Vow to Act

3rd Annual Report

The Department of Government's Vow to Act (the text of the Act appears in the appendix) requires that we hold ourselves accountable by publicly reporting on our progress annually for the next five years. The Vow was published online in July 2020 and was implemented beginning in the fall term 2020. Our progress has been tracked in annual reports that audit the Department's progress on items in the Vow. This report builds on those reports, adding new updates on how the Department enacted or failed to enact the items in the Vow to Act and adding new updates on actions taken from September 2022 until the start of the fall 2024 term. (The Department did not produce a third annual report so this report covers a two-year period.)

What We Have Done

1. We will create new opportunities to listen to, and learn from, our students and colleagues.

The Act explicitly called us to convene three faculty moderated conversations in AY 20-21 with our students, colleagues and alumni.

Faculty members in the Department organized and moderated the following three events, cosponsored with the Rockefeller Center, in fall, winter and spring of that academic year:

- A fall 2020 event titled "Demand Racial Justice: Student Perspectives on the Black Lives Matter Protests" (organized and moderated by Friedman and Lyall) discussed with five of our students their experience and reflections in engaging with various protests that had taken place earlier that year.
- A winter 2021 event titled "How we study race: a discussion across disciplines" (co-sponsored with the Consortium of Studies in Race, Migration and Sexuality and the Ethics Institute) (organized and moderated by Bedi) discussed various methodologies of studying race and racial justice with colleagues from English, History, Sociology, WGSS, and AAAS. The event was also shown to prospective students by the Admissions Office and allowed the Department to publicly engage with other departments and programs about these issues.
- A spring 2021 event titled "Working for Justice: Dartmouth Alumni on Pursuing Racial and Social Justice in Your Career" (organized and moderated by Rose and Nyhan) discussed with three of our alumni their professional work in advancing racial and social justice.

In addition to these three events, the Rockefeller Center (directed by Barabas) organized events that engaged with issues of race and racial justice, including "What Now? 2020 Presidential Post-Election Analysis" with a diverse set of junior scholars (fall 2020) (moderated by Costa);

"Race Against Time: The Politics of a Darkening America" with Keith Boykin '87 (fall 2020); "After George Floyd - Policing, Racism, and Criminal Justice Reform" with political scientists from other universities (fall 2020); "Where Do We Go From Here? King's Still Unanswered Question" (winter 2021); "Fixing What We Face: How Racial Justice Can Save Our Democracy" with Maya Wiley '86 (January 2022); "Uncivil Democracy: Race, Poverty, and Civil Legal Inequality" with Prof. Jamila Michener of Cornell University (January 2022); "How Woke Can a Juror Be? The Jury in the Chauvin Trial, Critiques of Law Enforcement, and a New Model of Impartiality" with Prof. Sonali Chakravarti of Wesleyan University (April 2022); "Toward Social Justice" with Martin Luther King III (May 2022); "Police Force Size and Civilian Race" with Prof. Morgan Williams, Jr. of Barnard College (May 2022); and "Privacy Law and Racial Justice" with Prof. Anita Allen of the University of Pennsylvania (August 2022).

Government faculty also organized similar events through the Dickey Center, including "How to build an anti-racist foreign policy" (with Travis Adkins) (fall 2020) (moderated by Powers) and "Diversity and inclusion in the military" (fall 2020) (moderated by Lyall) with two of our students/veterans.

In summer and fall 2020, Baldez participated in planning of the Dartmouth Symposium on Police Violence and moderated the keynote address on "The Role of Race: The Practice of Pivoting to Police as Problem-Solvers in Uncertain Times," by Dominique Day, Founder/Director, DAYLIGHT and Chair, UN Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent. The event took place in January 2021.

After the March 16th mass shooting in Atlanta, which took the lives of eight individuals including six Asian/American women, Horiuchi reached out to employee, student and alumni organizations that support Asian/Americans at Dartmouth. We shared the growing concern of violence and racism against Asian/Americans. With other leaders of employee and student organizations, Horiuchi attended a meeting with the Provost, the Special Advisor to the President, and the Senior Vice President & Senior Diversity Officers to express concerns about Dartmouth's responses.

Horiuchi was also interviewed by the Valley News after the Atlanta shooting and expressed his views publicly. An article based in part on this interview was published on March 28, 2021.

The Ethics Institute (directed by Bedi) conducted a manuscript review for Dr. Keidrick Roy's manuscript *American Dark Age: Racial Feudalism and the Rise of Black Liberalism* (now a 2024 book by Princeton University Press). The review was conducted in winter 2023 and involved two external reviewers with expertise in African-American political thought. Our colleagues with expertise in political theory served as the internal reviewers.

Swaine participated in a three-day conference called "Freedom, Controversy, and Respect on Campus: Advancing Liberal Arts Inquiry in Contested Times," at College of Holy Cross. The conference included a diverse range of academics, scholar-activists, and administrators from a variety of higher-education institutions. Participants discussed ways to identify tensions on campuses, to teach balance and respect, to address controversial speech and speakers, and

productively to talk about difference. Swaine also joined an informal working group on free speech on campus, initiated by the Loeb Institute for Religious Freedom & Democracy at George Washington University.

Baldez led a discussion of On Juneteenth with Annette Gordon-Reed that was sponsored by WGBH and American Ancestors. She also served for several years as the faculty speaker at Dartmouth's Military Commissioning Ceremony.

2. We will deepen our commitment to diversity and inclusion within the department.

The Act invites the Department to review hiring practices in ways that advance our commitment to diversity and inclusion as well as engage in outreach to our students and to political scientists outside of Dartmouth in ways that advance this commitment.

With regard to hiring, there was a discussion and review of faculty hiring processes (led by Lacy) at our May 2021 meeting and all hiring committee members took part in the Division of Institutional Diversity and Equity faculty search workshops. As a result of those discussions, the Department conducted a search in African American politics and political pheory (the committee includes Clarke and Jerit, co-chairs; Nyhan and Rose). As part of that search, the committee contacted more than eighty people in order to expand the quality, diversity, and size of the candidate pool for this position. Additionally, two subfields (American Politics and Political Theory) conducted this search, which not only enlarged the possible pool of applicants but also means that any successful hire will have senior faculty in another subfield familiar with their work. Also, the job advertisement explicitly included the option of an affiliation with the Program in African and African American Studies (AAAS). Faculty affiliated with AAAS also met with the job candidates and attended the job talks. The search succeeded in recruiting Dr. Keidrick Roy, currently a junior fellow at the Harvard Society of Fellows, to teach in the area of African American Politics and Political theory. Roy will begin his tenure track position in the Department in 2025.

The search committee for the Globalization Chair (the committee included Lyall, Treb Allen (Economics), Davin Chor (Tuck), and was chaired by Baldez) sought to increase the diversity of the applicant pool by reaching out to individuals and organizations with emails indicating that our goal was "to build the *strongest and most diverse* candidate pool possible." They contacted, among others, each of the 12 members of the APSR editorial team and select members of the APSR Editorial Board; editors and select editorial board members of Comparative Political Studies; the officers of NCOBPS; the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics section of APSA listserv; the Latino Caucus of the APSA listserv; the Women and Politics section of the APSA listserv and Facebook page; the Women Also Know Stuff database; and the People of Color Also Know Stuff database. The Department made an offer to Yang-Yang Zhou, previously an Assistant Professor at University of British Columbia. Zhou accepted the position and came to Dartmouth

in 2023 after she completes a fellowship at Harvard (where she serves as a Harvard Academy Scholar and CIFAR Azrieli Global Scholar).

The Department also successfully requested support from the Guarini Institute for a two-year postdoctoral position in the politics of race and ethnicity. A committee of Crabtree, Costa, Swaine, and Horiuchi selected Amanda Sahar d'Urso, who studies the racial status and classification of people from the Middle East and North Africa. She is conducting a two-year postdoctoral fellowship from AY 2022 to AY 2024.

With regard to student outreach, the Department publicized the Mellon Mays fellowship to the department receiving one department-wide nomination/recommendation in winter 2021. This fellowship, as we've subsequently learned, is only available to our political theory students. To date the department has now had two such Mellon Mays undergraduate fellows

Also, a faculty member (Powers) contacted the Minority Pre-law student association to connect with DOJ attorneys from underrepresented groups for a Q&A session on legal careers in government.

With regard to political scientists outside of Dartmouth, a faculty member (Horiuchi) contacted the Guarini Institute to obtain information about Dartmouth's current relationship with Spelman and Morehouse, two historically black colleges, and also worked with a colleague at Spelman on an APSA committee. Due to travel restrictions, none could attend the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. The Department can continue to follow up on this outreach to our colleagues outside of Dartmouth. More recently, Powers has attended several panels on race and racism at professional conferences (e.g., a panel on Black politics in political psychology at ISPP and a panel on race in IR at APSA).

The Act specifically asked us to establish two student research fellowships for the study of race and racism, to begin in either winter or spring 2021, which would take the form of independent studies under the supervision of a faculty advisor and of paid research assistantships to support students working with faculty members on research projects related to these topics. In winter 2021, the Department provided students the choice of pursuing research in this area as either an independent study or a research assistantship. In winter 2022, the Department provided another student a research assistantship opportunity.

Eleven students opted for research assistantships (advised by Crabtree and Horiuchi) as RAs in "Research Fellowship on Race and Racism" during winter and spring 2021. Based on a systematic data collection on the post-violence statements (after the Atlanta Shooting and the killing of George Floyd) issued by the university presidents across more than 300 universities in the U.S., Crabtree and Horiuchi co-authored an article with the students that was published in the Times Higher Education.

In winter 2022, Horiuchi worked with three students to understand the fluidity of racial identity and partisanship in the context of the first anniversary of the January 6 Capitol Riot. This project was based on a GOVT10 group project during the fall term in 2021. Two of the students working

on this project received credit for an independent research project under Horiuchi's supervision and another student worked as a part-time RA funded by the department. Horiuchi has mentored numerous female and Asian/Asian American political scientists through programs sponsored by professional associations and received a letter of "honorable mention" from the committee for the Society of Political Methodology's Becky Morton and Tom Carsey Excellence Award for his mentorship of graduate students and junior scholars, almost all of whom are women, non-white, and/or first-generation.

Kai Zhou '24 presented "Disclosing Invisible Attributes is Subject to Discrimination: Conjoint Analysis" (a co-authored study with Horiuchi), which is part of his QSS honors thesis, at the 81st Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference (Chicago, April 4--7, 2024).

The Rockefeller Center also funded two research assistantships with students from underrepresented groups on campus (advised by Barabas), one which led to a two-term UGAR scholarship award. UGAR also funded a two-term research project on the history of Black students and faculty in the Department (advised by Clarke). The Department offered an independent study focused on researching Native American voices on the Dartmouth campus over time (supervised by Lind).

Crabtree co-founded and co-directs the Asian Politics Online Seminar Series (https://aposs.cc/), which has hosted more than 100 virtual workshops. He also persuaded the American Political Science Association to change how it measures first-generation status in its surveys of members.

Swaine joined an informal working group on free speech on campus, initiated by the Loeb Institute for Religious Freedom & Democracy at George Washington University. Carey is serving on the American Academy of Arts and Sciences' Working Group on Multi-Member Districts & Proportional Representation.

The Department remains steadfast that we will pause the conversation when someone's words evoke racist and/or sexist ideas and will address those comments appropriately.

3. We will offer additional courses that engage with these issues, and adjust existing courses to promote inclusion.

Since publishing the Vow to Act, the members of the Department have written the following articles (published or forthcoming) and received the following grants on race and racism and related topics:

- "Does Hate Speech Violate Freedom of Thought?" Virginia Journal of Social Policy & the Law (Swaine)
- "Racial Identity, Group Consciousness, and Attitudes: A Framework for Assessing Multiracial Self-Classification" (Westwood) American Journal of Political Science.

- "Do Identity Frames Impact Support for Multiracial Candidates? The Case of Kamala Harris" (Crabtree and Horiuchi, with a former student) Journal of Experimental Political Science.
- "Disfavor or Favor? Assessing the Valence of White Americans' Racial Attitudes (Horiuchi and Carey, with a former student) Quarterly Journal of Political Science.
- "Changing Votes, Changing Identities? Racial Fluidity and Vote Switching in the 2012–2016 US Presidential Elections" (Lacy, with a former student) Public Opinion Quarterly.
- "Are Americans Less Likely to Reply to Emails from Black People Relative to White People?" (Crabtree) Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.
- "Patient Traits Shape Healthcare Providers' Choices on How to Best Allocate Life-Saving Care" (Crabtree) Nature Human Behavior.
- "How Asians React to Discrimination Doesn't Depend on their Party Identification" (Crabtree) Socius.
- "Auditing Ethics: A Cost-Benefit Framework for Audit Studies" (Crabtree) Political Studies Review.
- "Information from Same-Race Experts Online Does Not Increase Vaccine Interest or Intention to Vaccinate" (Nyhan) Milbank Quarterly.
- "Race, Representation, and Issue Areas" (Costa) Russell Sage Foundation Presidential Grant.
- "Speech Woes on Campus: The Culture of Agreement and Its Discontents" for an edited volume tentatively entitled *Freedom, Controversy, and Respect on College Campuses* (Swaine) Georgetown University Press.
- "Can proportional representation create better governance?" (Carey) New America/Protect Democracy.
- "Reply to Mitterer: Conceptual and Empirical Issues that Arise When Using Correspondence Audits to Measure Racial Discrimination" (Crabtree) Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.
- "Racially Distinctive Names Signal Race and Class" (Crabtree) Sociological Science.
- "Migrant-Family Separation and Higher-Order Laws' Diverging Normative Force" (Crabtree) The Journal of Legal Studies.
- "Building Community and Improving Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Political Science through Virtual Workshops" (Crabtree) PS: Political Science & Politics.
- "Patient Traits Shape Health-Care Stakeholders' Choices on How to Best Allocate Life-Saving Care" (Crabtree) Nature Human Behavior.
- "Validated Names for Experimental Studies on Race and Ethnicity" (Crabtree) –
 Nature Scientific Data.
- "Geo-political Rivalry and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: A Conjoint Experiment in 22 Countries" (Crabtree) – American Political Science Review.
- "Americans Do Not Select Their Doctors Based on Race" (Crabtree) Frontiers of Sociology.
- "White Candidate Support Continues amidst Explicit and Implicit White Identity Cues" (Crabtree) Politics, Groups, and Identities.

- "Do Sleep Disruptions Promote Social Fragmentation" (Crabtree) Politics and the Life Sciences.
- "Why the Public Supports the Human Rights of Prisoners and Asylum Seekers: An Experimental Approach" (Crabtree) Political Research Quarterly.
- "How the Relationship Between Education and Antisemitism Varies Between Countries (Nyhan) Research & Politics.

The Department has offered the following new courses to advance these issues:

- "Race, Justice, and Law" in fall 2021, fall 2022, and summer 2024 (Muirhead)
- "Soldier, Army, State, War," in winter 2021 addresses questions of race, ethnicity and gender in the study of war (Lyall)
- "The Intellectual History of Racism," in spring 2021 (Clarke, co-taught with faculty from Middle Eastern Studies; funded by a DOF Innovative Course Award)
- "Theories of Racial Capitalism," in winter 2022 (Pinheiro)
- "Redistribution, Inequality, and Diversity" in winter 2022 addresses both racism and discrimination against immigrants (Ferwerda)

Faculty in the Department revised numerous other courses to promote inclusion:

- "Recent Research in Social and Political Philosophy" added a racial justice component, making that addition explicit on the Registrar's website (Muirhead).
- "Psychology and International Politics" and "Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy" added supplemental reading assignments related to race and racism in IR and foreign policy public opinion (Powers).
- "Data Visualization" added topics related to race and racism, including visualizing data on hate crime, mass shooting, etc. (Horiuchi).
- In "Politics of Japan," Horiuchi facilitated discussions about race, gender and immigration in Japan, including adding a section on discrimination against minorities (Horiuchi).
- "International Politics" and "Violence and Security" added material on problems of commission and omission regarding race in the academic study of IR as well as studies that examine race, racism and racialized hierarchies in international politics (Wohlforth).
- "International Politics" added more material on race (Powers).
- "Quantitative Political Analysis" added emphasis on topics related to race and ethnicity, encouraging students to pursue research projects in these areas, which in turn funded 2 surveys through Lucid that addressed issues related to Race, Ethnicity and Politics (Crabtree).

- "Resistance and Collaboration" added readings that highlight the role of race and racism in counterinsurgency and occupation policies (Miller).
- "International Politics" added discussions on the syllabus about race and gender in International Relations (Lind).
- "Public Policy and Politics" added readings on race and policing as well as the inclusion of works by diverse scholars on policy feedback effects, especially as they pertain to minorities and underrepresented groups in America (Barabas).
- "The American Political System" and "American Political Behavior" added several modules and readings on race and racism and required students to watch videos of 5 speeches by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for both courses (Lacy).
- "Ethics, Economics, and the Environment," "Justice and Work," "Ethics and Public Policy," and "Political Ideas" added, updated, and expanded course materials related to race, racism, and inequality (Rose).
- "Political Representation in the U.S." expanded sections and readings on race and inequality in political representation (Costa).
- "Political Psychology" added material on stereotype formation in lectures on information processing (Jerit).
- Lisa Baldez included components on race in every week of each of the two courses offered on the Washington DC Off-campus program for Spring 2021 (which was run virtually), Govt 94: American Social Movements Inside and Outside the State and Govt 95: Human Rights and Foreign Policy in the United States. The guest speakers for these two courses included prominent activists and scholars of race and politics in the United States, as well as others representing a diverse range of perspectives. The Ethics Institute, the Dickey Center, the Guarini Institute, and the Government Department provided funding for honoraria for these speakers.
- As part of the Washington DC Metropolitan Area Off-Campus Program, Baldez now teaches a course on DC History that focuses on the history of the city itself as a local area. We cover topics such as Go Go Music, redlining and urban development, LBGT activism, the women's rights movement, civil rights efforts focused on the city, and poverty reduction. The class aims to increase students' knowledge about DC beyond the status of the city as the national capital and seat of the federal government (Baldez).
- Crabtree redesigned his Baltic Politics course for the summer to focus more on issues related to race and ethnicity in post-Soviet space (Crabtree).
- "Ethics and Public Policy" added more discussion of racial concerns on the topics of legal punishment and incarceration (Swaine)

Dartmouth faculty (Powers) attended a 2021 APSA session on structuring inclusion in political science departments and curricula. We will continue to consult resources available from the Dartmouth Center for the Advancement of Learning (DCAL), Student Accessibility Services (SAS), and the American Political Science Association (APSA) to structure our courses, syllabi, class meetings, and conversations in ways that invite engagement and foster inclusion.

Moving Forward

We urge the Department to maintain a consistent effort with respect to updating this report and bringing the document before the faculty for consideration.

Each year the Department chair will appoint a faculty committee with 3-4 members to review the Department's progress on the Vow to Act and produce an (internal) report. Typically, the report will cover the period from the beginning of the fall term through the end of the subsequent summer term. A draft report will be provided to the department for consideration in one of the fall faculty meetings. After candid deliberation and careful revision based on the feedback from other faculty members, the committee will finalize the annual report and the department will vote for its approval. Upon approval, in consultation with the committee, the department chair will publish an abridged version of the annual report (excluding private, personally identifying information) online on the department website.

The last report will be submitted and published in the fall of 2025, at which point the department will consider whether to renew and revise the Vow.

The Department has yet to explore ways to review student experiences in our courses beyond teaching evaluations. And the Department continues to encourage faculty to consult sources such as People of Color Also Know Stuff when inviting people to participate in our speaker series, organizing panels, and recommending colleagues for awards and leadership positions.

As the department works to fulfill its commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion, we call on the College to help us by living up to its own commitments. The College must be bolder in approving search requests, interviews and offers – sometimes including simultaneous offers to excellent candidates – that would diversify the faculty. It must be more willing to devote resources to recruit diverse faculty, post-doctoral fellows, and to fund research related to race, identity and social justice. We can only succeed as a department with the full support of the College.

Our initial set of efforts during the first year focused on concrete and observable actions, including introducing new courses, organizing events, adding race-related content in our teaching materials, etc. We can report specific "outcomes" for these action items. But other essential components of diversity and inclusion outlined in the Vow to Act are harder to

measure: We need to create diverse, equal, and inclusive environments, in which we – faculty members, staff, and students – can learn many perspectives through teaching, research, mentoring and other activities. With these efforts, we expect and hope to contribute to making better societies in the future.

Appendix:

Department of Government Dartmouth College

The Department of Government joins our students, colleagues, and global community in the fight for racial justice. Political scientists have long examined the linkages between race, power, governance, and injustice, and faculty in the department are dedicated to advancing research in these areas. We recognize that we, as a profession and as a predominantly white department, need to do more to create an environment where everyone can thrive. The Department of Government is committed to building a welcoming environment in which we can learn together about race and racism. We vow to undertake measures to change our own behavior, to ensure that we provide opportunities to study race and racism in our curriculum, and to provide intellectual resources that expand opportunities to learn about the extent to which racism structures the political world. To that end, we commit to the following:

- 1. We will create new opportunities to listen to, and learn from, our students and colleagues.
- 2. We will deepen our commitment to diversity and inclusion within the department.
- 3. We will offer additional courses that engage with these issues, and adjust existing courses to promote inclusion.
- 4. We will hold ourselves accountable by setting deadlines and publicly reporting on our progress.

Specific Commitments

The Government Department makes the following commitments to our students, colleagues, and staff:

- 1. We will create new opportunities to listen to, and learn from, our students and colleagues.
- In the 2020-2021 academic year, we will convene three faculty moderated conversations with Dartmouth students and alumni about their personal experiences with racial injustice and efforts to promote justice. We hope to use these conversations as a starting point for increasing communication about race and racism.
- Fall: "Protesting for Racial Justice: Dartmouth Students on the Front Lines"

- Winter: "Learning About Racial Justice: Students and Faculty Discuss the Classroom Experience"
- Spring: "Working for Racial Justice: Government Department Alumni Talk about Careers in Social Justice"
- We will explore ways to review student experiences in the Government Department beyond teaching evaluations.
- We will engage other departments and programs in public conversations about race and racism.
- We will encourage faculty to consult sources such as People of Color Also Know Stuff when inviting people to participate in our speaker series, organizing panels, and recommending colleagues for awards and leadership positions.

2. We will deepen our commitment to diversity and inclusion within the department.

- We will review our hiring practices and redouble our efforts to diversify the faculty. We will continue to discuss how we can build a more diverse applicant pool and promote faculty diversity.
- We will nominate students for the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Program, the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, and the Society for Political Methodology's Undergraduate Initiative in Political Methodology.
- Every fall, we will contact student organizations, especially those representing underrepresented groups, with an offer to send a member of the Government Department to their meetings. Our goal in these meetings will be to learn more about student concerns and to explore possible connections with the Government Department and with student programs linked to the department.
- We will learn more about Dartmouth's Employee Resource Networks that support faculty and staff from underrepresented groups.
- We will pause the conversation when someone's words evoke racist and/or sexist ideas, and we will address those comments appropriately.
- We will establish two student research fellowships for the study of race and racism. These fellowships, which will begin in either Winter or Spring 2021, will take the form of independent studies under the supervision of a faculty adviser.
- We will create paid research assistantships to support students working with faculty members on research projects related to race and racism.

- We will strengthen Dartmouth's exchange programs with Spelman College and Morehouse College by inviting researchers from these institutions to give talks here and offering to give research talks at these institutions, as well as other Historically Black Colleges and Universities.
- We will attend receptions for underrepresented minorities at professional conferences and send at least one faculty member to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists to learn from black political scientists and build professional networks.

3. We will offer additional courses that engage with these issues, and adjust existing courses to promote inclusion.

- We will identify classes and faculty and student research related to race and racism on our website.
 - We will expand content relevant to race and racism in our existing curriculum.
 - We will offer new courses that explore race and racism.
 - We will consult resources available from the Dartmouth Center for the Advancement of Learning (DCAL), Student Accessibility Services (SAS), and the American Political Science Association (APSA) to structure our courses, syllabi, class meetings, and conversations in ways that invite engagement and foster inclusion.
- We will introduce a new Government Department research group focusing on race and ethnicity.

4. We will hold ourselves accountable by setting deadlines and publicly reporting on our progress.

- For the next five years, we will produce an annual report outlining the Government Department's actions relating to the commitments listed above.
 - We will publicly report on our progress.
 - We will engage our students in developing additional mechanisms of accountability.