

INSTRUCTING ANIMOSITY: HOW DEI PEDAGOGY PRODUCES THE HOSTILE ATTRIBUTION BIAS

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Instructing Animosity: How DEI Pedagogy Produces the Hostile Attribution Bias

DEI programs purport to cultivate inclusive environments for people from diverse backgrounds and encourage greater empathy in interpersonal interactions. A key component of DEI offerings lies in diversity pedagogy: Lectures, trainings and educational resources ostensibly designed to educate participants about their prejudice and bias in order to eliminate discrimination¹ ([Iyer, 2022](#)). As institutions across corporate and educational sectors increasingly embed Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) into their foundational strategies, it is crucial to evaluate the effectiveness of common aspects of this pedagogy.

A [2023 study](#) by the Pew Research Center² found that 52% of American workers have DEI meetings or training events at work, and according to Iris Bohnet, a professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, \$8 billion is spent annually on such programs.³ Despite widespread investment in and adoption of diversity pedagogy through lectures, educational resources, and training, assessments of efficacy have produced mixed results.

A meta-analysis by [Paluck et al. \(2021\)](#) found that too few studies in the field have investigated real-world impact on “light-touch” interventions or seminars and training programs.⁴ Taken together, the limited evidence suggests that some DEI programs not only fail to achieve their goals but can actively undermine diversity efforts. Specifically, mandatory trainings that focus on particular target groups can foster discomfort and perceptions of unfairness⁵ ([Burnett and Aquinis, 2024](#)). DEI initiatives seen as affirmative action rather than business strategy can provoke backlash,⁶ increasing rather than reducing racial resentment⁷ ([Kidder et al., 2004](#); [Legault et al. \(2001\)](#)). And diversity initiatives aimed at managing bias can fail, sometimes resulting in decreased representation and triggering negativity among employees⁸ ([Leslie, 2019](#); [Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006](#)). In other words, some DEI programs appear to backfire.⁹

¹ Iyer, A. (2022, April 13). *Understanding advantaged groups' opposition to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies: The role of perceived threat*. Compass Journals. <https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spc3.12666>

² Minkin, R. (2023, May 17). Diversity, Equity and Inclusion in the Workplace. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2023/05/17/diversity-equity-and-inclusion-in-the-workplace/>

³ <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/focusing-on-what-works-for-workplace-diversity>

⁴ Paluck, E. L., Porat, R., Clark, C. S., & Green, D. P. (2021, January). *Prejudice Reduction: Progress and Challenges*. Annual Review of Psychology. https://www.annualreviews.org/content/journals/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619;jsessionid=_JkF8gMZpzs5Gelx0WZkpOJA8EzwR5toNlvEmblD.annurevive-10-241-10-100

⁵ Burnett, L., & Aquinis, H. (2024). *How to prevent and minimize DEI backfire*. ScienceDirect. <https://www.hermanaquinis.com/pdf/BHDEI.pdf>

⁶ Kidder, D. L., Lankau, M. J., Chrobot-Mason, D., Mollica, K. A., & Friedman, R. A. (2004, January 1). *BACKLASH TOWARD DIVERSITY INITIATIVES: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF DIVERSITY PROGRAM JUSTIFICATION, PERSONAL AND GROUP OUTCOMES*. International Journal of Conflict Management. <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/eb022908/full/html>

⁷ Legault, L., Gutsell, J. N., & Inzlicht, M. (2011, November 28). *Ironic Effects of Antiprejudice Messages: How Motivational Interventions Can Reduce (but Also Increase) Prejudice*. Sage Journals. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0956797611427918>

⁸ Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best Practices or Best Guesses? Assessing the Efficacy of Corporate Affirmative Action and Diversity Policies. https://web.cfa.harvard.edu/cfawis/Dobbin_best_practices.pdf

⁹ Leslie, L. M. (2019). DIVERSITY INITIATIVE EFFECTIVENESS: A TYPOLOGICAL THEORY OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES. <https://pages.stern.nyu.edu/~eparker/syllabi/leslie2019diversityinitiativeeffectiveness.pdf>

Given both the lack of rigorous research on diversity initiatives and the documented potential of DEI efforts backfiring, a better assessment of the efficacy and effects of contemporary diversity training is warranted.

This study focused on diversity training interventions that emphasize awareness of and opposition to “systemic oppression,” a trend fueled by the 2020 Black Lives Matter movement and popularized by texts such as Ibram X. Kendi’s, *How to Be an Antiracist*.¹⁰ While not representative of *all* DEI pedagogy, “anti-racism” and “anti-oppression” pedagogy and intervention materials have seen widespread adoption across sectors like [higher education](#) and healthcare. Yet this pedagogy lacks rigorous evaluation of effectiveness, particularly with respect to reducing bias and improving interpersonal/inter-group dynamics.

The prominent “anti-oppressive pedagogy” in DEI programming can carry perceived rhetorical threats for those whose politics or other beliefs run counter to the fundamental premises of the critical paradigm from which the pedagogy derives. Programming may reflexively cast members of so-called “dominant” groups or those who disagree with “anti-oppressive,” “anti-racist,” or modern-day “anti-fascist” framings as oppressive, racist, or fascist.

The studies reported herein assess a crucial question: Do ideas and rhetoric foundational to many DEI trainings foster pluralistic inclusiveness, or do they exacerbate intergroup and interpersonal conflicts? Do they increase empathy and understanding or increase hostility towards members of groups labeled as oppressors?

Across three groupings—race, religion, and caste—NCRI collected anti-oppressive DEI educational materials frequently used in interventional and educational settings. The religion-focused interventions drew on content from the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU), commonly used in sensitivity training on Islamophobia. For race, materials featured excerpts from DEI scholars like Ibram X. Kendi and Robin DiAngelo. Caste interventions featured anti-oppression narratives from Equality Labs, one of the most prolific training providers for caste discrimination in North America.

Rhetoric from these materials was excerpted and administered in psychological surveys measuring explicit bias, social distancing, demonization, and authoritarian tendencies. Participants were randomly assigned to review these materials or neutral control material. Their responses to this material was assessed through various questions assessing intergroup hostility and authoritarianism, and through scenario-based questions (details on all demographic data, survey questions, essay conditions, responses and analyses can be found in a supplementary document to this report).

Across all groupings, instead of reducing bias, they engendered a hostile attribution bias ([Epps & Kendall, 1995](#)), amplifying perceptions of prejudicial hostility where none was present¹¹, and punitive responses to the imaginary prejudice. These results highlight the complex and often counterproductive impacts of pedagogical elements and themes prevalent in mainstream DEI training.

¹⁰ Kendi, I. X. (2019, August 13). *How to Be an Antiracist*. Penguin Random House Common Reads. <https://commonreads.com/book/?isbn=9780525509288>

¹¹ Epps, J., Kendall, P.C. Hostile attributional bias in adults. *Cogn Ther Res* **19**, 159–178 (1995). <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02229692>

Ibram X. Kendi and Robin DeAngelo: How Anti-Racist Materials Induce Prejudicial Attitudes and Racial Suspicion.

Study 1 Sample

To examine the impact of anti-oppressive pedagogical materials on race, NCRI conducted a study involving 423 undergraduates from Rutgers University, employing a controlled experimental design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups: one exposed to a neutral control essay about U.S. corn production (for full text, please see supplement) and the other exposed to an essay which combined educational texts from prominent DEI scholars, Ibram X. Kendi and Robin DiAngelo.

We chose an essay on corn production as a control to constitute a neutral baseline in the comparison case, devoid of any social, moral, or emotional framing and entirely unrelated to race, bias, or social justice.

Intervention and Control Texts:

Excerpts from our intervention and control text are presented here. The full text of both can be found in the supplement.

- **Ibram X. Kendi/Robin DiAngelo Excerpt:** "White people raised in Western society are conditioned into a white supremacist worldview. Racism is the norm; it is not unusual. As a result, interaction with White people is at times so overwhelming, draining, and incomprehensible that it causes serious anguish for People of Color."
- **Control Text (Corn Excerpt):** "America has just about 90 million planted acres of corn, and there's a reason people refer to the crop as yellow gold. In 2021, U.S. corn was worth over \$86 billion, based on calculations from FarmDoc and the United States Department of Agriculture. According to the USDA, the U.S. is the largest consumer, producer, and exporter of corn in the world."

The decision to utilize passages from Kendi and DiAngelo was grounded in their widespread application within DEI scholarship, and that their works are often viewed as essential frameworks for both understanding systemic racism and promoting anti-racist actions. Kendi's "How to Be an Antiracist" encourages transformative practices that dismantle racism through active engagement, while DiAngelo's "White Fragility" critically examines defensive reactions of white individuals when confronted with racial issues, arguing that these responses sustain racial disparities.

The selected passages were intended to represent some core themes of these authors' influential works.

The themes selected in these essays were:

1. White supremacy and racism are a systemic and nearly universal norm, mindset, or worldview.

2. Normal institutions and Western ideologies are secretly enforcing racist agendas and White people are beneficiaries and entitled to the benefits of systemic white supremacy and racism.
3. The universality of white supremacy agonizes people of color by virtue of endless hostile encounters
4. Western countries are compromised by virtue of their racist ideology and past.
5. Anti-racist discrimination is the only solution to racist discrimination.

In addition to articulating them in their best selling books, DiAngelo and Kendi have both repeatedly articulated the above themes in corporate programs, interventions and appearances. But this does not prove that such themes are widely adopted in DEI interventions or policy by anyone save the authors themselves. Therefore, to gauge the popularity of these themes. Through open-source collection, we examined over 30 anti-racist offerings/policies across human resources and diversity oriented programs from high profile institutions (see Supplement for full details and analysis). These institutions included Harvard, Columbia University, the United Nations, the U.S. State Dept, The Canadian Government, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the American Psychological Association and other large organizations. Video transcription, keyword analysis and language model/embedding extraction was then performed. A topic network was graphed with a seed term "white" showing that the themes identified above appear ubiquitous across the offerings we analyzed.

Figure 1: Topic Network Analysis of "Whiteness" Themes in Anti-Racist and DEI Policies Across High-Profile Institutions

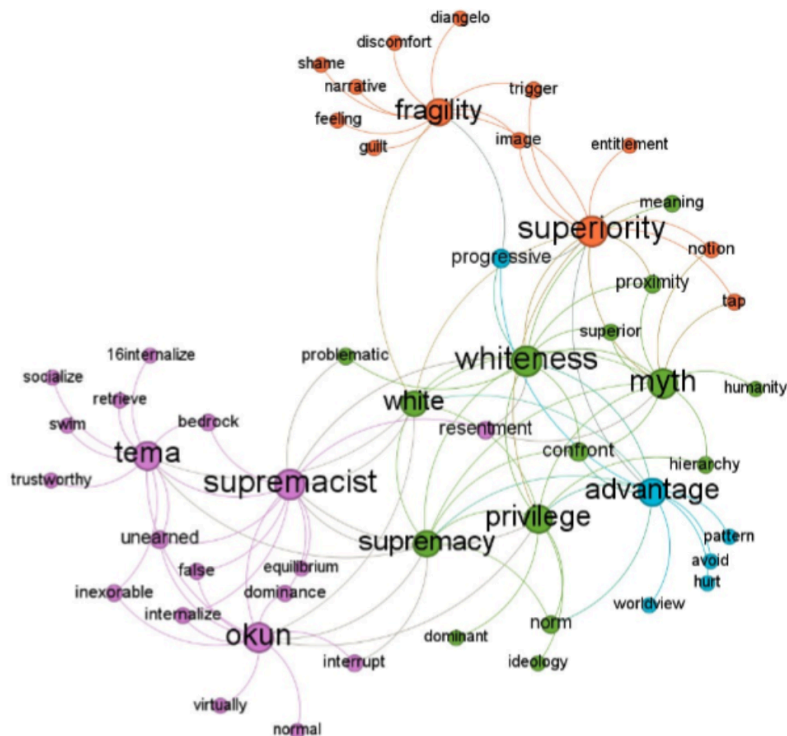


Figure 1: A Topic network¹² analysis of over 30 anti-racist offerings and diversity-oriented policies across various high-profile institutions, using a keyword analysis centered on the seed term "white." Themes related to whiteness, supremacy, privilege, and fragility and the systemic nature of the problem appear prominent, reflecting common topics found in DEI programs. Node size reflects frequency, and distance reflects cosine similarity.

We therefore assess that anti-racist, anti-oppressive themes we identified as emblematic in the writing of both Kendi and DiAngelo are widespread among anti-racist diversity offerings.

Scenario and Evaluation: After reading either the anti-racist or corn text, participants were presented with a racially neutral scenario:

A student applied to an elite East Coast university in Fall 2024. During the application process, he was interviewed by an admissions officer. Ultimately, the student's application was rejected.

Participants were then asked to evaluate the scenario with questions designed to probe the extent to which they perceived racism in the interaction. This scenario intentionally avoids any mention of either the student's or admission officer's race or ethnicity and provides no evidence of racism. Thus, if they perceive racism in the interaction, they are introducing something that is objectively absent. **Results:** The analysis, shown in Figure 2a, reveals that participants who read the Ibram X. Kendi/Robin DiAngelo essay developed a hostile attribution bias. They perceived the admissions officer as significantly more prejudiced than did those who read the neutral corn essay. Specifically, participants exposed to the anti-racist rhetoric perceived more discrimination from the admissions officer (~21%), despite the complete absence of evidence of discrimination. They believed the admissions officer was more unfair to the applicant (~12%), had caused more harm to the applicant (~26%), and had committed more microaggressions (~35%). The strength of these notable results motivated NCRI to test for replicability with an experiment on a national sample (n=1086 recruited via Amazon Prime Panels) of college/university students to ensure these findings were not an aberration of student attitudes on Rutgers campus. These findings showed similar, statistically significant effects (Appendix Figure 1).

¹² Zannettou, S., Finkelstein, J., Bradlyn, B., & Blackburn, J. (2020). **A Quantitative Approach to Understanding Online Antisemitism.** *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, 14(1), 786–797. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1809.01644>

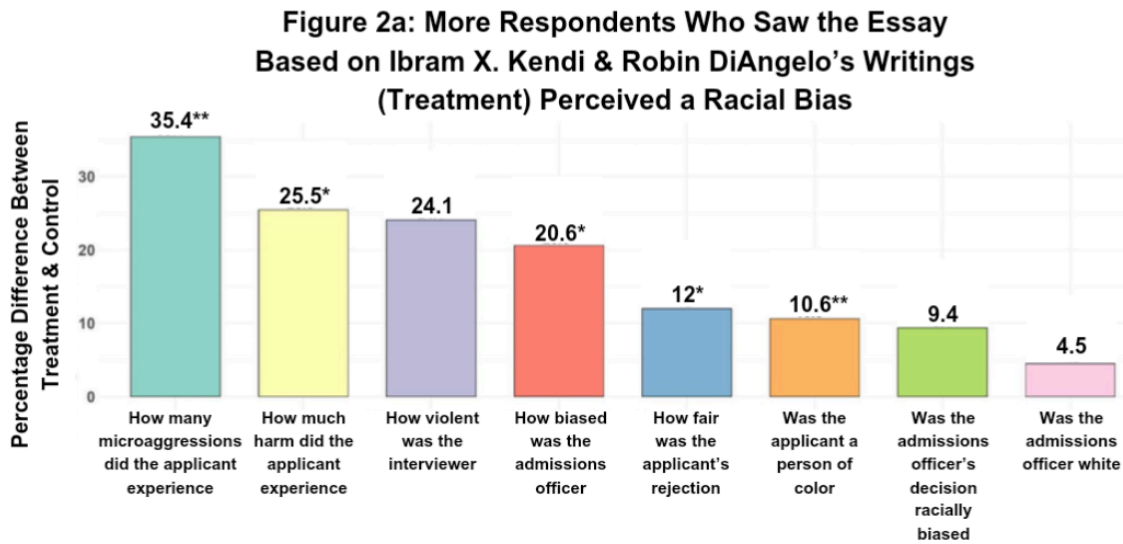
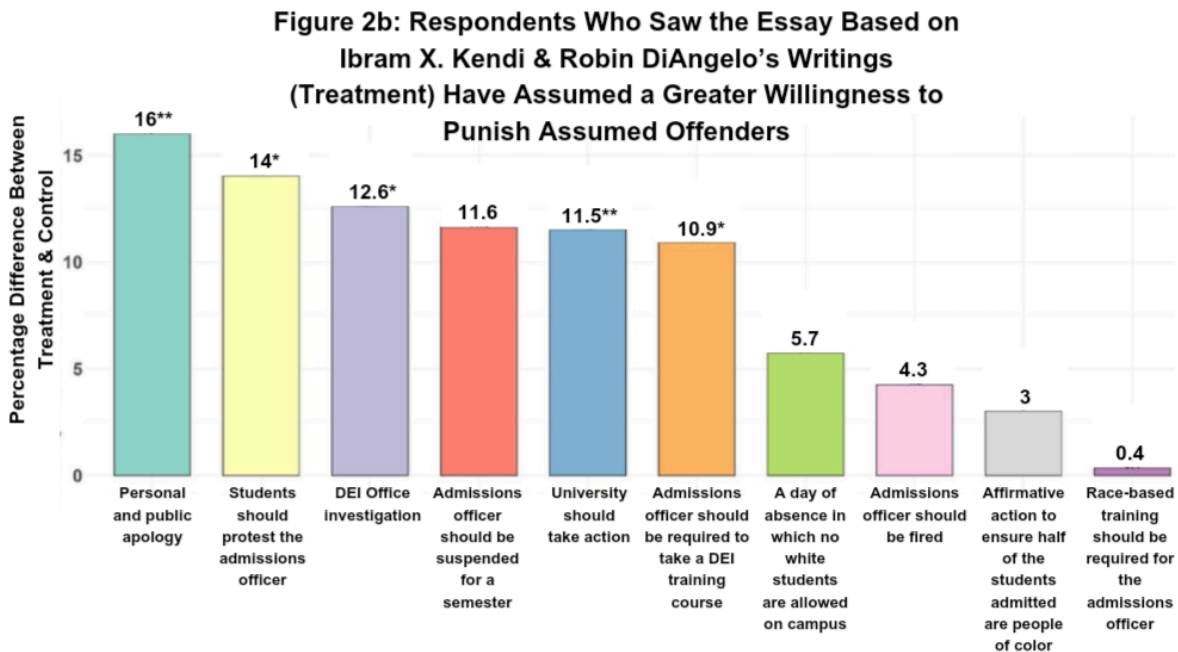


Figure 2a: Perception of racial bias in admissions between those exposed to anti-racist education material and the control group. Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control¹³.

Figure 2a shows that the anti-oppression intervention from Kendi/DiAngelo influenced participants to impute bias without evidence. Further analysis revealed that exposure to anti-oppression DEI narratives not only influenced participants' perceptions of racism but also altered their willingness to punish perceived perpetrators.



¹³ Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t Tests: *** = .001, ** = .01, * = .05.

Figure 2b: Willingness to take punitive measures between those exposed to anti-racist education material and the control essay. Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control¹⁴.

Figure 2b (above) shows it also increased their support for punishing the admissions officer. Compared to controls who read about corn, respondents who read the Kendi/DiAngelo intervention were 12% more willing to support suspending the admission officer for a semester, 16% more willing to demand a public apology to the applicant and 12% more willing to require additional DEI training to correct the officer. Importantly, the intervention did not produce any measurable change in warmth or coldness towards persons of color (Appendix Figure 2). Educational materials from some of the most well published and well known DEI scholars not only failed to positively enhance interracial attitudes, they provoked baseless suspicion and encouraged punitive attitudes.

Assessing the Impact of Anti-Islamophobia Narratives: Bias and Perceived Injustice

NCRI next conducted a targeted evaluation of anti-Islamophobia training materials, utilizing content distilled from the ISPU, a leading organization in promoting narratives of systemic anti-Muslim bias. This study aimed to critically assess whether these interventions effectively mitigate anti-Muslim prejudice, and whether, conversely, they distort perceptions of fairness in ways that reinforce biases against perceived oppressor institutions.

Sample:

Participants (n=2017) were recruited via Amazon Prime Panels for a national sample matched on U.S. demographics for greater representativeness (for demographic information and survey questions, see supplement). Following exposure to the texts, participants were presented with a controlled scenario involving two individuals—Ahmed Akhtar and George Green—both convicted of identical terrorism charges for bombing a local government building:

- **Ahmed Akhtar's** trial was assessed for perceived fairness.
- **George Green's** trial was evaluated under the same conditions to serve as a comparative measure.

Key Findings

In the control group (corn), Ahmed's trial was perceived as just as fair as George's, indicating no baseline perception of Islamophobia. In the anti-Islamophobia content group (treatment), George's trial ratings were not significantly different from the corn content group (control). However, participants in the anti-Islamophobia treatment group rated Ahmed's trial as significantly less fair (4.92 vs. 5.25) than did those in the control group. The training led them to perceive injustice toward Ahmed despite the specifics of his situation being identical to those of George.

¹⁴ Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t Tests: *** = .001, ** = .01, * = .05.

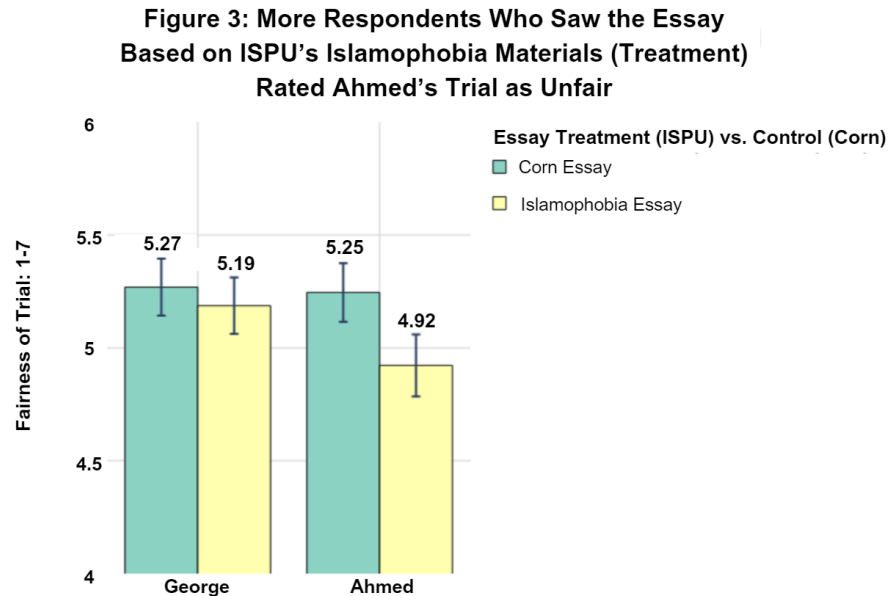


Figure 3: Perception of ethnic bias in a criminal trial between those exposed to the anti-Islamophobia education material and the control essay. Means reflect differences between those in the treatment condition and the control.¹⁵

These results suggest that anti-Islamophobia training inspired by ISPU materials may cause individuals to assume unfair treatment of Muslim people, even when no evidence of bias or unfairness is present. This effect highlights a broader issue: DEI narratives that focus heavily on victimization and systemic oppression can foster unwarranted distrust and suspicions of institutions and alter subjective assessments of events. In the effort to improve sensitivity to genuine injustices against people from designated identities, such trainings may instead create a hostile attribution bias. This could, in turn, undermine trust in institutions, even in the absence of bias or unfair treatment (as in our scenarios). These findings are particularly concerning given that ISPU's educational efforts include [training Federal Agents](#) on Islamophobia sensitivity.¹⁶

How Caste Sensitivity Training Offers a Unique Lens into the Impacts of DEI Narratives

While discussions about Islamophobia and racial discrimination are prevalent in DEI narratives, caste-based discrimination among American Hindus has not been a core part of DEI discourse or trainings. Caste is a social hierarchy originating from British and Portuguese colonial policies in South Asia which historically divided people into groups based on hereditary occupation and fostered discrimination between upper caste members (such as Brahmins) and lower caste ones (such as Dalits). Widely known in India, the issue of caste discrimination is only recently gaining attention [in the U.S.](#)¹⁷ and has resulted in the inclusion of caste-sensitivity training in academic, corporate, and legislative settings.

¹⁵ *Perceived fairness of Ahmed and George's trials. Based on a one way ANOVA test, for Ahmed's trial there was a statistically significant difference between the control and experimental groups (p value of .001), while George's trial did not show a significant difference between groups (p value of .36).

¹⁶ *FBI Training on Islamophobia*. Islamic Networks Group (ING). (n.d.). <https://ing.org/fbi-training-on-islamophobia/>

¹⁷ Singh, S. J., & Shyamsunder, A. (2022, December 5). *Bringing Caste into the DEI Conversation*. Harvard Business Review. <https://hbr.org/2022/12/bringing-caste-into-the-dei-conversation>



The timeline above depicts the acknowledgement of caste in US institutions and its gradual recognition as a category requiring protection from discrimination across various sectors.

Yet, the prevalence and impact of caste discrimination remain poorly studied and largely speculative. Research by Pew indicates that few American Hindus born in the U.S. identify strongly with caste, with less than half reporting any connection to a caste group. Furthermore, one of the most cited research articles establishing the prevalence of caste discrimination, conducted by Equality Labs, has been widely criticized by the [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#)¹⁸ and others, for methodological flaws, including

¹⁸ Badrinathan, S., Kapur, D., Kay, J., & Vaishnav, M. (2021, June 9). Social Realities of Indian Americans: Results From the 2020 Indian American Attitudes Survey.

unrepresentative sampling and reliance on unverified self-reported experiences. This raises significant concerns about the validity of the ascendant narrative that caste discrimination is a pervasive problem in the U.S., and suggests that the promotion of caste-related DEI trainings has not emerged as a result of robust empirical evidence that caste discrimination is a genuine problem.

Despite its uncertain scientific footing, the lack of familiarity with caste issues, unlike race or Islamophobia, provides a unique opportunity for measuring the impacts of DEI initiatives. The Hindu community in the U.S. does not generally feature prominently in public consciousness, and attitudes towards Hindus and their cultural practices lack the same magnitude of historical and public significance as those towards Islam or racial issues. This relatively "blank slate" makes the caste narrative an ideal use-case for evaluating how DEI training shapes perceptions.

Sample:

To examine the impact of anti-oppression educational materials on caste perception, NCRI conducted a study with participants recruited from Amazon's Prime Panels (n=847) for a national sample matched on U.S. demographics for greater representativeness (for demographic information and survey questions, see supplement).

Caste Sensitive Training

The study used caste sensitivity training materials from Equality Labs¹⁹ (see supplement for details) as the experimental condition, designed to evaluate the effects of DEI rhetoric. For the control condition, NCRI compiled together an academic essay on caste from the works of well-published scholars from institutions such as Berkeley, Cambridge and elsewhere.²⁰ The control essay was deliberately chosen to provide a neutral, academic perspective, free from sensationalized or accusatory language. This control allowed us to measure the specific impacts of highly charged DEI narratives while controlling for the topic of caste itself, providing a clearer assessment of how anti-oppression narratives can shape attitudes and the inclination to be punitive.

Intervention and Control Texts:

Excerpts from our intervention and control text are presented here. The full text of both can be found in the supplement.

- **Equality Labs Excerpt:** "Shudras and Dalits are caste-oppressed; they experience profound injustices, including socioeconomic hardship and brutal violence at the hands of the upper castes. Dalits live in segregated ghettos, are banned from temples, and are denied access to schools and public amenities. The 2,500-year old caste system is enforced by violence and maintained by one of the world's oldest, most persistent cultures."

<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2021/06/social-realities-of-indian-americans-results-from-the-2020-indian-american-attitudes-survey?lang=en>

¹⁹ Equality Labs. (2018). Caste in the United States: A Survey Of Caste Among South Asian Americans.

https://equalitylabs.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Caste_in_the_United_States_Report2018.pdf

²⁰ Sampled texts included writings from: Nicholas Dirks, Susan Bayley, Jakob De Roover, Prakash Shah, Marianne Keppens, Dunkin Jhalki, Padmanabh Samarendra, Declan Quigley, CJ Fuller, Simon Charsley

- **Control Text (Jāti and Varna):** “Jāti and varna are concepts from India that describe ways people might identify and interact socially. Jāti refers to groups with common characteristics, including clan, class, language, family background, region of origin, religion, and occupation. Varna describes a philosophy in Hindu scripture of understanding human diversity and purpose.”

Scenario and Evaluation

Following exposure to the assigned texts, participants were presented with a neutral scenario, devoid of any caste indicators, which was designed to measure their perceptions of caste-based bias. The scenario described an admissions process and names of characters were reversed in a counterbalanced fashion between respondents to avoid artifacts that might be associated with the names themselves:

“Raj Kumar applied to an elite East Coast university in Fall 2022. During the application process, he was interviewed by an admissions officer, Anand Prakash. Ultimately, Raj’s application was rejected.”

Participants were then asked to evaluate the scenario with questions designed to probe the extent to which they perceived casteism in the interaction.

Results: Analysis revealed that exposure to the Equality Labs intervention led to significantly higher perception of microaggressions, perceived harm, and assumptions of bias during the interview process (increases of 32.5%, 15.6%, and 11%, respectively) compared to the control condition.

Figure 4: More Respondents Who Saw the Essay on Casteism Based on Equality Labs Trainings (Treatment) Perceived a Caste Based Bias

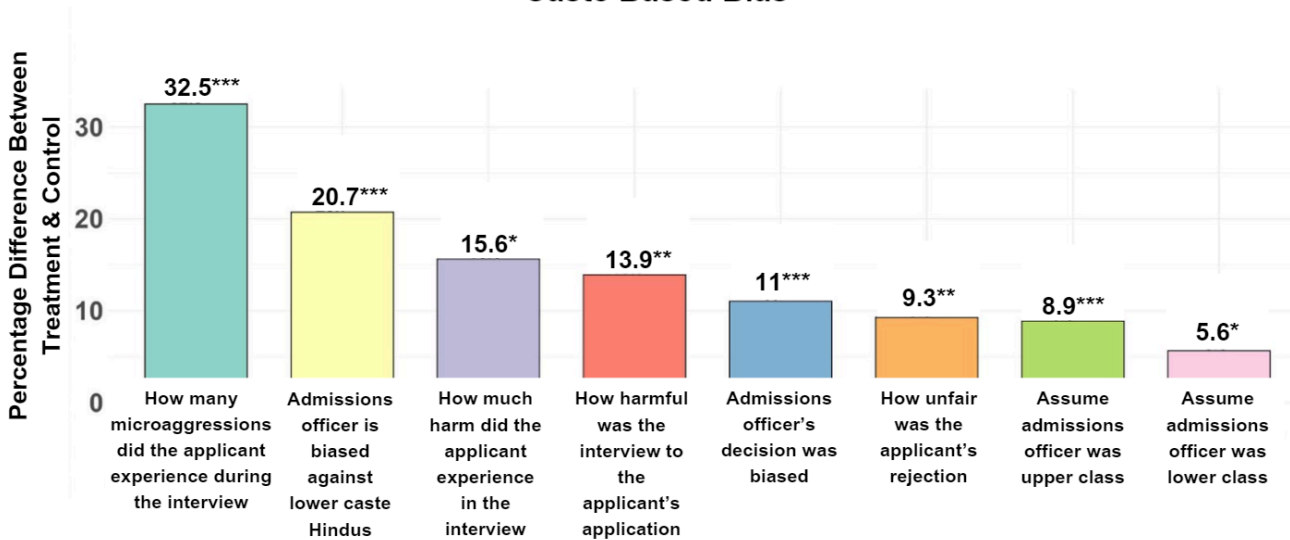


Figure 4: Respondents who saw the essay on casteism perceived caste based bias in the admissions process more compared to the control group. Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control²¹.

²¹ Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t Tests: *** = .001, ** = .01, * = .05

Figure 4: Perception of Caste-Based Bias in Admissions Following Sensitivity Training

Additional questions assessed whether reading the caste sensitivity essay from Equality Labs negatively influenced participants' assumptions about Hindus' racist attitudes, while increasing participants' willingness to punish the fictional college administrator. The results indicated a significant effect on attitudes, with participants who read the Equality Labs essay showing a higher willingness (19%) to punish the administrator than those in the control group (see Appendix Figure 3 for full results) along with assessing Hindus as more racist (47.5%) than was assessed by those who read the control essay. This difference suggests that DEI content focused on caste discrimination can generate broader prejudices against the Hindu community, including creating a false intuition that Hindus are racist.

These findings mirror those of our other DEI studies, where participants exposed to anti-racist narratives or to ostensible anti-Islamophobia narratives perceived more injustices (when there was no evidence of injustice) than did those exposed to a neutral scenario. And like in our other studies, caste sensitivity training seems to engender divisive assumptions, encouraging more punitive responses. These results suggest that caste sensitivity training, along with other training delivered within an anti-oppressive DEI framework, may create hostile attribution biases that negatively distort perceptions of interpersonal interactions and promote rather than ameliorate intergroup hostilities.

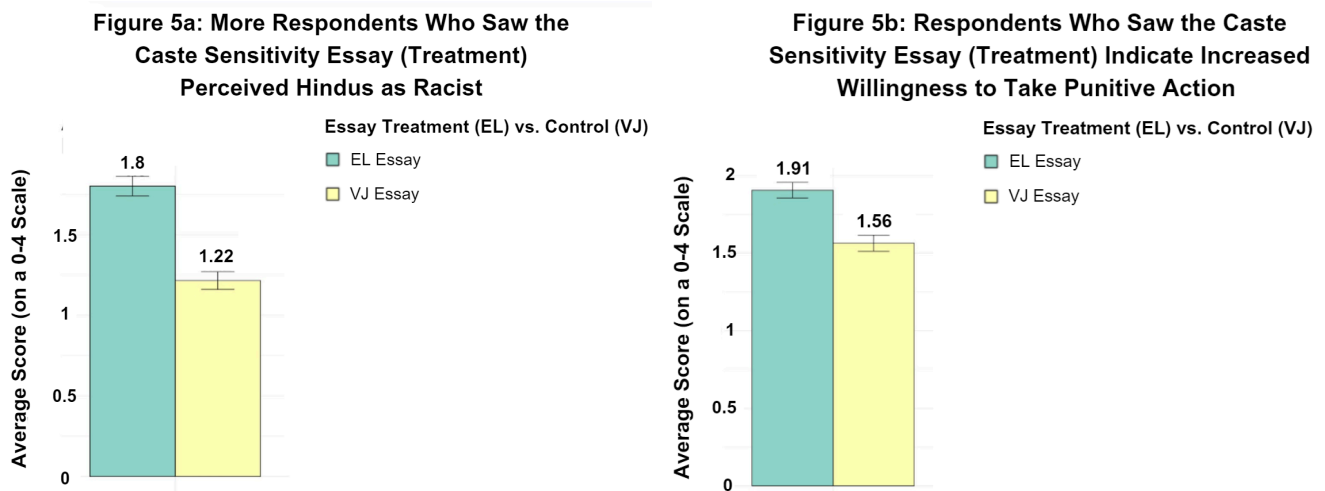


Figure 5a/5b: Difference in mean scores between conditions on a 1 - 7 scale. Figure 5a: Measures how racist respondents believe Hindus are (split between the treatment and control groups). Figure 5b: Measures respondents' punitiveness towards the admissions officer due to perceived caste based bias (split between the treatment and control groups)²².

Equity Extremists: How Anti-Oppressive Narratives Converge with Authoritarian Intolerance

While DEI initiatives typically affirm the laudable goals of combating bias and promoting inclusivity, an emerging body of research warns that these interventions may foster authoritarian mindsets, particularly when anti-oppressive narratives exist within an ideological and vindictive monoculture. Scholars like

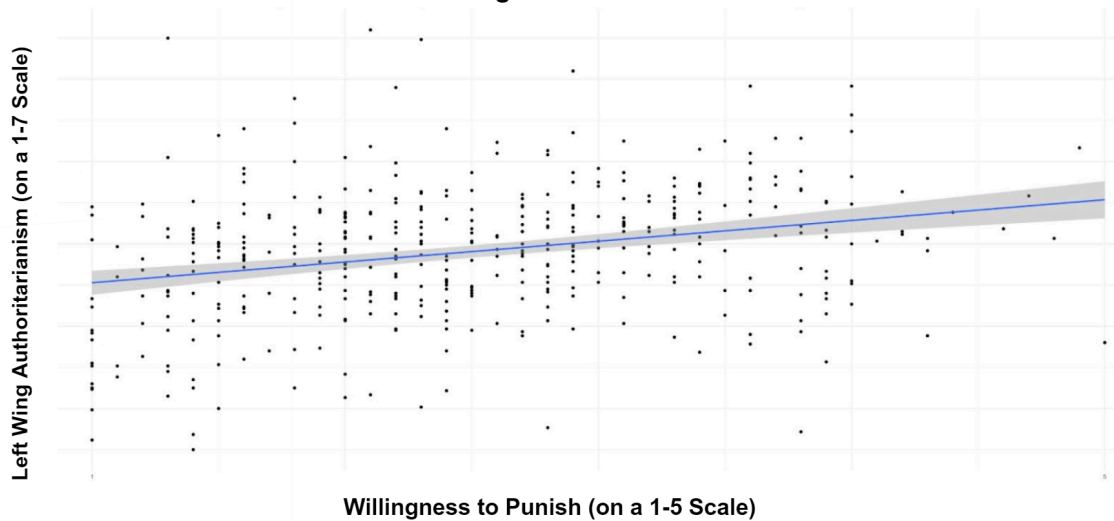
²² Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on both of these variables to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Both were found to be significant at the .001 level.

Jonathan Haidt²³ and Steven Pinker²⁴ have cautioned that extreme egalitarian rhetoric, especially when framed as moral imperatives, can encourage coercive control, intolerance, and punitive attitudes—practices and mental habits that echo the psychological dynamics of historical authoritarian movements. The push toward absolute equity can undermine pluralism and engender a (potentially violent) aspiration of ideological purity.

We therefore sought to assess whether outcomes from our experiments such as increased hostility attribution or willingness to punish, might converge with authoritarian traits and tendencies. By exposing people to politicized DEI content and measuring participants' responses, we also assessed whether these narratives could go beyond the heightening of racial tensions described earlier in this report, to fuel coercive mindsets that resemble the very authoritarianism that anti-oppressive training purports to combat.

In our Rutgers sample, we found that similar to DEI interventions, participants' levels of left wing authoritarianism²⁵ (LWA) predicted increased willingness to punish (Figure 6) and higher hostile attributions (Appendix Figure 6)²⁶. The LWA scale measures tendencies toward coercive control, anti-hierarchical aggression, and endorsement of radical egalitarianism. These results suggest that DEI content may not only increase the hostile attribution bias but converges with outcomes produced by authoritarian traits themselves. If authoritarianism increases the hostility and punitiveness introduced through DEI anti-oppressive pedagogy, then it may further create a culture of fear and rigidity instead of constructive change.

Figure 6: Left Wing Authoritarianism Correlated with a Willingness to Punish



²³ Murawski, J. (2024, February 8). *Jonathan Haidt: abolish DEI to save academia*. UnHerd.

<https://unherd.com/newsroom/jonathan-haidt-abolish-dei-to-save-academia/>

²⁴ Pinker, S. (2023, December 11). *A five-point plan to save Harvard from itself*. The Boston Globe.

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/12/11/opinion/steven-pinker-how-to-save-universities-harvard-claudine-gay/>

²⁵ Costello TH, Bowes SM, Stevens ST, Waldman ID, Tasimi A, Liliensfeld SO. Clarifying the structure and nature of left-wing authoritarianism. *J Pers Soc Psychol*. 2022 Jan;122(1):135-170. doi: 10.1037/pspp0000341. Epub 2021 Aug 12. PMID: 34383522.

²⁶ These findings replicated in our broader sample (n=1086 recruited via Amazon Prime Panels) of college/university students (data not shown)

Figure 6: Correlation between Left Wing Authoritarianism and one's willingness to punish the admissions officer.²⁷

Similarly, the caste study revealed a significant increase in agreement with demonizing statements adapted from Adolf Hitler's quotes, where the term "Jew" was replaced with "Brahmin," a group often depicted as oppressors in caste narratives. Participants exposed to the DEI content were markedly more likely to endorse Hitler's demonization statements, agreeing that Brahmins are "parasites" (+35.4%), "viruses" (+33.8%), and "the devil personified" (+27.1%) (see supplement for exact quotes). These findings suggest that exposure to anti-oppressive narratives can increase the endorsement of the type of demonization and scapegoating characteristic of authoritarianism.

Figure 7: Increased Agreement with Anti-Brahmin Statements Following DEI Content Exposure

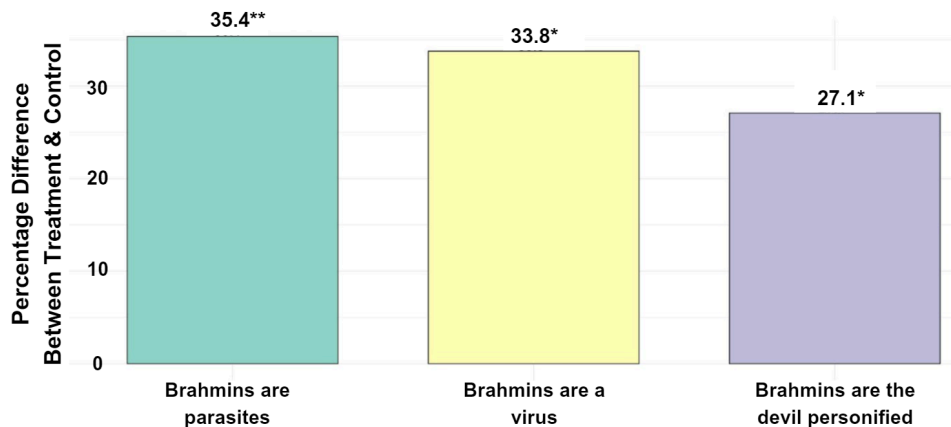


Figure 7: Respondents who saw the treatment essay showed an increase in belief that Hitler quotes, made to pertain to Brahmins, were accurate compared to the control group. Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control²⁸.

Conclusion: A Self Reinforcement Process Model for Anti-Oppressive DEI Interventions.

The evidence presented in these studies reveals that while purporting to combat bias, some anti-oppressive DEI narratives can engender a hostile attribution bias and heighten racial suspicion, prejudicial attitudes, authoritarian policing, and support for punitive behaviors in the absence of evidence for a transgression deserving punishment. Although not addressed in the studies reported herein, it is also possible that these factors are mutually reinforcing and spread through social contagion. Our findings raise this possibility which we offer here in the form of a post-hoc process model (to be investigated in future studies):

1. **Anti-Oppressive Intervention:** DEI training rooted in anti-oppressive rhetoric introduces

²⁷ Statistical analysis: There is a .27 correlation between Left Wing Authoritarianism and willingness to punish the admissions officer. We conducted a Pearson correlation and found this relationship was statistically significant at the .001 level.

²⁸ Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t Tests: ** = .01, * = .05.

narratives that lead people to assume that certain groups are inherent oppressors and others as inherent victims.

2. **Increased Racial Suspicion:** Exposure leads to hostile attribution bias, causing participants to see discrimination when there is no evidence that discrimination has occurred, driving racial prejudice, intergroup hostility, suspicion and division.
3. **Authoritarian Policing:** This heightened suspicion triggers authoritarian policing tendencies, leading people to endorse surveillance and purity testing, strict social controls, and escalating responses from corrective to coercive.
4. **Punitive Retribution:** Participants show greater support for extreme punitive measures against perceived oppressors as well as those seen as ideologically impure.
5. **Calls for More Interventions:** The heightened punitive atmosphere feeds back into demands for more anti-oppressive DEI training, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of suspicion and intolerance.

Taken in its entirety, this research demonstrates a pressing need for data-driven pressure testing of DEI interventions to examine potential harms. In spite of the serious consequences we outline above, DEI offerings have no independent, scientific review board for objective evaluation and no standards of transparency for the materials themselves. Offerings at major corporations for example, were nearly impossible to collect because these materials are not publicly available, and thus the full implications and spread of potentially harmful content is currently impossible to examine.

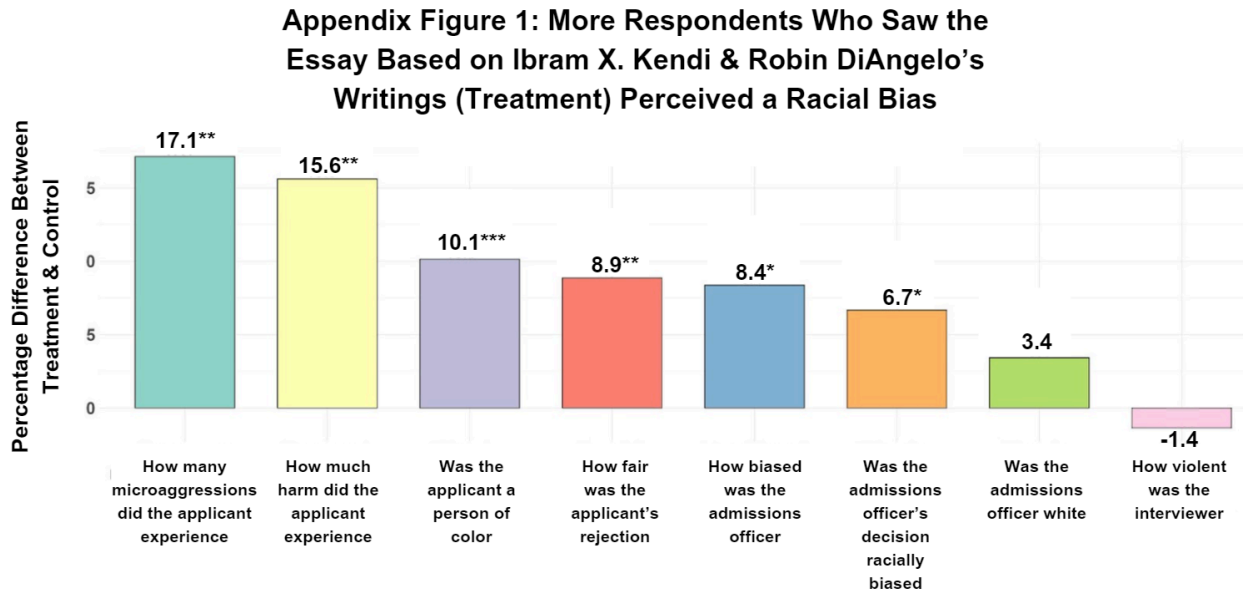
This research raises critical questions about how many individuals, as a result of these programs, have experienced undue duress, social ostracization, or even termination of employment. The hostile attribution bias revealed in NCRI's study appears readily transmissible by the DEI pedagogy above, much of which is inserted into recommended or mandatory readings and trainings that are widely adopted at present. This suggests the potential for a far broader scope of harm than previously considered, underscoring the urgency of rigorous evaluation of anti-oppressive, DEI interventions to identify unintended and damaging consequences, and, ultimately, to prevent them.

Limitations

It is beyond the scope of this research to evaluate DEI training writ large and our work therefore, should not be taken as evaluating the efficacy of an entire industry. There are numerous diversity trainings that do not subscribe to anti-oppressive frames, some of which may be successful or, at the least, harmless. Indeed, scholarly discussion of identity frames such as caste failed to produce the hostile attribution bias, in spite of addressing issues of inequality. Rather, we assessed the impact of anti-oppressive frames and themes specifically as they are found within training themselves.

APPENDIX

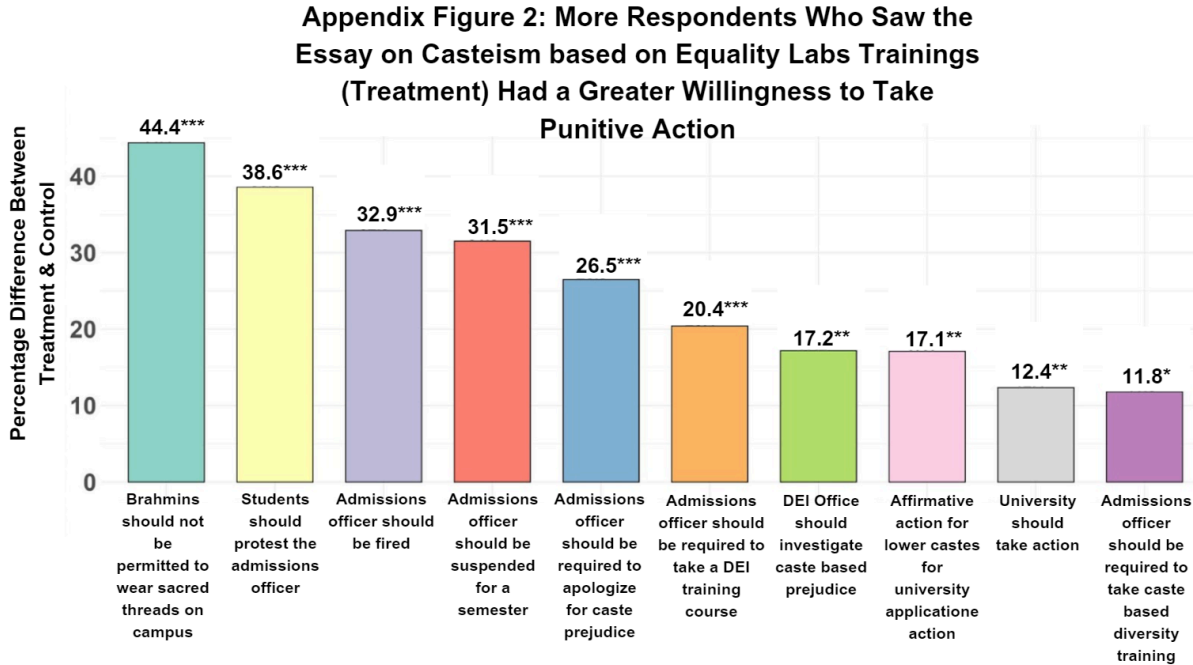
Appendix Figure 1. General Campus



Appendix Figure 1: Perception of Racial Bias in Admissions After Exposure to Anti-Racist Education Material (national university/college sample). Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control²⁹.

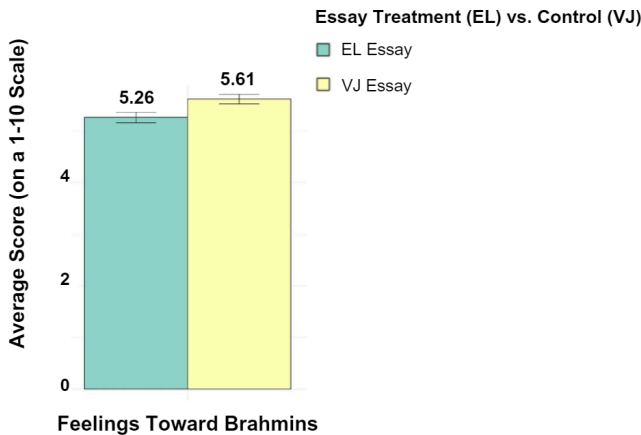
Brahmin Study

²⁹ Statistical analysis: We conducted t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t tests: *** = .001, ** = .01, * = .05.

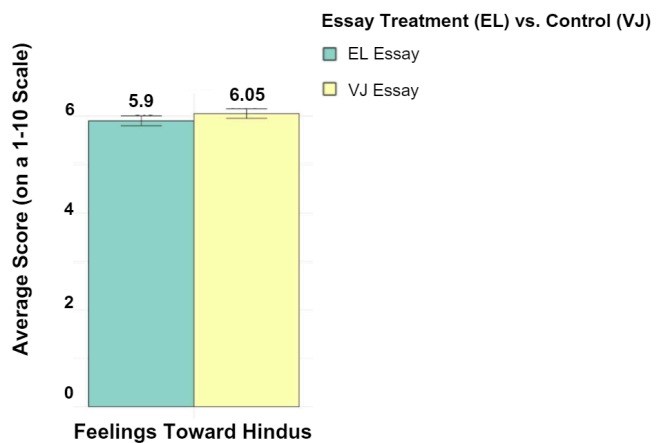


Appendix Figure 2: Increase in punitiveness towards Brahmin for those who saw the anti-caste essay compared to the control group. Percentages reflect percent differences in mean scores between those who saw the treatment and the control³⁰.

Appendix Figure 3: Feelings Toward Brahmins by Condition



Appendix Figure 4: Feelings Toward Hindus by Condition



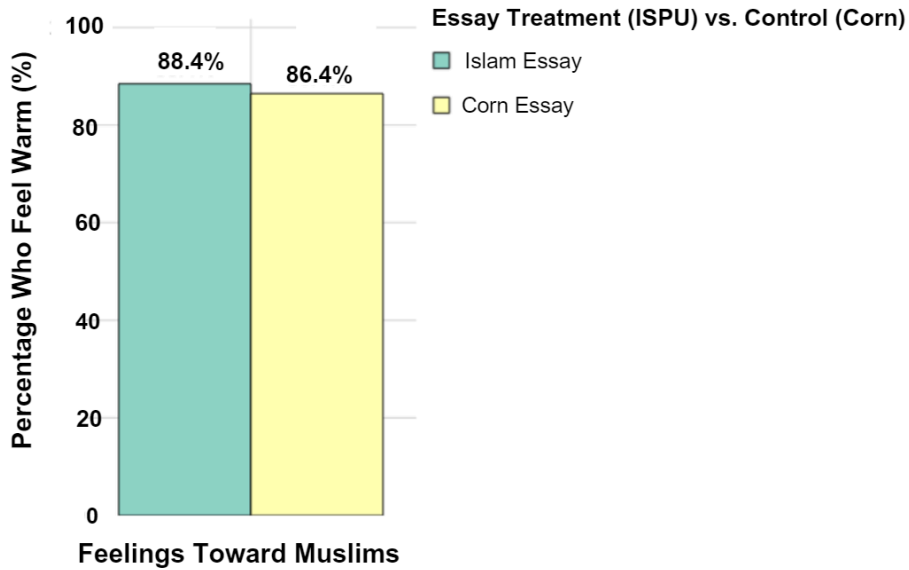
Appendix Figures 3/4: Respondents were divided between experimental and control groups to test for statistical significance in means of the feeling thermometers towards Hindus and Brahmins (on a 1-10 scale). There was no significant difference in the feelings towards Hindus (p value of .29), while there was a statistically significant difference for Brahmin (p value of .01)³¹.

³⁰ Statistical analysis: We conducted t tests on each variable listed to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups. Significance levels of t Tests: *** = .001, ** = .01, * = .05

³¹ Statistical analysis: We ran t tests on these two variables to test for statistical significance between the treatment and control groups.

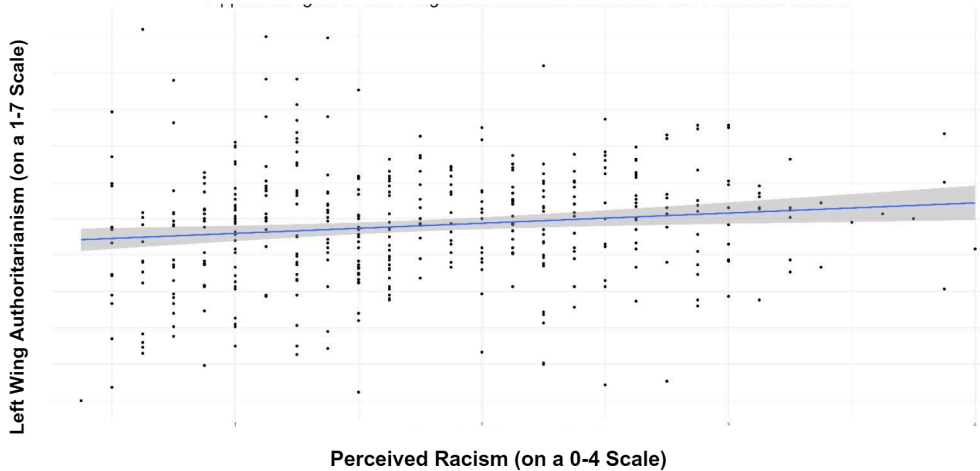
Muslim Study

Appendix Figure 5: Respondents Who Saw the Essay Based on ISPU's Islamophobia Materials (Treatment) Had the Same Feelings Towards Muslims as the Control Group



Appendix Figure 5: Differences in means of the feeling thermometer towards Muslims between conditions on a 1 - 100 scale. There is no significant difference in change between conditions.

Appendix Figure 6: Left Wing Authoritarianism Correlated with Perceived Racism



Appendix Figure 6: Correlation between Left Wing Authoritarianism and perceived racism in the case of the admissions officer.³²

³² Statistical analysis: We conducted a Pearson correlation which showed a statistically significant relationship between Left Wing Authoritarianism and perceived racism at the .01 level.

Experimental Design

We conducted three experiments to test the impact that specific DEI training materials had on individuals' perception and beliefs regarding racism and casteism.

Casteism Study

In the study on Casteism, half of the study saw an essay based on [Equality Labs](#)³³ material that outlines the Hindu caste system with some background information. The other half of the study saw an essay on Jāti and varna, which are broad and overarching systems the Hindu social system operates with. Below are the two relevant passages.

DEI Casteism Essay

Caste is a Hindu system of oppression that affects over 1 billion people around the world. The word “caste” stems from the Spanish and Portuguese word *casta*, which means “race, lineage, or breed.” It was applied by white colonialists during the 17th century C.E. to refer to the social hierarchy they observed in South Asia. Caste apartheid is the system of religious exclusion established in Hindu scripture. Caste is inherited at birth and cannot be changed during a person’s life.

There are four main caste groups. “Upper Castes” are Brahmins (priests, scriptural knowledge-keepers, and legislators), Kshatriyas (kings and warriors), and Vaishyas (merchants). Below them are Shudras (peasants). Outside this caste group structure are Dalits, considered lower than the lowest of castes. Shudras and Dalits are caste-oppressed; they experience profound injustices, including socioeconomic hardship and brutal violence at the hands of the upper castes. Dalits live in segregated ghettos, are banned from temples, and are denied access to schools and public amenities. The 2,500-year old caste system is enforced by violence and maintained by one of the world’s oldest, most persistent cultures.

Jāti and varna Essay (Control)

Jāti and varna are concepts from India that describe ways people might identify and interact socially^{34,35}. Jāti refers to groups with common characteristics, including clan, class, language, family background, region of origin, religion, and occupation^{36,37,38,39}. Varna describes a philosophy in Hindu

³³ Zwick-Maitreyi, M., Soundararajan, T., Dar, N., Bheel, R. F., & Balakrishnan, P. (2018). Caste in the United States. A Survey of Caste among South Asian Americans.

https://equalitylabs.wpengine.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Caste_in_the_United_States_Report2018.pdf

³⁴ Bayly, S. (1999). *Caste, society and politics in India from the eighteenth century to the modern age*. Cambridge University Press (pp. 12-16)

³⁵ Shah, P. (2023). Caste in a new light: Jati in British multiculturalism. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 13(1), 156–187.

<https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1333> (p. 161)

³⁶ Bayly, S. (1999). *Caste, society and politics in India from the eighteenth century to the modern age*. Cambridge University Press (pp. 1-8)

³⁷ Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 59-60)

³⁸ Samarendra, P. (2011). Census in colonial India and the birth of caste. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(33), 51–58 (p. 52)

³⁹ Samarendra, P. (2016). Concept of caste and practices of jati: Exploring roots of incomparability. In R. Kumar, et al. (Eds.), *Contemporary readings in Marxism – A critical introduction* (pp. 100-125). Aakar Books. (p. 348)

scripture of understanding human diversity and purpose^{40,41}. In varna, some people are driven to pursue and impart knowledge and wisdom to society (brahmana/brahmin); some to govern and protect society (kshatriya); some to create wealth to support society (vaishya); and some to create, make, or labor to nourish society (shudra)⁴².

Jāti and varna aren't fixed characteristics, and changes in both are possible^{43,44,45}. Jāti and varna are often confused with caste, which does not appear in Hindu scriptures^{46,47,48}. Whereas jāti and varna are fluid, caste involves unchangeable categories imposed by the British Colonial Government, placing people into a fixed hierarchy inherited at birth^{49,50,51,52,53,54}. In this idea of caste system, Brahmins are highest in status and Dalits, a category nonexistent in Hindu scriptures, are lowest and stigmatized^{55,56,57,58,59,60,61}. Over generations, South Asian social identities became entangled with British ideas of caste⁶². When Hindus immigrate, they often lose their attachment to caste, because it is not a core aspect of their religion^{63,64}.

Racism Study

⁴⁰ Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 65)

⁴¹ Quigley, D. (2002). Is a theory of caste still possible? *Social Evolution & History*, 1(1), 140–170. (p. 143)

⁴² Swami Gambhirananda (1984). *Bhagavad Gita with commentary by Shankaracharya*, Advaita Ashrama Press. (Chapter 4, Verse 13)

⁴³ Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 60)

⁴⁴ Samarendra, P. (2016). Concept of caste and practices of jati: Exploring roots of incomparability. In R. Kumar, et al. (Eds.), *Contemporary readings in Marxism – A critical introduction* (pp. 100-125). Aakar Books. (p. 359-361)

⁴⁵ Srinivas, M.N. (1965). *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*. Calcutta Press Private Limited. (p. 215)

⁴⁶ Quigley, D. (2002). Is a theory of caste still possible? *Social Evolution & History*, 1(1), 140–170., p. 143

⁴⁷ Samarendra, P. (2011). Census in colonial India and the birth of caste. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(33), 51–58., pp. 51-52

⁴⁸ Shah, P. (2023). Caste in a new light: Jati in British multiculturalism. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 13(1), 156–187.

<https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1333>, pp. 163-164

⁴⁹ Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 60 - 73)

⁵⁰ Quigley, D. (2002). Is a theory of caste still possible? *Social Evolution & History*, 1(1), 140–170. (pp. 141-142)

⁵¹ Samarendra, P. (2011). Census in colonial India and the birth of caste. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(33), 51–58. (p. 52)

⁵² Samarendra, P. (2016). Concept of caste and practices of jati: Exploring roots of incomparability. In R. Kumar, et al. (Eds.), *Contemporary readings in Marxism – A critical introduction* (pp. 100-125). Aakar Books. (p. 348)

⁵³ Shah, P. (2023). Caste in a new light: Jati in British multiculturalism. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 13(1), 156–187.

<https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1333> (pp. 179-180)

⁵⁴ Srinivas, M.N. (1965). *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*. Calcutta Press Private Limited.

⁵⁵ De Roover, J. (2017). Scheduled castes vs. caste Hindus: About a colonial distinction and its legal impact. *Socio-Legal Review*, 13(1), 23–50 (pp. 33-40)

⁵⁶ Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 66)

⁵⁷ Keppens, M. (2017). The Aryans and the ancient system of caste. In Färe, M., Jalki, D., Pathan, S., & Shah, P. (Eds.), *Western foundations of the caste system* (pp. 63–85). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-38761-1_7

⁵⁸ Keppens, M., & De Roover, J. (2020). The brahmin, the aryan, and the powers of the priestly class: Puzzles in the study of Indian Religion. *Religions*, 11(4), 6–7. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11040181>

⁵⁹ Quigley, D. (2002). Is a theory of caste still possible? *Social Evolution & History*, 1(1), 140–170. (pp. 142-143)

⁶⁰ Samarendra, P. (2011). Census in colonial India and the birth of caste. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(33), 51–58 (p. 57)

⁶¹ Shah, P. (2023). Caste in a new light: Jati in British multiculturalism. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 13(1), 156–187.

<https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1333> (pp. 160-175)

⁶² Dirks, N. B. (1992). Castes of mind. *Representations*, 37, 56–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928654> (p. 74)

⁶³ Shah, P. (2023). Caste in a new light: Jati in British multiculturalism. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 13(1), 156–187.

<https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1333> (pp. 170-178)

⁶⁴ According to the Carnegie Endowment's 2020 Social Realities of Indian Americans survey study, 53% of Hindu Americans do not identify with a caste. Of the 47% that do identify with caste, only 34% are US-born. From [Social Realities of Indian Americans: Results From the 2020 Indian American Attitudes Survey](https://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Social_Realities_of_Indian_Americans_Results_From_the_2020_Indian_American_Attitudes_Survey)

In the study on racism, half of our respondents were randomly chosen to read a DEI essay based on the writings of prominent DEI scholars, Ibram X. Kendi and Robin DiAngelo. The other half were randomly assigned a control essay on the production of corn in America based on this [CNBC article](#)⁶⁵. Below are the two essays with each line quoted directly (with only mild edits for clarity) from both authors. This experiment was done on a Rutgers sample, a general college sample, and a general US population sample.

Ibram X. Kendi/Robin DiAngelo Essay⁶⁶

White people raised in Western society are conditioned into a white supremacist worldview⁶⁷. Racism is the norm⁶⁸; it is not unusual. As a result, interaction with White people is at times so overwhelming, draining, and incomprehensible that it causes serious anguish for People of Color⁶⁹.

Furthermore, racism is essentially capitalist; capitalism is essentially racist⁷⁰. To love capitalism is to love racism⁷¹. The U.S. economy, a system of capitalist greed, was based on the enslavement of African people, the displacement and genocide of Indigenous people, and the annexation of Mexican lands⁷². We must deploy antiracist power to compel or drive from power the racist policymakers and institute policy that is antiracist and anti-capitalist⁷³.

Additionally, the ideologies of objectivity, individualism, and meritocracy are social forces that function powerfully to hold the racial hierarchy in place.⁷⁴ White people in North America live in a society that is deeply separate and unequal by race, and White people are the beneficiaries of that separation and inequality⁷⁵. As a result, they come to feel entitled to and deserving of their advantages. The only remedy to racist discrimination is antiracist discrimination.⁷⁶

Corn Essay (Control)

⁶⁵ Miller, A. (2022, December 8). *How the U.S. became a global corn superpower*. CNBC.

<https://www.cnbc.com/2022/12/06/how-the-us-became-a-global-corn-superpower.html>

⁶⁶ Note: quotes have been mildly altered for placement and brevity.

⁶⁷ DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism* (Chapter 10: White Fragility and the Rules of Engagement, p. 132). Beacon Press.

https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/1170336/mod_resource/content/1/Robin%20DiAngelo%20White%20Fragility.pdf

⁶⁸ DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism* (Chapter 10: White Fragility and the Rules of Engagement, p. 129). Beacon Press.

https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/1170336/mod_resource/content/1/Robin%20DiAngelo%20White%20Fragility.pdf

⁶⁹ Matias, C. E., & DiAngelo, R. (2015). Beyond the face of race: Emo-cognitive explorations of white neurosis and racial cray-cray. *Educational Foundations*, 28(1-4), 3-20. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1065640.pdf>

⁷⁰ Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to Be an Antiracist* (Chapter 12, p. 163). One World. <https://commonreads.com/book/?isbn=9780525509288>

⁷¹ Kendi, I. X. (2023). *How to Be an Antiracist* (Chapter 12, p. 163). One World. <https://commonreads.com/book/?isbn=9780525509288>

⁷² DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism* (Chapter 10: White Fragility and the Rules of Engagement, p. 34). Beacon Press.

⁷³ Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to Be an Antiracist* (Chapter 18, pp. 231-232). One World.

<https://commonreads.com/book/?isbn=9780525509288>

⁷⁴ DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism* (Chapter 1: The Challenges of Talking to White People about Racism, p. 28). Beacon Press.

https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/1170336/mod_resource/content/1/Robin%20DiAngelo%20White%20Fragility.pdf

⁷⁵ DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism* (Introduction: We Can't Get There From Here, p. 22). Beacon Press. https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/1170336/mod_resource/content/1/Robin%20DiAngelo%20White%20Fragility.pdf

⁷⁶ Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to Be an Antiracist* (Chapter 2, p. 19). One World. <https://commonreads.com/book/?isbn=9780525509288>

America has just about 90 million planted acres of corn, and there's a reason people refer to the crop as yellow gold. In 2021, U.S. corn was worth over \$86 billion, based on calculations from FarmDoc and the United States Department of Agriculture. According to the USDA, the U.S. is the largest consumer, producer and exporter of corn in the world.

Agricultural economists agree that scientific advancements in crop breeding, pest control, and modern farming practices have greatly contributed to the United States' position as the global corn powerhouse. Corn is in what we buy, including medications and textiles, and corn is turned into ethanol, which helps to fuel cars across the nation. The rest of the world relies on U.S. corn, as well. At \$2.2 billion in 2019, corn is the most heavily subsidized of all crops in the country.

The federal crop insurance program's net spending is forecast to increase to nearly \$40 billion annually from 2021 through 2025, according to the Congressional Budget Office. At the same time, farmland values have reached all-time record highs, reflecting the robust agricultural market.

Islamophobia Study

In the Islamophobia study respondents were randomly divided into 2 groups: One group saw a passage based on the [ISPU's Islamophobia DEI trainings](#) with each line quoted directly from the training (with only mild edits for clarity), and the other a control essay about corn production in the US.

Islamophobia DEI Training Essay

Islamophobia in the U.S. manifests in many ways – harassment and violence by anti-Muslim hate groups, institutionalized anti-Muslim legislation⁷⁷, and bias in the justice system⁷⁸. The U.S. has a long history of the legalized othering of Muslims, with legislation like the anti-terror Patriot Act targeting Muslims as dangerous outsiders whose actions should be surveilled and their movements curtailed⁷⁹.

Anti-Shariah, anti-immigration, and voter-ID legislation go hand in hand in manufacturing bigotry and creating fear. Such restrictive measures limit the freedoms of Muslims and minorities⁸⁰. Muslims are also subject to harsher criminal charges and sentenced up to four times longer than non-Muslims⁸¹.

U.S. officials openly exhibit Islamophobic views, with Islamophobic rhetoric being linked to violent crime⁸². Anti-Muslim hate groups have gained traction, driven by a well-funded Islamophobia network⁸³ fueling anti-Muslim activity like mosque vandalism and arson⁸⁴.

⁷⁷ Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. (2021, February 23). *Countering and Dismantling Islamophobia: A Comprehensive Guide for Communities and Individuals* (p. 3). <https://www.ispu.org/countering-islamophobia/>

⁷⁸ Ibid. (p. 7)

⁷⁹ Ibid (p. 4).

⁸⁰ Ibid (p. 4).

⁸¹ Ibid (p. 8).

⁸² Ibid (p. 12).

⁸³ Ibid (p. 15).

⁸⁴ Ibid (p. 20).

To counter these issues, we must challenge the narratives around “terrorism,” confront bias in the justice system⁸⁵, and exert public pressure⁸⁶ to speak up against⁸⁷ anti-Muslim rhetoric and actions. We must cultivate allyship through civic action to fight restrictive legislation⁸⁸, advocate for equal justice⁸⁹, and inspire communities to fight hate⁹⁰.

Corn Training Essay

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⁸⁵ Ibid (p. 7).

⁸⁶ Ibid (p. 15).

⁸⁷ Ibid (p. 23).

⁸⁸ Ibid (p. 4).

⁸⁹ Ibid (p. 7).

⁹⁰ Ibid (p. 15).