories in public life" to "spreading some of the most egregious ones," including — wait for it — the allegation that the Sandy Hook massacre was staged, and that the Pozners were "profiting handsomely from the fake death of their son." Although Tracy said that he never discussed Sandy Hook in his classroom and that he confined his theorizing to social media, where he was "just asking questions" the media strenuously avoided, FAU gave him the sack for not disclosing his blog as an "outside activity" that could tarnish the university's reputation.

Was there always a conspiratorial undertow to media studies, a paranoid style of mind that might make the transition from "media monopoly" to "deep state" easier than it seems? In his introduction to a 1996 special issue of *The Nation* on "the national entertainment state" (whose cover featured the monster octopus of corporate consolidation, tentacles rampant), Miller bemoaned "a culture gripped in every sector by an ever-tightening convergence of globe-trotting corporations, whose managers believe in nothing but 'the market' *über alles*." Accompanying his jeremiad was a four-page ownership chart detailing which conglomerates have which media outlets in their sucker-clad grip. It looks a lot like the chart Miller posted on his blog in 2020, its crisscrossing cash flows revealing the shadowy actors — the Trilateral Com-

mission, the CIA, the Council on Foreign Relations, Yale's Skull and Bones fraternity, George Soros — who "fund phony 'Left' media." Looking at these networks of power, it's hard not to see visual echoes of the "crazy walls" that have become a well-worn trope in conspiracy-culture thrillers like *Homeland* — collages of photos and clippings push-pinned to a wall, their cat's cradle of sinister connections traced in string.

Miller bristles at the term "conspiracy theory," dismissing it as a



For some, the temptation to see how deep the rabbit hole goes blurs the line between scholarly inquiry and beady-eyed conspiracism.

"meme" used to "discredit people engaged in really necessary kinds of investigation and inquiry." But he's heartened, as he told *The New York Observer*, by what he sees as "a real sea change in the way people think about issues that have always been successfully dismissed as ... conspiracy theory." Wrapping up his speech at a 2016 symposium convened by Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth, he ended on a hopeful note: "I can tell you as a professor that my own students are no longer intimidated by the 'conspiracy theory' meme. It isn't working anymore."

Mark Dery is a cultural critic and the author of many books, most recently Born to Be Posthumous: The Eccentric Life and Mysterious Genius of Edward Gorey (Little, Brown).

INSIGHT

Political pressure | Tenure turmoil | Diversity discord

A Craven and Dangerous Tenure Denial

The snub of Nikole Hannah-Jones is the right's latest attempt at dominion over higher ed.



THE REVIEW

Nikole Hannah-Jones

THE NEWS that the University of North Carolina will not offer Nikole Hannah-Iones a tenured position after all surprised no one who knows today's Republicans in general and the governors and trustees within the UNC system in particular. As a group, they are craven and ignorant in equal measure, and their ears perk up whenever the dog whistle blows. But even in light of their long history of indefensible decisions, this one stands out. The woman has a Pulitzer Prize and a MacArthur grant, and she spearheaded what is probably the most effective pub-

lic-history effort in the history of the country, "The 1619 Project." "Tenurable" doesn't begin to cover it.

The UNC-Chapel Hill Board of Trustees did not refuse to sign off on

her tenure despite those accomplishments but because of them. Universities hire faculty members who work

on the history of racism and share Hannah-Jones's broad convictions and investments all the time, and regents, trustees, and governors do not get involved. Nikole Hannah-Jones is

different because she drove the conversation into places where it could not be belittled and contained. As the Johns Hopkins historian Martha S. Jones, a historian of U.S. law

> and governance with a focus on the ways **Black Americans** have shaped democracy, told me:

"Regrettably, the brilliant Nikole Hannah-Jones joins a tragically elite cadre of educators too good for tenure. She's now a peer to the great Derrick Bell, who modeled how our purpose lies in the integrity of our work, not in the measure of functionaries. Bell gave up tenure at Harvard Law 30 years ago, after the school failed to hire any Black woman faculty member. He would understand what has happened here and recognize that his fight continues in our own time."

And indeed, across the country, the GOP and its lickspittles have decided, in part precisely because of the success of "The 1619 Project," that the correct way to address systemic racism is not only to deny its existence but to legally mandate this denial. Some of them know better: they are that evil. Others do not; they are that stupid. It's hard to know who is which, and it does not much matter, since either group is happy to join the kind of pressure campaign that led to the board's abominable decision.

The New York Times and The Washington Post have covered the story. and the backlash has been swift: The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education has weighed in; an excellent faculty letter has been circulated. But neither stresses forcefully enough the other central aspect of this event: The campus's Board of Trustees should not have any role whatsoever in academic-hiring decisions, and neither should the systemwide Board of Governors, which was lobbied to prevent Hannah-Jones's appointment. It is reasonable to suppose that the governors passed on the pressure to the Board of Trustees. The Board of Governors' chair, Randall C. Ramtions in the world. It is bad enough that university administrators have steadily erased the power of faculty governance and that many of them can barely be bothered to acknowledge who actually carries out the core mission of the university, i.e., the creation and dissemination of knowledge. But at least they are usually former researchers themselves, and they understand that the merit of a scholar's work cannot be judged by a boat salesman, however fine a human being that boat salesman may be. (To be clear, I am not suggesting that the boat salesman in question is a fine human being.)

LORD KNOWS universities are imperfect institutions, far more conservative than their reputation, and not nearly the force for good they imagine themselves to be. But at least we have the right enemies. It is time that we not only welcome their hatred but earn it by becom-

Nikole Hannah-Jones is different than other scholars who work on the history of racism because she drove the conversation into places where it could not be belittled and contained.

sey, builds and sells boats. The vice chair, Wendy Floyd Murphy, "is involved in the hospitality segment." Most other members are equally unqualified to judge any tenure case in any field. The same is true for the Board of Trustees: The chair, Richard Y. Stevens, is a corporate lawyer and former GOP state senator. The vice chair, R. Gene Davis Jr., is another corporate lawyer, with "experience in real-estate law, business formation, estate planning, and estate administration."

There is no greater threat to the future of the university than the continuing erosion of self-governance, the core organizational principle of higher education for centuries, and the reason universities are among the most stable civic instituing the place they imagine us to be. While each individual battle matters in this regard — and the battle over Hannah-Jones's tenure is a crucial one — the war, like all wars, is about autonomy.

The right understands this. As NCPolicy Watch reported, "Last week, a columnist for the James G. Martin Center for Academic Renewal (formerly known as the Pope Center for Higher Education) wrote that UNC-Chapel Hill's Board of Trustees must prevent Hannah-Jones's hiring. If they were not willing to do so, the column said, the UNC Board of Governors should amend system policies to require every faculty hire to be vetted by each school's Board of Trustees." Given the combination of the Board of Governors' pol-



Silke-Maria Weineck

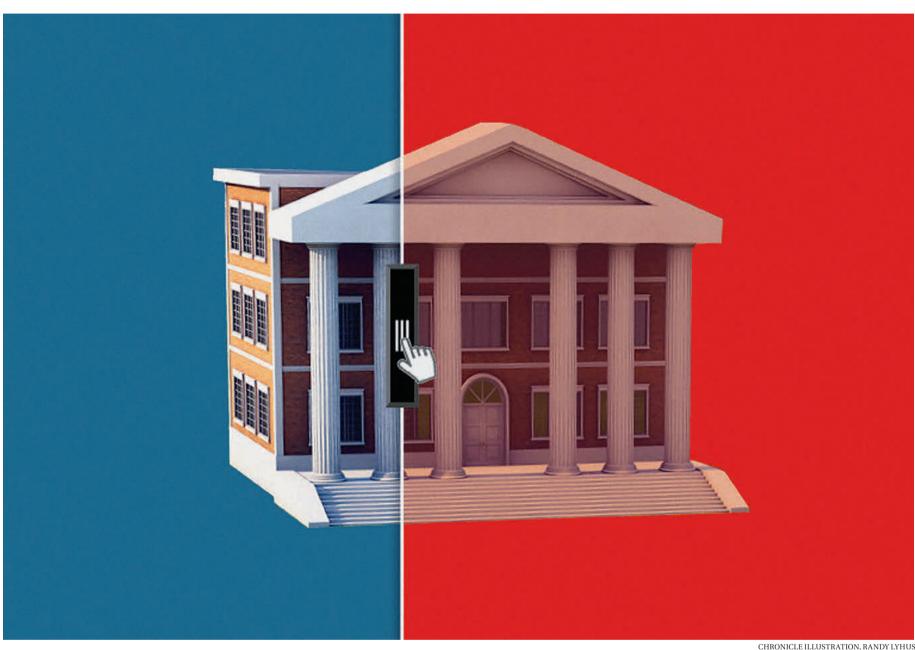
is a professor of German and comparative literature at the University of Michigan at Ann

itics with its utter lack of integrity, that would almost certainly mean the end not just of responsible historical research in the University of North Carolina system but also the end of climate science, environmental studies, poverty research, and any other investigation that undermines Republican fantasies about the world as it is and as it ought to be. It is nothing less than a blueprint to bring universities under the dominion of the right.

If we want higher education to survive this onslaught, which has been long in the making, we can no longer rely on petitions and letters, no matter how well crafted, how impeccably argued, how persuasive. Reason depends on recognition to exert its power, and this crowd will not grant recognition to reason. You cannot shame the shameless. Universities must seek to have their autonomy enshrined in law, ideally as constitutional amendments akin to the provisions that have protected the independence of the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne State since the 19th century: The Constitution establishes them as independent entities, and their regents, who stay out of the university's academic affairs, are elected rather than appointed. The right has played a long game, and it is perilously close to winning it. Fury and disgust are good and appropriate; they are not sufficient.

The Political Corruption of the University

Board intervention in hiring will badly damage higher ed in both red and blue states.



CHRONICLE ILLUSTRATION, RANDY LYHUS

TODAY'S rampant political polarization has led to alarming interference in academic affairs, threatening basic principles of openness and faculty

authority in colleges and universities - principles hard won over the course of the last century. Most recently.

the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Board of Trustees has apparently balked at the recommendation that Nikole Hannah-Jones be appointed with tenure to the Knight chair in race and investigative journalism. She will instead hold the chair for a five-vear term.

The board has said little about the

decision, but it would appear that political considerations drove its members to take the extraordinary step of intervening in the universi-

THE REVIEW

ty's hiring decision for an individual faculty position. Such an action would be a gross violation of the principles that ought

to guide the governance of modern American universities and a clear threat to academic freedom. Unfortunately, the temptation for political tampering with the operation of universities is growing not just in North Carolina but across the country.

The final step in the process of making an appointment to the faculty of public and private universities alike routinely involves the approval of a board of trustees. At public universities, boards are often politically appointed, as is true at the University of North Carolina. At private universities, they are generally dominated by generous alumni and donors. There was a time when such boards regularly exercised real power over the hiring and firing of members of the faculty, and the tenure of faculty members depended on staying in the good graces of the political factions and personal interests of powerful board members. The long fight for academic freedom necessitated insulating the faculty from the board. Boards retain the

power to approve of faculty-hiring decisions in the same way that the queen of England retains the power to approve legislation passed by Parliament — as a ceremonial formality only.

There are, no doubt, reasons to object to awarding a tenured position on the faculty to Hannah-Jones, a post in which scholarship and qualifications are the primary considerations. The substance of her work on "The 1619 Project" is controversial. So is her choice to sometimes dismiss and demean her critics instead of engaging with their arguments on the merits. But faculty members must judge, on their own, the quality of a candidate's actual work, as well

as decide whether the candidate will in good faith enter into the spirit of reasoned, fair, and open-minded exchange. That determination is the faculty's to make.

Some have suggested that, setting substantive issues aside, Hannah-Jones does not merit a tenured faculty appointment. She is a practicing journalist who has not held a university faculty position before. She does not have a Ph.D. Although she can boast of a Pulitzer Prize, she has not published in scholarly or peerreviewed journals.

Such considerations might be weighty in some contexts, but have

self-critical and more circumspect, to check the more hasty and unconsidered impulses of popular feeling." Teaching and scholarship can thrive only if those commitments are respected, free from apprehension of reprisals either from inside or outside the university.

If disagreements over whether an individual professor should be hired, promoted, or fired were resolved by boards, then the mission of the university would be corrupted. Public universities in red states and blue states alike would find themselves shrinking the acceptable range of scholarship and teaching. Facul-

We are critics of Nikole Hannah-Jones. Her tenure denial is a travesty.

little significance here — and, again, are matters for the faculty to consider, not the Board of Trustees. Her appointment is to a journalism school, and many professional schools desire faculty members with practical experience rather than traditional academic accomplishments. The previous holders of the Knight chair have been working journalists. Assuming that a tenured appointment is in accord with the provisions of the chair in question, as well as the hiring rules of the journalism school, the decision must rest with the faculty.

IN ITS originating Declaration of Principles, the American Association of University Professors emphasized that the members of a university faculty have "professional functions to perform in which the appointing authorities have neither competency nor moral right to intervene." The ability of university professors to perform their primary duty "to the wider public" — disseminating and advancing human knowledge — requires an "independence of thought and utterance" that is incompatible with dependence on the approval of university trustees. Colleges and universities are places for free and unintimidated intellectual experimentation, for nurturing ideas that might still be "distasteful to the community as a whole," as well as for making "public opinion more

ty members at private universities would once again have to worry about whether their work might offend the moral sensibilities or economic interests of influential alumni, from any point on the ideological spectrum.

The sharp polarization of our politics threatens the foundations of teaching and scholarship, especially in areas of civics and American history. Efforts to create grounds where students can learn essential lessons about the structure of our constitutional government and the nation's past run afoul of clashing, strident political agendas. It is against that deplorable background that the trustees of the University of North Carolina have blocked this appointment.

We have been critical of Hannah-Iones's best-known work in connection with "The 1619 Project," and we remain critical. We also respect the judgment and the authority of the University of North Carolina's faculty and administration. For the Board of Trustees to interfere unilaterally on blatantly political grounds is an attack on the integrity of the very institution it oversees. The perception and reality of political intervention in matters of faculty hiring will do lasting damage to the reputation of higher education in North Carolina - and will embolden boards across the country similarly to interfere with academic operations of the universities that they oversee.



Keith E.
Whittington
is a professor of politics at
Princeton University and the
chair of the Academic
Committee of the Academic

Freedom Alliance



Sean Wilentz is a professor of history at Princeton University.

How to Fix Diversity and Equity

Ritualized regimes of political expression must be rejected.

ACADEMIC TWITTER lit up with acclaim when Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis announced that it had approved "new promotion and tenure options based on diversity, equity, and inclusion work" in early May. A computer-science professor captured the prevailing sentiment: "Such amazing news! I hope more and more institutions will take this path."

We can be certain that they will. Unfortunately, not only will this path fall short of its intended goals, but it will pose a serious threat to academic freedom.

The biggest problem with attaching distinctive diversity, equity, and inclusion rules and guidelines to tenure and promotion is the fact that most DEI work is flagrantly ideological. When Chancellor Nasser H. Paydar celebrated the new pathway to promotion and tenure at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, or IUPUI, as "another step in our campus's ongoing anti-racist initiatives," he signaled a commitment to a naïve, left-wing, paint-by-numbers approach to racial justice that we call "Antiracism, Inc." It imagines that people, policies, and institutions can always be categorized as either racist or anti-

racist - and that social justice is a simple matter of consistently choosing the antiracist option. The bible

of this movement is How to Be an Antiracist by Ibram X. Kendi, a runaway best seller that has shaped DEI initiatives in nonprofits, corporations, and schools across the country. (Indeed, faculty and staff, including the chancellor, participated in a yearlong Kendi reading group during the 2020-21 academic year.)

The Antiracism, Inc., juggernaut has helped to make a commitment to diversity synonymous with rooting out racism. White folks, in this model, must be "allies" — or better yet, "accomplices" and "co-conspirators" in the struggle for racial justice. In a recent antiracism training session at our college, one of the trainers said that any professor who was not on board with the mission to "dismantle white supremacy" at their institution could



CHRONICLE ILLUSTRATION

not possibly be making a contribution to DEI work.

Many scholars across the political spectrum are skeptical of - or downright reject — both the definition of "white supremacy" on offer here, and the insistence that it is the root cause

THE REVIEW

of injustice and inequality in the United States on campus and beyond. On the left, for example, the so-

ciologist Adolph Reed Jr. contends that white supremacy is a "reductionist," "ahistorical" model of the world — a "fantasy of monolithic, unchanged race-driven oppression" that ignores the extent to which "unequal life outcomes" are arbitrated by class. On the right, the economist Glenn C. Loury maintains that the term "white supremacy" is a "bluff and a bludgeon" that erases Black agency. Other scholars, including Angela D. Dillard, John McWhorter, and Orlando Patterson, regard the term as an unhelpful, hyperbolic slogan that "alienates rather than converts."

From slavery and civil rights to Black politics and Black English, these scholars, all of whom happen to be Black, have written extensively about race and racism in the United States.

Would they be disqualified from claiming DEI credit for their work because they don't pledge allegiance to a highly specific, and contested, definition of white supremacy?

Any incentives, no matter how well-intentioned, that give special consideration to research in areas and topics that align with what is considered DEI pose a threat to free and open inquiry. In the University of California system, for instance, candidates receive a boost if their research contributes to "understanding barriers faced by women and racial/ethnic minorities." This is an extremely narrow - and alarmingly instrumental — vision of what constitutes DEI scholarship.

Beyond research, IUPUI will now take into account "DEI professional development" and "consulting work (paid or unpaid) related to DEI" in tenure and review cases. Tallying up DEI professional-development trainings will reward perfunctory undertakings that have been shown to be superficial and ineffective. And including paid DEI consulting work as part of a candidate's file poses all kinds of questions about conflicts of interest. Would IUPUI reward candidates for doing DEI work with ExxonMobil?

The problem of ill-defined parameters extends to definitions of key terms. Here is how IUPUI defines inclusion: an "approach designed to ensure that the thoughts, opinions, perspectives, and experiences of all individuals are valued, heard, encouraged, respected, and considered." Like the "All Are Welcome Here" yard signs that populate college towns, we should be skeptical that "all" really means everyone. Does it include Republicans, free-market libertarians. religious conservatives? All of the evidence we've seen indicates the answer is a resounding no. Viewpoint diversity is all but nonexistent when it comes to campus DEI initiatives.

Mandatory diversity statements pose a particular challenge for faculty members who are on the right or even somewhere in the center. Already required at some universities for promotion and hiring, diversity statements will only become more common in the future. They "put an added burden on anybody who might not subscribe to social-justice positions," as Chris Beneke, a history professor at Bentley University, puts it. Abigail Thomas, a professor of mathematics at the University of California at Davis, has an even sharper assessment, arguing that diversity statements are tantamount to a "political litmus test" that serve "as a filter for those with nonconforming views."

In the UC system, required diversity statements for hiring and promotion are scored according to a rubric, which you can download as an Excel spreadsheet at your convenience. UC-Berkeley has adopted an even more elaborate three-tiered, five-point scoring system; in recent searches conducted by eight departments in the life sciences, it was used to sort through 893 eligible candidates. Candidates were first evaluated on "knowledge about DEI and belonging," then on their "track record in advancing" DEI, and finally on their "plans for advancing" DEI. Six hundred and seventy-nine of the candidates failed to progress through this trial by DEI metrics and did not even have their scholarly credentials evaluated.

This neoliberal approach of applying rubrics, metrics, and matrices sucks the lifeblood out of the kind of work that genuinely advances diversity and inclusion, reducing something that should be a rich and complex phenomenon to an anemic box-ticking exercise. Campbell's Law, one of the most robust principles in the social sciences, states that "the more any quantitative social indicator is used for social decision-making, the more subject it will be to corruption pressures and the more apt it will be to distort and corrupt the social processes it is intended to monitor." In other words, when numerical metrics determine outcomes, "people do things you don't want them to do": they game the system. We shouldn't be surprised that there are already guides and advice columns on how and how not to write a diversity statement. Arguably a lot of DEI work is simply learning proper etiquette.

THERE ARE BETTER and more powerful ways for institutions to approach DEI in hiring, tenure, and promotion. To begin with, a genuine commitment to DEI in the review process would look at existing ways of evaluating a candidate and reform those, rather than tack on new categories and requirements.

One of the most glaring diversity problems in higher education today is the extent to which the professoriate lacks ethno-racial diversity when it comes to Black, Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native faculty.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics, 6 percent of post-secondary faculty in 2017 were Black, 5 percent were Hispanic and less than 1 percent were American Indian/Alas-ka Native. Black and Hispanic faculty are notably underrepresented compared with Black and Hispanic students, who make up 14 and 20 percent of the undergraduate student population, respectively.

In part because of this lack of representation, faculty of color perform more "invisible labor" with respect to advising and mentoring minority students as well as diversity-related service work, including serving on special committees and task forces. That this "cultural taxation" work is often "uncompensated, unacknowledged and unrewarded" is an urgent problem that demands immediate attention. We are strongly in favor of recognizing and rewarding this work for tenure and promotion.

The key is to make visible and reward the work that isn't usually taken into account for tenure and promotion — instead of making a separate DEI work category for all faculty.

Over the past year faculty of color, especially Black faculty, have been asked to advise and serve on committees to help shape the antiracism initiatives on their campuses. It is especially difficult for junior faculty to say no to service requests, lest they be seen as lacking collegiality and commitment to the institutions. Mentoring and service come at the cost of research time and output. For this reason it is vital that promotion committees evaluate a candidate's file from a holistic perspective that pays careful attention to service that could fall under a DEI heading.

In addition we need a more nuanced approach to counter the range of biases in hiring and review processes. For instance, publishing bias can factor into tenure and promotion decisions. A study on publishing in humanities journals found that the top 20 percent of universities represented in the sample account for 86 percent of the articles, with the top 10 universities alone accounting for more than half. There is evidence that shows that minority graduate students are less likely to be encouraged by their advisers to submit work for publication, and scholars from the global south face other kinds of barriers to publication in top-tier journals,



Amna Khalid
is an associate professor of history at Carleton College.

such as astronomical article-processing charges, a practice that has become more common, particularly in the sciences, with the growth of open-access publishing. In the sciences, reviews often use metrics such as the Journal Impact Factor, which tends to be a poor proxy for the value of the research. To help diversify faculty ranks, institutions should take a careful look at how they assess journal prestige, quality and impact.

Elite and more selective institutions should also examine how their hiring and review processes may be affected by institutional prestige bias, as these impede diversity and reinforce existing inequities. Women and faculty of color have a considerably lower chance of being hired by elite institutions like Harvard and Yale, and are more likely to be clustered in public universities. This pattern is also echoed in student-body composition, with Black and Latina/o students and those from low-income backgrounds being far more likely to go to community colleges and public universities than to elite private institutions, thereby entrenching demographic and income inequities within the pipeline. As a 2015 study found, faculty hiring has a "steeply hierarchical structure that reflects profound social inequality." The majority of tenure-track faculty across three disciplines (business, computer science, and history) — ranging from 71 to 86 percent — received their doctorate from just 25 percent of institutions. In political science, 11 universities contribute 50 percent of the political-science academics who teach at research-intensive universities. Addressing institutional prestige bias would allow selective schools to diversify their faculty along demographic, income, and gender lines. What are some ways your institution can be mindful of the self-replicating features of academic elitism?

Colleges and universities in gener-



Jeffrey Aaron Snyder is an associate professor in the

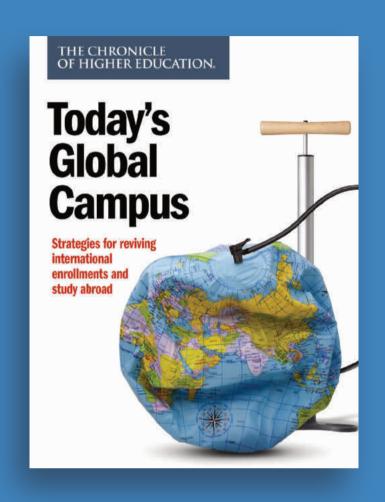
is an associate professor in the department of educational studies at Carleton College.

al should also be more supportive of minority faculty members who are already on campus. One obvious place to begin would be to invest in minority-faculty development programs. More ambitiously, institutions could reduce their dependence on contingent and adjunct positions. Given that minority faculty are concentrated in these positions, institutions could create tenure lines to make space for more diverse faculty to come on board instead of treating them as "disposable scholars."

Alas, the IUPUI statement about including DEI in promotion is a far cry from the kind of nuanced and meaningful measures proposed above. To the contrary, as the FAQ section on IUPUI's new initiative announces, henceforth faculty will be penalized if they fail to engage in DEI work. ("Much as all faculty are expected to exhibit effective teaching and diligent professional service, all faculty will be expected to contribute to greater diversity, equity, and inclusion at IU-PUI.") This captures the overriding logic of new DEI initiatives, which are designed to hold everyone accountable for advancing DEI objectives. This resolve is no doubt well-intentioned. But we should be wary of bureaucratic, top-down approaches and the addition of even more formal review requirements.

In explaining the rationale for DEI statements, UCLA says that failing to ask candidates for a statement could put the university at a "competitive disadvantage" as "peer institutions increasingly adopt these practices." The new DEI push, alas, is heavily informed by public relations, especially the optics of wanting to be seen doing the "right" thing. It is also, unfortunately, tied to a highly ideological vision of social justice. Combine the two and you have a powerful cocktail that will undermine academic freedom and generate much more paperwork than real institutional change.

Today's Global Campus



The pandemic has left no part of college life untouched, and for international students and studyabroad programs, its impact has been especially far-reaching. The travel restrictions cut both ways, causing international enrollments to plummet and limiting study-abroad opportunities for students.

From helping international students feel comfortable on U.S. campuses to finding ways to provide "internationalization at home," exposing students to cultural and global diversity will continue to be a critical piece of 21st-century college education. Explore how colleges adapted to the new realities of international education and strategies they're employing to revive international enrollments and study-abroad programs.

"Thinking about international education as a part of work toward diversity, equity, and inclusion could help make the case for internationalization."

Purchase this issue brief for insight into:



How the pandemic and political shifts affected international education.



What the future of international education looks like.



Strategies to recruit overseas students and internationalize programs at home.

Purchase Your Copy:

Chronicle.com/TodaysGlobalCampus

THE CHRONICLE
OF HIGHER EDUCATION

CAREERS

How to Read a Cover Letter

They can be useful. They can also be weaponized through inflated expectations.

CANDIDATES for academic positions hear one piece of advice early and often: Tailor a cover letter to the job, as well as to the institution and the department. But

what about the hiring side of that exchange? We don't talk as much about what to look for, as an administrator, in a candidate's all-important cover letter.

No job document is more amenable to personalization and customization than the cover letter. Having read thousands of letters and written more than a few myself, I think they are a more-nuanced genre now than when I wrote one in 1995 applying for my first tenure-track position. Back then I saw my cover letter as a tool to connect with a department that was hiring. After getting a faculty job and serving on a search committee myself, I began to think of the cover letter as a key to unlock a candidate's capabilities and affinities, character and fit. Now, a quar-

> ter century later, I appreciate that a cover letter can offer useful insights to faculty recruiters yet also be weaponized through overinterpretation and inflated expectations.

In the Admin 101 series on higher-education leadership, I've focused recent columns on the ins and outs of academic hiring. An underlying theme: Any search you even partially control should, above all, be fair and humane. That is especially true when assessing the painstakingly crafted cover letters of anxious job candidates. So how can you efficiently, presciently, and justly read a cover letter (also known as a letter of interest) to discover what you need to know? Here are some questions to consider.

Are you reading the letter efficiently and consistently? Hiring administrators and search committees must agree on how to review all the candidate materials systematically (to avoid wasting a lot of time) and fairly (to treat each one the same). I recall a friend of mine describing that on his first stint on $% \left\{ 1,2,...,n\right\}$ a search committee he was appalled that some colleagues had spent hours dissecting each letter while others just "skimmed for pet peeves or likes" and still others read only the first and last paragraphs. That situation is not common — I hope — but neither is it anomalous.

That's why it's crucial to create a search matrix By the time you are reading a cover letter (likewise a CV or a diversitv statement) vour search committee should have agreed in writing on the weighted characteristics, attributes, traits, and experiences that a candidate is required to demonstrate and the ones that fall under the



David D. **Perlmutter**

is a professor and dean of the College of Media & Communication at Texas Tech University.

category of preferred — good to have, but not essential. You should literally have a copy of that list in hand and check off every time a letter touches on one of those points. That way, you are not only being impartial to candidates but also able to efficiently compare them.

Another potential problem is committee fatigue: People often expend great time and effort scrutinizing the first set of candidate materials but run out of steam and end up giving the last set a much more fleeting (and thus haphazard) appraisal. If possible, try to get search-committee members



ADVICE

GETTY IMAGES

INSIDE CAREERS

ADMINISTRATIVE

OTHER POSITIONS

to agree to devote a prescribed amount of time to each candidate portfolio. There is a chronological, as well as a systematic, dimension to being fair and efficient.

Is the letter generic? It seems shocking, given the weak state of the tenure-track job market in many fields, but a lot of candidates still don't follow the routine advice to tailor cover letters to the hiring institution. Maybe some still don't know that or maybe they refuse to customize their letters out of frustration with the hiring process or the state of the faculty job market. My impression is that roughly 20 percent of the cover letters I see are masterfully tailored for the particular job opening, while at the other extreme, some 20 percent are generically written with no customization. In between are letters that hit some points of symbiosis with the position but miss other opportunities.

As a hiring manager, you are reading these letters, first of all, to gauge if the candidates have read the job ad carefully and identified the required and preferred qualifications. You also want to discern if they've done at least some homework about your program, people, and institution. For example, a cover letter for a candidate applying for a department chair's position should, at minimum, mention such obvious data as your institution's enrollment

trends, research emphases, student demographics, faculty successes, or strategic-plan goals.

A sign of deeper exploration is when a candidate cites specific challenges or initiatives on your campus. I was impressed, for example, when an applicant for a full-time instructorship in our college mentioned our goal to attract more Hispanic students from border counties in Texas and described her experience with a similar recruitment challenge within her state. She was not just flagging the issue to get our attention but actually thinking about how to help us.

Likewise, an engineering dean at a research university told me about a candidate who — in applying for a department chair's position — had taken the time to review public documents from the department's latest accreditation review and mentioned key issues in her cover letter: "She really did a deep dive and pulled out some insights and trends that I don't think we had noted ourselves." In short, she tailored the letter and used it to illustrate her analyt-

To be fair, sometimes those of us who have held the same position for a while forget the sheer brain-melting slog of being on the job market, especially for a first-timer. According to my records, I applied for 17 tenure-track positions in the last year of my doctor-

al program; I was offered three; I took one. I remember that it became progressively harder to muster the mental energy and attention to "tailor" my application materials as much as my advisers were telling me to do. My qualifications didn't change, but my stamina for the hiring process eroded.

So expect a tailored cover letter but not a microscopic-level understanding of your campus.

Does the letter offer evidence of the candidate's fit for this position? Cover letters help you check boxes. An applicant may state, "I have been the teacher of record four times for the exact courses that you list as responsibilities for the position." But you are also probing for intellectual capacity beyond the surface level of skills and experience. Ideally, in the case of teaching, the cover letters should tell you something more than just which classes the candidates have taught. How did they teach a particular course? What are their preferred textbooks and other course materials? What tactics do they use to improve student success? Do they have interesting ideas that expand on your institution's curricular direction?

In terms of research, you are reading cover letters $\,$ for evidence of ascent and continuity in the subfield. We award tenure for the future, not just the past. If you are hiring an assistant professor for a re-



search-track position, you are projecting many decades of creativity, work ethic, and focus. You hope that the applicant's letter gives you a sense of a path of productivity that matches the position but also suggests momentum. You shouldn't require these letters to necessarily be passionate, but you are seeking signs that someone is looking for a calling and a career, not just a job.

A biology department chair described a compelling cover letter that had impressed everyone. The letter connected the candidate's excitement about a line of research to how it would influence industry practice and lead to a cleaner environment. As the chair related, the cover letter gave the department a sense that this research was something the candidate believed in deeply, and hoped to devote a lifetime to perfecting.

Does the letter include personal touches that show a sense of connection to the place? Search committees are turned off by cover letters that are overly familiar and smarmy. On the other hand. many departments today are facing a hiring outlook that makes us yearn for a little bit more of a personal touch in the cover letter. Among the reasons for that:

- With fewer faculty searches being conducted, the importance of each one is magnified.
- The costs in human, material, and financial

terms are enormous if a new hire does not work out (leaves after a few years, or fails to earn tenure).

■ There is a perception, and I think a reality, that the current generation of new faculty members in their 20s and 30s is — and rightly so — extremely focused on cultural and individual satisfaction, not only in the workplace but in the location. Candidates are asking not only "Will I be happy among you people as a community of scholars?" but also "Will I (and my family) be happy in this location?'

So it's important to read cover letters for signs that the candidates understand and are interested in being a part of your campus culture. Does anything in the experiences they mention show they will feel at home within the department, campus, and region?

I saw a very good instance of this in a job application several years ago. The candidate's cover letter noted our institution drew a high number of rural, first-generation college students. In a concluding paragraph, she eloquently described how she came from that same background, albeit in a different part of the country, and could identify both with their ambitions and hopes and with our mission to be an accelerant for their lives and careers. As a hiring manager, that is exactly the sort of personal detail you are looking for. Her letter showed empathy without affectation. She made clear that she wanted to be part of our research team and also saw value in being part of our community.

Anyone who has written or read a cover letter knows that it's part of an intricate and often frustrating genre of bureaucratic literature. You can toil away for hours trying to interpret a letter, and still come away unsatisfied that you have understood the candidate. Nevertheless, in reading a cover letter, try to answer one question: Do you want to know more, hear more, and engage more with this potential new colleague?

That said, we have an ethical imperative not to weaponize the reading of cover letters or any other hiring materials. Humans are human. They get tired. They fumble. And in the current job climate there is an air of desperation that palpably comes through in all too many applications.

When we read cover letters, we should be looking in a systematic fashion for the signs and portents that point to a successful match. But we should not cull anybody based upon just a few mistakes. (A colleague in the social sciences told me how one application was thrown onto the junk pile because the candidate had mistyped the name of a professor in the hiring program.) That's why a cover letter should be treated as simply one document within an attempt to holistically appreciate a potential new colleague.

JOBS

INDEX

By Category

EXECUTIVE

Executives

Chancellors/presidents 46 Other executive positions 46

ADMINISTRATIVE

Business Affairs

Business/administrative support 47 Chief business officers/vice presidents 47

Deans

Dean 47

FACULTY

Arts

Art 48

Business

Marketing/sales 48

Communications

Other communications 48 Speech/rhetoric 48

Education

Other education 47

Health & Medicine

Medicine 48

Humanities

Foreign languages/literatures 48 History 48 Other humanities 48 Religion 48

Science, Technology, & Math

Biology/life sciences 48 Chemistry/biochemistry 48 Mathematics 48 Other sciences/technology 48 Physics/space sciences 48 Statistics 48

Social Sciences

Political science/int'l relations 48 Psychology 48 Sociology 48

Other Faculty

Marketing 49

By Region

United States

NORTHEAST

Rutgers University - New Brunswick Marketing/sales 48

College of Charleston

Other education 47

Florida International University

Medicine **48**Other sciences/technology **48**

Talladega College

Business/administrative support 47 Chief business officers/vice presidents 47

Florida Polytechnic University

Chief business officers/vice presidents 47 Financial affairs 47

University of South Alabama

MIDWEST

DePaul University

Other humanities 48 Speech/rhetoric **48**Statistics **48**

Lawrence Technological University

Chancellors/presidents 46 Other executive positions 46

Northwestern University Marketing 49

SOUTHWES1

Statistics 48

Baylor University Biology/life sciences 48 Chemistry/biochemistry 48
Foreign languages/literatures 48
History 48 Mathematics 48 Other communications 48 Other sciences/technology 48 Physics/space sciences **48**Political science/int'l relations **48** Psychology 48 Religion **48** Sociology **48**

Lawrence Technological University

After nearly ten years of successful and accomplishment-filled tenure as President of Lawrence Technological University, Virinder K. Moudgil has announced his intention to retire at the end of the current calendar year. Hence, the University's Board of Trustees announce a nationwide search for a new President who will further the University's excellence.

Lawrence Technological University (LTU), founded in 1932 and located in Southfield, Michigan, is one of America's top universities for students seeking a superb education with great career preparation and an affordable price. It is rated "Top Tier" by U.S. News & World Report's "America's Best Colleges" and is ranked among the "Best in the Midwest" by The Princeton Review. It offers its approximately 3,000 students over 100 associate, bachelor's, master's, and doctoral programs in Colleges of Architecture and Design, Arts and Sciences, Engineering, and Business and Information Technology. Private and fully-accredited, LTU employs nearly 400 full- and part-time faculty and has an annual operating budget of approximately \$72 million. Lawrence Tech is a member of the prestigious Association of Independent Technological Universities (AITU).

Reporting to the Board of Trustees, the President is the chief executive officer of the University and is responsible for its effective management and administration. The Board is seeking an exemplary leader who has vision and understands the challenges and opportunities facing a private technological university in the 21st Century. It is expected that the next President will be an accomplished fund- and friend-raiser; a tireless promoter of the quality of education afforded by Lawrence Technological University; an exemplary communicator with outstanding speaking and writing abilities; and an inspirational academic leader who has passion for and articulates the vision/mission of LTU in changing lives of the students through enlightenment

The President will be an excellent leader with the ability to attract top-caliber administrators, faculty, and staff. The selected individual will have an appreciation for an excellent faculty and will lead through a collegial and consensus-building approach.

While applications and nominations will be accepted until a new President is selected, interested parties are encouraged to submit their materials to the address below by August 15, 2021 to assure optimal consideration.

> LTU President Search R. William Funk & Associates 2911 Turtle Creek Boulevard - Suite 300 Dallas, Texas 75219 Email: krisha.creal@rwilliamfunk.com

Lawrence Technological University adheres and conforms to all federal, state, and local civil rights regulations, statutes, and ordinances. No person, student, faculty, or staff member will knowingly be discriminated against relative to the above statutes. Lawrence Technological University is an equal opportunity employer



PRESIDENT

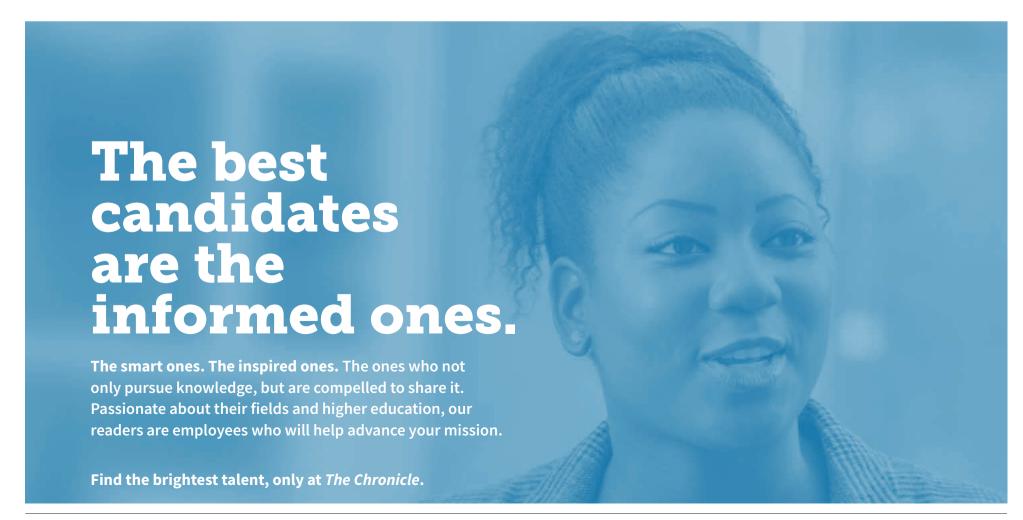
The University of South Alabama (USA) Board of Trustees announces a nationwide search for a new President. Founded in 1963 in the beautiful Gulf Coast city of Mobile, the University is seeking its fourth President, who will further its very positive trajectory and commitment to excellence in teaching, research and healthcare.

USA seeks an innovative and accomplished leader who will have a proven ability to comprehend and address the distinct needs and interests of a complex, comprehensive, public institution. Preferred characteristics include: a record of successful leadership at an institution similar to USA, a leading research institution with a major academic health system; an earned doctorate in an appropriate discipline or, in lieu of a doctoral degree, outstanding training and an exemplary record of success in the administration of a large educational institution; a team-oriented and consensus-building style of decision making; a supportive, diverse and inclusive style of thinking; and a passion for supporting faculty as they prepare students for productive and successful lives. (A complete "Leadership Statement" providing additional information about the position and search is available on the University website at www.SouthAlabama. edu/presidentsearch).

While applications and nominations will be accepted until a new President is selected, interested applicants are encouraged to submit their materials to our consulting firm at the address below by August 1, 2021, to ensure optimal consideration. Candidate materials should include a letter of interest and current resume. Please address materials to:

> **USA President Search** R. William Funk & Associates 2911 Turtle Creek Boulevard - Suite 300 Dallas, Texas 75219 Email: krisha.creal@rwilliamfunk.com

The University of South Alabama is an EO/AA employer and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender $expression, religion, age, genetic information, disability, or protected\ veteran\ status.$



CIATES

0

S

S

A

8

K

Z

FUI

WILLIAM



DEAN

The College of Charleston announces a nationwide search to recruit the new Beemok Dean for the School of Education

The College of Charleston, a nationally recognized public liberal arts and sciences university, invites nominations and applications for the Beemok Dean of the School of Education. Founded in 1770 and located in the heart of historic Charleston, South Carolina, the College is one of the oldest universities in the nation and among the nation's top universities for quality education and student life. Its beautiful and historic campus, combined with contemporary facilities, cutting-edge programs, and excellent faculty, attracts students from across the U.S. and around the world.

Over 9,500 undergraduates and approximately 1,000 graduate students at the College enjoy a small college feel blended with the advantages and diversity of a mid-sized, urban university. Students work closely with a committed faculty made up of more than 500 distinguished teacher-scholars. The city of Charleston – world-renowned for its history, architecture, culture and coastal environment – serves as a living laboratory for research and creative inquiry in the sciences, mathematics, technology, and teaching.

Building off a strong foundation of developing teachers for over 90 years and an exemplary national CAEP accreditation in 2021, the SOE is poised to expand its influence on educator preparation and in-service teacher support to grow our profile at the regional and national levels. Inspired by a recent donor gift and leveraging its long history of preparing outstanding educators, the current Department of Teacher Education in the School of Education, Health, and Human Performance is being elevated to separate School status. The Beemok Dean will lead the School with an emphasis on innovative approaches to P-12 education and a commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion, in order to empower marginalized students, their families, and their communities.

The Dean is the chief academic and administrative officer of the School of Education and reports directly to the Provost. We are seeking a Dean who will be a visionary leader, dedicated to the success of students, faculty, and staff and to further development of strong partnerships with local, regional, state-wide, and national communities. The ideal candidate should have a comprehensive understanding of P-12 education, extensive experience in academic administration at the undergraduate and graduate levels, and demonstrated effectiveness in advancing diversity, equity and inclusion and will have a strong commitment to public education and have an outstanding record of scholarly research.

(A more complete 'Leadership Statement' is available at https://ehhp.cofc.edu/documents/ leadership-profile.pdf).

While applications and nominations will be accepted until a new Dean is selected, interested parties are encouraged to submit their materials to our consultant at the address below by August 30, 2021 to receive optimal consideration. Application materials should include a current resume/cv and a letter of interest.

> College of Charleston Dean of Education Search R. William Funk & Associates 2911 Turtle Creek Boulevard, Suite 300 Dallas, Texas 75219 Email: krisha.creal@rwilliamfunk.com

The College of Charleston is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity employer and does not discriminate against any individual or group on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, age, race, color, religion, national origin, veteran status, genetic information, or disability.



VICE PRESIDENT OF ADMINISTRATION & FINANCE

CIATES

0

S

S

A

8

K

 \mathbf{Z}

n

Ŧ

M

WILLIA

Florida Polytechnic University (Florida Poly) invites inquiries, nominations, and applications for the position of Vice President of Administration & Finance. The University seeks an entrepreneurial, collaborative, and forward-thinking administrator with demonstrated experience to serve in the vice-presidential role which provides leadership for one of the University's divisions and provides critical advice to the President.

Located in Lakeland, Florida, between Orlando and Tampa, Florida Polytechnic University is the 12th and newest University in the State University System of Florida and is Florida's only public university dedicated to science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). The institution was opened in 2014 as a rigorous academic institution and powerful $\,$ resource for high-tech industries.

Anchored by a spectacular marquis building designed by internationally renowned architect Santiago Calatrava, Florida Poly is on the cutting edge of high-tech STEM education. The University currently enrolls 1,500 students and employs approximately 300 faculty and staff.

The Vice President of Administration & Finance will report to the President and will serve as a key member of the executive leadership team. The successful candidate will be expected to drive operational excellence and to shape financial strategies in support of the academic mission of the University. The Vice President of Administration and Finance will have the unique opportunity to play a significant role in enhancing and creating high performing, efficient teams of the University Administration and Finance division, and in enhancing both the profile and capabilities of an innovative STEM university. (A more complete profile is available at www.floridapoly.edu).

While applications and nominations will be accepted until a new VPAF is selected, interested applicants are encouraged to submit their materials to our consulting firm at the address below by August 30, 2021, to assure optimal consideration. Candidate materials should include a letter of interest and current resume. Please address materials to:

> FPU VPAF Search R. William Funk & Associates 2911 Turtle Creek Boulevard - Suite 300 Dallas, Texas 75219 Email: krisha.creal@rwilliamfunk.com

Florida Polytechnic University is an affirmative action/equal opportunity/equal access institution. It is the policy of the Board of Trustees to provide equal opportunity for employment and educational opportunities to all (including applicants for employment, employees, applicants for admission, students, and others affiliated with the University) without regard to race, color, national origin, ethnicity, sex, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, marital status, veteran status, or genetic information.

Please note: This search is being conducted in compliance with the State of Florida Sunshine Laws



Vice President of Administration and Finance

RESPONSIBILITIES
Reporting to the President, the Vice President develops long and short-range strategic financial plans for the College, including: providing vision, innovative leadership and administration for the Division of Administration and Finance; directing and overseeing the institutions business and other assigned support functions including:

• Budget Administration and Financial Planning

- Budget Administration and Fina Accounting and Investments Purchasing and Contracts Administrative Support Auxiliary Enterprises Information Technology Facilities and Risk Management

As a member of the senior executive staff, the vice president will participate with the President and other senior officers in institutional planning, policy development and problem resolution and interact professionally with all internal and external customers using strong interpersonal skills.

QUALIFICATIONS

Master's degree in Business Administration, Management or related field. Five years of senior-level finance experience in a similar or related job in a college or university. Strong interpersonal and communication skills and the ability to work effectively with a wide range of constituencies.

PREFERRED QUALIFICATIONS

CPA certification. Senior-level financial management experience in a college or university. Experience in facilities planning, and auxiliary enterprises. Other duties as required by the President of the College.

APPLICATION PROCESS

APPLICATION PROCESS
Salary is competitive and commensurate with qualifications and experience. The College will accept and review applications and nominations until the position is filled. Qualified candidates should forward a letter of interest that contains a brief statement of educational philosophy along with curriculum vitae, Talladega College Application, copies of college transcripts and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of at least three professional references to: https://doi.org/10.1007/philosophy.com/ references to: brhoden@talladega.edu .

TALLADEGA COLLEGE IS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER



CAREERS jobs.chronicle.com **FACULTY**



Associate or Full Professor of Marketing (Tenured)

The Department of Marketing at Rutgers Business School invites applications for one position at the tenured associate or full professor rank. The appointment is expected to commence **January 1st** or September 1st, 2022.

Rutgers Business School is uniquely positioned on two extraordinary campuses: Rutgers–Newark and Rutgers –New Brunswick, with mutually reinforcing strategic priorities of the 8th oldest and a major public research university in the nation. At Rutgers University–Newark, we are leaders in business education keenly attuned to America's and the world's metropolitan future, including vibrant specialized graduate programs and the number 1 diversified student population in the nation for two decades. At Rutgers University–New Brunswick, we are a strong component in the big picture of the Rutgers system to prepare academic talents and to attract future business leaders from emerging markets to our elite AAU campus which is part of the BTAA/Big-Ten, the nation's preeminent academic and athletic conference. The academic quality of our students, from high percentage of honor students, to superior performance in classrooms and strong placement rate, has been admired by many industries.

Requirements:

Applicants must have a Ph.D. in Marketing or a related field, and experience commensurate to the position. We are seeking applications from nationally and internationally recognized scholars in consumer behavior and public policy. In terms of research, the ideal candidate would be a recognized leader of the field with established record of research on issues of public policy such as race and marketplace discrimination.

Responsibilities:

In terms of teaching, the ideal candidate would be open to teaching a variety of marketing courses. Further, the candidate should be someone who can be a mentor to our diverse faculty and students (e.g., involvement with the Ph.D. Project). Rutgers Business School faculty members are expected to engage in a high-quality research program, perform excellent teaching at both campuses, supervise doctoral students, and engage in

For full consideration, applications should be received by July 30th, 2021, but later applications will be considered until the position is filled. Applications should include a cover letter, a CV, three reference letters, a statement of research and teaching interests, copies of any manuscripts/publications, and evidence of teaching effectiveness. Candidates should apply online by uploading files through the following website:

https://jobs.rutgers.edu/postings/133064

Rutgers is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.

Applications from underrepresented minority candidates are particularly encouraged. It is university policy to provide equal employment opportunity to all its employees and applicants for employment regardless of their race, creed, color, national origin, age, ancestry, nationality, marital or domestic partnership or civil union status, sex, pregnancy, gender identity or expression, disability status, liability for military service, protected veteran status, affectional or sexual orientation, atypical cellular or blood trait, genetic information (including the refusal to submit to genetic testing), or any other category protected by law. As an institution, we value diversity of background and opinion, and prohibit discrimination or harassment on the basis of any legally protected class in the areas of hiring, recruitment, promotion, training, compensation, pay, fringe benefits, layoff, termination or any other terms and conditions of employment. For additional information please see the Non-Discrimination Statement at the following web address:

http://uhr.rutgers.edu/non-discrimination-statement



Non-Tenure-Track and **Tenure-Track Faculty Positions**

Assistant Professor, Spanish Lecturer, French

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Assistant to Associate

RELIGION Associate to Professor

Associate to Professor

STATISTICAL SCIENCE

Assistant Professor SOCIOLOGY

Lecturer, Italian

PHYSICS Assistant Professor

Lecturer

Lecturer

MODERN LANGUAGES and CULTURES

PSYCHOLOGY and NEUROSCIENCE

Assistant Professor, 2 positions

Baylor University is a private Christian university and a nationally ranked research institution, consistently listed with highest honors among The Chronicle of Higher Education's "Great Colleges to Work For." The University is recruiting new faculty with a deep commitment to excellence in teaching, research and scholarship. Baylor seeks faculty who share in our aspiration to become a tier one research institution while strengthening our distinctive Christian mission as described in our academic strategic plan, Illuminate (baylor.edu/illuminate). As the world's largest Baptist University, Baylor offers over 40 doctoral programs and has more than 17,000 students from all 50 states and more than 85 countries.

Baylor University seeks to fill the following non-tenure-track and tenure-track faculty positions within the College of Arts and Sciences:

ART and ART HISTORY

Assistant Professor, Ceramics Assistant Professor, Fibers

BIOLOGY

Associate to Professor Assistant Professor Lecturer, 2 positions

CHEMISTRY and BIOCHEMISTRY

Assistant Professor, 2 positions Lecturer

COMMUNICATION

Assistant Professor, 2 positions Lecturer

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE

Associate to Professor, Global Health Lecturer

HISTORY

Assistant Professor, Latin American History

MATHEMATICS

Assistant to Associate Lecturer

Postdoctoral Fellow

Candidates should possess the appropriate degree in the field of study for the specific position. You will be asked to provide a letter of interest, curriculum vitae, copy of official transcripts, and a list of three references in the application process. Salary is commensurate with experience and qualifications.

To learn more about the above positions, please visit Baylor University, Human Resources ${\bf https://www.baylor.edu/hr/index.php?id=949183}$

Baylor University is a private not-for-profit university affiliated with the Baptist General Convention of Texas. As an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity employer, Baylor is committed to compliance with all applicable anti-discrimination laws, including those regarding age, race, color, sex, national origin, pregnancy status, military service, genetic information, and disability. As a religious educational institution, Baylor is lawfully permitted to consider an applicant's religion as a selection criterion. Baylor encourages women, minorities, veterans, and individuals with disabilities to apply.

EEO/M/F/Vets/Disabled.



Open Rank Faculty Positions

Center for Translational Science Port St. Lucie, FL

Florida International University is Miami's public research university. FIU is focused on student success. According to U.S. News and World Report, FIU has 35 programs in the top 100 in the nation among public universities, including 15 in the top 50. FIU is a top U.S. research university with more than \$200 million in annual expenditures and is designated as an "Emerging Preeminent State Research University" by the Florida Board of Governors. FIU ranks 15th in the nation among public universities for patent production, which drives innovation, and is one of the institutions that helps make Florida the top state for higher education. The Next Horizon fundraising campaign is furthering FIU's commitment to providing students Worlds Ahead opportunities. Today, FIU has two campuses and multiple centers, and supports artistic and cultural engagement through its three museums: Patricia & Phillip Frost Art Museum, the Wolfsonian-FIU, and the Jewish Museum of Florida-FIU. FIU is a member of Conference USA, with more than 400 student-athletes participating in 18 sports. The university has awarded more than 330,000 degrees to many leaders in South Florida and beyond. For more information about FIU, visit www.fiu.edu.

Florida International University (FIU) is in the midst of a major expansion to become a TOP50 public research university. We invite applications to complement our strong research base and fill multiple full-time faculty positions with a research focus in Brain Injury & Aging; Inflammation, Infection, and Immunity; Environmental Medicine; Bioinformatics; or Pulmonary Vascular Disease at the FIU Center for Translational Science (FIU-CTS) in Port St. Lucie, FL.

This location is adjacent to the Cleveland Clinic's newly established Florida Research and Innovation Center, as well as the Cleveland Clinic Hospital. Candidates will be able to develop joint and collaborative research in FIU-Cleveland Clinic research programs. The FIU-CTS in Port St. Lucie, Florida is approximately a 2-hr drive from the FIU Modesto Maidique main campus in Miami, FL. Teleconference and seminar facilities are available to maintain close communication and collaboration amongst faculty, students, and staff. The cities of Port St. Lucie, Pembroke Pines and West Palm Beach are attractive and vibrant family-oriented communities with excellent school systems and housing.

Successful candidates are expected to have a PhD and/or an MD with post-doctoral training, maintain a strong research program (external funding, peer-reviewed scholarly work, national/international collaborations), and to mentor graduate students and post-doctoral fellows. An attractive salary and start-up package are available to faculty with significant research funding.

Qualified candidates are encouraged to apply to Job Opening ID 523684 at https://facultycareers. fu.edu/ and submit a cover letter stating interest in conducting research at FIU-CTS, a curriculum vitae that includes information on past and current extramural funding, a statement of research accomplishments and plans, preferably as a single pdf file. Candidates may be requested to provide names and contact information for at least three references as determined by the search committee. Review will continue until position is filled.

FIU is a member of the State University System of Florida and an Equal Opportunity, Equal Access Affirmative Action Employer all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability or protected veteran status.



Term Faculty (Non-Tenure Track) WRITING, RHETORIC AND DISCOURSE (21-22)

The Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and Discourse invites applications for an Instructor position, a full-time, one-year, renewable appointment.

DePaul University is committed to recruiting diverse faculty to complement the diversity of its student body and Chicago area communities.

The successful applicant will demonstrate scholarly expertise and effective teaching in rhetoric and composition studies as it intersects with one or more of the following areas: African American rhetorics; Latinx rhetorics; Indigenous rhetorics; Asian American rhetorics; and race, rhetoric, and literacies.

Apply: https://apply.interfolio.com/86581

DePaul University is an Equal Opportunity / Affirmative Action employer



Term Faculty (Non-Tenure Track) School of Public Service, Statistics and Research (21-22)

The College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences seeks a full-time non-tenure track faculty member to teach courses in statistics and research methods across its social science programs during the 2021-22 academic year.

DePaul University is committed to recruiting diverse faculty to complement the diversity of its student body and Chicago area communities.

The position will be housed in the School of Public Service and primarily serve graduate students, although there may be opportunities for undergraduate teaching.

Apply: https://apply.interfolio.com/86583

DePaul University is an Equal Opportunity / Affirmative Action employer.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Assistant Professor of Anthropology Fordham University

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Fordham University seeks an Assistant Professor of Anthropology to teach undergraduate and graduate courses in Anthropology; conduct research; and provide service to university through active participation in faculty and committee work at New York, NY and Bronx, NY campuses. Requires a Ph.D. in Sociocultural Anthro-pology or Anthropology; record of excellence in academic scholarof excellence in academic scholar-ship, research, and other scholar-ly activities; strong commitment to research and teaching. Please send CV to: Attention Position NM5254719, The Office of the Associate Vice President, Office of the Provost, Cunniffe House 232, Fordham University, 441 E. Fordham Road, Bronx, NY 10458. Fordham University is an inde-pendent, Catholic university in pendent, Catholic university in the Jesuit tradition and welcomes applications from men and women of all backgrounds. Fordham University is an Affirmative Action/ Equal Opportunity Employer.

COMPUTER SCIENCE

Computer Science Instructor

Faulkner University Faulkner University (Montgomery, AL) seeks Computer Scienc Instructor. Applicant must have Master's of Science degree in Computer Science, Computer Engineering or a related discipline. Faulkner University is a Christian University affiliated with the Churches of Christ. Position must have demonstrated membership in the Church of Christ and commitment to Christ-Centered liberal arts education, Christian service, the mission of Faulkner University, and student support. Job Du-ties: The Computer Science In-structor is involved in both teaching and service activities for the University. In the teaching role, the instructor will prepare and deliver lectures for undergraduate-level Computer Science courses and conduct labs with students enrolled at the university. Additionally, the role requires the administration and grading of examinations and other graded projects and activities. In service to the University, the instructor will advise students on academic and vocational curricula as well as providing support to the Computer Science department. This support includes participating in on-campus recruiting activities, commu-nity outreach activities, curricu-lum development, interaction with lum development, interaction with the department's industrial advisory board, and participation in an-nual assessment of programs and student learning. The instructor is also expected to engage in pro-fessional development activities to maintain current knowledge and expertise in the field of Computer expertise in the field of Computer Science. Send CV and letter of in-terest to Dave Rampersad drampersad@faulkner.edu

ECONOMICS

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics and Management Gustavus Adolphus College

Gustavus Adolphus College seeks an Assistant Professor, Depart-ment of Economics and Management at its St. Peter, Minnesota campus. The Assistant Professor will be responsible for a full-time teaching schedule, to include six courses per academic year. Specific course assignments are somewhat flexible, but will include Business Finance and Principles of Micro- or Macroeconomics, plus at least one of the following: Statistics, International Trade and Finance, Economic Development, and Econometrics. In addition to teaching responsibilities, the Assistant Professor, Department of Economics and Management will be required to conduct research, which is a standard requirement for a tenure-line faculty members at Gustavus Adolphus College.

Requires PhD in Economics plus nine months of experience. The successful candidate will have demonstrated excellence in teaching at the undergraduate level and maintain an active scholarly research agenda appropriate for a college emphasizing undergraduate education. A commitment to undergraduate teaching and advising is essential. To apply, visit https://gustavus.edu/jobs and complete the online application.

MARKETING

Full-Time Tenure Track Positions

Northwestern University Kellogg School Of Management, Northwestern University has one or more Full-Time Tenure Track Positions Open in the Marketing Department at the rank of Assistant Professor or above for academic year 2022-2023. The position requires being responsible for conducting advanced research in chosen areas of expertise and in-terest; supervising doctoral candi-dates; teaching basic and advanced courses in marketing at the Master's Degree level; contributing to the research and teaching of other faculty members. Candidates must have a Ph.D. or D.B.A. in marketing or related fields (e.g., economics, management, psychology, sociology, statistics, cognitive sciences, etc.) in hand or expected by employment start date. Selection criteria include potential for (or record of) superior research, adaptability and creative interests in application to marketing prob-lems, excellent teaching ability, and strong recommendations. Ap-plications should include a complete curriculum vita, copies of research papers and three letters of recommendation. Applicants in the process of completing a doctoral degree should include an approved dissertation proposal or a research paper that represents progress in the dissertation. We will be interviewing remotely the first two weeks in August. In order to ensure interview consideration applications must be received by June 30, 2021. Please apply at https://facultyrecruiting.northwestern.edu/apply/MTA4NQ== where all required and rele-vant materials can be uploaded. Please direct questions to the Recruitment Committee, at re-cruit-mktg@kellogg.northwestern. edu. Northwestern University is an Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action Employer of all protected classes, including veterans and individuals with disabilities. Women, racial and ethnic minorities, individuals with disabilities, and veterans are encouraged to apply. Hiring is contingent upon eligibility to work in the United

MEDICINE

Assistant Professor of **Clinical Physical Medicine &** Rehabilitation

Indiana University School of Medicine

The Indiana University School of Medicine is seeking candidates for an assistant professor position Duties include providing care to both hospitalized and ambulato-ry patients with spinal cord injuries; teaching medical students as well as physical medicine and rehabilitation residents; and attending national and regional association meetings and participating in section and departmental conferences. Position requires an M.D. or D.O. with 36 months of M.D. or D.O. with 36 months of physical medicine and rehabilita-tion residency training. Position also requires an Indiana medical license prior to start date. Inter-ested candidates should send a letter of interest and curriculum vitae to: aworzala@iu.edu. Ouestions regarding the position or application process can also be directed to aworzala@iu.edu. Indirected to aworzala@iu.edu. In diana University is an equal employment and affirmative action employer and a provider of ADA services. All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to age, attaining solar reasonabilities calor reasonabilities and ethnicity, color, race, religion sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, genetic informa-tion, marital status, national ori-gin, disability status or protected veteran status.

PHARMACEUTICAL SCIENCES

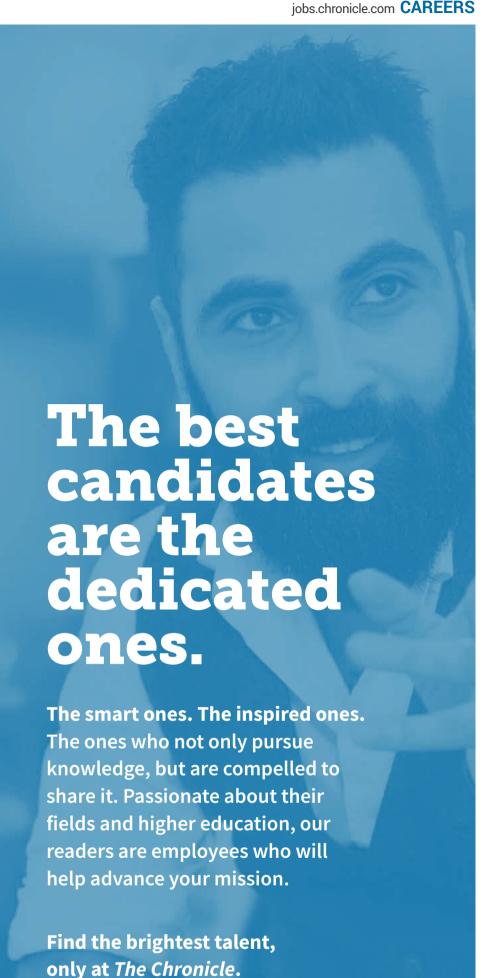
Assistant Professor, Pharmaceutical Sciences

St. John's University- New York Assistant Professor, Pharmaceutical Sciences (Jamaica, NY) Teach undergraduate & graduate level courses in Pharmaceutical Sciences dept. Mentor undergraduate & graduate students in re-search laboratory work, incl pro-viding training in laboratory & inviding training in laboratory & instrumental techniques, overseeing design of research projects, supervising laboratory work, & enforcing compliance w/ safety regulations. Design courses, conduct lectures, advise students, & evaluate students' progress. Engage in scholarly research on topics related to pharmaceutical sciences & medicinal chemistry. Craft & submit grant proposals & research papers. Serve on departmental, college, & university committees, as assigned. Reqs: Ph.D. in Pharmaceutical Sciences, Medicinal maceutical Sciences, Medicinal Chemistry, or Organic Chemistry. Applicants will be evaluated on academic qualifications, teaching background, research interests & potential, & compatibility w/ department's needs. Contact Michelle Cadle, St. John's University, cadlem@stjohns.edu.

VETERINARY MEDICINE

Associate Dean and Clinical Professor

The Ohio State University Veterinary Medicine: Associate Dean for Professional Programs and Clinical Professor in The Ohio State University, College of Veterinary Medicine, Colum bus, Ohio. Duties: teach clinical skills program for veterinary stu-dents; oversee administration of Doctor of Veterinary Medicine (DVM) program from admissions to graduation; supervision of staff engaged in accreditation, admissions and recruitment, student counseling and wellness, career planning and management, pro-fessional development curriculum and student support, teaching and learning, peer tutoring, special event planning, and the clinical skills program; serve on university and national committees; serve as member of crisis assessment team. Requirements: Doctor of Veterinary Medicine (DVM) de-gree (foreign equivalents accept-able); eligible for Ohio veterinary license or limited veterinary li-cense; 2 years of experience in administration of veterinary education programs (experience in administration may have been part-time and concurrent with employment as veterinary faculty member); requires successful completion of a background check.
Send CV and cover letter to Attn:
A. Sens, The Ohio State University, College of Veterinary Medicine, 1900 Coffey Road, Rm. 08,
Columbus, Ohio 43210. EOE/AA/ M/F/Vet/Disability Employer



GAZETTE

Appointments, Resignations, Retirements, Awards, and Deaths

New Chief Executives



Francine Conway, provost at Rutgers University at New Brunswick, has been named chancellor-provost. In this new position, she will succeed Christopher Molloy, who will step down as chancellor in June.



Nicole Farmer Hurd, founder and chief executive of College Advising Corps, has been named president of Lafayette College, in Pennsylvania. She will succeed Alison Byerly, who will become president of Carleton College, in Minnesota.



Richard McCullough, vice provost for research at Harvard University, has been named president of Florida State University. He will succeed John Thrasher, who will step down.

Chief executives (continued)

APPOINTMENTS

Andrew Agwunobi, chief executive of UConn Health, has been named interim president of the University of Connecticut. He will replace Thomas C. Katsouleas, who will step down in

Marsha Danielson, vice president for economic development at South Central College, will become president of Minnesota State College Southeast on July 1. She will replace Larry Lundblad, who has served as interim president since 2018.

Ray DiPasquale, president of Clinton Community College, has been named president of Massasoit Community College. He will succeed Gena Glickman, who has retired.

Alan Drimmer, former provost at National Defense University, has been named president of Cleary University. He will replace Emily Barnes, who has served as interim president since Jason Boyers left in May 2020.

James (Greg) Hodges, vice president for academics and student-success services at Patrick Henry Community College, has been named president.

Lisa Jones, vice president for student development at Cedar Valley College, will become president of Colorado Northwestern Community College on July 15. She will succeed Ron Granger, who plans to retire, and will be the first African American woman to serve as president in the Colorado Community College System.

Sandra Kiddoo, chief academic officer at Hazard Community and Technical College, will become president of Northland Community and Technical College on July 1.

John Moseley, director of athletics and head men's basketball coach at Lincoln University, has been named interim president.

Submit items to people@chronicle.com

Todd Olson, vice president for student affairs at Georgetown University, will become president of Mount Mercy University on July 21. He will succeed Robert Beatty, who stepped down last year.

Harris Pastides, a former president of the University of South Carolina, has been named interim president after Robert Caslen stepped down.

Michael Raich, interim president of the Northeast Higher Education District since 2019, has been named to the post permanently.

Dione Somerville, executive vice president at Hawkeye Community College, will become president of Owens Community College on June 15.

Ralph Trecartin. associate provost and dean of the College of Professionals at Andrews University, will become president of Pacific Union College on July 1.

Denise Whisenhunt, vice president for student services at San Diego City College, will become president of Grossmont College on July 1. She will succeed Nabil Abu-Ghazaleh.

Danielle Wilken, provost and dean of faculty at Goodwin University, has been named president of the University of Bridgeport. The University of Bridgeport will function as an independent institution after its acquisition by Goodwin University.

RESIGNATIONS

Elaine C. Collins, president of Northern Vermont University since 2018, plans to step down in August.

RETIREMENTS

Lorne M. Buchman, president of Art-Center College of Design, plans to retire in June 2022.

Donald P. Christian, president of the State University of New York at New Paltz since 2011, plans to retire at the end of June 2022.

Paul W. Ferguson, president of Azusa Pacific University since 2019, plans to retire at the end of the fall 2021.

Thomas J. LeBlanc, president of George Washington University since 2017, plans to retire at the end of the academic year.

David Leebron, president of Rice University since 2004, plans to resign in June 2022.

Richard Myers, president of Kansas State University since 2016, plans to retire at the end of this year.



Deborah F. Stanley. president of State University of New York College at Oswego since 1997, plans to retire at the end of this year.

Wim Wiewel, president of Lewis & Clark College

since 2017, plans to retire at the end of the academic year.

Chief academic officers

APPOINTMENTS

Bob DiPaola, dean of the College of Medicine at the University of Kentucky, has been named acting provost.

Karen Moranski, interim provost and vice president for academic affairs at Sonoma State University since July 2020, has been named to the post permanently.



Debbie Storrs, interim provost and vice president for academic affairs at the University of North Dakota, will become provost and executive vice chancellor and a professor in the sociology department at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro on June 30.

Anastasia Urtz, interim provost and senior vice president for academic and student affairs at Onondaga Community College, has been named to the post permanently.

Other top administrators

APPOINTMENTS

Mohamed Attalla, executive director of facilities and services at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will become vice chancellor for facilities planning, construction, and management at the City University of New York on June 14.

Slandie Dieujuste, vice provost for student affairs/dean of students at Massasoit Community College, will become vice president for student affairs at Springfield College on July 1.

Kristen Eshleman, director of innovation initiatives at Davidson College. will become vice president for library and information technology services at Trinity College on July 12.

María Pabón Gautier, interim vice president for equity and inclusion at St. Olaf College, has been named to the post permanently.

Angel Gonzalez, program manager for the Center for Inclusive Education at Stony Brook University, will become the inaugural chief diversity and inclusion officer at New Jersey City University on June 14.

Brett Hinson, vice president for IT project and solution services at AmWINS Group, in Charlotte, N.C., has been named vice president for technology at Lipscomb University.

Nina E. King, senior deputy director of athletics for administration and legal affairs and chief of staff at Duke University, has been named vice president and director of athletics.



Eva Martinez Powless. director of diversity and inclusion at Marquette University, has been named the first diversity, equity, and inclusion executive at Milwaukee Area Technical College.

Ara Serjoie, vice president for advancement at Guilford College, will become vice president for institutional advancement at Haverford College on August 1.

Tammi Simpson, associate dean of students and dean of seniors at Washington and Lee University, has named the first vice president for community and inclusivity at Hood College.

Doug Thompson, associate dean of students at the University of St. Thomas's Dougherty Family College, has been named the inaugural vice president for equity and inclusion at Gustavus Adolphus College.

Beth Zapatka, associate dean for de-

velopment and alumni affairs in the School of Nursing at Yale University, will become vice president for institutional advancement at Springfield College on July 1.

Deans

APPOINTMENTS

Keith A. Alford, chief diversity and inclusion officer at Syracuse University, will become dean of the school of social work at the University at Buffalo on August 15.

Jason Irizarry, interim dean of the Neag School of Education at the University of Connecticut since March, has been named to the post permanently. He will be the first Latino dean to lead the school.

Hari M. Osofsky, dean of Penn State Law and the Penn State School of International Affairs at Pennsylvania State University, will become dean of the Pritzker School of Law at Northwestern on August 1.

Gary M. Pollack, a professor and dean of the College of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of Toledo, has been named dean of the School of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University at

Phylicia Rashad, an actress known for The Cosby Show who also served as a guest lecturer and adjunct faculty member at Howard University, has been named dean of the university's renamed Chadwick A. Boseman College of Fine Arts.

Celine Parreñas Shimizu, director of the School of Cinema and a professor of cinema studies at San Francisco State University, will become dean of the Arts Division at the University of California at Santa Cruz on July 1.

Amanda Thein, associate dean of faculty and academic affairs and a professor of literacy, culture, and language education in the University of Iowa College of Education, has been named dean of the university's Graduate College.

Mario Torres, a professor of educational administration and human-resource development at Texas A&M University, will become dean of the College of Education and Human Development at the University of Texas at San Antonio on August 1.

Lisa Withers, an associate professor of music at Emory & Henry College, has been named dean of the School of Arts & Sciences.

RESIGNATIONS

Luke Bierman, dean of the School of Law at Elon University, plans to step down in December.

Anthony E. Varona, dean at the School of Law at the University of Miami, has been asked to step down.

Other administrators

APPOINTMENTS

Adele Brumfield, associate vice chancellor for enrollment management at the University of California at San Diego, will become vice provost for enrollment management at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on August 2.

Kathleen Cagney, a professor of sociology and former deputy dean at the University of Chicago, will become director of the Institute for Social Research at University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on September 1.

Christie Lewis, director of budget, planning, and assessment at D'Youville College, has been named assistant vice president for budgets and financial reporting at Hilbert College.

Ernest Morrell, a professor of literacy education and director of the Center for Literacy Education in the Institute for Educational Initiatives at the University of Notre Dame, will become associate dean of the humanities and equity in the College of Arts and Letters on July 1.

Alex Sevilla, associate dean in the Warrington College of Business at the University of Florida, will become vice provost for career advancement and engagement at Vanderbilt University on August 9.

Deaths

Gerald W. Gibson, president emeritus of Maryville College, died on May 20. He was 83

Jerome Kagan, a professor emeritus of psychology at Harvard University, died on May 10. He was 92.

Sister Francesca Onley, president of Holy Family University from 1981 until 2014, died on April 17. She was 88.

William C. Richardson, a former president of the Johns Hopkins University from 1990 to 1995, died on May 18. He was 81. Richardson also served as graduate dean and vice provost for research at the University of Washington and then went on to serve as the executive vice president and provost at the Pennsylvania State University.

David Swensen, chief investment officer at Yale University since 1985, died on May 5. He was 67.

- COMPILED BY IULIA PIPER

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

CHAIR

Pamela Gwaltney

EDITOR Brock Read MANAGING EDITOR Evan R. Goldstein EXECUTIVE EDITOR. CHRONICLE INTELLIGENCE Liz McMillen EDITOR, THE CHRONICLE REVIEW Evan R. Goldstein

FOUNDER

Corbin Gwaltney (1966-2019)

EDITOR, VISUALS Ron Coddington

DEPUTY MANAGING EDITORS

Heidi Landecker (Copy and Production), Jennifer Ruark

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS Sara Lipka (Editorial Products), Andy Thomason, Ian Wilhelm (Chronicle Intelligence)

PUBLISHER & CHIEF REVENUE OFFICER Michael D. Sisk CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER William J. Peyser

PRESIDENT & EDITOR IN CHIEF

Michael G. Riley

CHIEF HUMAN RESOURCES OFFICER Angela DeLeon

CHIEF TECHNOLOGY OFFICER Don Sargent

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, CONTENT REVENUE Amy Long

MANAGING DIRECTORS

Nick Findlay (Marketing), Jen Diorio (Corporate & Institutional Programs)

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES

1255 Twenty-Third Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037 (202) 466-1000

CUSTOMER SERVICE P. O. Box 85

Congers, N.Y. 10920 (800) 728-2803 subscriptions@chronicleservice.com

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE chronicle.com/subscribe

(800) 728-2803

RECRUITMENT

(202) 466-1050

CORPORATE & INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERSHIPS & CLIENT SOLUTIONS

Washington, D.C. (401) 699-4792



A NEXT-GENERATION UNIVERSITY IS OPEN FOR INNOVATION

PHIL AND PENNY KNIGHT CAMPUS FOR ACCELERATING SCIENTIFIC IMPACT

Operating at the intersection of science and society, the Phil and Penny Knight Campus for Accelerating Scientific Impact is a new model for scientific discovery in our country, made possible by a \$500 million gift from UO alumnus and Nike co-founder Phil Knight and his wife, Penny. The Knight Campus will shape the next generation of scientists while pushing discoveries to market faster. Designed to bring together the best minds, the world-class campus encourages cross-disciplinary collaboration at every turn, allowing talented teams to problemsolve and to fast-forward the time from discovery to development to deployment. The University of Oregon is once again changing the game in terms of how research and science can serve students and society.



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

accelerate.uoregon.edu

EO/AA/ADA institution committed to cultural diversity.