

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Evergreen Affair:
A Social Justice Society

By

Shaun Cammack

August 2020

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts degree in the
Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences

Faculty Advisor: Richard A. Shweder
Preceptor: Cate Fugazzola

Abstract

In 2017, the Evergreen State College gained national attention for a series of student protests and demonstrations centered on racial issues and social justice. The discussion regarding these events has been largely critical and mostly kept to the popular press. While we understand the *who*, *when*, and *where* of the Evergreen affair, our understanding of the *what* is underdeveloped. Student protestors filmed and streamed over eighteen hours of demonstrations, meetings, and confrontations, and due to the relatively recent ubiquity of streaming-capable smartphones, as well as the generation raised in the context of such technology, this offers a unique source of information. Utilizing computer-assisted qualitative coding, this study endeavors to understand the fundamental beliefs and moral considerations that underpinned the Evergreen affair. In the final analysis, I argue that the Evergreen affair was the manifestation of a coherent social system implicated by a thick system of belief, characterized by victimhood morality and ethnocentric ideas, which ultimately resulted in a racially hierarchical social order.

“There is a whole dissertation to be written about what went on at Evergreen in those days, and about what students and others really thought was going on.”

- Douglas Murray, *The Madness of Crowds*, 2019

The Evergreen Affair	6
<i>The Current State of Evergreen Discourse</i>	7
Evergreen as a Tribe	10
Morality and Moral Systems	13
Data and Methods	14
<i>Neutrality and Positionality</i>	16
Social Order	18
<i>Resource Allocation</i>	18
<i>Race Based Roles</i>	20
<i>Norms</i>	23
<i>Norms of Etiquette</i>	24
<i>Speaking Norms</i>	27
Social Control	32
<i>Sanctions</i>	33
<i>Monitoring</i>	36
<i>Circling Up</i>	36
<i>Soliciting Allegiance</i>	40
<i>Reeducation</i>	41
Alternative Interpretations	42
<i>Social Justice</i>	42
<i>Inversion Ritual</i>	45
Belief System	48
<i>Ethno-Race Consciousness and Identity</i>	48
<i>Postmodern or Premodern?</i>	51
<i>Intercollectivity</i>	53
<i>Blackness and Whiteness, Platonic Collectives</i>	53
<i>Victimhood Morality</i>	55
<i>Ethnohistorical Determinism</i>	56
<i>Ethics of Community & Divinity</i>	57
<i>Ancestor Mysticism</i>	60
Conclusion	62
Acknowledgements	65
Appendix A: A Chronological Account of the Evergreen Affair	66
Appendix B: The Canoe Meeting	68
References	72

In November 2016, Evergreen State College faculty and administrators led a presentation titled “Equity & Inclusion Council: Community Report Back.” The meeting opened on a somber tone, presumably because it was one week after the election of Donald Trump. Skokomish Native Indian and instructor John Edward Smith began the meeting with a native song, saying: “I’m hoping that this will bring people together, bring us all together as a, y’know, maybe a small tribe in this college.”

There was indeed a small tribe in this college, one that would come to play a central role in a campus wide protest in spring of 2017. I argue that this collection of students, faculty, and administrators constituted a distinct social group with a coherent social order underpinned by a thick belief system. Through qualitative analysis of video footage, this research explores this social system to render it intelligible in terms of fundamental beliefs and moral considerations.

This social system is predicated on the belief that to be victimized grants moral merit, that the history of an ethnicity determines victim/victimizer status, a perception of oneself as fundamentally a racial-ethnic group, the belief that race is the determinant of cognitive authority, and that social interaction is always a diplomatic exchange between ethnic groups—all wrapped up in a discourse of the moral order as constructed of interdependent groups of varying degrees of moral merit, with the overarching imperative to create a morally purified society. Accordingly, the implicated social order, once manifest in the spring of 2017, was racially stratified and hierarchical, with the upper social position occupied by people-of-color (POC) and the lower social position by whites, upheld by both groups through a set of norms and sanctions.

The Evergreen Affair

The Evergreen State College is a small, public, experimental liberal arts college amongst the trees of Olympia, Washington. Founded in 1967, the campus covers over 1000 acres of woodland and waterfront (The Evergreen State College, n.d.), and had a student body of about 4,000 in the fall of 2016, about 29% of which identified as students of color. (The Evergreen State College, 2016).

In the 1970s, Evergreen began a tradition known as Day of Absence, which consisted of POC spending a day away from campus to illustrate, amongst other things, the important role they play in the community. In 1992 the tradition was modified to include the Day of Presence, which, following the Day of Absence, served to reunite the campus community. In 2017, the Day of Absence and Day of Presence planning committee further modified the tradition, stating:

“...for the first time, we are reversing the pattern of previous years; our Day of Absence program especially designed for faculty, staff, and students of color will happen on campus this year, while our concurrent program for allies will take place off campus” (First Peoples Advising, 2017).

The DOA/DOP, which historically had POC voluntarily staying off campus, had changed to request that whites leave campus for a day.¹

¹ Although some claim that this new programming was entirely voluntary (Fischel et al., 2017), the Equity Council Meeting minutes from January 11th, 2017 indicate that First People’s Director Rashida Love had “secured commitments from 15-17 faculty members to *require* that their students participate in DOA/DOP, [bringing] the total to 400 students” [emphasis added]. And while the DOA/DOP announcement said that anyone was invited to attend either program, the minutes from January 11th told a slightly different story. During this meeting, one member raised the question as to whether the DOA/DOP is an opportunity to engage the Jewish population. The minutes record the following response: “There is a proposal from the DOA/DOP committee for white students to go off campus and students of color to remain on campus; this has been approved. This is to center the campus on students of color.” In addition, the January 25th meeting minutes are clear: “For DOA, people of color remain on campus and white people with [sic] work off campus.”

On March 15th, roughly a month before the event, Professor Bret Weinstein responded to a DOA/DOP reminder email, objecting to the new formulation as oppressive itself, writing, “You may take this letter as a formal protest of this year’s structure...” This email prompted a reaction within the institution and student body, which reached climax over a week in late May—about a month after the DOA/DOP occurred—with a group of around 50 agitated students surrounding Weinstein outside his classroom, where they accused him of racism and demanded an apology and resignation. Videos of this confrontation began to spread as the students turned began demanding broader change on campus. Over the next few days, a large group of students effectively captured parts of the Evergreen State College, recruiting faculty and staff, barricading the library, coercing administration, and holding a series of meetings to discuss their ends and means. The Weinstein confrontation, the events that preceded it, and the protests that followed constitute most of what I refer to here as the Evergreen affair.²

The Current State of Evergreen Discourse

Footage from these events quickly made the Evergreen affair into a national story, ultimately resulting in Professor Weinstein testifying to congress. The Evergreen affair, unlike many other campus protests, solidly captured the attention of mainstream media and public commentators. This is in part due to the fact that participants chose to live-stream their actions, which gave a fascinating ‘on-the-ground’ window into what was going on. But it was also

² See appendix A for a rough outline of these events. Unfortunately, it is unfeasible in the present work to give a detailed and exhaustive chronology of this entire affair. For such a work, I recommend the documentary series put together by Benjamin A. Boyce (2019), as well as the series by Mike Nayna (2019a). Although both are critics of the events, these amount to as comprehensive a record as has yet been made.

compelling due to the content and practices of what the students were espousing, which appeared to be a highly race-focused worldview.

Much of the discussion about the Evergreen affair is spread between non-fiction books, a few academic articles, and the popular press. Historically, as it is in this case, newsworthy events are taken out of their unique context and judged against larger social standards (Whyte, 1993). The critical discussion either dismisses the students as crazy, immature children run amuck, or attempts to categorize their behavior in terms of radical political thought, i.e., neo-Marxism—the reconstitution of the economic oppressor/oppressed class paradigm as a conflict between racial and identity groups which can only be resolved by revolution and the destruction of oppressive systems of power. According to some, this Marxist-informed doctrine of identity and oppression (Murray, 2019; Shermer, 2017; Soave, 2019) arose in the vacuum left by postmodernism (Murray, 2019; Shermer, 2017). This identity politics, referred to somewhat interchangeably as “ideological intersectionality” (Soave, 2019), “social justice” (Heying, 2019; Murray, 2019), or “applied postmodernism” (Pluckrose et al., 2019), is a grievance-oriented value framework, what Soave (2019) calls the “operating system for the modern left” (p. 17). And though divisive, Brubaker (2017) submits that this doesn’t appear to simply be a left versus right issue, but a conflict between the liberal left and the identitarian far-left.

The defenders of the Evergreen affair claim that the protests were justified. Fischel et al. (2017) argue that the ESC affair was a result of the “bottled up resentments” from a controversial police shooting of two African-American brothers near campus and unaddressed concerns of racism in the administration. Additionally, some claim that the *response* to the Evergreen affair is

part of a national trend of “organized and deliberate attack[s] to destabilize” diversity programs (Dutt-Ballerstadt, 2018, pp. 7-8).

The present work diverges from the usual approach towards Evergreen, in that it neither attempts to criticize or defend the affair. In addition, this work does not attempt to address the broader *why* of these events, nor attach them to a larger timeline of social and political thought. While normative theory, cultural criticism, and intellectual history have a great deal of utility, my sole goal is better understand—to clarify and make intelligible the observable social order and the fundamental beliefs and moral considerations that underpin the action and organization of this fascinating group.

The Evergreen affair centers on a few days of protest, as the videos were mostly captured during these events. However, the present study is premised on the view that the Evergreen affair is not *fundamentally* a protest or social movement, but rather a social *system*. Although most of the footage analyzed came from that climactic week, data from earlier (going back as far as a focus group report from 2014) indicates that these beliefs and attitudes were in play long before the protests. In addition, the remarkable degree of group cohesion and fluency in the ideas, norms, and jargon alone indicates that the group beliefs and culture were established well before Dr. Weinstein’s provocation. So while there is much to be said for collective action analysis in the vein of Olson (2003) or other social movement theorists, we have to look below the surface-level protest to understand this as a cultural phenomena. While some theorists may look at the properties or structure of a group as instrumental to some political end, (the hierarchy and leadership of unions, for example), the present work sees the protest aspect as deeply embedded in a larger body of culture and belief. More like a religion, let’s say, than a union.

Evergreen as a Tribe

In 1943, William Whyte published *Street Corner Society*, a comprehensive study of an Italian-American slum, writing, “The middle-class person looks upon the slum district as a formidable mass of confusion, a social chaos. The insider finds in Cornerville a highly organized and integrated social system” (p. xvi). Similarly, although the Evergreen affair may be looked upon as “hysteria” (Haller, 2017), a close study reveals a distinct, organized cultural community. And although there is no universally satisfying definition of what exactly constitutes a group (Levine & Moreland, 1998), I argue that the Evergreen participants are primarily bound by common beliefs, social structure, organizational patterns, norms, and morality. And it is in this sense—a cultural sense—that they are a social group.

The unit of analysis in the current study is local, in part because in terms of culture and belief, people do not live in nations, they live in cities, towns, and communities. While others may argue that the Evergreen affair is merely an inextricable contingent of larger social phenomena—the sociologist’s “world in a teacup” view of the microscopic (Geertz, 1973, p. 23)—such a view does not have absolute primacy over micro-level interpretation and mechanistic explanation, and, in fact, lacks the necessary granularity to understand rich, nuanced systems of belief. Culture is a public system of meaning (Geertz, 1973), and, like language, functions as the medium through which individuals interact with one another. So in order to perceive it, we must focus our analysis locally, as proximity begets interaction, and interaction necessitates culture.

The Evergreen students, faculty, and administrators involved share a culture—a set of foundational beliefs, moral considerations, norms and practices. Paired with the highly stratified structure, social roles, and other group-level patterns described below, I am tempted, as is clear

by the subtitle of this work, to refer to this as a society. However, I'm cautious about being careless with such a word, because like 'group,' there is no universally satisfying definition of society, and rarely is a clear definition offered. The most concise definition I have yet to encounter comes from Ludwig Von Mises, who wrote, "Society is concerted action, cooperation" (1966, p. 143). While in popular discourse, society is often a shorthand for nation or government, the Misesian concept of society is based on cooperation for mutual self-interest (Von Mises, 1966), which he contrasts with "voice of the blood" and "mysticism of the soil" views of society (pp. 166-169). The former defines society by shared ancestry, whereas the latter does so according to geography. Turning to the *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (Winthrop, 1991), on the other hand, society is a kind of social structure, either an aggregate of people distinguished from others with shared cultural beliefs and pattern of organization, or merely "life lived in association with others" (p. 263). With so many different conceptions of society, most of which are not mentioned here, it might seem like society is one of those words with so many different meanings that it starts to mean nothing. A reader may become sympathetic with Margaret Thatcher's famous quip that "there's no such thing as society" (Thatcher, 1987).

The definition of society that I employ here is as follows: *Society is an organizationally patterned group of individuals cooperating for mutual self-interest, either atomized or constructed through subgroups and structure, mediated by a shared culture, i.e., foundational beliefs, norms, and systems of expressing meaning.*³ To that end, Margaret Thatcher was almost correct, because there's no such thing as *a* society—there are a *plurality* of local societies. It is

³ Note here, I do not use ancestry nor geography in this definition, as in my view, such properties are (or were) merely shortcuts to the definition I've described. Shared ancestry or geography often *meant* that the people cooperated and shared culture, and while such features are not incidental, they are a shortcut more than any kind of necessary, essential characteristic.

by this definition that Whyte's (1993) Italian slum was a street corner society, and indeed how the Evergreen group is a social justice society. Nevertheless, I understand that using the word society in the following pages may confuse more than it clarifies, as my definition is certainly debatable, likely incomplete, and in conflict with common usage. Therefore, following Mr. John Edward Smith, the Evergreen group will be referred to here as the Evergreen Tribe, which should be understood as a substitute for my definition of society explicated above.⁴

Of course, one major difference between Whyte's street corner society and the social justice society I describe here is that Whyte's slum had an established history, whereas the Evergreen affair appears to have been temporary. While the manifest social order appeared over only a few days, its underlying beliefs and moral considerations were present well before the spring of 2017, going back at least as far as the focus group of 2014. The Weinstein provocation was the catalyst for crystallizing such beliefs into a practiced order, a watershed moment that, for a few brief days, allowed for the materialization of the order implicated by the beliefs and moral considerations that had previously been implicit. This study aims to understand those beliefs and considerations, and does so by looking closely at the expressed order and practices, reconstructing the otherwise implicit and intangible beliefs and culture. As ephemeral as the

⁴ Tribe, of course, has its own set of objections that go along with it. It has been put to me that using the word tribe here is, "in no uncertain terms," racist. Calling a group that includes ethnic minorities a tribe seems to be equivalent to calling them primitive, uncivilized, etc. While I can understand such a reaction, in this case, the racism is in the eye of the beholder, as, for one, the Evergreen group is majority white, and my entire argument here is that the structures and belief system are highly sophisticated. In addition, the charge of racism, insofar as it conflates 'tribe' with 'uncivilized' or other negative connotations is itself a slight towards American Indians, for whom the tribe is a perfectly legitimate moniker and mode of society. In no uncertain terms, I reject the characterization of racism. The usage of tribe and tribal in research is not uncommon, and we need only to look at Amy Chua's *Political Tribes* (2018), which starts with the universalizing sentiment, "Humans are tribal" (p. 1) which, like Jonathan Haidt's *The Righteous Mind* (2013), uses tribe and tribal to refer to groups and groupishness. And as I describe in the first paragraph here, my usage of the word follows from an Evergreen instructor, who, as a Native Indian, invited the group to think of itself as "a small tribe in this college." A concerned reader may substitute tribe for whatever they find least discomfoting.

Evergreen affair was, the Evergreen Tribe was anything but spontaneous. And I look to the former to understand the latter.

Morality and Moral Systems

It's a truism that people have ideas about what's good. And different people have different ideas about what's good—family is good, autonomy is good, taking care of others is good, hierarchy is good, etc. This kind of morality is a concrete reality that underpin values, attitudes, practices, and norms (Fiske et al., 1998), which underlie the social institutions moderating action and social behavior (Kaplan, 2018). Social interactions are structured within these bounds and manifest in a particular system, with values that buttress the social order (Blau, 1986) and individuals engaging in cultural expression that, as Geertz (1973) pointed out, are stories they tell themselves about themselves.⁵ Fundamental moral orientations play a significant role in the order of a particular society or social group—a kind of *moral system*, what Haidt (2008) describes as “interlocking sets of values, practices, institutions, and evolved psychological mechanisms that work together to suppress or regulate selfishness and make social life possible” (p. 70).

Fiske et al. (1998) describe that one of the aims of cultural psychology is to “discover the systematic principles underling the diversity of culturally patterned socialities and psyches” (p. 916). This is indeed the ultimate goal of the present work, to characterize this social group in

⁵ Although the systems from morality have been described somewhat linearly, I am not asserting some form of linear causal relationship, where cultural expressions are necessarily derived from the social institutions which, in turn, are derived from morality. Just as the relationship between culture and psyche is bi-directional (as Shweder (2003, introduction) says, they “make each other up”), there is a constant interaction between higher level action and fundamental beliefs. So while there is an emphasis here on such fundamental beliefs, everything is not always downstream from morality.

terms of the underlying belief system. This is an expedition in cultural psychology—a “rational reconstruction of the beliefs and practices of the other” (Shweder, 1991, p. 2).

Data and Methods

The Evergreen affair is valuable in part due to the quantity and quality of data accompanying it, providing the opportunity for a robust, systematic analysis. While more data is not always better, this dataset is focused and rich, as the participants filmed and streamed over 18 hours of their actions, discussions, meetings, and demonstrations. Due to the relatively recent ubiquity of streaming-capable smartphones, as well as the generation raised in the context of such technology, this offers a novel source of information. As opposed to traditional ethnography, which will always be prone to some degree of influence from the present and interactive researcher, the footage was captured by the participants themselves. This is ideal to build an understanding of the affair, as the cultural and social phenomena are acted *and* documented internally. In addition, the archive⁶ includes social media posts, images, and other footage and audio from the months before and after the demonstrations, including faculty presentations and administrative meetings. In order to understand, as Douglas Murray (2019) notes, *what* was going on, we must, following Geertz (1973), “descend into detail” (p. 53). The methodology of this research was selected for its appropriateness in facilitating that descent.

I processed the data through qualitative coding with MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program. I first approached the footage with an exploratory open coding technique, letting the patterns and codes emerge from the data. I soon employed more systematic techniques

⁶ The archive I’m using was created by Benjamin A. Boyce, who originally collected and organized the data on Evergreen. I am deeply grateful for his rigorous and dedicated work.

such as values coding, process coding, and versus coding (Saldaña, 2016). In addition, I occasionally used in-vivo coding either as a distinct technique or in concert with values coding (when the direct quote captured an attitude).

The primary technique was values coding, which captured attitudes, beliefs, and values (distinguished by the prefixes A, B, and V, respectively) (Saldaña, 2016). My definitions of these codes, largely informed by Saldaña (2016), are as follows: An *attitude* is a particular position or orientation on a specific thing, a part of a larger system of belief, whereas a *belief* is more of an abstract, encompassing idea about a thing or set of things. A *value* is an ideal or a morally salient element that informs or is implied by attitudes and beliefs. Values coding became the primary technique in this study for its utility in discovering the relationships of specific attitudes and actions with deeper values and beliefs. For example, the codes [A: Education is historically assimilatory] and [A: Assimilation, loss of identity is bad], became subcodes of [V: Ethnic Identity], which was categorized under [ETHNOCENTRISM]. That is to say, the frequent and clustered negative attitudes towards assimilation (combined with attitudes in favor of ethnic integrity, let's say) implied a value of ethnic identity, which is part of a larger trend of ethnocentric ideas.

Process coding is a technique that focuses on “simple observable activity” (Saldaña, 2016, p. 111). This was useful to capture the physical actions of the subjects, such as ‘circling-up’ when the crowd would form a circle around a potential out-group member, as well as expressions such as chanting or dancing.

The final technique was versus coding (distinguished by the prefix VS), which captures competing or juxtaposed ideas, norms, or groups (Saldaña, 2016) This technique was least

frequently used, as most attitudes that positioned one idea or group against another were better captured with values coding. The three primary coding techniques were color coded to easily differentiate them from the open coding.

The videos often showed multiple people talking over each other, off-screen groups talking to on-screen individuals, and regular location changes. For these reasons, a majority of the footage was not transcribed, as text would not have been able to accurately portray the data or capture the larger context of action. As a result, the codes were applied directly to the footage. In some instances, however, there were dyadic interactions or speeches that lent themselves to transcription. In many of these cases, I transcribed the footage. In addition to transcription and coding directly to the footage, I took detailed memos of each video, occasionally writing thick descriptions of particular interactions. While the primary data source was student-captured footage, I also coded a few videos published by the Evergreen administration, 5 Equity Council meeting minutes, a 34 page summary of a 2014 focus group, and a few dozen social media posts for a total of 1,705 coded segments. The *social order*, *social control*, and *belief system* sections include footnotes that indicate the number of coded segments in the category or categories the section is drawing from.

Neutrality and Positionality

Although I do not share the political or philosophical commitments of these subjects and have criticized similar ideas in the past (Cammack, 2020), my aim with this research is to characterize their actions and beliefs as accurately and as value-free as possible. This commitment means I will strive for descriptions and interpretations that are neutral (without value proposition or moral valence). This is difficult, of course, because a non-normative

position can easily appear critical, as stripping beliefs or action from positive, supportive interpretations and justifying rationales can make things seem stark.⁷ But just as the value-free non-normative position makes no attempt to criticize, it equally makes no attempt to cover or affirm.

There is an important question regarding the internal (and affirming) view versus the external (and neutral) view. Namely, why not just take the Evergreen participants at their word? It's their life, and they participated in the events, after all. As an outsider, I'm trying to understand the insider in a way that is legitimate *both* internally and externally, because although the outsider may not ever be able to *fully* understand the culture he studies, the insider may not be able to intelligibly and comprehensively understand it himself (Whyte 1993, p. 371). It is difficult for an insider to consciously perceive his own culture, to fully grasp his own beliefs, and to explicate his own moral considerations. To intellectualize such ideas it to detach oneself from them—by moving them into the mind, they move away from the heart, let's say. So while the outsider may not be able to be *fully* understand it either, it is the relationship between the internal practitioner and the outside observer that may precipitate insight, understanding, and knowledge.⁸ By taking the neutral outsider's perspective, I may be able to explain cultural elements and beliefs in a manner that is intelligible to other outsiders, a stripped down interpretation that aims for demystification without distortion.

The ultimate aim of this research is to discern the foundational beliefs and moral considerations from observed patterns of behavior and social structure, and I will present the

⁷ Referring, for example, to Jesus Christ as a historical religious figure as opposed to The Son of God may appear disrespectful, skeptical, or critical to the insider.

⁸ Whyte (1993, p. 371) cites Alexis De Tocqueville's study of early America as one such example of deep insight from an outsider.

findings here in a non-linear order. First, I will discuss the particular social order and structure of the group, followed by the mechanisms for social control and regulation. Finally, I will argue how this social group may be understood in terms of its fundamental beliefs.

Social Order⁹

The Evergreen Tribe was a couple hundred strong, and although appeared to be majority white, consisted of both men and women (and gender non-conforming persons) of many different ethnicities: white, black, Hispanic, native American, and native islander. It is important to note that although this happened on the campus of the Evergreen State College, not every enrolled student was a member of the Evergreen Tribe. In fact, most of the around 4,000 students had nothing to do with them. The Tribe was composed not only of students, but included many faculty, administrators, and staff. Some students even referred to some such faculty as “elders,” although administrative position did not necessarily imbue any member with status or authority. In this section, I look at norms, resource allocation, and social roles to show that the social order was hierarchical and stratified primarily along ethno-racial lines.

Resource Allocation¹⁰

Practices around resources such as food are often a symbolic representation and elaboration of hierarchy and belief (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002). The manner in which resources are allocated and distributed in the Evergreen Tribe is not arbitrary, but rather illustrates the clear division and hierarchy between POC and whites.

⁹ main category: SOCIAL ORDER [456 segments]

¹⁰ sub-category: *Resource* [55 segments]

On May 23rd, the day of the Weinstein confrontation, the students later gathered near some administrative offices and surrounded Evergreen State College President George Bridges¹¹ and Vice President for Student Affairs Wendy Endress.¹² They were addressing multiple concerns, both Weinstein's behavior and the subsequent confrontation with campus police. Bridges appeared calm, though somewhat annoyed, as he took notes from the students. During this exchange, a black female student stepped forward from the group, and said, "Are there any black folks that need water in here?" This was one of the early patterns to emerge from the footage. When there were resources to be distributed, the POC group often had clear priority over the white group. This was true not just for obvious resources, like food and water, but also for chairs.

As people were filing in to one of the 4th floor library meetings, a Hispanic student addressed the room: "Prioritize people of color! If you're white and sitting down give your seat up to a person of color!" Another student, addressing the Tribe at another time said: "I want to ask that all the white students really prioritize the body and comfortability of students of color... White students, if your butt is sitting in a seat, please stand up and move to the back." When people were slowly coming into the police review board meeting, a white male went to sit down. "The chairs are for black and brown bodies," he was quickly told by an off-camera voice. "My bad," he replied. As all of the student footage was shot in a portrait orientation, it was rare to see the entire crowd in one frame. However, it seemed that the POC often sat in the front of meetings or discussions, whereas whites were mostly in the back.

¹¹ A white male

¹² A white female

It's interesting to note that there were usually more available chairs than POC could fill, therefore it was not uncommon for whites to have access to seats eventually. So it's not that POC were the only group allowed to sit, but that they must be given priority in seating. Similarly, it's not as though whites weren't allowed to eat or drink, POC just had priority. So, whether we look food, water, or chairs, this *prioritization* of POC becomes clear. It would be a mistake, however, to think that this prioritization is done *by* POC *to* whites. This is one tribe, and both classes uphold the order. As one white female announced: "If you're a white- if you're, if you're an allyship, you can help push in chairs, take care of the space so people can focus on food. So you can help be cleaning, so that folks can sit down and relax and eat." POC ought to be prioritized, and it is the responsibility of whites to facilitate.

Race Based Roles¹³

Another pattern that emerged from the footage is that the Evergreen Tribe, like any society, is characterized by a clear division of labor. At one point, a small Tribal cohort entered the administrative offices searching for an administrator. When they found the administrator locked in her office, one POC began banging on the door, and she was quickly interrupted by a fellow POC: "You don't need to do that, you're black, let the white people do that." Like resources, i.e., *who gets what*, *who does what* is a constitutive property of a social order, and this aspect of the Evergreen Tribe again falls along ethno-racial lines. While in a traditional society the biggest division may be between the men and women, in this Tribe, roles and responsibilities

¹³ sub-category: *Guardianship/white job* [53 segments]

are determined by ethnicity—POC and white.¹⁴ I identify the primary jobs for whites as resource distribution, guardianship, and general labor.

During one of the 4th floor library meetings, POC sat in the front of the room, addressing George Bridges about their grievances. In a particularly heated moment, a POC interrupted from off camera and announced, “There is a lot of water that the whites have brought us...” A fellow POC responded: “Thank you, whites!” Shortly thereafter, one of a couple white females would occasionally enter and deliver cups of water to POC in the center of the group. The interaction between the white female and POC here was not unlike the dynamic between waitress and customer. In the footage, the white female approaches a cluster of POC, appearing concerned about interrupting. Hunched, again, appearing somewhat apologetically, she offers a cup to a POC, who takes it and thanks her, and then she withdraws from the center of the group. At another point, during a small meeting with administrators, a POC requests that a white administrator get up and get water for her. It’s unclear if this request was fulfilled. While there were not frequent instances of such active resource distribution in the footage, it was a clear pattern. Not only were POC prioritized, it was the role of the white group to facilitate such prioritization through the distribution and provision of resources.

The most commonly performed role was guardianship, the responsibility of physically protecting POC.

“White people, protect students of color!”

“...we have allies here to make sure we’re safe...”

“If you are a white body, or white passing, or male body, please come to the front of the library [to join the barricade]”

¹⁴ While POC is not an ethnicity itself, it is the social-group level aggregate of non-white ethnicities.

“There was talk of a white walk safe program, that’s something to look into…”

The most dramatic example of this was shortly after the Tribe’s original confrontation with Professor Bret Weinstein. Someone had called the campus police and reported that a professor was being held against his will. As the Tribe left Dr. Weinstein, they encountered two officers responding to the report. The group blocked the police, and the white people immediately moved to the front of the group, forming a protective barrier between police and POC. Later, when students were walking past an officer, whites stood between them and POC.

This guardianship role became particularly evident during the second day of protests, when the Tribe occupied administrative offices on the second floor of the Library building. A rumor began spreading that Olympia police were headed to campus. In response, the Tribe barricaded the library building with furniture. A group of whites stood in front of the barricades outside of the building, presumably as a human shield. POC (though mostly, if not exclusively black) were then put together into a central room—a panic room of sorts. This was only temporary, as eventually POC left the library to go to another building on campus for their safety, and were escorted on the walk by white students. The rationale of this role was clear: Police kill POC, and are less inclined to kill whites, therefore whites must be a buffer between the two parties for the safety of the POC and the Tribe as a whole. As one POC said, “As a white person, you should be able to use your privilege to interact with the police in a way *we* may not be able to.”

In addition to guardianship and resource distribution, whites were also responsible for general labor and duties, a sentiment captured well by the statements:

“My body would be best served here.”

“[...] We’re just making sure that nobody leaves, you’re specifically charged with that.”

“I want four white people right there [at that door]!”

Whites were often assigned to minding doors and other general duties, although there were a pair of high-status white females that took a stronger role in Tribal management. This apparent intra-class elevated status (similar to the position Dollard (1949) might refer to as low-caste/upper-class), meant these individuals took leadership roles over their own group, but never directed any POC.

Beliefs about the appropriate distribution of labor underpinned these divisions. As the May 24th press release notes: “the labor for dramatic change in the institution has fallen on Black femme students, instead of paid administrators or other white bodies.” And as a POC admin said during a presentation: “It cannot be just the People of Color doing the heavy lifting.” The distribution of labor is just as important as the distribution of resources, and such responsibilities are the duty of whites.

*Norms*¹⁵

A norm is a regulatory aspect of a social system—a standard of behavior whose adherence or violation may be rewarded or sanctioned by other members of the society, or internalized by the individual and regulated with positive and negative emotion (Coleman, 1990).¹⁶ Although such norms may have explicitly functional explanations—children should

¹⁵ sub-category: *Etiquette* [83 segments]

¹⁶ While norms are often taken axiomatically—the *homo sociologicus* view of human nature—norms emerge from the mutual, individual demands on the behavior of others, demands that are not absolute and determinant, but potential (and realized) positive and negative reactions that the individual takes into account when making decisions and taking action (Coleman, 1990). Coleman (1990) argues that norms make the micro-macro-micro transition, “because the process must arise from individual actions yet a norm itself is a system-level property which affects the further actions of individuals, both the sanctions applied by individuals who hold the norm and the actions in conformity with the norm. (p. 244)” However, as the focus of the present research is not to explain *how* this social system *emerged*, no further discussion is required here.

obey to parents because that way more children will survive—norms are fundamentally rooted in attitudes regarding social order and deep cultural beliefs. Looking to norms of etiquette and norms of speaking, I will show how the norms operating in the Evergreen reveal status differences between POC and whites.

Norms of Etiquette

There are a great many different norms about interpersonal interaction and etiquette, many of which are based on status—how the young talk to the old, for example, is often very different to how the old address the young. The Evergreen Tribe is no different, with a fascinating set of interpersonal norms, outlining proper interaction between POC and whites. I offer the following description to illustrate how such norms operated in a thick, cross-group interaction:

This scene begins with a Tribal cohort gathered in President George Bridges' office. It's a full room, with most standing, some sitting. President Bridges has his back to the wall, and other white administrators and faculty are standing around, quiet and appearing reserved. A black female student is addressing some of them. "That hurts black bodies!" she says, in reference to a presumably insensitive email that an administrator sent out. The email, she maintains, was targeting black students, and the administrators are blind to this. "If it was your children, you'd have been in here." The group cheers and applauds.

Another black female student begins talking, but a white faculty tries to speak. "Can you not interrupt me?" the student says. Interrupting a black woman, she makes clear, is white supremacy: "We talk about, like, patriarchy and white supremacy, and you just exercised that, you just exemplified that." This professor has made an error, and he is sanctioned—the students

asks him why (in light of the violation of interrupting a black woman) he should stay employed. He apologizes, and then is invited to speak. In a unique appeal, he makes the case as to why he is on their side, invoking his record of reporting racist instances on campus. In a sense, he is putting forth an application to join the Tribe. His appeal, however, is on thin ice, as students interrupt and question his record. A female POC faculty member finally rejects his application.

“As a faculty of color,” she begins, as many statements often are. She recounts an instance of him “challenging” her over a union dispute. He had apparently been too aggressive with her in the past, violating the norms of cross-group etiquette. As a white person, he should not have demanded protection of “his needs.” This incenses him, and begins to retort, appearing frustrated and angry. But his retort is immediately cut off by the group. They yell him down as George Bridges grabs his arm. He is not allowed to challenge a POC. His application has been rejected, he has been excised, and he is kicked out of the room.

“This is the kind of shit we put up with, George!” declares a POC student. This student is not black however, and so has made a slight mistake. “Not us, you,” he corrects himself, gesturing to a black female student. George is in trouble, however, as he didn't do enough: “You were just *holding* him!” The white professor was far too aggressive. “I felt like he threatened her,” a black student says. A chant of “Community love!” rings through as they try to shut the door and regain order. The Tribe is indignant at the exchange, expressing both anger (at the violation) and elation (at the effective sanction).

The norms of interaction between POC and whites clearly reveal status differences, which were often mediated by the practices of tone validation and tone policing. Tone validation is the practice of ignoring *how* a person speaks, and only focusing on the content of what they

say. If someone angrily screams at another person, the dictum of tone validation would not allow any objections to the scream, only the content of the scream. And almost all instances of tone validation are for angry or otherwise aggressive ways of speaking—as one person said, “We’re angry, but our anger is valid.” In situations where the Tribe was together, or had one person they’re addressing, the style of speaking *often* took an emotional, angry tenor. The opposite of tone validation is tone policing, where *how* a person speaks is the focus of the objection.

Observing the many hours of interaction, it became clear that the norms regarding how people must talk to each other depended almost entirely on race. A white person talking to a POC person was not allowed to shout, gesture with hands, smile inappropriately, laugh inappropriately, interrupt, look over the rims of glasses, tone police, or display anger, and were subject to sanctions by both POC and other white people. And we can look back to the 2014 Diversity and Equity focus group for an early iteration of the sentiment that race is an element of their norms of interaction. Describing his experience with a white female instructor who disagreed with him, a POC student noted: “You don’t talk back to a Black man.” During the Evergreen affair, most such violations were committed by white faculty, as they were almost exclusively the ones talking to POC. In one meeting between a few POC students and white faculty, the POC frequently criticized the white faculty for not acting engaged enough, or not taking enough notes. It’s clear that there is not just an opposition against perceived disrespectful manners, but also a requirement for a certain level of positive manners. This tracks onto the earlier comparison of the common norms between how young and old people interact: the young person must not be rude, but he also must not ignore. It should be emphasized, however, that these rules were not just enforced by the POC class *against* the white class. White people would

self-correct, preemptively apologize, and object to violations by other whites. Though the norms differed by racial group, the rules were upheld by the entire Tribe.

Speaking Norms

The hierarchical structure of the Evergreen Tribe was elaborated regarding who was allowed to speak. There were many instances of the Tribe or Tribal cohorts gathered together, either having an internal discussion or addressing a few singled-out people. In these instances, it meant one person had the floor while others listen. It was rare, however, for a white person to take that floor (and when one did, it was virtually always a white female). Speaking privileges, defined as the right to address the Tribe or from the Tribe—the right to step up to the microphone, let’s say—were almost exclusively for the POC.

Norms become most evident when they are violated. On the morning after the day they barricaded the library, a large cohort of students met with the police review board. Around 50 students were in attendance. There were two board members present, Kelly Brown and Professor Artee Young, both female POC.¹⁷ During the roughly 2.5 hour meeting, students asked the board questions about police accountability, disarming the police, racism, and other topics. Also in attendance, however, was a white male Evergreen student who was not a part of the Tribe, as his repeated violations of the speaking norm made clear:

In this scene, Kelly Brown has just finished answering a question, and a white male student begins to speak. He is immediately cut off by a male POC student: “Let’s center black,

¹⁷ Judging by a few misunderstandings, these two women did not appear to be fully realized members of the Tribe, as some of what the students were telling them seemed to get lost in translation, so to speak. Compared to other admins and faculty, Young and Brown did not appear to have the same kind of literacy with the worldview, nor familiarity with these norms, as, at one point, Young invited a white male to speak.

femme, and women voices in this space, just putting that out there.” Brown doesn’t quite understand, so the student repeats himself. He does, but Brown still doesn’t understand that the student is outlining a Tribal norm (white people should not speak), and so another Tribal member (a white female) clarifies: “We’re gonna center like, black, femme, woman voices, like, let them be heard because they’re silenced so often. So, if you’re white, it’s not really the time for you to speak right now.” The white male student, either oblivious to the norm or actively rebelling against it, offers a suggestion: “So, I think, then, people should just raise their hand...” Many in the room simultaneously say “no,” in the long and low way a crowd expresses disapproval. A Tribal member cuts in: “[A female POC]’s got her hand raised, it’s [her] turn.”

The discussion moves away from this violation temporarily, but about 10 minutes later, the white male student asks a question directly to Artee about whether or not students are allowed to file a formal complaint against police with the Olympia police department. There are no objections to him this time, although a white Tribal member does walk angrily across the room, possibly to admonish him in private. This is more than mere speculation, and this Tribal member (who is easily identified by a bright orange vest) engaged in such sanctioning in other situations.

Over the next 30 minutes, the white male student asks another question and occasionally contributes to the discussion. There are no objections to him throughout this time, and an observer may even wonder if the group has given up enforcing the norm. He brings attention to the fact that a white female sitting in front of him has “had her hand raised for like 30 minutes,” after which she begins to speak, but is cut off. About 40 minutes after he first spoke, he speaks again, and is interrupted more forcefully this time. “We’re not trying to hear you man,” a male

POC says. “You’re making a lot of people in this room uncomfortable, and we’re not trying to hear you.” In response to this, the crowd finger-snaps (a form of applause). The students begin to speak over each other, and Artee stands up and gets their attention, emphasizing the importance of the meeting and asks the white student to speak first, and then the person who interrupted him to follow. As she finishes, however, a different male POC Tribal member attempts to take the floor, and the discussion is redirected towards a white female. A few minutes later, a different white male (clearly a Tribal member this time) begins to ask a question, but multiple people in the group interrupt him, and make clear that there “are some other people [POC] who want to talk.”

The earlier violator, who is either ignorant or insolent to the norm, finally becomes subject to significant sanction, as the enforcement had not yet been strong enough to uphold the norm. A male POC student addresses the crowd, and accuses the violator of islamophobia¹⁸ and demands that he delete the videos he had been taking of the meeting. Another student joins in, and suggests that “this is an opportunity for community policing,” as the crowd snaps their fingers in approval. They demand he delete his recordings, which he refuses, and begins to discuss the situation with Artee (who he apparently has a relationship with, as they greet each other with a hug). After a few minutes, the student leaves the meeting, and the Tribe regroups, emphasizing the importance of sanctioning:

“The purpose of coming forward was to, like, engage in an act of community policing. Where we can all, like, hold someone accountable to something. What you just saw was, like, complete unwillingness to be accountable. All the request from the people made

¹⁸ There is no further context to the accusation of islamophobia or what the charge is referring to.

uncomfortable was that he delete the photos and videos. And, um, it's not a damning sentence, it's, like, the least he can do.”

As these interactions show, there were significant norms regarding who is allowed to speak. POC had the greatest degree of speaking privileges, white females came second, and white males last. In the Evergreen Tribe, whites (particularly students) were for the most part silent, unless they were asked, evident in one interaction with President George Bridges where a few POC began calling out: “White people, can you tell him why we’re concerned?”; “White people, speak!”; “White allies, you need to talk to him!” This seems to be related to concerns regarding distribution of labor, however, rather than speaking rights, strictly speaking. The rationale often expressed is that the labor of explaining issues to white faculty should not only fall on the shoulders of POC. Either way, there are robust norms operating regarding who gets to speak when, and why.

The emphasis at the end of the final interaction on ‘community policing’ and ‘accountability’ are part of a broader theme of social control. The demand for control is, like much of the social order described above, informed by racial distinctions. For example, in response to a white female advocating for more community policing, a male POC asked: “What’s your definition of behavior of white students that needs policing?” She began to respond, but paused for a few moments, after which the male POC continued, “Do you think cultural appropriation? I mean, that's a portion of racism and white supremacy, you're gonna police these white students here who walk around with dreadlocks and dashikis?” This question, which seems to have been rhetorical but sincere, received a positive response from the group in

the form of applause, and shows that there are race-based norms that ought to be policed and upheld.



While adherence to the belief system and willingness to engage in pro-Tribe work defined Tribal membership as a whole, the couple hundred students, faculty, administrators and staff that comprised the Tribe were set into two distinct classes: People of Color (POC) and white.¹⁹ Within these were sub-groups, distinguished by sex and gender, i.e., cis-male, cis-female, and trans/non-binary.²⁰ There was also some evidence of additional factors such as sexual orientation and disability. A white woman or white gay man, for example, was a high status low class person, and enjoyed some privileges and authority over the straight white men. Similarly, trans and female POC were high-status high-class people, and seemed to enjoyed privileges and authority over male POC (as well as the entire lower class). There also appeared to be an ethnic distinction within the POC class, as Hispanics, for example, didn't seem to have the same degree of privileged as blacks, although there is some ambiguity as to how this differential was fully ordered. But insofar as the Tribe had leadership, these leaders were mostly black POC. This hierarchical orientation is illustrated by the graphic below.²¹

¹⁹ Another way to think about this is POC and non-POC or non-white and white.

²⁰ The prefix 'cis' indicates that a person's gender expression aligns with their biological sex. In the body of the present work, I will not include this prefix.

²¹ Note that the upper subgroups (trans, cis-female, and non-heterosexual) are not ordered by relative status, and should be understood as having roughly the same status (though this is somewhat ambiguous).

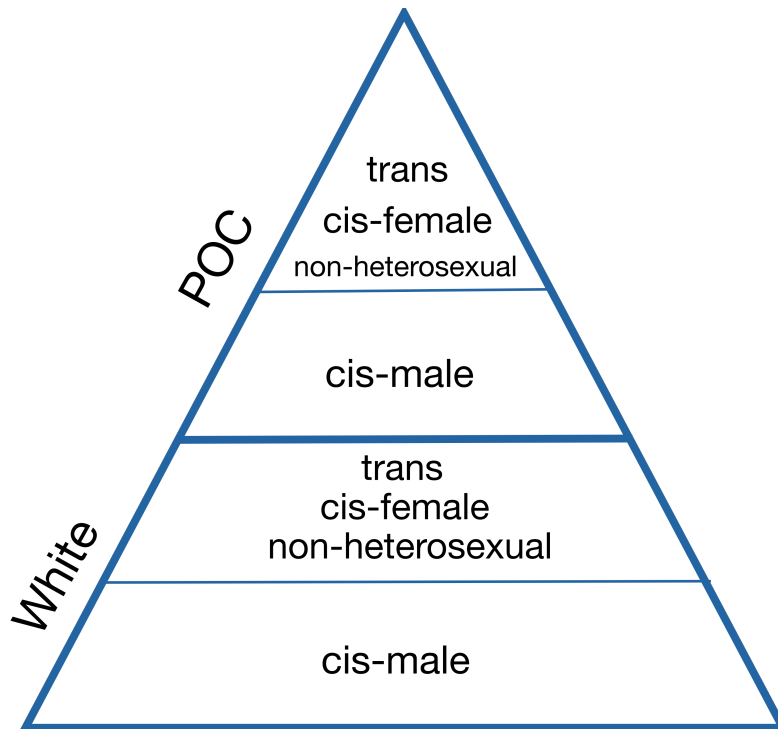


Figure 1. Social Hierarchy, POC & White

Social Control²²

As discussed above, a norm is an often internalized regulatory standard, and as such, is frequently invisible to the observer. However, any society or social group establishes mechanisms for social control—external methods of dissuading anti-social behavior, sanctioning norm violation (and promoting their internalization), and enforcing cohesion (Coleman, 1990). The Evergreen Tribe is no different. Though instances of social control have been implicated in the previous sections, here I will explicitly outline some mechanisms and show how they uphold the social order described above.

²² sub-category: *Social Control* [202 segments]

*Sanctions*²³

Sanctions are punishments for violating norms (Coleman, 1990). Such sanctions may have varying degrees of weight and sophistication, from dirty looks to procedural ostracization. The Evergreen Tribe employed a variety of different sanctions, and they were mostly discussed in terms of “accountability.”

A common form of sanction, directed at those employed by the Evergreen State College, was a demand for either resignation or termination. This was demanded of some administrators, two campus police officers, Professor Bret Weinstein, President George Bridges, as well as one of the cafeteria workers. As a result of a strong faculty contract, it was apparently difficult to accomplish this demand, much to the disappointment of the Tribe. But while firings and resignations didn’t happen (at least within the timeframe of the present study), the *demand* itself operated as a sanction. It is to say to someone: You have committed such an egregious act (like interrupting a black woman), that you should be removed from our society and institution permanently. This *threat* of exile, while less serious than exile itself, still carried a significant weight.

Another sanction comes in the form of an accusation of moral incompetence. As the Tribe was attempting to gather support in the library, a small cohort gathered around a few faculty or administrators who were hesitant about joining the meeting in the administrative offices. A white female Tribe member presented the sanction clearly:

“Y’all can leave and no harm will be done to you, I *can* guarantee that, but by leaving it’s sort of showing the school that you don’t care about the black and brown lives here. And that’s harmful to the environment here. And I don’t think that’s ok. If you want to

²³ sub-category: *Sanctions* [31 segments]

leave, go ahead, but you should not under any circumstances leave this environment. It is y'all's job to stand up for the students and it's y'all's jobs to be here and represent the students. And by represent the students, I mean all of them, including the black and brown students. And I think it is irresponsible for you guys to leave. But if you do choose to leave, no harm will be done to you."

This sanction is both a punishment and threat of further punishment. If they leave, they will be known as people who don't care about POC lives. This is a serious threat, as it positions them as enemies of the Tribe, and they'd be subject to the same consequences as Weinstein. If you aren't with us, the student makes clear, you're against us. In addition, the insistence that "no harm will be done to you" actually introduces the threat of violence into the situation. Even the ostensible reassurance that it *won't* happen brings the otherwise unconsidered into the realm of possibility. It not that harm *can't* be done to them, but that it *won't*. This is not impossibility, but restraint. The threat of violence looms, even in its apparent negation.

There were also sanctions that were imposed between students as the following description shows:

During a meeting on the 4th floor of the library, the Tribe made a large circle around George Bridges. The person filming begins speaking about a person near him: "I don't get this. I don't really understand what this kid's doing here. I just like don't think someone who steals from women of color should be like sitting here in support of this. I don't know, you should probably get the fuck out of here." A few moments later, he walks over to where the person is sitting, and whispers to him: "You know, you can make an apology, and then, like, do something good, and then I probably wouldn't be wrecking your social life."

While there is no context or information as to whether or not the accusation of theft is true, the accused violated a norm regarding inter-class interaction. It is particularly egregious, as made clear by the speaker's emphasis, that the act was committed against a female POC. The first sanction is a move towards exclusion and ostracization: "You should probably get the fuck out of here." The second statement, which seems to offer the violator a path of penance (apologize and do something good), threatens a similar form of sanction: The disintegration of the person from the Tribe and the destruction of their social life.

These sanctions have a common theme—totalism. When Dr. Weinstein was confronted, for example, he expressed his interest in pursuing a "dialectic." The Tribal members made clear, however, that it "[was] not a discussion," and he needed to "engage, listen, and understand." And as one speaker said during the presentation about the college's new equity plan: "This is about playing the believing game." Throughout the footage there's no compromise to made, middle ground to be found, or discussion to be had. Get on board, or "get the fuck out of here." This absolute rejection of compromise and the imposition of hostility and ostracization in response to any anti-Tribal behavior is a powerful controlling force. Individual actors—who perhaps are not fully 'on board' with the Tribe—considering this high cost of speaking out or non-compliance will be inclined to go along to get along. Dealing harshly with defectors, as any military, fundamentalist religion, or rational choice theorist²⁴ knows, is often an effective method of dissuading defection and enforcing compliance.

²⁴ Some sanctions may seem like an overreaction, i.e., more costly to the actor than the violation. However, even reactions that are so harsh they appear to impose an extreme cost on the reactor can be rational. While it may seem irrational to violently respond to a minor violation with screaming and chanting, to be known as someone who will react in such a manner will dissuade future violations, thereby creating a net positive effect for the reactor. For more on this see Frank (1988, *Preface*).

Monitoring²⁵

Another mechanism of social control came in the form of monitoring. People who were not fully ‘on board’ were subject to being monitored or escorted (the Tribe referred to this as “babysitting”). Monitoring mostly (although not exclusively) occurred with key faculty and administrators, such as Vice President for Student Affairs Wendy Endress and President George Bridges, as well as notable outgroup members such as Professor Weinstein. Whether in a large gathering or walking alone across campus, these people would be followed (and often filmed) by one or a few white student Tribal members. This was not just an observed phenomenon, but an explicit practice, as students would be delegated from the group as the need arose: “Somebody follow Wendy!”

Monitoring serves two functions for social control. First, it helps maintain accurate information regarding the whereabouts of key figures or key troublemakers. This information is crucial to the Tribe, as they often summon administrators to solicit membership or compliance. In addition, a powerful administrator or faculty that goes rogue could be damaging to the Tribe—President Bridges, for example, could easily call in the Olympia Police Department, were he so inclined. The monitoring functions, in this regard, as a kind of panopticon: an omnipresent eye to make sure people are getting on board, and are not slipping off to sabotage the aims of the Tribe.

Circling Up²⁶

Whenever the Tribe or Tribal cohorts gathered for meetings and discussions, they would almost always sit (or stand) in a large circle. Upon first glance, one might think this is rooted in

²⁵ sub-category: *Monitoring/Handling/Babysitting* [8 segments]

²⁶ sub-category: *Circling-Up* [12 segments]

an egalitarian disposition, in that there is no ‘head’ of the crowd or a singular focal point. This hypothesis, however, fades as one looks closer at the makeup of the circle. The closer to the center of the circle would be POC, and further away would be white people. The circle itself, like the Tribe, was stratified by class.²⁷ Beyond this, however, the circle served as a severe form of social control.

Targets of the Tribe’s grievances would stand in the center of the circle.²⁸ This person, a faculty or administrator, would present whatever they had to say, with frequent objections and criticisms from the crowd. While these meetings operated ostensibly for making progress or enacting change in the institution, they were at the core functional and symbolic. While the target was centered, a Tribal member would often enter the circle and criticize, insult, or mock the target. The member would then exit the circle, leaving the floor open for another Tribal member to enter. For example, at one meeting in the open space of the 4th floor of the library, George Bridges was in the center, fielding criticisms and demands. He violated a norm by gesturing and pointing, which prompted a female POC to enter the circle. “That’s my problem George,” she said, “you keep doing these little hand movements, or whatever, like...” and then comically mocked his physical movements, which garnered laughter from the crowd. While this humiliation is a particular sanction, it’s part of the larger practice of circling up, which provides the opportunity for broad, effective norm enforcement. The circle functions as social control at

²⁷ This is not to say that the inner circle was *only* POC and the outer was *only* white people, but that this often seemed to be a pattern. People on the furthest outer perimeter were almost exclusively white, while POC clustered more in the inner area of the circle. In addition, this could be a consequence of the prioritized distribution of chairs to POC, as the chairs (when they were present) were closest to the inner circle, and standing room was in the back.

²⁸ In these situations, targets were only white. If a POC took the center of the circle, it was to deliver a rousing speech or message to the Tribe which was usually met with a form of applause.

Tribal level, in that it sanctions and strong-arms key faculty and administrators, and it functions as signaling at the individual level, in that Tribal members could show their adherence to the Tribe by their degree of outrage and insult towards the target. Symbolically, the center of the circle was a bull's-eye, the target of the Tribe's ire, and the person standing in the center was the embodied representation of the problem.

A different kind of circling-up also played a role in smaller situations, usually where a Tribal cohort was interacting with a 'borderline' faculty or administrator (one suspected of not being fully on-board), and attempting to summon them to a meeting or solicit membership. I offer the following description to illustrate the power of the circle:

In this scene, Wendy Endress has her back towards the glass window of the library, and a medium sized cohort of students have formed a semi-circle around her. A self identified "white-passing" female student is inside the circle with Wendy, addressing her:

"Part of why we're here right now standing around you is because the people that, like, people don't feel safe doing this right now. People don't feel safe having this conversation. I'm white passing, so I can stand here in front of you and I can have this conversation with you peacefully and hopefully you don't feel threatened." "I don't," Wendy replies, "I felt a little threatened when I was (unintelligible), but I don't feel threatened right now." The student explains to Wendy that the students don't feel listened to. Wendy replies, "What do you think would be a good way for that to happen?" The student asks the crowd what Wendy should do. The semi circle opens partially and forms a passage leading towards President Bridges' office. "Go talk to George," a student calls out from the crowd. "We've made a nice hallway for you." Another student chimes in: "Look at what we did for *you!* We're doing all the work!" The white-

passing student asks Wendy if she will join George in his office. Wendy, like many other administrators and faculty, is being summoned to join the group of authorities who are addressing the student's demands. "I'm not opposed to doing that," she assures them. However, she appears somewhat hesitant: "I want to know that George wants to talk to me also." The student pivots the conversation: "I think the (unintelligible) students just want you on their side. Like, are you on our side?" After a very brief pause, Wendy replies that she is on the side of the health and well being of all the students. "So you want equity?" the student says. "I do want equity," Wendy replies. A student (or students) from the crowd yells "Bullshit!" and "Liar!" The white-passing student continues: "So what needs to happen [...] right now is we need you to go and talk to George." "Yeah, I'm willing to do that," Wendy affirms, "my, my concern is that I'm going to be trapped in that room. Can you promise me that I'm not going to be trapped in that room?" "I cannot promise you that you will not be trapped in that room," the student says, "but nobody here wants to physically hurt anybody else.²⁹ We just want conversation to happen, so if conversation happens and you guys walk out of here and you've read the demands and you understand them, that's gonna help a lot at this point. So, um, I can walk you if you want or- we made a hallway for you." "That's fine I don't need to be escorted," Wendy responds, agreeing to go along with their request. A student calls out from the crowd: "No, you definitely do need to be escorted." Wendy walks down the passage the crowd has formed, as they close behind and follow her away.

Without physical force, the circle kept Wendy in one place while a Tribal member solicited her allegiance. The circle meant that all eyes were on Wendy, another sort of

²⁹ Again, introducing the threat of violence.

panopticon, keeping her in place and on her toes until it opened and formed a human pathway, directing Wendy where they wanted her to be. The circle, a seemingly innocuous and random formation, is a powerful force of social control indeed.

Soliciting Allegiance³⁰

“*Are you on our side?*” Different forms of this phrase are frequent throughout the footage. Tribe members engaged in a kind of evangelism, asking white faculty and administrators to pledge their allegiance, so to speak, to the Tribe and the Tribal aims. This often worked in tandem with the totalism described above. The totalist sentiment, ‘You’re either with us or against us,’ would be followed by the solicitation: ‘so are you with us?’ It should be emphasized that most faculty and administrators involved with the Tribe were largely sympathetic to the Tribe and were members of the Tribe themselves. Many such (white) people, however, were expected to prove this allegiance through acts or affirmations: “Make it very clear why this is important to you”; “We need to know you care”; “What are y’all gonna do?”

Of course, it is no coincidence that such behaviors are directed primarily at faculty and administrators. These are the people with actual institutional authority, and it would be highly advantageous to influence the institutional mechanisms and capture institutional actors. Becoming embedded in the institution is an incredibly powerful opportunity for future social control. While solicitation in this way is in part a *political* story, it is both a force of social control in the short term (enforcing compliance and allegiance with individual actors) and in the long term (institutionalizing Tribal values and Tribal actors to enforce social control on a broader basis).

³⁰ sub-category: *Soliciting Membership* [27 segments]

In addition, solicitation of allegiance and membership acts to close the network and reinforce solidarity, thereby empowering the capacity for social control. Solidarity, a virtue often expressed by the Tribe, is a powerful means of creating effective norms and sanctions. When a network of individuals all know each other (a closed network), this increases the cost of norm-violation, as sanctions will come from multiple or all actors within the network (Coleman, 1990). So when the Tribe increases solidarity by embedding important figures in the network (with solicitation of allegiance), creating a more closed network, this increases the potential cost of norm violation and defection, providing a massive boon to the Tribe's capacity for social control. There is power in numbers—not just against outside threats, but also for maintaining internal stability and control.

Reeducation³¹

As noted in the above section, capturing institutional power is an incredible opportunity for social control. One of the Tribe's primary demands was for the institution to create recurring mandatory training.³² This training, which was proposed at one point to occur twice a year, would serve to train faculty and administrators in the values and ways of thinking that, it appears, align with the values and aims of the Tribe. It was clearly important for faculty to learn how white people are inherently racist, how POC have been historically and institutionally oppressed, and how the only way to combat “the wicked violence of whiteness” is to engage in explicit acts of anti-racism. It is clear how this tracks onto the Tribe's social order and belief system. By educating educators in these beliefs and values, they can further spread their ideas into the

³¹ sub-category: *Training/Re-Education* [53 segments]

³² These were primarily implicit bias, cultural competency, and anti-racism training, but also included equity training, ally training, trans issues training, disability issues training, sexual assault training, police retraining, and cultural diversity training.

broader student body, expanding the Tribe's influence and capacity for social control. As I will discuss in the final section, this mode of spreading ideas implies that such ideas are not contestable scholarly theories, nor political positions open for debate, but absolute truths that must be learned and accepted.

Alternative Interpretations

Before moving into the final section, where I analyze the belief system of the Evergreen Tribe, I will first acknowledge that there are other interpretations of this affair that should be considered. The first is to take the insider's view in its entirety, that is, to embed these events in a justifying, affirming context and rationale. This is the social justice interpretation, and while this contrasts with a non-normative analysis, a reader may nevertheless see glimpses of how the system of belief described in the final section below tracks onto (or rather, underneath) this value-laden, affirmative interpretation. The second is the interpretation of the affair as an inversion ritual, a not uncommon practice of turning the world on its head. This will offer a discussion of the possible meaning and function of the apparent role-reversal that characterized the Evergreen affair.

Social Justice

The following interpretation is an integration of information derived from the Evergreen footage and the scholarship of Dr. Robin DiAngelo. As Dr. DiAngelo spoke at the Evergreen State College in January, February, and March of 2016 as part of a lecture series titled *Coming Together: Diversity and Equity Speakers Series*, I have opted to emphasize her interpretation here, as it seems to be at least somewhat intertwined with the internal worldview of the Evergreen Tribe. This interpretation is by its nature normative, as it's oriented towards a way

things ought to be. This ethos of social change affirms the actions and practices of the Evergreen Tribe, placing the group in a broader context of oppression and revolution. A broad social justice interpretation, as incomplete as it may be, is as follows.

America is a society that privileges and centers the white experience, and it is constantly defending this status. Such defense amounts to a system of racism, the active oppression of black and brown people through policing, incarceration, workplace discrimination, housing discrimination, educational discrimination, and social conditioning, as evidenced in part by the low socio-economic status of black and brown people. American society is a white-supremacist system, “a political-economic social order based on the historical and current accumulation of structural power that privileges White people as a group” (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 145)

Colleges and universities are part of this structure, and promulgate white supremacy by privileging the experiences of white people and in its institutions and pedagogy (hooks, 1994). This must be changed so as to allow black and brown people to flourish, which would be evidenced by better socio-economic conditions. The broader power structure must be fought at every turn, and as such, the Evergreen State College ought to be changed. The Evergreen affair is a protest, a social movement of people interested in dismantling the white power structures that actively oppress black and brown people.

The Day of Absence/Day of Presence, in its new formulation, was meant to center the college on the experiences of those who are oppressed and silenced, i.e., the experience of black and brown people. Dr. Weinstein’s objection was an attempt to protect his own privilege and satisfy his “white comfort,” which “maintains the racial status quo” (DiAngelo, 2018, p.143).

And as the racial status quo is a white-supremacist power structure, such an objection warranted

vocal protest. White people, perhaps on account of the conditioning within the power structure, can't (or don't) recognize what the system is doing to black and brown people, as the system doesn't do it to them. Accordingly, white people must rely on black and brown people to help them understand how the system really works as a structure of oppression. Weinstein, in his confrontation with protestors, challenged the black and brown students, invalidating their experience and ignoring the reality—POC are the authority on racism. By failing to acknowledge his privilege and role in the white-supremacist power structure he was engaging in an act of oppression. As Angela Davis once famously said (Jewell, 2020, p. 102), “In a racist society it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist.” By failing to be anti-racist, Weinstein was racist.

The Evergreen protestors formed a particular organizational order which centered on black and brown people. Black and brown people—being the only groups that have experienced racism both institutionally and historically—took positions of leadership in the group, and helped educate white people in how the system is oppressive and what can be done to dismantle it. This also meant that white students would keep their discussion to a minimum and not interrupt POC, as this would be to engage, as one Evergreen student explained during the meeting with the Evergreen Police Review Board, in the white supremacist mechanism of centering the group on white voices. White people are privileged in American society, and as such, the white Evergreen students used their privileged to regulate other white students, assist non-white students by making sure they had good seats, were hydrated and fed, and protect non-white students by being a human buffer when interacting with police. Those in positions of privilege (white people) must

use their status to challenge the system that unjustly benefits white people and exploits black and brown people (DiAngelo, 2018).

According to this social justice interpretation, the Evergreen group does not have a particular worldview, but rather, they're a group of people who, in spite of all the opposition and influence from the socio-political substructure, see society as it actually is—a racist system of white supremacy. The Evergreen affair cannot be understood by culture and morality, but rather by power and the principle of equity—part of the just revolution against a society plagued by an unjust imbalance of power.

Inversion Ritual

I suspect a reader may be particularly struck by the racial social order of the Evergreen affair, i.e., the positioning of POC at the top of the hierarchy and whites at the bottom. And if one holds that the status quo normally has whites at the top and POC at the bottom, then the Evergreen affair appears to have turned the world on its head. In fact, this topsy-turvy role-reversal may very well be an inversion ritual, a kind of symbolic contrarianism that appears universally across cultures (Pandian, 2001).

Inversion rituals are temporary non-normative or contrarian behaviors that contrast with the status quo of the society (Pandian, 2001). In the American context, Halloween may be a kind of inversion ritual, the one night a year when ghosts and ghouls are embraced and embodied by costumed children. In medieval christendom, some would celebrate the Feast of Fools, wherein priests would don masks, black pudding would be eaten at the altar, foul-smelling old shoes would be burnt as incense, and parishioners would jump around the church, play dice, and otherwise make a mockery out of the entire institution (Harris, 2011). Similar rituals of inversion

can be found in the Holi ritual of Northern Indian, where the caste divisions are suspended and high status men are physically assailed by the village women (Pandian, 2001).

The question that immediately arises regarding these rituals, however, is: *to what end?* One such explanation is that role-reversal is a dramatic method, not unlike that used by therapists, whereby “a whole conflict ridden group can reach a deeper level of mutual understanding” (Pandian, 2001, p. 557). By the intentional, ritualistic shift in position, different people may better come to understand each other’s perspective—roleplay. This socio-dramatic functional explanation of ritual inversion is compelling regarding the Evergreen affair, particularly when we consider that the DOA/DOP demonstration was originally based on a play. *Day of Absence*, written in 1965 by Douglas Turner Ward (2007), is meant to be performed by a black cast in whiteface, depicting what happens to a southern town when the black citizens disappear for a day. The town, bereft of its crucial members, falls into chaos, illustrating the often overlooked but essential role that blacks play. In the 1970s, Evergreen began an annual demonstration of the same name, where black members of the campus community would remain off-campus for a day. While the play is packed with satire and inversion, the original Evergreen Day of Absence didn’t quite constitute an inversion ritual, as there was no reversal, only abstention—that is, until 2017, when the formulation changed to incorporate the white counterparts.

Through the exclusion of white people and the emphasis on POC, both in the physical space and content of the demonstration’s seminars, the DOA was reversing what they saw as the status quo of American society, wherein POC are excluded and white people are emphasized. The 2017 Day of Absence/Day of Presence demonstration could very well be interpreted as an

inversion ritual. And indeed, other aspects of the protests, such as the circling up around white authorities and the preceding insult and mockery tracks onto inversion rituals, as well as the catharsis and entertainment factors that often go along with them (Pandian, 2001).

The question, however, remains—*to what end?* The socio-dramatic explanation requires the *mutual* dramatization of one's perspective of the other—a characteristic absent from the Evergreen group, where the DOA/DOP was about showing one side how the other side sees the world without reciprocity. *I play you how I see you and you play me how I see me*, doesn't quite work as perspective switching. Additionally, many inversion rituals are thought to function as a means of maintaining the status quo (Pandian, 2001), and so the Evergreen affair as an inversion ritual would be upholding the society that they purport to be protesting. So the issue with this interpretation, as far as I can tell, is that this is not about maintaining the social order, nor about glorifying the good of the social order, but dismantling and changing the social order and roles of the status quo. Inversion rituals are temporary, but the ideas underpinning the apparent role reversal were far from ephemeral. Insofar as aspects of the Evergreen affair appear to be inversion rituals, they were underpinned by ideas about how the status quo *ought* to be—they were instrumental for social change, and therefore not inversion rituals at all.

Of course, there is structural and symbolic inversion in the Evergreen affair—a fundamental role-reversal took the people perceived to be on top and replaced them with the people perceived to be on the bottom. This, however, is neither satire nor burlesque, but the elaboration of the social order implicated by their belief system, a way the world ought to be. As rich in meaning and deeply symbolic as it is, the inversion is not ritualistic, but revolutionary.

Belief System³³

In this final section, I will characterize the system of belief of the Evergreen Tribe. The objective here is demystification without distortion. This interpretation is not how the insider would necessarily describe their belief—contrasted with the social justice interpretation above—as it does not embrace the Tribe’s language nor their moral content. What I am characterizing is, in a sense, the structure of their belief, a treatment of *how* they believe which neither affirms nor denies the content of *what* they believe. These characterizations and descriptions are intended to render intelligible to the outsider while remaining legitimate to the insider. The following interpretation is a rational reconstruction of the moral considerations and fundamental beliefs that underpin the social order of the Evergreen Tribe.

Ethno-Race Consciousness and Identity

What am I? is a fundamental question of any belief system. The individualist (both moral and methodological) takes the individual person as the fundamental unit of life. While there are a wealth of criticisms against such ‘atomization’ (Holmes, 1996), this is generally the Western view of the self. Anything above and beyond the unitary individual, such as religion, race, or culture, is additional but not fundamental. Beneath everything else, at the core of a person, is the autonomous individual. The Evergreen Tribal member, however, does not take this individualistic view. Instead, he has an *ethno-race consciousness*, a concept defined by Wortham (1981, p. 12) as, “a psychological, conscious, and volitional level of awareness at which an individual perceives himself and others according to characteristics of the racial categories to

³³ main category: ETHNOCENTRISM [255 segments]. select ETHNOCENTRISM sub-categories: V: Ethnic Distinction [70 segments]; VS: Black V. White [29 segments]; B: Ethno-Epistemology [22 segments]; B: Ethno-History [21 Segments]; V: Ethno-seperatism [19 segments]

which they belong and the ethnic groups with which they are affiliated.” As a recent Evergreen graduate said during a gathering to much applause:

“Every moment of every day, I know that I am black and that it matters. I am a black woman before my name is Sara Jackson, I am a black woman before I am a student, I am a black woman before I am citizen of the United States of America.”

This is ethno-race consciousness—a primary awareness and perception of oneself as fundamentally an ethnicity. Before she is a citizen, or a student, or an individual, she is, *most fundamentally*, black. *What am I?* I am a black woman; I am a white man. And everything that needs to be known follows from that answer. Race, as we will continue to see, is a fundamental ingredient of every element of the belief system.

It’s worth noting that this speaker, as well as many other Tribal members, have attached a sex-modifier to their racial category: black *woman*, white *man*. A kind of sex-consciousness may indeed be present here, but it is not the *primary* element of identity. While other group identities are relevant, such as sex, sexual orientation, and disability, there is no group identity or characteristic that transcends the racial identity. While a white man is considered part of a different sub-group than a white woman, they are both parts of the same larger identity group. Within the Tribe, there is no aspect of identity that bridges this fundamental division between the POC class and the white class. As the illustration below shows, the primary psychological groups are clustered into primary social groups.

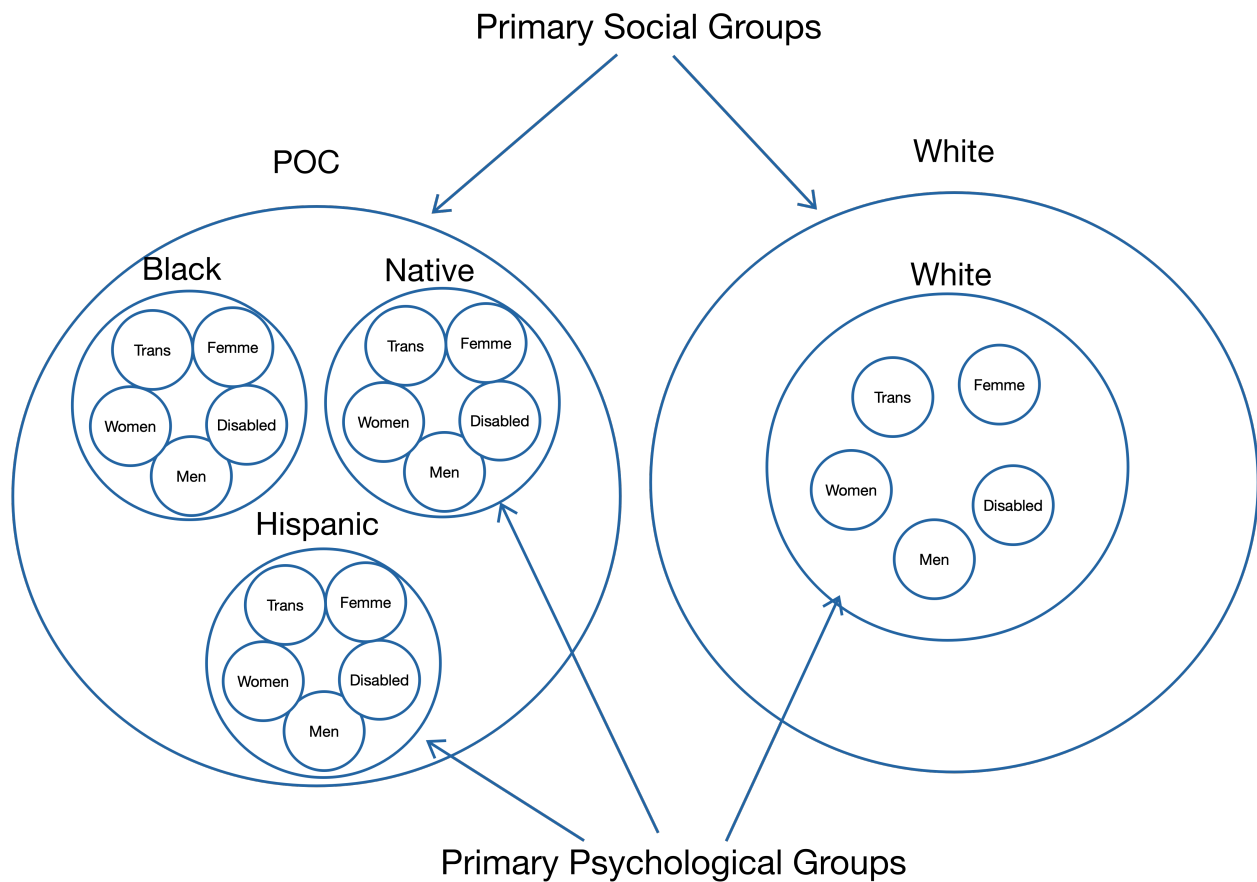


Figure 2. Primary Social and Psychological Groups

While the fundamental social division is between POC and whites, the POC category splits down into a slightly higher resolution (whereas the white social and psychological group align). The primary POC psychological groups are black, Hispanic, and native. This is the level at which the ethno-race consciousness operates. While both Hispanics and blacks are POC, they are not the *same* thing. A Hispanic, for example, cannot claim the same kind of grievances or historical oppression as a black. Accordingly, there were separate lists of demands from each primary POC subgroup, and at key closed door meetings with administrators, the Tribe made sure that each POC subgroup would be represented.

Ethno-race consciousness, as Wortham (1981, p. 14) explains, is not merely a passing interest or *superficial* awareness of one's ethnicity, but the belief that race is the "object of cognitive authority." Not only does this mean that ethnicity dictates how groups interact, but that different races have exclusive access to metaphysical, epistemological, and moral realities. As one black POC said during a meeting with administrators, "We've said that this is anti-blackness. We are the authority [on it]." It is this belief that underpins the emphasis on the necessity of distinct ethnic representation, the insistence that white people cannot possibly understand POC, and the demand to increase POC in faculty and administration.

Postmodern or Premodern?

Much of the current discourse surrounding Evergreen and other campus affairs chalks much up to postmodernism. And upon first glance of the above sections, one might be inclined to agree with this assessment. If race is the object of cognitive, epistemological, metaphysical, and moral authority, it's easy to think this means different races have different 'truths.' However, for the Evergreen Tribe, the idea of race being the object of cognitive authority is *not* a relativist view. It is not that there are a variety of different and equal subjective realities, but rather that there are objective moral and epistemological truths that *only certain races can access*.

White people cannot understand what it means to be a POC, or the history of oppression. Nor can white people even perceive how their own racism operates, as it's the water in which they swim. The POC groups, on the other hand, understand both themselves *and* the white group. Simply, the Tribe believes that POC have access to objective moral and epistemological realities that white people do not. Therefore, it is those with access to such knowledge that should be at the top of the social order. It is not difficult to see how this belief underpins not only the Tribe's

social stratification, but also the totalism—if one group has exclusive access to knowledge, dialectic is futile. It is not the modernist’s emphasis on reason and shared existence, nor the postmodernist’s subjectivity, mutual exclusivity and validity, but the pre-modernist’s ethos of authority and faith (Hicks, 2011).

Yet, the Tribe is not perfectly pre-modern *or* postmodern, as they still believe that POC races do have mutually exclusive access to their own knowledges and experiences. Natives and blacks, for example, cannot perfectly understand each other. However, POC—as a social group level aggregate—have access to truths that white people do not.

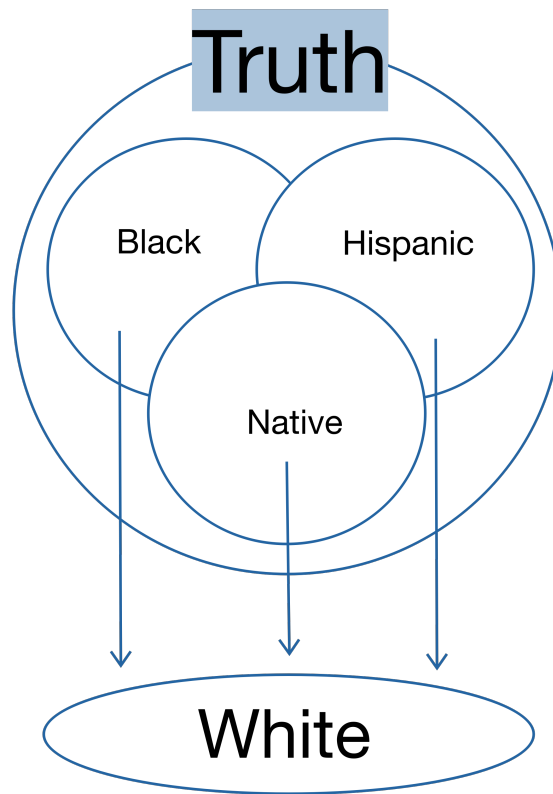


Figure 3. Ethnicity as Cognitive, Epistemological, Moral, and Metaphysical Authority

Intercollectivity

The combination of race as the foundation of both identity and cognitive authority contributes to the belief that dyadic interaction is mostly illusory. Interpersonal interaction is implicitly understood as inherently *intercollective* (Campbell & Manning, 2014). It is not that *a* white man is speaking to *a* black man, but that white people (as a group) are talking with black people (as a group)—even when this ostensibly appears to the methodological individualist like two individual actors in a contained exchange. When it comes to such cross group interaction, as I have written before, “There is no *I*, only *we*. And there is no *you*—only *y’all*” (Cammack, 2020).

While I refer here to subjects as Tribal *members*, as their inclusion in the Tribe is contingent upon belief and adherence to the culture, in fact, the concept of group *membership* isn’t exactly right for the constitutive racial subgroups, as it still implies the existence of the individual—‘membership’ being the relationship mediated between the individual and group. Instead of a person being a *member* of the identity group, a more accurate, though rhetorically cumbersome, way to think about this is that individuals are *parts* of the group. In the same way a kidney or liver is a body-part— the organ is not a distinct entity, but *part* of a larger body.

Blackness and Whiteness, Platonic Collectives

Interactions *within* racial groups are not intercollective, but intracollective. Yet, they still operate with an ethno-race consciousness—the locus of concern and identity is still the conceptual *we*. This *we* is largely referred to, at least for blacks and whites, as *Blackness* and *Whiteness* respectively. These are not merely the aggregate will of constituent members, but abstracted ideals. Put more simply, Blackness exists separately from black people, and black

people can be varying degrees of adherence to this ideal. This sort of, shall we say, *platonic collective* is a useful concept for understanding within Tribe and outgroup interactions.

The parts of Blackness—black people—can be functional or dysfunctional. Functional parts adhere to the ideal. Dysfunctional (or ‘problematic’) blacks, insufficiently dedicated to the black ideal, can indeed be categorized as anti-black themselves. These parts become, in many ways, cancerous. When a black person is anti-black, they are considered as some foreign interlocutor, and quickly become an outgroup member. Once they are known to be a Tribal outsider, any racial-group status becomes largely irrelevant. For example, on November 9th, 2016, a Tribal cohort interrupted a building dedication ceremony for former Evergreen President Les Purce. Even though he was black, Purce was interrupted, challenged, and mocked³⁴ just as any white outgroup member would be.

Whiteness is also an ideal, although the we must be careful not to assume the normal positive connotation usually associate with ‘ideal’: “Whiteness is the most violent fucking system to ever breath.” Whiteness is not an ideal that anyone should strive towards, but rather, an ideal that must be actively rejected. The Whiteness ideal is white supremacy, racism, consumption, assimilation, colonization, oppression, privilege, rape, theft, and violence. At the risk of sounding dramatic, Whiteness is a kind of evil—an omnipresent force of malice. And in order to create a functioning tribe, the parts of the white group—white people—must actively work against this force, engaging in conscious acts of anti-racism. These two metaphysical poles,

³⁴ A female black student asked: “While you were president here, what did you do for, like, the black students on campus, what did you do for the LGBTQ people on campus, what did you do for the latina-x people on campus. What did you do? You keep talking about race and everything, like [mockingly] ‘*Oh you look back to your grandparents, blah blah blah,*’ but like, what did you do for us, what did you do for the people on campus?” Purce was clearly incensed by this, and addressed it directly.

Blackness and Whiteness, operate differently with the respective groups. Blackness is a positive ideal, something that must be strived towards, whereas Whiteness is a negative ideal, something that must be actively rejected.

While Blackness and Whiteness are the only apparent ideals, presumably there's also a Native-ness and Hispanic-ness (or perhaps Brownness). However, I suspect that Blackness might also be the ideal for other non-black POC. This tracks onto the general status hierarchy of the social order, which has blacks at the top of the POC class. Blacks, generally closest to the ideal of Blackness, occupy higher social positions, followed by brown POC, and then whites, generally closest to Whiteness, at the bottom. This moral hierarchy of racial groups is not just something observed, but also occasionally explicitly stated:

“There's a lot of eyes on us. A lot. Remember I told y'all about that 'B' in front of Evergreen? That means you're the best. Right? So whatever you do, you still got that B there. Remember that. That means you're elitists. We're the best. We're the best of the best of everything that we do, so *you're the best races*, you're the... come on now, you see what I'm saying?” [Emphasis added].

Victimhood Morality

The Evergreen Tribe, like any society, is grounded in ideas about morality—about what is fundamentally good. The moral foundation of the Evergreen Tribe can be reduced to a simple dictum: victimhood.

In their 2018 book, Campbell & Manning outline an emergent *victimhood culture*, in contrast to more documented moral cultures such as honor culture and dignity culture. This cluster of moral ideals, they argue, provides moral status to those who have been victimized, and lower the moral status of the victimizer. In the Evergreen Tribe, victims—those who have been

made to suffer—are clearly granted higher moral status, as the norms of etiquette, interaction, and the larger Tribal social structure make clear. The Tribe perceives most elements of the world to be guilty of victimizing POC, poisoned, as it were, by racism (or Whiteness). The college, most (if not all) institutions, faculty, science, police, American culture, and American government are all racist. This racism—the antipathy towards and oppression of POC—constantly victimizes POC, thereby granting them a significant degree of moral status.

Campbell and Manning (2018) suggest that this kind of moral culture is inherently contradictory, in that giving status to victims makes them not victims anymore. Once a person is held aloft in society, how can they really be considered a victim? As Weinstein implied in his email objecting to the Day of Absence, is lowering the social and moral status of supposed victimizers not an act of oppression in itself? And would this oppression, in a victimhood culture, not cancel out the original moral demerit? Campbell and Manning suggest that a potential solution to this contraction comes in the redefinition of terms, creating the *a priori* idea that it's impossible for certain victimizers to ever be victims themselves. Yet, the Evergreen Tribe doesn't require such redefinitions, as their view of morality, though clearly a form of victimhood culture, is entirely coherent in light of their broader belief system.

Ethnohistorical Determinism

The Evergreen Tribe, as well as its constituent classes, are collectivistic. This mode of collectivism, however, is not just collectivism of people as they are alive today, but also a collectivism across time. Blacks are not a collective of modern blacks, but a collective of blacks throughout history. Accordingly, the moral status of a person is determined by the history of his ethnicity—*ethnohistorical determinism*. A black POC at the Evergreen State College in 2017, for

example, is *himself* a victim of centuries of human bondage, the violation of civil liberties, and grotesque acts of institutionalized racism and active oppression by the American government. And a white person, on the other hand, is *himself* the agent who committed these acts of victimization. Again, when we consider that individual actors are parts of larger ethnic collectives, and any interaction between their constituent parts is always intercollective, and that these collectives exist also as metaphysical ideals, it is no surprise that these collectives are also conceptualized as formed throughout history and existing across time.

With this in mind, Campbell and Manning's contradiction dissolves. Lowering the moral status of victimizers (white people) is not in itself an act of victimization, as their moral debts exist metaphysically, and, in many ways, eternally. And even if such moral demeriting *was* an act of victimization, it's virtually insignificant compared to the history of their ethnicity.

Ethics of Community & Divinity

Shweder et al. (2003) find that moral ideas cluster into three distinct, but not mutually exclusive discourses—the ethic of autonomy, the ethic of community, and the ethic of divinity. The ethic of autonomy values people as individual, autonomous agents, emphasizing the importance of their personal will and choice. Obviously, this discourse is absent from the Evergreen Tribe. The Tribe's dominant moral discourses, roughly, are that of community and divinity.

The ethic of community values the integrity of the society's constituent groups as well as the integrity of the society or community as a whole, distinct entity. "The basic idea," Shweder et al. (2003, p. 99) write, "is that one's role or station in life is intrinsic to one's identity and is part of a larger interdependent collective enterprise with a history and standing of its own." This

intrinsic and interdependent nature of social roles is present in the Evergreen Tribe—the primary social groups, POC and white people, have duties to each other and the Tribe as whole. POC have the duty to lead and share their knowledge, whereas white people have a duty to protect and empower the POC. Yet, this is somewhat of a modification as to how the ethic of community is usually conceptualized. While the social hierarchy and moral asymmetry is evident in the Tribe, the two primary social groups are not as balanced as Shweder et al. (2003) suggest the ethic of community are in the abstract. As they outlined as part of the moral metaphor of *feudal ethics*: “The person in the hierarchical position is obligated to protect and satisfy the wants of the subordinate person in specified ways,” whereas, “the subordinate person is [...] obligated to look after the interests and well-being of the superordinate person” (p. 106). In the Evergreen Tribe, however, the superordinate and subordinate duties fall on the lower class, the whites. While the whites do look after the interests of the POC class, the whites are *also* obligated to protect the POC class—a non-negligible divergence from the feudal metaphor.

The ethic of divinity emphasizes the spiritual and divine aspect of people, the society, and nature broadly. This ethic holds that there’s a natural, sacred order to life, and the spiritual self must take care to adhere to this order and maintain purity in its existence, avoiding that which violates the divine. While this ethic is associated with the universal presence of the divine—even the lowest of creatures may be a god in disguise (Shweder et al., 2003)—this is not quite how the Evergreen Tribe thinks about it.

The Tribal morality indeed had a sense a of natural, spiritual order. POC can access and are imbued with a spirit of good, underpinned by historic suffering. And on the other hand,

there's the historic tormentor, the transcendent evil of anti-blackness and racism embodied by—and perhaps a curse of—white people.

The ethic of divinity's high regard for spiritual purity and purification is present in the Tribe in the form of *centering*. In a technical sense, centering is the act of focusing, keeping the conversation, group, or mindset 'on-topic.' Embedded in the Tribe, however, centering is almost exclusively an act of social and psychological moral purification. It is both the act of prioritizing those with moral status, as well as cleansing the psyche of morally objectionable ideas and attitudes. So although things could be improperly centered (i.e., centered on white voices only), which would necessitate re-centering, to be properly centered a space must prioritize POC, and those present must reject the morally objectionable ideas, attitudes, and characteristics.

Spaces were often centered around POC, and the Day of Absence/Day of Presence event was explicitly designed to "Make the space at Evergreen more centered around People of Color." POC subgroups were also centered: "We're gonna center like, black, femme, woman voices, like, let them be heard because they're silenced so often. So, if you're white, it's not really the time for you to speak right now." And at least once, women (and femmes) were centered: "Just a reminder we need to recenter woman and femme voices in this space. None of y'all long-winded men saying a bunch of shit."

Although centering wasn't exclusively predicated on race, racial considerations were certainly a dominant element of the practice. Whiteness—"the wicked violence of Whiteness"—is viewed as the oppressive, spiritual impurity that must be actively expunged in order to make room for the pure, moral spirit to manifest. As one native student forcefully declared during the Equity & Inclusion Council community report back, "[...] I refuse to let Whiteness consume me.

And I'm gonna say that word explicitly: Whiteness,” then reiterating, “I want us to continue to name Whiteness.” So not only is Whiteness an external ideal, it is perhaps more specifically thought of as the spirit of anti-blackness, hovering above the material white group as an ideal, but also infecting and desecrating otherwise morally and spiritually pure POC places and people. This requires conscious acts of moral purification—centering, a practice indeed characteristic of an ethic of divinity.

Ancestor Mysticism

There was no formal religious belief expressed by the Tribe, with exception of occasional discourse surrounding ancestor mysticism. This was particularly invoked during a meeting of Native students and Evergreen administrators: “Now I am speaking from my ancestors,” one student remarked, and a Native staff member later assured the students that the ancestors were with them. At the end of the meeting, the Native cohort was somewhat ominous, noting: “we don’t want to have to do this the native way, where the ancestors show up.”

This kind of ancestor worship appears to be a traditional part of Native culture, and is not necessarily indicative of the Evergreen Tribe as a whole. However, this was also characteristic, though rarely, of black Tribal members. The following shows the most explicit expression of this idea and also showcases some of the above ideas regarding morality, ethno-race consciousness, authority, collectivism, and sanctioning.

“Alright George³⁵... This is your ancestor speaking to you. We have been here before you were ever thought of. So listen to your ancestor. What do you think the repercussions should be if you don't follow through today? [Crowd: ‘Fired! Again!’] No no no, [unintelligible] putting them in time out right now. Y'know, we're not speaking to other

³⁵George Bridges, Evergreen State College President

adults, we're speaking to children. Just as they've been doing to us for over 400 years. Ok? [Crowd applauds] All these layman terms that you use, to make it seem like you have to simplify it for us. We're not simpletons. We're adults. And so, I'm telling you, you're speaking to your ancestor. Alright? We've been here before you. We built these cities, we've had civilization way before you ever have, comin' out your caves. Ok? So, let's be clear. What should the repercussions be for you, if you don't follow through?"

The speaker, a black woman, is part of the collective of black people across time, and as blacks pre-date whites, she herself is George's ancestor. This is ethno-race consciousness and intercollectivity, underpinning the status hierarchy and cognitive authority of blacks over whites. The speaker introduces a threat of sanction to George (firing), and then draws on a victimhood morality: "Y'know, we're not speaking to other adults, we're speaking to children. Just as they've been doing to us for over 400 years." The whites have been mistreating the blacks for centuries, and the reversal of treatment is entirely unobjectionable. The speaker then reemphasizes that she is George's ancestor (more specifically, her black collective is the ancestor of his white collective) and has access to knowledge that whites do not. Again, this is ethno-race consciousness, an invocation of cognitive authority, and intercollectivity.

Upon close review, this statement of an apparent ancestor mysticism encapsulates and integrates many different aspects of the belief system. The primary elements of this belief system—ethno-race consciousness, intercollectivity, platonic collectives, victimhood morality, and ethnohistorical determinism, wrapped up in a moral discourse of community and divinity—implicate and underpin the manifest social action and organization of the Evergreen Tribe.

Conclusion

During this research, I was often asked a simple, straightforward question: “What happened at Evergreen?” This proved to be a surprisingly difficult question to answer. And failing to integrate my preliminary findings into a cohesive explanation, I would give a compelling anecdote or walk through the particular piece of footage I was coding at the time. So I turn again to William Whyte (1993, p. xvi): “It is only when the structure of the society and its patterns of action have been worked out that particular questions can be answered. This requires an exploration of new territory.” In this study, I have endeavored to work out the structure and patterns of the Tribe, and the new territory that I have explored is that of their moral considerations and fundamental beliefs. It is this previously unexplored aspect of the Evergreen affair that allows us to render intelligible their social action and organization. So to answer the question I’ve been fumbling over the past year or so, here’s what happened at Evergreen.

At the Evergreen State College, a significant contingent of the campus community held a particular worldview, one that perhaps sees the world similar to the social justice interpretation described above. This belief system, when stripped of any affirmative content, can be characterized by a few basic elements: Victimhood morality (that to be victimized grants moral merit, and the moral demeriting of the victimizer), ethnohistorical determinism (the belief that the history of an ethnicity determines victim/victimizer moral status), ethno-race consciousness (a perception of oneself as fundamentally a racial-ethnic group and the belief that race is the basis of cognitive authority), platonic collectives (that the essence of an ethnic group exists metaphysically as an ideal), and intercollectivity (that social interaction is not dyadic or individualistic, but always a diplomatic exchange between ethnic groups). In the spring of 2017,

this group had an opportunity to express and manifest the social order implicated by their belief system, and they did so, upheld by normative sanctions and other mechanisms of social control. This event, which has been elsewhere characterized as a protest, is fundamentally a social system, a kind of society—a thick, cultural group of cooperating individuals, constructed through subgroups, mediated by shared beliefs and morality. This social system was a clear hierarchy, with the upper class occupied by POC and the lower class occupied by whites. These two classes had specific, interdependent roles and responsibilities to uphold and maintain the social order as a whole. While this group, described here as the Evergreen Tribe, only manifested the social order temporarily, the ideation and implication of this order and society existed well before and after the ephemeral events of the Evergreen affair. The Evergreen Tribe is a social justice society.

There is more to this story, such as the specific political struggle within the institutional ranks, but this is beyond the scope of the present work. Future research could, through an analysis of internal documents and emails, study how Tribal actors built coalitions and gained institutional positions. There could also be further research on where these ideas originated in the first place. While this is not a concern of the present work, I suspect these kinds of ideas were first articulated by scholars and thought leaders and disseminated by educators. Such research would do well to study this network in American higher education as a whole. In addition, the present work may prove useful for understanding similar affairs at other campuses, as the set of beliefs here is not arbitrary, but a cluster of interdependent ideas. Where there is victimhood morality, there may be ethnohistorical determinism or ethno-race consciousness. Where there are norms of etiquette based on race, there may be race-based responsibilities.

I began this study curious, as Douglas Murray wrote, about “what went on at Evergreen [and] about what students and others really thought was going on” (2019, p. 132). Like so many, when I first saw the footage coming out of Evergreen, I was confused and enthralled by this fascinating group of humans. It is my hope that this expedition in cultural psychology has been able to alleviate that confusion for others as it has for me. I have aimed for demystification without distortion, for clarity and intelligibility, and hopefully I have made some progress towards answering the question as to what happened at Evergreen.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful for the guidance of Dr. Richard Shweder, who upholds the values of open inquiry and intellectual curiosity like no one else. To say that he has opened my mind and helped me become a much better thinker is a wild understatement, but it'll have to do.

Cate Fugazolla and I disagree on almost everything, and I am grateful for our disagreements, which have helped me to better understand my own positions and arguments. It is no small task to engage with research you have fundamental disagreements with, and so her patience and openness is admirable and appreciated.

The archive for this project was created and generously provided by Benjamin A. Boyce. Benjamin's dedication to the events surrounding the Evergreen State College is unmatched, and his detailed (if not obsessive) documentation and commentary has resulted in a fantastic data set, without which my research would have been impossible. Thank you, Benjamin.

My partner has been a source of endless patience and support. She graciously allowed me to work out my ideas with her in their scrambled, confusing early forms. Thank you for listening, helping me be understood, and understanding me.

To my friends at the University of Chicago, with their erupting intellect and quiet genius, thank you for helping me think better.

And finally to you, dear reader, for engaging with this study and considering the work and arguments therein. Time is all we have, and you've chosen to spend some of yours with me, and for that I'm deeply grateful.

Appendix A: A Chronological Account of the Evergreen Affair

The following is a brief, non-exhaustive outline from the footage, assisted by the journalistic account of Lisa Pemberton (2017).

On November 9th, 2016, students disrupted the Purce Hall building dedication, confronting former president Les Purce. On November 16, 2016, the Equity and Inclusion council held the ‘community report back,’ also known as ‘the canoe meeting.’ On March 15, 2017, Professor Bret Weinstein sent an email objecting to the new formulation of the Day of Absence/Day of Presence demonstration. On April 12 and 14, the DOA/DOP demonstrations occurred, and those who did not participate did so apparently without immediate confrontation. On Tuesday, May 23, 2017, about 50 students confronted Dr. Weinstein, demanding an apology for his email and accusing him of racism. As they departed, the group crossed paths with campus police responding to a report of a faculty being held against his will (presumably Weinstein). The group blocked their path, and the police tried to push through before eventually leaving. Shortly thereafter, the group confronted President George Bridges and other administrators, reporting their grievances about the police confrontation, Dr. Weinstein, and campus racism. The students and administrators moved to the 4th floor of the library, which is a large, open room. Students sat and stood in a large circle, while administrators addressed the group from the center. When the meeting broke up, a small cohort of students held a closed door discussion with Bridges and other administrators. Afterwards, the students returned to the 4th floor of the library with the larger group, and had another meeting wherein they brought up their grievances. On the next day, the students took over the library and administrative offices, barricaded the entrances to the building, and engaged in similar demands and practices from the day before. On the 24th or 25th,

they held a meeting with the Evergreen Police Review Board. On May 25th, President Bridges addressed the student's demands and concerns in a large meeting at the Longhouse. In a few instances, some students became threatening—campus police advised Weinstein that a group of students had been looking for him with suspected ill intent, and there is some evidence to suggest they were doing so armed with baseball bats (Nayna, 2019b). In addition, there's footage captured by a student who, on one night of the protests, was apparently writing in chalk over the Evergreen protestors' chalkings. He was confronted, assaulted, and then chased by a cohort of protestors, one of whom was apparently armed with a baton. (Nayna, 2019b).

Appendix B: The Canoe Meeting

In 2016, Evergreen President George Bridges chartered the Equity & Inclusion Council to look into methods of improving equity on campus. This council, which consisted of about 30 faculty, administrators, and students, had 6 months to prepare recommendations, which were presented in an auditorium on November 16, 2016. The audience consisted of members of the Evergreen academic community—faculty, administrators, and students—and the meeting last about 90 minutes. Due to its somewhat performative presentation, which concluded in a group exercise about a metaphorical canoe, the meeting became known to some documentarians and journalists as ‘The Canoe Meeting’ (Herrington, 2017; Nayna, 2019a). The council, with a few outliners, was Tribal (adherent to the belief system that would later manifest the Evergreen affair). And while the meeting was originally framed somewhat clerically—The Equity & Inclusion Council: Community Report Back—it appeared to be a largely symbolic ceremony.

The meeting opened, as mentioned in the introduction, with a traditional native song performed by Native Indian and instructor John Edward Smith. After a brief opening statement by a co-chair of the council, a female POC student (who, a few months later, would become a vocal member of the Evergreen protests³⁶) gives a few prepared remarks, noting the importance of “grasping our identities,” “loving our image,” “owning our power,” “enforcing others to respect us,” “being unapologetic,” and emphasizing the necessity of change. She concludes with

³⁶ Notably, this student stood in the center of the police review board meeting (see section above: *Speaking Norms*) and stated: “There’s a lot of eyes on us. A lot. Remember I told y’all about that ‘B’ in front of Evergreen? That means you’re the best. Right? So whatever you do, you still got that B there. Remember that. That means you’re elitists. We’re the best. We’re the best of the best of everything that we do, so *you’re the best races*, you’re the... come on now, you see what I’m saying?” [Emphasis added].

a quote emphasizing that differences should be celebrated, and that “your silence will not protect you.”

Until the last 30 minutes of the meeting, faculty and administrators take turns giving remarks, which broadly emphasize the importance of change and equity (instead of just diversity), an acknowledgement that society is divided by color and plagued by racism, that the country is moving in a bad direction, and that the work must not just fall on the shoulders of POC. This was not up for debate, as the presenters made very clear.

One faculty (a white female) leads an understanding exercise (or as she called it, a “sense-making exercise”) with the audience, emphasizing how it is not about questioning the content, but *accepting* the findings and recommendations. In the exercise, they are given a document that outlines the goals of the equity plan, and are they tasked with reading and making sense of goals, sharing what they value about the goals, and saying what they need to better understand the goals. As she makes clear, “this is about playing the believing game.” This exercise is highly indicative of the attitudes of the council and the Tribe, that such fundamental beliefs are not up for discussion. A co-chair later reiterates this sentiment: “So we invite you. We want more conversation, and we know there’s much more work to be done. We invite that conversation. But if you want to be an obstructionist...*work on your own.*”

The final 30 minutes of the meeting are dedicated to the canoe exercise. There’s an imaginary ‘canoe’ across the front of the room, facing the left, and some equity council members ‘board’ by standing in two rows along the ‘canoe.’ To set the tone, footage of a beach is projected in the front of the auditorium as the sound of crashing waves plays over the speakers. The leader of this exercise explains that this everyone must be in this together, that everyone must be

working towards to same goal (paddling in the same direction), and that while there will be some difficulties (rough waters), they must maintain solidarity to get the work done. The symbolism is here is fairly on the nose— everyone must be together, working towards the same goal, reflecting their totalism and demand for allegiance. These topics are so important, so *sacred*, that they are not up for discussion. Board or drown.

The most interesting element of this exercise came when equity council members and upper administrators were asked to give a brief statement as to *why* they were boarding the canoe. In all, 15 people spoke before boarding the canoe. These statements, many of which were emotional, invoked family and ancestry, often recounting stories of historic oppression or personal struggle. These stories were a boost to the moral status of the speaker, although not all stories were equally significant—the legacy of boarding schools carries far more weight here than childhood bullying. Concerns regarding the distribution of labor was also a theme throughout these statements.

Of the 15 speakers, there were 9 POC and 6 white people. It was insightful to look at these statements in terms of boarding permission—who has been invited to board, who gives permission to board, and who doesn't need permission at all. This can tell us, in a sense, *whose* canoe it was. Of the white people, 2 speakers either explicitly request permission or acknowledge they have been invited, while 5 make the case as to what they will do to further the work. No POC, on the other hand, request to board or acknowledge that they have been invited, but rather some invite the audience and others to join them (in spirit). Notably, however, one female POC

student invites all black “identify[ing]” students³⁷ to board the canoe (not just in spirit this time), and about 20 black students from the audience board the front of the canoe.

It appears that POC have automatic permission to board the canoe, and indeed, it may very well be *their* canoe, as they are the only ones inviting others to join. The black POC students are in the front of the canoe, leading, as it were, the rest of the Tribe into the future. The whites, on the other hand, must *earn* their spot on the canoe (mostly, though not exclusively, in the back) and in the Tribe, through pro-Tribe acts and affirmations, and acknowledgement of the role and responsibility they have as white Tribe members.

As an isolated event, the canoe meeting might not have much to offer reliably. However, in the context of the broader facts of the social order, norms, and values, it becomes easier to see how this exercise is fundamentally a symbolic ritual, deeply embedded in the web of meaning (Geertz, 1973) of the Evergreen Tribe.

³⁷ This is the only instance I found of someone referring to people as “identifying” as black. Generally in this Tribe, black is not something that can be *chosen*, and if we understand “identifying” here as a volitional choice, this is an extreme outlier. To the Tribe, to be black is to have a shared history and adhere to blackness, neither of which can be arbitrarily chosen by anyone (the degree to which blackness is adhered to may be chosen by blacks, but blackness cannot be understood (and therefor chosen) by non-blacks. “Identifying” in this situation, however, may not mean volitional choice, but rather an acknowledgment of essential aspects of one’s person. “Grasping our identities,” a process of identity development, may mean someone “identifying” what the truly *are*, not what they’ve *chosen*.

References

- Blau, P. M. (1986). *Exchange and power in social life*. Transaction Books.
- Boyce, B. A. (2019, August 7). *The complete evergreen story* [Documentary; Youtube Miniseries]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5Wny9TstEM&list=PLRdayXEOwuMG9DG66Bvx6YbUnhw-buS5K>
- Brubaker, R. (2017). Academic freedom and controversial speech about campus governance. In M. Ignatieff & S. Roch (Eds.), *Academic Freedom: The Global Challenge* (pp. 93–100). Central European University Press; e000xna. <http://proxy.uchicago.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1867337&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Cammack, S. (2020, April 27). Understanding social justice segregationists. *New Discourses*. <https://newdiscourses.com/2020/04/understanding-social-justice-segregationists/>
- Campbell, B., & Manning, J. (2014). Microaggression and moral cultures. *Comparative Sociology*, 13(6), 692–726. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691330-12341332>
- Campbell, B., & Manning, J. (2018). *The rise of victimhood culture: Microaggressions, safe spaces, and the new culture wars* (1st ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chua, A. (2018). *Political tribes: Group instinct and the fate of nations*. Penguin Press, an imprint of Penguin Random House LLC.
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- DiAngelo, R. J. (2018). *White fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.
- Dollard, J. (1949). *Caste and class in a southern town* (2nd ed.). Harper.

- Dutt-Ballerstadt, R. (2018). When free speech disrupts diversity initiatives: What we value and what we do not. *Journal of Academic Freedom*, 9. <https://www.aaup.org/JAF9/when-free-speech-disrupts-diversity-initiatives-what-we-value-and-what-we-do-not#.XhZXBC2ZPUI>
- First Peoples Advising. (2017). *Day of absence & day of presence*. The Evergreen State College. <http://web.archive.org/web/20170417175358/http://evergreen.edu:80/multicultural/day-of-absence-day-of-presence>
- Fischel, A., Grossman, Z., & Nelson, L. (2017, August 11). Another side of the evergreen state college story. *Huffington Post*. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/evergreen-state-college-another-side_b_598cd293e4b090964295e8fc
- Fiske, A. P., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Nisbett, R. E. (1998). The cultural matrix of social psychology. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed, Vol. 2, pp. 915–981). McGraw-Hill ; Distributed exclusively by Oxford University Press.
- Frank, R. H. (1988). *Passions within reason: The strategic role of the emotions* (1st ed). Norton.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic Books, Inc.
- Haidt, J. (2008). Morality. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3(1), 65–72.
- Haidt, J. (2013). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion*. Vintage Books. <http://jeffco.axis360.baker-taylor.com/Title?itemid=0009839976>
- Haller, B. (2017, June 8). Campus hysteria reaches new heights at Evergreen State after white “day of absence.” *Reason*. <https://reason.com/2017/06/08/evergreen-state-college-protests-campus/>

- Harris, M. (2011). *Sacred folly: A new history of the feast of fools*. Cornell University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801461613>
- Herrington, G. (2017, August 29). Meet the most embattled college president in America. *The American Conservative*. <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/evergreen-state-george-bridges-college-president-protests/>
- Heying, H. (2019). On college presidents. *Academic Questions*, 32(1), 19–28. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12129-018-9759-4>
- Hicks, S. R. C. (2011). *Explaining postmodernism: Skepticism and socialism from Rousseau to Foucault* (1. ed, expanded ed). Ockham's Razor.
- Holmes, S. (1996). *The anatomy of antiliberalism*. Harvard University Press.
- hooks, bell. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. Routledge.
- Jewell, T. (2020). *This book is anti-racist: 20 lessons on how to wake up, take action, and do the work*. Quarto Publishing Group.
- Kaplan, S. D. (2018). *Human rights in thick and thin societies: Universality without uniformity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. L. (1998). Small groups. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed, Vol. 2, pp. 415–469). McGraw-Hill ; Distributed exclusively by Oxford University Press.
- Mintz, S. W., & Du Bois, C. M. (2002). The anthropology of food and eating. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 99–119. JSTOR.
- Murray, D. (2019). *The madness of crowds: Gender, race and identity*. Bloomsbury.

- Nayna, M. (2019a, January 17). *Part one: Bret Weinstein, Heather Heying & the Evergreen Equity Council* [Documentary; Youtube Miniseries]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FH2WeWgcSMk&list=PLLHyNSlsz44_GceBMuwAyflt3lDWMEjTG
- Nayna, M. (2019b, April 24). *Part three: The hunted individual* [Documentary; Youtube Miniseries]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vyBLCqyUes>
- Olson, M. (2003). *The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups* (21. printing). Harvard Univ. Press.
- Pandian, J. (2001). Symbolic inversions. An Interpretation of contrary behavior in ritual. *Anthropos*, 96(2), 557–562. JSTOR.
- Pemberton, L. (2017, September 23). A school year of events that led to chaos at The Evergreen State College. *The Olympian*. <https://www.theolympian.com/news/local/education/article175061841.html>
- Pluckrose, H., Lindsay, J. A., & Nayna, M. (2019, March 15). Teaching to transgress: Rage and entitlement at Evergreen College. *Areo Magazine*. <https://areomagazine.com/2019/03/15/teaching-to-transgress-rage-and-entitlement-at-evergreen-college/>
- Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3E [Third edition]). SAGE.
- Sensoy, Ö., & DiAngelo, R. J. (2017). *Is everyone really equal? An introduction to key concepts in social justice education* (Second edition). Teachers College Press.
- Shermer, M. (2017). Postmodernism vs. Science. *Scientific American*, 317(3), 90–90. <https://doi.org/10.1038/scientificamerican0917-90>
- Shweder, R. A. (1991). *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Harvard University Press.

- Shweder, R. A. (2003). Introduction: Anti-postculturalism (or, the view from manywheres). In *Why do men barbecue? Recipes for cultural psychology* (pp. 1–45). Harvard University Press.
- Shweder, R. A., Much, N. C., Mahapatra, M., & Park, L. (2003). The “big three” of morality (autonomy, community, divinity) and the “big three” explanations of suffering. In *Why do men barbecue? Recipes for cultural psychology* (pp. 74–133). Harvard University Press.
- Soave, R. (2019). *Panic attack: Young radicals in the age of Trump* (1st ed.). All Points Books.
- Thatcher, M. (1987, September 23). *Interview for Woman’s Own* (D. Keay, Interviewer) [Interview]. <https://www.margareththatcher.org/document/106689>
- The Evergreen State College. (n.d.). *Media fact sheet*. Retrieved April 15, 2019, from <https://evergreen.edu/news/fact-sheet>
- The Evergreen State College. (2016). *Student body fall 2016*. <https://evergreen.edu/sites/default/files/enrollment%20summary%202016.pdf>
- Von Mises, L. (1966). *Human action: A treatise on economics* (3rd rev. ed.). Henry Regenry Company.
- Ward, D. T. (2007). Day of absence, 1965, excerpts. In *The Making of African American Identity: Vol. III, 1917-1968*. National Humanities Center. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/protest/text12/warddayofabsence.pdf>
- Whyte, W. F. (1993). *Street corner society: The social structure of an Italian slum* (4th ed). University of Chicago Press.
- Winthrop, R. H. (1991). Social structure. In *Dictionary of concepts in cultural anthropology*. Greenwood Press.

Wortham, A. (1981). *The other side of racism: A philosophical study of black race consciousness*. Ohio State University Press.