For full information on books and academic journal articles, cited here by last name(s) and date only, see the References section. These notes are available at TheCoddling.com, to make it easy for readers to access the many online resources listed.

Epigraph

1. In Byrom (1993), chapter 3, verses 40–43. The more literal rendering in Mascaro (1973), chapter 3, verses 42–43, has the same meaning but is not as elegant: “An enemy can hurt an enemy, and a man who hates can harm another man, but a man’s own mind, if wrongly directed, can do him a far greater harm. A father or a mother or a relative, can indeed do good to a man; but his own right-directed mind can do to him a far greater good.”

Introduction: The Search for Wisdom

2. Ponos was a minor Greek god of toil, pain, and hardship. Miso means “hatred” (as in “misogyny”), so the ancient Greek word misoponos means a hater of painful toil and hardship. We thank Professor Ian McCready-Flora, specialist in ancient Greek philosophy at the University of Virginia, for guiding us to this name. We cast Misoponos as the oracle of Koalemos. Koalemos is mentioned briefly in Aristophanes’ play The Birds as the god of stupidity.
3. For readers outside the United States, let us take a moment here to clarify a few terms and Americanisms. We’ll use the words “college” and “university” more or less interchangeably to refer to what in the United Kingdom and Canada is called “university.” We’ll often refer to “campus” to refer to the grounds, setting, and culture of universities. “High school” refers to grades nine through twelve, roughly ages fourteen to eighteen. We’ll generally avoid using the word “liberal” to refer to the left, as is commonly done in the USA; we’ll speak of left and right, progressive and conservative.
4. Find out more at http://www.theFIRE.org
9. The “canon wars” that erupted after the publication of Allan Bloom’s The Closing of the American Mind (1987) were mostly fought by faculty, but students often sided with the faculty


14. See a summary of research and news reports from several countries at https://heterodoxacademy.org/international

15. There were dozens of cases, among them Eric Garner, Mike Brown, Tamir Rice, and Freddie Gray. It is less well-known that there were also several black women who were victims of police violence, including Michelle Cusseaux, Tanisha Anderson, Aura Rosser, and Meagan Hockaday. For more information on police shootings, see: Kelly, K., et al. (2016, December 30). Fatal shootings by police remain relatively unchanged after two years. *The Washington Post.* Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/fatal-shootings-by-police-remain-relatively-unchanged-after-two-years/2016/12/30/fc807596-c3ca-11e6-9578-0054287507db_story.html?utm_term=.48589748a729


Chapter 1: The Untruth of Fragility  
What Doesn’t Kill You Makes You Weaker

7. LEAP Study Results. (2015); see n. 6.
14. Gopnik (2016); see n. 10.
20. “Most trauma survivors are highly resilient and develop appropriate coping strategies, including the use of social supports, to deal with the aftermath and effects of trauma. Most recover with time, show minimal distress, and function effectively across major life areas and developmental stages.” Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (U.S.). (2014). Trauma-informed care in behavioral health services, chapter 3, Understanding the impact of trauma. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (U.S.). Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK207191

22. This is particularly troubling, because if the effect is included in the definition of “trauma,” when a person experiences what has come to be called “post-traumatic growth,” whatever happened will no longer be defined as trauma, no matter how far outside the range of normal experience. This will eliminate the ability for people to experience post-traumatic growth, because if they are not suffering, the original events will not be defined as “traumatic.” See: Collier (2016).


26. Shulevitz (2015); see n. 23.


28. This is a perfect example of what former Yale professor William Deresiewicz criticizes as the tendency for elite liberal arts colleges to avoid complex and challenging conversations about issues in favor of dogmatic conversations that create orthodox consensus. See: Deresiewicz, W. (2017, March 6). On political correctness. The American Scholar. Retrieved from https://theamericanscholar.org/on-political-correctness

29. Shulevitz (2015); see n. 23.


33. R. Leahy (personal communication, December 29, 2017). See also: McNally (2016); see n. 32.

34. So said Aristotle in The Nicomachean Ethics. The only exception to this principle we can think of is wisdom.

35. Twenge (2017), p. 3.


37. For discussion and evidence about the changing dynamic around speech and censorship on college campuses, see Stevens, S., & Haidt, J. (2018, April 11). The skeptics are wrong part 2: Speech culture on campus is changing. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/the-skeptics-are-wrong-part-2
Chapter 2: The Untruth of Emotional Reasoning
Always Trust Your Feelings

5. Boethius (ca. 524 CE/2011). Note that the psychoanalyst Victor Frankl, reflecting on his years in a concentration camp, reached the same conclusion: “Everything can be taken from a man but one thing: the last of the human freedoms—to choose one’s attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one’s own way.” See: Frankl (1959/2006), Part I, p. 66.
6. In his best-selling book *Thinking Fast and Slow* (Kahneman 2011), Nobel laureate psychologist Daniel Kahneman refers to automatic processes as System 1, which is fast, and controlled processes as System 2, which is slow.
7. Thousands of studies and hundreds of meta-analyses have now examined the effectiveness of CBT for treating depression and anxiety disorders. For a recent and accessible review of the literature, see: Hollon & DeRubeis (in press). We can summarize a common view with this sentence from the website of the United Kingdom’s Royal College of Psychiatrists: CBT “is one of the most effective treatments for conditions where anxiety or depression is the main problem . . . [it is] the most effective psychological treatment for moderate and severe depression, [and] is as effective as antidepressants for many types of depression.”
8. “Cognitive therapy can be as efficacious as antidepressant medications . . . unlike medication, its benefits persist after treatment ceases . . . cognitive therapy is at least as efficacious and quite possibly longer lasting than alternative approaches [to Generalized Anxiety Disorder].” Hollon & DeRubeis (in press).
10. We make no claim that CBT is more effective for all psychological disorders, but because it is so easy to do and it is the most researched form of psychotherapy, it is often thought of as the gold standard to which other forms of treatment, including drugs, should be compared. See: Butler, Chapman, Forman, & Beck (2006).
13. Sue et al. (2007). The definition quoted is on p. 271. The term was first coined and discussed by Pierce (1970).
14. Unconscious or implicit associations are very real, although the relationships of such associations to discriminatory behavior are complex and are currently being debated by social

15. Even when a person interacts with a bigot, CBT can help that person reduce the amount and likelihood of suffering.


19. For a review and critique of research on microaggressions, see Lilienfeld (2017).

20. For example, Heider (1958). One exception to this principle is very young children, who will often judge a well-intentioned act to be wrong if it accidentally causes harm. See: Piaget (1932/1965).


22. Karith created and teaches the C.A.R.E. model (Conscious Empathy, Active Listening, Responsible Reaction, and Environmental Awareness) in her workshops and presentations.


26. For reviews, see Cobb-Clark (2015).


28. See, for example, the shout-downs of Charles Murray at Middlebury College and Heather Mac Donald at Claremont McKenna College, which we’ll describe in chapter 4. FIRE maintains a database of disinvitation attempts: Disinvitation Database. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/resources/disinvitation-database


30. About a third of the cases in which the push came from the right originated off campus, and half these cases involved religious organizations objecting to someone speaking about issues related to abortion and contraception. Of disinvitation efforts from the left, fewer than 5% were initiated from off-campus sources. To examine the data yourself, visit https://www.thefire.org/resources/disinvitation-database


33. For more analysis of these trends, including a response to critics who claim that surveys show no recent changes in attitudes toward speech on campus, see Stevens, S., & Haidt, J. (2018,
April 11). The skeptics are wrong part 2: Speech culture on campus is changing. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/the-skeptics-are-wrong-part-2
35. Socrates’ fellow citizens ultimately accused him of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens. He was convicted by a jury and forced to drink poison. We’d like to think we are better able to tolerate “impiety” today.
39. Wood (2015); see n. 38.

Chapter 3: The Untruth of Us Versus Them

Life Is a Battle Between Good People and Evil People

2. To protect her privacy, we have changed the student’s name.
4. Other than changing the name of the student and swapping in “[dean of students]” for the original “DOS,” this was the exact text of the email.
5. You can see her explanation at minute 48 of this video: The CMC Forum (Producer). (2015, November 11). CMCers of color lead protest of lack of support from administration [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/OIB7Vvy-lZZ8?t=48m1s
9. Tidmarsh, K. (2015, November 11); see n. 7.
10. See that moment at time 41:33 of the video linked in n. 5.
11. We were not able to find any public statement of support, and when we emailed Spellman to ask if she knew of such a statement, she told us that she did not. Spellman, M. (personal communication, February 8, 2018).
14. FIRE. (2015, October 27). Email from the Intercultural Affairs Committee [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/email-from-intercultural-affairs. Note that the Intercultural Affairs Committee is part of the dean’s office.
17. By an extraordinary coincidence, Greg happened to be on the Yale campus that day and was present at the confrontation. To watch the videos that Greg took of the event, see: Shibley, R. (2015, September 13). New video of last year’s Yale halloween costume confrontation emerges [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/new-video-of-last-years-yale-halloween-costume-confrontation-emerges
20. On the question of whether the master creates an intellectual space or a home: the master plays a mixed role, partly residential and quasi-parental, partly intellectual. Jon graduated from Yale in 1985 and went to many academic events and talks in the home of the master of Davenport College.


27. See overall review in Berreby (2005); see Hogg (2016) for a review of social identity theory; see Cikara & Van Bavel (2014) for a review of neuroscience work in this area.


30. Chapter 10 of *The Righteous Mind* (Haidt, 2012) describes the “hive switch,” a psychological reflex in which self-interest is turned off and group interest becomes paramount; people lose themselves in the group. People can become tribal without the hive switch getting activated. The hive response is what happens when tribalism is activated intensely, particularly through highly engaging multisensory rituals.

31. This is the third of three basic principles in Jon’s book *The Righteous Mind*.


33. To learn more about how the campus trends described in this book are now influencing high schools, and to find resources for high school students who want to find a more open and intellectually diverse culture in college, please visit heterodoxacademy.org/highschool


40. King (1963); see n. 38. You can listen to an audio recording of the speech here: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm
41. Most whites at the time did not see it this way. In a Harris poll a few months before he was assassinated, nearly 75% of Americans expressed disapproval of him, although he had been substantially more popular at the time of his 1963 I Have a Dream speech, and he is wildly popular now, with approval levels above 90%. It took time, but the ideas in his 1963 speech changed the country. See Cobb, J. C. (2018, April 4). When Martin Luther King Jr. was killed, he was less popular than Donald Trump is today. USA Today. Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/04/04/martin-luther-king-jr-50-years-assassination-donald-trump-disapproval-column/482242002
45. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of The Righteous Mind (Haidt, 2012) provide a literature review in support of this claim.
46. We have quoted the version given in Haji (2011), p. 185.
47. The essay was removed, but screen shots of it can be found here: Coyne, J. (n.d.). Texas college newspaper publishes op-ed calling white DNA an “abomination” [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://whyevolutionistrue.wordpress.com/2017/11/30/texas-college-newspaper-publishes-op-ed-calling-white-dna-an-abomination. (The first line is actually a variant of a line from the Bhagavad Gita: “Now I am become white, destroyer of worlds.”)
52. As Marcuse explained in a postscript to the essay, added in 1968: “The Left has no equal voice, no equal access to the mass media and their public facilities—not because a conspiracy excludes it, but because, in good old capitalist fashion, it does not have the required purchasing power.” Wolff, Moore, & Marcuse (1965/1969), p. 119.
53. Marcuse referred to “official tolerance granted to the Right as well as to the Left, to movements of aggression as well as to movements of peace, to the party of hate as well as to that of humanity.” Wolff, Moore, & Marcuse (1965/1969), p. 85.
65. A video of the encounter is embedded in the documentary Silence U, which is available here (the scene begins at time 7:53): We the Internet (Producer). (2016, July 14). Silence U: Is the university killing free speech and open debate? We the Internet Documentary [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/x5uaVfX3AQ?t=7m55s
66. TED (2016); see n. 61.
67. For example, Creighton University posts on its website an exercise that is “designed to bring a group to certain conclusions regarding the concept of privilege and disadvantage.” Based on various questions, people either step forward or step backward. It begins: “Few White people in the history of the U.S. have ever been convicted and executed for killing a person of color. All White persons take a step forward.” Next: “The high school dropout rate for Latinos, Native Americans and African Americans is over 55%. Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans take one step back.” At the end of the exercise, whoever is at the front of the room has the most “privilege,” and whoever is at the back has the least. The instructor then says, “Notice what groups of people are in the front and what groups of people are in the back.” See: Privilege exercise (race focus). (n.d.). Retrieved from https://people.creighton.edu/~idc24708/Genes/Diversity/Privilege%20Exercise.htm
68. We do not know if ideas related to intersectionality were included in CMC’s orientation process; the ideas may have come from their courses or from other students. But intersectional language is common in the video of the confrontation with Spellman: The CMC Forum (Producer) (2015, November 11). CMCers of color lead protest of lack of support from administration [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OlB7VvY-1Z8
71. For extensive analyses of survey data showing that the campus dynamic related to speech has changed in the last few years, see Stevens, S., & Haidt, J. (2018, April 11), The skeptics are wrong part 2: Speech culture on campus is changing. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/the-skeptics-are-wrong-part-2
72. Friedersdorf (2017); see n. 69.
75. For an extended argument that political activity generally interferes with a scholar’s ability to find the truth, see: Van der Vossen (2014).
78. Silverglate (2009).
82. For an edited version of the interaction in an extraordinary video, see: Now This Politics (Producer). (2017, September 8). This unexpected moment happened when Black Lives Matter activists were invited on stage at a pro-Trump rally [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/NowThisNews/videos/1709220972442719

Chapter 4: Intimidation and Violence

4. Scott Crow, former Antifa organizer, explains: “The idea in Antifa is that we go where they [right-wingers] go. That hate speech is not free speech. That if you are endangering people with what you say and the actions that are behind them, then you do not have the right to do that. And so we go to cause conflict, to shut them down where they are.” See Suerth, J. (2017, August 17). What is Antifa? CNN. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/14/us/what-is-antifa-trnd/index.html


9. Park & Lah (2017); see n. 7.


11. Riot forces cancellation (2017); see n. 8.


14. Park & Lah (2017); see n. 7.


19. Freedman (2017); see n. 17.


24. UC Berkeley Campus Police tweeted: @UCBerkeley Milo event cancelled. Shelter in place if on campus. All campus buildings on lockdown. #miloatcal. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/ucpd_cal/status/826978649341440000?lang=en

25. Riot forces cancellation (2017); see n. 8.


29. When we contacted the UC Berkeley Office of Public Affairs, it refused to disclose whether any students had been disciplined by the university in connection with the protests, citing federal privacy laws. It later clarified that, in the month of February, two students were arrested: one for vandalism and one for failure to disperse. As far as we can tell, no students were punished by the university in any way, so there was no punishment that would act as a deterrent for future violent protests.


31. In 2016, at California State University, Los Angeles, the university president canceled a speech about diversity by conservative Ben Shapiro, requiring that, instead, he “appear as part of a group of speakers with differing viewpoints on diversity” (something that had not been required of any other recent speakers). Eventually, the president relented, but at the event, students locked arms to prevent people from getting in. Some who tried to enter were pushed to the ground. After UC Berkeley failed to prevent violence on campus in February 2017, and Ben Shapiro was scheduled to speak there later in the year, threats of violence in response to his presence required approximately $600,000 of security. At least nine people were arrested, three of them reportedly for “banned weapons” (including an oversized cardboard sign), but otherwise Shapiro spoke without incident. (In 2016, Shapiro had spoken at Berkeley without significant protest.) See: Logue, J. (2016, February 24). Another Speaker Blocked. Inside Higher Ed. Retrieved from https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/02/24/cal-state-los-angeles-


38. Lawrence (2017); see n. 28.


42. “The idea is that if you go against a certain orthodoxy, then it isn’t only that you disagree, but that you also wish white people were still in charge, that you want people of color to sit down and shut up.” See: McWhorter, J. (2016, November 29). The difference between racial bias and white supremacy. Time. Retrieved from http://time.com/4584161/white-supremacy


44. In fact, we can make a prediction right now, while writing this book in 2017: Most of the negative reviews and responses to this book will at some point note our race and gender and then directly assert or vaguely hint that we are racists or sexists who are motivated primarily by the desire to preserve our privilege. We will then respond in the spirit of Mark Lilla, the author of a critique of identity politics titled The Once and Future Liberal. Lilla, an avowed liberal who wrote his book to help the Democrats start winning elections, responds to repeated name-calling by saying, essentially, “That is a slur, not an argument. Make an argument and I’ll respond to it.” See, for example, Goldstein, E. R. (2016, December 15). Campus identity politics is dooming liberal causes, a professor charges. Chronicle of Higher Education. Retrieved from https://www.chronicle.com/article/Campus-Identity-Politics-Is/238694

45. See, for example, the extraordinary success of J. D. Vance’s 2016 book Hillbilly Elegy and Arlie Russell Hochschild’s 2016 book Strangers in Their Own Land, which covered some similar ground.


50. Independent (2017); see n. 48.

52. A. Stanger (personal communication, January 5, 2018). Note that the mob at Middlebury appears to have been composed primarily of Middlebury students. In total, seventy-four students were disciplined: forty-eight were sanctioned for events during the lecture, and twenty-six received some form of punishment for their participation in the events after the main lecture disruption. See: *Middlebury College completes sanctioning process for March 2 disruptions*. (2017, May 23). Retrieved from [http://www.middlebury.edu/newsroom/archive/2017-news/node/547896](http://www.middlebury.edu/newsroom/archive/2017-news/node/547896)

53. Stanger (2017); see n. 47.


58. When Jon visited Claremont McKenna College and gave a lecture in that same hall a year later, he learned from faculty members that most of the protesters were not students at Claremont McKenna. The protesters were mostly students at Pomona, Pitzer, and Scripps colleges, which are part of a consortium of five colleges whose students are free to take classes and attend events at all five schools.

59. We, Few of the Black Students Here at Pomona College and the Claremont Colleges. (n.d.). Response to Pomona College president David Oxtoby’s “Academic freedom and free speech” email of April 7, 2017. Archive of Pomona Student Petition [Online document]. Retrieved from [https://docs.google.com/document/d/1_y6NmxoIBLcZJxYkN9V1YFaPYzVSMKCA17PgBzz10wk/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1_y6NmxoIBLcZJxYkN9V1YFaPYzVSMKCA17PgBzz10wk/edit)


70. Some religious groups did just this, beginning on the day of the Charlottesville march, when a large coalition of religious leaders locked arms, faced down the heavily armed racists, and sang about love. See: Jenkins, J. (2017, August 16). Meet the clergy who stared down white supremacists in Charlottesville. Retrieved from https://thinkprogress.org/clergy-in-charlottesville-e95752415c3e


Chapter 5: Witch Hunts

13. For example, see TheDemands.org, a site that arose within a few weeks of the 2015 Yale protests, at which students from eighty universities posted their demands.
18. See Woodard (2011). The culture of safetyism and the most vigorous protests and shout-downs seem to occur mostly in just two of the eleven “nations” that Woodard identifies: Yankeedom (from New England to the upper Midwest) and The Left Coast (the coastal strip of the three West Coast states).


21. See https://www.rhodes.edu/bio/tuvelr


23. Note: A new paragraph with the sentence “The statement is not an exhaustive summary of the many harms caused by this article” was added to the open letter at approximately the 520th signature, on 5/1/2017. See: Open letter to Hypatia. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1efp9C0MHch_6Kfgtlm0PZ76nirWtcEsqWHcygidl2mU/viewform?ts=59066d20&edit_requested=true


27. Sally Scholz, the editor to whom the open letter was addressed, issued this powerful statement in defense of the publication of Tuvel’s article: “I firmly believe, and this belief will not waver, that it is utterly inappropriate for editors to repudiate an article they have accepted for publication (barring issues of plagiarism or falsification of data). In this respect, editors must stand behind the authors of accepted papers. That is where I stand. Professor Tuvel’s paper went through the peer review process and was accepted by the reviewers and by me.” See: Weinberg, J. (2017, May 6). Hypatia’s editor and its board president defend publication of Tuvel article. Daily Nous. Retrieved from http://dailynous.com/2017/05/06/hypatias-editor-board-president-defend-publication-tuvel-article

28. Oliver (2017); see n. 24.

29. Outside of feminist philosophy, in the broader philosophical community, many professors did stand up for Tuvel and against the efforts to have her work retracted. The relevant community, from a Durkheimian perspective, was a subset of feminist philosophers.

30. Another open letter of condemnation and demand for retraction was aimed at Bruce Gilley, a political scientist at Portland State University in Oregon, for writing an essay arguing that colonialism conferred some benefits on colonized countries. The article was retracted after the journal editor received death threats. See Patel, V. (2018, March 21). Last fall, this scholar


33. The letter said that all those who are against hateful ideas about racial superiority “must denounce faculty members that are complicit in and uphold white supremacy” by treating ideas like Wax’s as “the very basis for white supremacy.” See: Guest column by 54 Penn students & alumni—Statement on Amy Wax and Charlottesville. (2017, August 21). *The Daily Pennsylvanian.* Retrieved from http://www.thedp.com/article/2017/08/guest-column-amy-wax-charlottesville


42. McClintock, Spaulding, & Turner (1965).

43. For more about the HERI survey, visit https://heri.ucla.edu

44. See analysis of all relevant studies prior to 2014 in Duarte et al. (2015). For the most recent data point, seventeen to one, see Langbert, Quain, & Klein (2016).

45. Langbert et al. (2016).

47. Duarte et al. (2015).
48. Of course, a progressive professor could still present conservative ideas. But as John Stuart Mill wrote, “Nor is it enough that he should hear the opinions of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. He must be able to hear them from persons who actually believe them . . . he must know them in their most plausible and persuasive form.” See: Mill (1859/2003), chapter 2, p. 72.
51. Interestingly, this shift since 2012 is due entirely to a change among women. Male college students have not shifted to the left. Rather, the gender gap, in which women are more left-leaning than men, has widened from roughly 6 points in 2011 to roughly 12 points in 2016. Rempel, C. (2017, May 2). Political polarization among college freshmen is at a record high, as is the share identifying as “far left.” The Washington Post. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/rampage/wp/2017/05/02/political-polarization-among-college-freshmen-is-at-a-record-high-as-is-the-share-identifying-as-far-left
52. A wave of essays published in March 2018 claimed that nothing on campus had changed with regard to free speech. See, for example: Yglesias, M. (2018, March 12). Everything we think about the political correctness debate is wrong. Vox. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/3/12/17100496/political-correctness-data. But on closer inspection of the data, Jon and his colleagues at Heterodox Academy showed that there had been many changes in average attitudes toward controversial speech and toward a greater willingness to use illiberal methods to prevent such speech. See: Stevens, S., & Haidt, J. (2018, March 19). The skeptics are wrong: Attitudes about free speech on campus are changing. Heterodox Academy. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/skeptics-are-wrong-about-campus-speech
58. Weiss (2017); see n. 55.


https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/bonfire-of-the-academies-two-professors-on-how-leftist-intolerance-is-killing-higher-education

77. Sexton, J. (Publisher). (2017, July 13). Evergreen student: “I’ve been told several times that I’m not allowed to speak because I’m white” [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OQ8WQnsm14Y
79. When asked, they said they were looking for “an individual” but refused to say whom. Campus police concluded they were looking for Bret Weinstein. Anonymous (personal communication, August 23, 2017).
80. Heying & Weinstein (2017, December 12); see n. 73.
81. Kozak-Gilroy (2017); see n. 67.
82. Kozak-Gilroy (2017); see n. 67.
84. CampusReform (Producer). (2017, June 1). Student protesters at Evergreen hold administrators hostage over demands [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/Msfsp5Ofz4g
85. In a later VICE News documentary, interviewer Michael Moynihan tells Bridges, “A student told me that you’re a white supremacist.” Bridges replies, “I don’t believe I am.” The astonished Moynihan asks, “You don’t believe you are but you accept that you might be?” Bridges replies, “No . . . well, it depends on what you mean by a white supremacist. What does that mean? I’m a white person in a position of privilege.” VICE (2017); see n. 75.
86. The Liberty Hound (Producer). (2017, May 26). “All white people leave campus OR ELSE!!” Tucker covers INSANE Evergreen State College story [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/n3SdJhJ2lps?t=4m10s. The police chief told Weinstein that “he needed to get off campus immediately, and off his bike, too, indefinitely. He was too easy a target on his bike, and the police couldn’t protect him, as they had been ordered to stand down.” Heying & Weinstein (2017, December 12).

90. Not including faculty emeritus.


92. “Many members of the faculty were privately supportive, but too scared to speak up, and even too scared to vote their conscience in faculty meetings.” Weinstein, B. (personal communication, February 19, 2018).


96. An Evergreen student emailed a professor, “Because I had shown some criticism to the protest that was occurring on campus in earlier weeks I have become targeted and harassed by a wide number of students on campus. Recently there have been a number of students who patrol lower campus with weapons like baseball bats and tasers who claim to be making the campus safer but in reality are making campus more hostile.” Kabbany, J. (2017, June 5). Evergreen official asks student vigilantes to stop patrolling campus with bats, batons. The College Fix. Retrieved from https://www.thecollegefix.com/post/33027


101. Jaschik (2017); see n. 59.

Chapter 6: The Polarization Cycle

2. For evidence of this shift, with a growing preference for inclusion when it is presented as conflicting with freedom of speech, see: Stevens, S., & Haidt, J (2018, March 19). The skeptics are wrong: Attitudes about free speech are changing on campus. *Heterodox Academy*. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/skeptics-are-wrong-about-campus-speech
5. With the exception that Republicans’ ratings of their own party dipped in 2016.
7. There were plenty of cultural conflicts, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, but measures of political polarization in Congress were low; cross-partisan cooperation was high. Hare & Poole (2014).
10. For example, in a September 2017 survey of adults aged eighteen to thirty-four, only 11% of African Americans, 18% of Asian Americans, and 20% of Latino Americans had very or somewhat favorable views of the Republican Party. By contrast, those groups had a favorable


25. In his statement, the newly appointed college president claimed that the college had been “immediately inundated with feedback from students, faculty and prospective students and their
families expressing frustration, concern and even fear” about “the views expressed by a College employee,” and said the college had a “responsibility to investigate those concerns.” The president declared that the college “supports and affirms the right of free speech and independent views and expressions of those views for our faculty and staff” and that his “administration has a duty to set a strong example of tolerance.” Statement from Essex County College president Anthony E. Munroe. (2017, June 23). Retrieved from http://www.essex.edu/pr/2017/06/23/statement-from-essex-county-college-president-anthony-e-munroe-3

26. What about the feedback that the college was “inundated” with? Public records indicate that for the first thirteen days after Durden’s television appearance, only one person contacted the college to complain about Durden—and even before that person contacted the college, administrators had already started the process that led to her suspension. Two weeks after her appearance, the website NJ.com announced that Durden had been suspended. Shortly thereafter, administrators received twenty-nine emails, two Facebook messages, an unknown number of phone calls, and a single voicemail supporting the college for suspending “a teacher who wants to spew hate speech covered up by free speech.” You can listen to the entire voicemail here: TheFIREorg [Producer]. (2017, January 21). Essex County College voicemail about Lisa Durden [Audio file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/pTYM30Q4NsE. See: Steinbaugh, A. (2018, January 23). After FIRE lawsuit, Essex County College finally turns over documents about firing of Black Lives Matter advocate. FIRE. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/after-fire-lawsuit-essex-county-college-finally-turns-over-documents-about-firing-of-black-lives-matter-advocate. See also: Carter, B. (2017, June 20). Going on Fox News cost me my job, professor claims. NJ.com. Retrieved from http://www.nj.com/essex/index.ssf/2017/06/essex_county_college_professor_suspended_after_fox.html


36. For example, American white supremacist group Identity Evropa tweeted a poster of a marble statue with the caption “PROTECT YOUR HERITAGE.” @IdentityEvropa. (2016, November 3). Seattle has never looked better. #FashTheCity [Tweet]. Retrieved from http://web.archive.org/web/20171115062648/https://twitter.com/IdentityEvropa/status/79436875034658160. Cited in Bond (2017); see n. 34.


Chapter 7: Anxiety and Depression

3. By 2015, 22% of college students were seeking mental health services (10% on some campuses, up to 50% on others). And “54 percent of all college students report[ed] feeling overwhelming anxiety, up from 46.4 percent in 2010.” See Estroff Marano, H. (2015, September 1). Crisis U. Psychology Today. Retrieved from https://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/201509/crisis-u
6. Data on trends in the UK and Canada collected in 2018 and 2019 will be crucial for determining whether or not they have the same problem as the USA.
8. Twenge (2017), chapter 2.
12. In 1994, Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus (1994) found “no gender differences in depression rates in prepubescent children, but, after the age of 15, girls and women [were] about twice as likely to
be depressed as boys and men.” In a 2017 paper, Salk, Hyde, & Abramson (2017) found that
gender differences emerged at twelve years old, which was earlier than had been previously
thought.
13. The criteria are that a person reports having at least five out of nine symptoms nearly every
day for a two-week period, as described in Hunter & Tice (2016). Retrieved from
https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/NSDUH-MethodSummDefsHTML-
15. You can download the date and report at https://www.CDC.gov/injury/wisqars/fatal.html
registrations (point 6: Suicides in the UK by age). Retrieved from
https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/bulleti
ns/suicidesintheunitedkingdom/2016registrations#suicides-in-the-uk-by-age
correlations
21. If children have papers to write, or other homework that requires the use of a computer, that
time does not appear to be correlated with depression.
22. Twenge (2017), pp. 82 and 84. For more in-depth analysis, see: Twenge et al. (2018).
23. Twenge discusses the issue of reverse correlation (that is, that depression causes teens to
spend more time on screens) and links to studies suggesting that it is not the cause of the
association. One of the studies she discusses was a true experiment using random assignment.
People who were randomly assigned to give up Facebook for a week reported feeling less
depressed at the end of the study. See: Twenge, J. (2017, November 14). With teen mental health
deteriorating over five years, there’s a likely culprit. Retrieved from
https://theconversation.com/with-teen-mental-health-deteriorating-over-five-years-theres-a-
likely-culprit-86996
https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/how-women-talk-heather-wood-rudulph-interviews-deborah-
tannen. Twenge echoes Tannen’s concern when she says, “Girls use social media more often,
giving them additional opportunities to feel excluded and lonely when they see their friends or
classmates getting together without them,” in Twenge (2017, September). Have smartphones
destroyed a generation? The Atlantic. Retrieved from
https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/has-the-smartphone-destroyed-a-
generation/534198
30. Twenge (2017), Appendix F, figure F1. Online appendix can be retrieved from

36. Higher Education Institute (HERI). The question was only added in 2010, and is asked only every other year. The exact question wording is: “Do you have any of the following disabilities or medical conditions? (Mark Yes or No for each item.)” The survey then lists seven different types of disabilities and conditions, including “Psychological disorder (depression, etc.)” with the option to select “Yes” or “No” for each. Survey instruments and data can be accessed at https://heri.ucla.edu/heri-data-archive
38. One study at a diverse, urban university found that 38% of the students in the study reported a history of deliberately self-harming at least once, 18% reported having intentionally self-harmed at least ten times, and 10% reported having deliberately self-harmed more than 100 times. Gratz, Conrad, & Roeter (2002). See also appendix F in the online appendices for Twenge (2017); Twenge offers additional graphs showing mental health outcomes from the American College Health Association Survey and the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System. The appendices can be retrieved from http://www.jeantwenge.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/igen-appendix.pdf

Chapter 8: Paranoid Parenting


10. For more on kidnapping trends, see: U.S. Department of Justice. (2016, June 14). Number of child abductions by strangers unchanged over past decade and a half; Fewer end in homicide. Retrieved from http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/Presspacket/Stereotypical%20Kidnapping%20.pdf. Three interesting points: (1) Ninety-two percent of kidnapped children were returned safely to their families in 2011, compared with just 57% in 1997. (Technology, such as cell phone tracking, has been a big help to law enforcement.) (2) Four out of five children abducted by a stranger in 2011 did not live in a home with two parents (biological or adoptive). (3) One third of the children abducted were never reported missing. No adult was taking responsibility for them; they were kids who fell through the cracks. See: Flores, J. R. (2002, October). Nonfamily abducted children: National estimates and characteristics. Retrieved from http://www.pollyklaas.org/media/pdf/NISMAIItNonfamily.pdf
13. At least, of missing white children. From 1979 to 1981, there was a horrific cluster of more than twenty-five fatal kidnappings of black children in Atlanta that became known as the Atlanta Child Murders. This killing spree garnered less national attention than the murders of Patz and Walsh, which occurred during those years.
26. Skenazy (2008); see n. 2.
40. The website for the research project is hosted by the Centers for Disease Control, at http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acestudy

Chapter 9: The Decline of Play

1. LaFreniere (2011).
2. LaFreniere (2011), p. 479, asserts that “[i]n games involving chasing, children seem to prefer the fleeing position (e.g., in the game of tag and in all games modeled after tag, the preferred position is to be chased), which suggests that such play has more to do with our legacy as prey than our legacy as hunters.”
4. Einon, Morgan, & Kibbler (1978). See also: Hol, Berg, Ree, & Spruijt (1999) for another experimental study with rat pups, and see Mustoe, Taylor, Birnie, Huffman, & French (2014) for a correlational study with marmosets. See a review of this literature in Gray (in press).

7. This, at least, is the argument made by many researchers who study play, including Gray (in press), LaFreniere (2011), and Sandseter & Kennair (2011). We note that there is no direct experimental proof of this strong version of the claim—that play deprivation in childhood will alter adult personality. Controlled experiments such as the ones we described with rat pups can never be done with humans. In the rest of this chapter, we show why we think the claim is plausible and likely to be true.


15. As shown by mediation analyses in Twenge et al. (2018), which found that all forms of screen time are associated with negative mental health outcomes. Peter Gray, however, takes a more positive view of social interaction mediated by screens. He believes that it is real social interaction, and that multiplayer video games are a form of play. He also notes that online social interaction has the advantage of occurring, typically, without any adult supervision. He agrees, however, that online interaction lacks the benefits of vigorous physical play and that some forms of online interaction may turn out to be harmful to mental health. P. Gray (personal communication, February 8, 2018).


18. “In the last 20 years, homework has increased only in the lower grade levels, and this increase is associated with neutral (and sometimes negative) effects on student achievement.” National Education Association. (n.d.). Research spotlight on homework. Retrieved from http://www.nea.org/tools/16938.htm


22. Whitley (2011); see n. 21.


31. “Ironically, when today’s kindergarten and first-grade teachers are asked to name the school-readiness skills most important for preschoolers to master, they invariably still rank social and emotional skills, such as being able to take turns or listen to a friend, above pre-academic skills, such as number and letter identification. But parents often see things very differently.” Christakis (2016), p. 7.


33. Mose (2016).


38. J. Lythcott-Haims (personal communication, May 26, 2017). As Lenore Skenazy put it, these parents “are stalked by the twin fears that their children will be kidnapped . . . or not get into Harvard.” L. Skenazy (personal communication, January 23, 2018).


54. We note that this advice is less needed for students from less privileged backgrounds, who are more likely to experience unfairness and “bad luck” as a normal part of life.

Chapter 10: The Bureaucracy of Safetyism


27. For simplicity, we’ll use the term “administrators” to include those who run the university, and all the deans and offices that have anything to do with student life. This includes much (but not all of) the professional staff on campus other than the faculty—generally the people students mean when they talk about “the administration” of a university.


30. College declares Haymarket Riot reference a violent threat to college president. (2015, June 8). FIRE. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/college-declares-haymarket-riot-reference-a-violent-threat-to-college-president. FIRE sent two letters to Oakton, but nothing further occurred in this case; the school didn’t retract its cease-and-desist letter, but no formal action was taken against the professor.


32. FIRE rates colleges’ speech codes as “red light,” “yellow light,” or “green light.” (FIRE’s speech code ratings are explained in full at https://www.thefire.org/spotlight/using-the-spotlight-database.) The University of West Alabama’s “red light” policies are still in effect, including the ban on harsh text messages or insults. Jacksonville State’s speech codes have changed over the years; most recently in 2017. It now has an overall yellow light rating. You can see which colleges are rated as red, yellow, or green at https://www.thefire.org/spotlight. See also: (n.d.). Spotlight: Jacksonville State University. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/schools/jacksonville-state-university. See also: (n.d.). Spotlight: University of West Alabama. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/schools/university-of-west-alabama


37. The webpage listed on the signs explains: “The New York University Bias Response Line provides a mechanism through which members of our community can share or report experiences and concerns of bias, discrimination, or harassing behavior that may occur within
39. See a review of such biases in Haidt (2006), chapter 2.
44. Note that this is very similar to the case of Lindsay Shepherd at Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada. Shepherd showed a clip from a televised debate without condemning, in advance, one of the sides of the debate. It can be risky to stage a debate in class if any student feels strongly that one side is correct. See: Grinberg, R. (2017, November 23). Lindsay Shepherd and the potential for heterodoxy at Wilfrid Laurier University. Heterodox Academy. Retrieved from https://heterodoxacademy.org/lindsay-shepherd-and-the-potential-for-heterodoxy-at-wilfrid-laurier-university
45. As FIRE’s Adam Steinbaugh notes, “academic freedom chilled politely is still academic freedom chilled.” See: Steinbaugh, A. (2016, July 7); see note 2.
46. Or sometimes not well intended. Given the political dynamics of many campuses, which we described in chapters 4 and 5, bias response tools can easily be used in malicious ways. In the early days of these systems, in 2009, one of the students who worked on the Bias Response Team at California Polytechnic State University admitted in an interview that one target of the system would be the “teacher who isn’t politically correct or is hurtful in their actions or words.” In a case at John Carroll University, several students used the school’s bias response apparatus to target one student in what appeared to be a prank. See: Cal Poly suspends reporting on “politically incorrect” faculty and students. (2009, June 1). FIRE. Retrieved from https://www.thefire.org/cal-poly-suspends-reporting-on-politically-incorrect-faculty-and-students-2.


51. Note that a school can and should use a very low threshold for making support or counseling services available for anyone who feels harassed. The bar for punishing speakers accused of saying something harassing should be higher. Under Title IX, for example, a reported victim is entitled to ameliorative steps before, and even without, a determination of wrongdoing by the accused. The mistake, we believe, is to conflate the two, such that if one person feels offended by a one-off speech act, another person should generally be charged with harassment. A school that makes such a conflation is codifying and teaching the Untruth of Emotional Reasoning and encouraging moral dependence.


59. During the investigation, Kipnis was told she could not involve a lawyer; she could not record her meetings with investigators; and, initially, she was told she would not even be informed of the charges against her until she attended the meetings. Cooke, R. (2017, April 2). Sexual paranoia on campus—and the professor at the eye of the storm. The Guardian. Retrieved
Chapter 11: The Quest for Justice

1. Rawls (1971), p. 3. Rawls was one of the leading political philosophers of the twentieth century, famous for asking what kind of society we would design if we had to do it from behind a “veil of ignorance” as to what role we would occupy in the society.


3. The year 1965 saw the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the Watts riot, the march on Selma, and an increase in protests of the Vietnam War as America’s involvement intensified; 1972 saw the reelection of Richard Nixon over the “peace candidate,” George McGovern, in a landslide—a crushing blow to many in the counterculture. Most Americans born in 1954 could vote in that election; nobody born in 1955 was eligible.

4. Ghitza & Gelman (2014). The paper uses presidential approval ratings as an easily available proxy for the political events occurring in each year—if the president is wildly popular during your late teens (and you’re white), you’re more likely to vote for that party for the rest of your life. But the authors acknowledge that a variety of “political shocks” are likely to have effects; for example, assassinations, riots, and so on. The model is more descriptive of white voters than it is of black or Hispanic voters.
6. Sloane, Baillargeon, and Premack (2012) found that twenty-one-month-old infants looked longer at these violations of proportionality than at scenes where only the person who worked was rewarded. See review of the literature on the early emergence of fairness in Bloom (2014).
8. Almas, Cappelen, Sørensen, & Tungodden (2010).
10. See Adams (1963); Adams (1965); Huseman, Hatfield & Miles (1987); Walster, Walster, & Berscheid (1978).
19. Putnam (2015), pp. 31–32, notes that “if forced to choose, Americans at all income levels say by nearly three to one that it is ‘more important for this country . . . to ensure everyone has a fair chance of improving their economic standing [than] to reduce inequality in America.’” The survey questions he cites come from a survey conducted in 2011 by the Pew Economic Mobility Project.
20. See research on System Justification Theory, for example, Jost, Banaji, & Nosek (2004).
22. Sometimes members of the minority group are motivated to deny these injustices as well; see research on System Justification Theory, for example, Jost, Banaji, & Nosek (2004).

27. A 1993 federal appellate decision, Cohen v. Brown Univ., would foreshadow what became the official position of the Department of Education three years later. In Cohen, members of the women’s gymnastics and volleyball teams sued Brown after their teams were cut, allegedly for financial reasons. The court held that Brown had violated Title IX, because the percentage of varsity opportunities for women was lower than the percentage of female enrollment; that there was substantial unsatisfied interest from women to play sports; and that, to comply with Title IX, Brown must either fully accommodate the underrepresented sex or provide opportunities equal to the proportions in its enrollment. See: 991 F.2d 888, 899 (1st Cir. 1993). In other words, if the interest of the underrepresented sex cannot be fully accommodated, the overrepresented sex’s opportunities must be reduced until the proportions match.


30. A second way to achieve compliance was to show that the school had “made progress” toward reaching the first standard. A third way was to show that the interest of the underrepresented gender had been “fully and effectively accommodated”—to show that, in practice, there weren’t enough women left wanting to play a sport to field a team. These two options would seem to let schools off the hook for achieving equal outcomes, but, in practice, the only ways to satisfy these standards invited close scrutiny by the Office for Civil Rights, and one of the top goals of any compliance professional is to avoid an investigation by a government agency. The only way to definitively stave off an investigation is to satisfy the first certification method, which is what nearly all schools have chosen to do.


33. Deaner, Balish & Lombardo (2016). They also report a variety of evidence that prenatal exposure to testosterone for girls correlates with later interest in sports, particularly more typically masculine sports.

34. Deaner et al. (2012).

35. Of course, a skeptic could argue that these differences were caused by differences in early-childhood socialization—for example, the fact that in toy stores, the aisles of toys for girls and boys are so different, with much less sporting equipment offered for girls. Perhaps, but efforts to change children’s gendered play behavior by treating them in a gender-neutral or gender-reversed way have a poor history of success; see the sad case of David Reimer, for example, in Burkeman, O., & Younge, G. (2004, May 12). Being Brenda. The Guardian. Retrieved from
Toy stores seem to be responding to gendered preferences rather than causing them. And even if gendered sports preferences were caused entirely by early socialization rather than by prenatal hormones, that would not justify requiring universities to insist on equal outcomes, although it would have implications for elementary schools.

36. Thomas (2011, April 25); see n. 31.
40. Sue et al. (2007), p. 274, define microinvalidations as “communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color.”
42. Tetlock, Kristel, Elson, Green, & Lerner (2000).
Chapter 12: Wiser Kids

4. We recognize that some children are targets of true bullying, and adults should neither ignore nor minimize behavior that falls under the definition of bullying. “The widely accepted definition of bullying involves three criteria: 1) Repetition: a child is the target of a pattern of aggressive behavior, or a child engages in a pattern of aggressive behaviors against others. 2) A power imbalance exists between the children involved (the child with more power is aggressive against the child with less power). 3) The aggressive child intends to do the other child or children harm.” Paresky, P. (2016). We’re giving bullying a bad name. Psychology Today. Retrieved

https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/may/12/scienceandnature.gender
6. Daniel Shuchman is also the chairman of the board of FIRE.
8. Of course, the nature of an “abuse of authority” is that it exceeds what is legally allowed; accordingly, we cannot guarantee that someone won’t detain your child. Forming an advocacy group of like-minded parents, and approaching local law enforcement to educate them before there’s a dispute may help avoid conflict. Additionally, this is not legal advice; it’s parenting advice. You should consult a licensed attorney in your state/province/country for legal advice.
25. We expect that we will have gotten some things wrong in this book, and we will maintain a page of corrections at TheCoddling.com, where we will thank critics for pointing out our mistakes.
28. This can work before school begins in the morning, too. For more information, see Let Grow. (2017, March 4). Let Grow Play Club Final [Video file]. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/JX2ZG0b9I-U. The seven schools in the Patchogue-Medford school district on Long Island, NY, have been piloting the Let Grow Play Club, which involves almost no adult interference. Lori Koerner, principal at the Tremont Elementary School there, says, “This may have been one of the most amazing experiences in my 28 years in education.” She adds that she saw “No bullying . . . It’s almost like they don’t argue, because they know there’s nobody that’s gonna jump in and help them solve the problem, so they have to just get along.” See: News Desk. (2018, January 25). Pat-Med debuts before school play program. Patchogue Patch. Retrieved from https://patch.com/new-york/patchogue/pat-med-debuts-school-play-program
29. One option is to have kids keep their phones zipped in a lockable cell phone pouch, which performing artists like comedian Dave Chappelle are beginning to require at their shows. The pouches are distributed upon entry, phones are locked inside, and while everyone still has his or her phone, they are unusable until tapped on an unlocking device and retrieved from the pouch. See, for example, Yondr. (n.d.). How it works. Retrieved from https://www.overyondr.com/howitworks
32. You can read book reviews, articles, and chapters of Professor Baehr’s books by going to his website: https://jasonbaehr.wordpress.com/research. There you can also download Educating for Intellectual Virtues: An Introductory Guide for College and University Instructors: https://jasonbaehr.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/e4iv_baehr.pdf
33. International Debate Education Association: https://idebate.org/start-debate-club
34. Intelligence Squared debates are found at https://www.intelligencesquaredus.org/debates
35. Reeves, Haidt, & Cicirelli (2018). The book is titled All Minus One: John Stuart Mill’s Ideas on Free Speech Illustrated. A free version of the e-book can be downloaded from HeterodoxAcademy.org/mill
36. Available at OpenMindPlatform.org
37. Common Sense Media’s research is available at https://www.commonsensemedia.org/research
39. The nonprofit organizations Common Sense Media and the Center for Humane Technology are working together to shift how technology affects the mind. You can find suggestions for how to reduce the negative effects of smartphone use here: http://humanetech.com/take-control
40. In general, we oppose overmanaging and over-monitoring kids. But in this case, given the sophistication of the social media companies in manipulating users and given the high levels of self-reported device addiction among teens and the possible links to depression and suicide, we think that the use of external constraints and parental monitoring is appropriate.


45. Arnett (2004) wrote about “emerging adulthood” as a new phase of life in the late teens and early twenties, as marriage and parenthood started to arrive later and later in the postwar decades.


50. Learn more about gap years at https://www.GapYearAssociation.org

Chapter 13: Wiser Universities

1. To list just a few others, giving only the English translations: Brandeis University: “Truth, even unto its innermost parts”; California Institute of Technology and Johns Hopkins University: “The truth shall make you free”; Colgate University: “For God and Truth”; Howard University: “Truth and Service”; Northwestern University: “Whatsoever things are true”; University of Michigan: “Art, Science, Truth.”


3. Marx wrote this line in 1845, in his Theses on Feuerbach, which was published as an appendix to Engels (1888/1976). The quoted line is on p. 65. It is also engraved in English on his tomb, in London.

4. As we showed in chapter 5, The Evergreen State College changed its mission statement in 2011 to include the phrase “Evergreen supports and benefits from a local and global commitment to social justice . . .” Brown University has considered a similar move, as can be seen in this documentary: Montz, R. (2016). Silence U: Is the university killing free speech and open debate? We the internet documentary. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5uaVfX3AQ. After the president spoke of Brown’s “bedrock commitment to social justice and equity,” a group of faculty members wrote, “We applaud and are hopeful about the call of the president and provost to unite around a University agenda of social justice.” Brown Faculty Members (2015, November 13). Brown faculty members: Supporting students of color in changing Brown. The Brown Daily Herald. Retrieved from http://www.browndailyherald.com/2015/11/13/brown-faculty-members-supporting-students-of-color-in-changing-brown


7. A good deal of this language often comes from the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which was founded in 1915 to fight for academic freedom on campus. The AAUP’s statements from 1915 and 1940 are well thought out and inspirational commitments to academic freedom and free inquiry, and later statements by the AAUP on student speech and “extramural” speech (when a professor speaks off campus) also do an excellent job. AAUP. (1940). Statement of principles on academic freedom and tenure. Retrieved from https://www.aaup.org/report/1940-statement-principles-academic-freedom-and-tenure. See also: AAUP. (1915). Declaration of principles on academic freedom and tenure. Retrieved from https://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/A6520A9D-0A9A-47B3-B550-C006B5B224E7/0/1915Declaration.pdf


9. You can find the policies of more than 450 colleges and universities at www.thefire.org. Universities can join the growing number of colleges whose policies earn a “green light” rating from FIRE, which usually produces positive publicity for a university. As of the final draft of this manuscript, forty colleges and universities have received a green light rating. You can see which colleges are rated as red, yellow, or green at https://www.thefire.org/spotlight/using-the-spotlight-database
10. You can find some information on each school’s openness to viewpoint diversity, including its response to recent speech disruptions, by consulting the Heterodox Academy Guide to Colleges, available at [http://heterodoxacademy.org/guide-to-colleges](http://heterodoxacademy.org/guide-to-colleges).


12. Professors and deans can use the Campus Expression Survey, a free tool created by Heterodox Academy, to measure the speech climate on campus. Available at [http://heterodoxacademy.org/campus-expression-survey](http://heterodoxacademy.org/campus-expression-survey).


14. This distinction could have been made clearer in the much-discussed 2016 letter sent to University of Chicago incoming freshmen by Dean of Students Jay Ellison. It read in part, “[W]e do not condone the creation of intellectual ‘safe spaces’ where individuals can retreat from ideas and perspectives at odds with their own.” You can read the dean’s entire letter here: [https://news.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/Dear_CLASS_of_2020_Students.pdf](https://news.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/Dear_CLASS_of_2020_Students.pdf).


16. See, for example, Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair (2004), which found a variety of negative effects (including decreased feeling of common identity and increased feelings of ethnic victimization) from participation in “ethnic enclaves” in college. Effects were similar for minority students, and for white students in fraternities.


Conclusion: Wiser Societies


Appendix 1: How to Do CBT

1. For a review of self-help books for depression, see Anderson et al. (2005).

Appendix 2: The Chicago Statement on Principles of Free Expression

1. You can read the committee’s report here: https://freeexpression.uchicago.edu/sites/freeexpression.uchicago.edu/files/FOECommitteeReport.pdf